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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 90696
Folder ID Number: 90696-001

Folder Title:
Friday, July 10, 1992 [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	35	2	1	0

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Kennebunkport, Maine)

For Immediate Release

July 10, 1992

The President has signed the following legislation:

S. 1254, which increases the acreage limit for Assateague Island National Seashore, Maryland, to allow the Secretary of the Interior to acquire up to 112 acres on the nearby mainland.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Kennethunkport, Maine)

July 10, 1992

For Immediate Release

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Today I am pleased to sign into law S. 1306, the "ADAMHA Reorganization Act," which amends certain alcohol, drug abuse, and mental health research and services programs.

S. 1306 reflects the Administration's continued commitment to help the victims of mental illness and substance abuse. It enhances mental health and substance abuse services and research designed to address the needs of the citizens of this Nation. S. 1306 will help us achieve the ambitious goals set forth in the Administration's National Drug Control Strategy.

Most important, this legislation sends a message of hope to the men, women, and children affected by substance abuse and mental illness in this country. Through programs such as residential treatment for substance-abusing pregnant women, S. 1306 will help reduce the number of newborn children exposed to drugs and alcohol. It will also help the estimated one-quarter of our population who, during the course of their lives, will suffer from a mental disorder. According to the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), mental health and substance abuse disorders cost this Nation approximately \$300 billion in health care costs, lost productivity, and other social costs, each and every year.

S. 1306 also has a number of other important provisions that were sought by the Administration. For example, it establishes a grant program to expand by approximately 38,400 the number of additional people who will receive substance abuse treatment in the coming year. This legislation requires the states to assess their efforts to reduce drug and alcohol abuse and to prepare a statewide treatment and prevention strategy. S. 1306 will also continue the prohibition on the use of federal block grant funds for needle exchange programs. There is no evidence that such programs reduce the incidence of HIV infection, and distributing free needles to drug users only encourages more drug use.

S. 1306 will also reorganize the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration (ADAMHA) within HHS. This reorganization, proposed by the Administration, will create for the first time an agency that is focused solely on providing services to those who suffer from, or are vulnerable to, mental illness and addictive disorders. The reorganization will allow us to develop more fully the ability to target services to people who need them. It will also enhance federal leadership and help state and local organizations provide and improve services to address these important public health problems.

At the same time, the reorganization will strengthen the Nation's research agenda through the integration of ADAMHA's three research institutes -- the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, the National Institute on Drug Abuse, and the National Institute of Mental Health -- into the National Institutes of Health (NIH). Bringing research on mental illness and addictive disorders into the mainstream of biomedical and

more

(OVER)

behavioral research at NIH will foster a greater exchange of information. It will also encourage the sharing of expertise in neuroscience and behavioral research within the biomedical research community.

There are many positive features of S. 1306 that will help the victims of mental illness and substance abuse. I am, however, concerned about the cost of certain block grant mandates in the bill and the effect they will have on the ability of the States to provide substance abuse treatment services to those in need. Such mandates are inconsistent with the purpose of a block grant, which is to allow States the flexibility to design programs tailored to their specific needs. It is my intent that every effort be made to ensure that these mandates do not result in a reduction in the States' ability to provide treatment services to the greatest possible number of persons in need.

In signing this legislation today, I continue the Administration's commitment to address the immeasurable costs to our society and the suffering of our citizens that result from mental health illness and drug and alcohol abuse.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
July 10, 1992.

Presidential Phone Calls

Aboard Air Force One



H'sinkin - to KD
EST

DATE: 7-10

TIME: 12 - noon D.C
incoming / outgoing

WITH: San Skinner

SUBJECT: just check in

1. not Meese, Laxalt, Nafziger
on Campaign
2. Growth package - where we
go
3. Irish-gate Brooks call
Prosecution

FOLLOW UP: 1. polls little encouraged
5. Steeper ran Walters +
Pauls Zahn tapes - good
6. People who know Gore thinks his
shall - "Clinton cover over
Faulkus with Gore"

Presidential Phone Calls

Aboard Air Force One



DATE: 7-10 TIME: 12
incoming / outgoing

WITH: P Teeter

SUBJECT: _____

Perot - just "name on
ballot rally"
will announce 'tween
Dem-GOP convention

Brown, indep expenditure,
we wrote contributors
FOLLOW UP: ask em to get money
back -

Just get up dated on
anyway

7 U SE
Mrs. Lilyan Wilder
Apartment #3B
210 East 68th Street
New York, New York 10021-6097



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

eir
our
ut.
st.
ery

Dear Lilyan,

Thanks for the sage advice. I always appreciate your critique.

I'll be keeping you in mind as the campaign begins to roll in full force after the convention -- many more appearances to come. Thanks for checking in!

ery
are
are

With affection,

I agree about "freeing myself from the written word" but sometimes I can't do that.

you
the
you
asal
tion
that
onse

The objective is to free yourself from the written word and let the spoken word work. I know this is difficult to do when you are under pressure. But try at all times to remember the basics:

Be Clear
Get a Response
Be Involved

* * *

In the question and answer section you were in control, made your points clearly, and were very much more "alive". You took the time to think. You weren't rushed by the need for a 15-second sound bite, nor did you feel obliged to speak words as they were written. Try to follow that formula in prepared remarks as well.

daily

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Greg Norman
Tranquility
382 South Beach Road
Hobe Sound, Florida 33455



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Greg,

Thanks for your kind letter of July 1. Even though
you cannot vote, your support means a lot to me.

Many, many thanks!

Sincerely,

*Just played
28 with those
clubs - AOK!*

By Bhl

cc: Pol. Teeter

UNCLAS Daily

7/10/92
Teeter
to
for
McNeil

CLASSIFICATION

ELOW

MODE

PAGES 3 + COVER

IMMEDIATE

SECURE FAX# 63

DIG 101525Z

PRIORITY

ADMIN FAX#

RELEASER

ROUTINE

RECORD #

FROM/LOCATION

1. ROBIN MACLEAN

CAMP DAVID

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. AF 1 / ROSE ZAMARIA

2. RZ Please
3. call Teeter
4. ask him to FAX

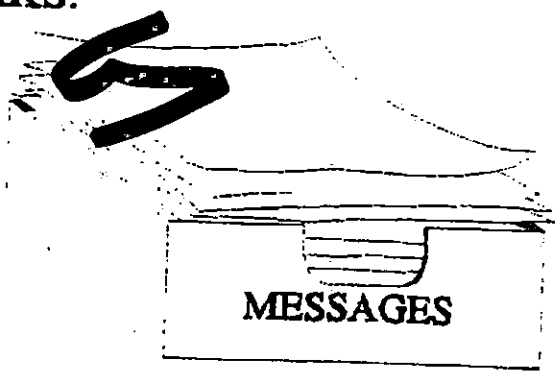
INFORMATION ADDRESSES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. This can McNeil
2. or McNeil - Lehman

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

ROSE, BOB TEETER WANTED THE PRESIDENT
TO SEE TODAY, IF POSSIBLE

PLEASE DELIVER TO ROSE ZAMARIA
PRIOR TO K-PORT IF POSSIBLE



UNCLAS

CLASSIFICATION

As you know, over the last several months Bush-Gunyle '92 has taken all steps within the bounds of the law to prevent your organization from raising and spending money in a misleading and unethical manner. On March 9, 1992, I wrote to you at the instruction of President Bush demanding that you "immediately cease any and all activities" using the President's name. I have repeatedly informed the media that your activities are not authorized by the President or this campaign. (See Newsweek, April 13, 1992, p. 16). In addition, I have written to each of the 362 contributors shown on the "Presidential Victory Committee's" Federal Election Commission report advising each of them that your organization is neither condoned by nor affiliated with the President's re-election effort. Indeed, a number of

President nor his campaign staff condone it in any way. Governor Clinton is absolutely despicable, and neither the campaign. Your attempt to resurrect these charges against this campaign to keep tabloid blazes out of this election strongly urge you to cease these activities. It is the policy of on behalf of President Bush and Bush-Gunyle '92, I

Several sources reported this morning that the "Presidential Victory Committee," which you chair, plans to run advertisements containing allegations about Governor Bill Clinton and Mr. Gennifer Flowers. These reports also state that your group will operate a pay-per-call telephone message line that will play supposed excerpts from alleged conversations between Governor Clinton and Mr. Flowers.

Best Mr. Brown:

Mr. Floyd Brown
Presidential Victory Committee
36 Ivy Street, S.E., Suite A
Washington, D.C. 20003

VIA HAND DELIVERY

JULY 9, 1992

Bobby R. Burchfield
General Counsel
(202) 336-7111



WHITE HOUSE CONTR URG-112
FRI 10 JUL 92 13:28
JUL 11 '92
FRI 10 JUL 92 14:25
PG 03 NO. 001 P. 02
3:03
TEL:

Jul 11 01

TEL: _____

Mr. Eloyd Brown
July 9, 1992
Page Two

your contributors have sought refunds on the ground that they were misled by your fundraising solicitations. Finally, I have advised our Bush-Quayle staff as well as our state leadership that your group is not condoned by the President.

This latest action is yet another indication that you have no intention of operating within the bounds of ethics and propriety. Again, I urge you to cease all your activities, but especially these offensive ads and the related telephone message line.

Sincerely,

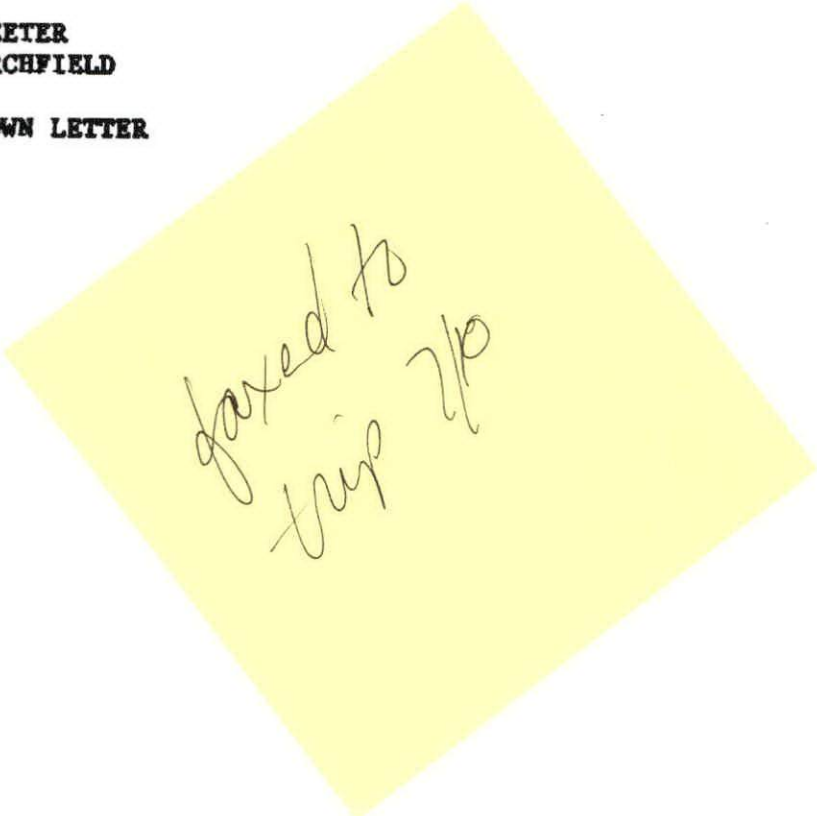

Bobby R. Burchfield



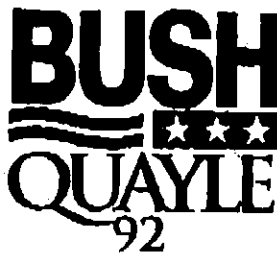
UNCLASSIFIED

July 10, 1992, 9:00am EST

TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: ROBERT TEETER
BOBBY BURCHFIELD
SUBJECT: FLOYD BROWN LETTER



*faxed to
trip 7/10*



Bobby R. Burchfield
General Counsel
(202) 336-7110

July 9, 1992

VIA HAND DELIVERY

Mr. Floyd Brown
Presidential Victory Committee
38 Ivy Street, S.E., Suite A
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Mr. Brown:

Several sources reported this morning that the "Presidential Victory Committee," which you chair, plans to run advertisements containing allegations about Governor Bill Clinton and Ms. Gennifer Flowers. These reports also state that your group will operate a pay-per-call telephone message line that will play supposed excerpts from alleged conversations between Governor Clinton and Ms. Flowers.

On behalf of President Bush and Bush-Quayle 92, I strongly urge you to cease these activities. It is the policy of this campaign to keep tabloid sleaze out of this election campaign. Your attempt to resurrect these charges against Governor Clinton is absolutely despicable, and neither the President nor his campaign staff condone it in any way.

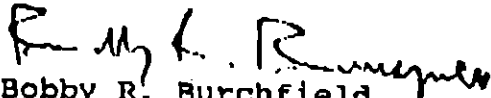
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Mr. Lloyd Brown
July 9, 1992
Page Two

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Sincerely,


Bobby R. Burchfield

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY
ROUTINE

RELEASER: _____
DTG: _____

MESSAGE NO. _____ CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED PAGES 4
FROM ROBIN MACLEAN
(Name) (Phone Number) (Room No.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION _____

LOCATION _____

DELIVER TO

ROSE ZAMARIA

REMARKS: ROSE, BOB TEETER WANTED THE PRESIDENT
TO SEE TODAY, IF POSSIBLE

PLEASE DELIVER TO ROSE ZAMARIA PRIOR
TO K-PORT IF POSSIBLE.

daily
WEU - send 6 ships

GB
7-10

Questions for MacNeil-Lehrer Interview

NATO philosophy

Summit/Foreign

conflict avoidance

- 1) What have you accomplished at the CSCE Summit and the G-7 Summit?
- 2) You told Bosnian President Izetbegovic that you "would consider" providing U.S. military assistance in taking out Serbian artillery. Can you explain what you have in mind?
- 3) Will the U.S. 6th fleet be joining a WEU naval blockade of Serbia?
- 4) Is the U.S. strategy of pushing NATO as the military arm of CSCE, really just a way of continuing to justify NATO's existence?
- 5) Do you think the American people would be supportive of a policy that would send U.S. ground troops to Yugoslavia?
- 6) Does the CSCE agreement mean that American soldiers could go into battle at the discretion of the European countries?
- 7) Do you plan to sign the NAFTA agreement in San Diego with President Salinas?

himself
UN role

Domestic/Political

- 1) Any comment on Clinton's choice of Al Gore as his Vice President?
- 2) Do you have any reaction to Chairman Jack Brooks' request for an Independent Council to investigate US-Iraq relations prior to the Gulf war?
- 3) When you go fishing next week in Wyoming, will you ask Jim Baker to run your campaign?
- 4) Why do you want to be President, and what do you hope to accomplish in your second term?
- 5) Do you still think the economy is going to improve enough to ensure your re-election?

2:00 POTUS - Live to Tape

Transcript to WH. Press

Networks - 2 min. use immediately

Ans 6:00 EDT

Robt McNeil in N.Y.



WALKER'S POINT
KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE

July 10, 1992

*daily
cc: family*

Dear Jeb,

The mission that you and George P undertook to Armenia still lives on. At the CSCE meeting in Finland, I sat next to the Armenian Delegation and the Vice Premier told me how much your visit meant, especially the hospital part.

He said "when the cameras focused on your son, everyone in Armenia saw the tear in his eye and everyone in Armenia knew how much he cared".

See you at the ballgame. Love.

R'port is at its Devotedly, *Doc*
key next - campaign seems 1 million miles away

THE WHITE HOUSE



Mr. John E. Bush
5875 S. W. 96th Street
Miami, Florida 33156

daily

CC: (in & out)
Vice President
(FYI)

done



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Cynthia and Monte,

Thanks for the latest on "potato." I'll be sure to share it with the Vice President.

It's always great to see that we have people like you on our side. Thanks for your support.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "G. H. W. Bush".

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. and Mrs. Monte Wood
914 Glenn Key
Denison, Texas 75020

Potato-potatoe

In defense of Vice President Dan Quayle, I am happy to inform you that, according to Noah Webster, himself (1828), 'potatoe' is the correct spelling for the root of the 'potato' plant.

Here is the entry in full:

Pota'to, (Ind. batatas) A plant and esculent root of the genus Solanum, a native of America. The root of this plant, which is usually called potatoe, constitutes one of the cheapest and most nourishing species of vegetable food; it is the principal food of the poor in some countries, and has often contributed to prevent famine. It was introduced into the British Dominions by Sir Walter Raleigh or other adventurers in the 16th century; but it came slowly into use, and at this day is not much cultivated and used in some countries of Europe. In the British dominions and in the United States it has proved one of the greatest blessings bestowed on man by the Creator.

(Noah Webster's First Edition of an American Dictionary of the English Language, republished by Foundation for American Christian Education, San Francisco, Calif., 1967)

Leak this to the TV media and see what they do with it.

Cynthia Wood
Denison

7-2-92

Dear Mr. Bush,

Potato is the Plant
which the Potatoe grows.
Potatoe is Root or Bulb of
the Plant. You may want
to pass this on to Dan.

my wife and I
are, and will give you, our
100% support.

Monte Wood
914 Glenn Key
Denison, Tex.
75020

daily

100 WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Mary Regula
Post Office Box 1-8787
Erie Avenue
Navarre, Ohio 44662



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Mary,

I'm glad you liked my CBS interview. I enjoyed doing it, too.

Many thanks for those kind words. I am grateful for the support and friendship from you and Ralph.

Bar joins in sending warm regards to you both.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", followed by a long diagonal stroke.

June 31/92

9 A.M.

Tarmon - Ohio

Dear Mr. President,

You did such a fantastic job on the "Morning Show" today!

What a joy to see and hear you instead of the usual "duo"!

Your warmth.
Your understanding of our nation's problems came across so clearly

— a stark difference from the short, cold statements that Americans have been accustomed to hearing from you. (mediaclip)

Your love of this nation, your love of people came through beautifully.

Please, reach out and do more of this.

Then "Victory '92" will become a reality.

Love,

Mary Regula

Mary A.
Box 1-8787
Norton
Ohio 4

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 7/2

JULY 1, 1992

PHONE MESSAGE FOR THE PRESIDENT

1. Congressman Regula called. His wife, Mary, wanted to let you know that you were terrific this morning and she loved the idea of taking the children into the Oval Office.



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Andrew,

Thanks for your letter of June 29. We just got back from Munich and Helsinki, and now a few days to rest in Kennebunkport.

I appreciate your kind words of support. These are tough times politically, but I remain silently confident.

Best wishes to you and Jeni.

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Andrew Falkiewicz
EUR/DR/DPI
Room 4440
320 21st Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20523-0053

(Personal)

Andrew Wallis Falkiewicz
2801 New Mexico Avenue, No. 1419
Washington, D.C. 20007

June 29, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for the good get-together
last Friday. All the very best for
your coming trip, and, as always,
I wish I were there with you. —

If nothing else, I hope that I could make
sure (certainly try to) that Americans
are reminded (which, I am sorry to say,
is not happening) that building relations
with the countries of the "Heart of Europe"
(in this case) is an important consistent
interest of the United States, not simply
(as the media will have it) a means of
persuading Polish- or Czech- or Croat-
Americans; — that in today's world
and in today's United States (as has
been the case for the last 25 years)
there is no such thing as "foreign

policy" and "domestic policy" distinct
and separate from each other;
and that this President's leadership
and vision are, fortunately for
our country, based on profound
understanding and experience.

Carri Gless -

as ever,

Andrew

7/14/92

Jan Raylon

Working on memo

asking for update

on a possible change
of position for talking

Tha

last

your coming trip, and, as always,
I wish I were there with you.

If nothing else, I hope that I could meet
- (on the way to) that American



daily

Aboard Air Force One

July 10, 1992

Dear Brad,

Flying high above Finland's territorial waters, headed for Maine, Rose gave me the tennis challenge for July 30.

1) I want to do it, but I don't know what the schedule is and 2) you will be happy to know that in spite of the score in our last encounter, the ranking committee has indeed approved you for another challenge match. Given the magnitude of that defeat, this was a surprise decision by the ranking committee, but I will honor that decision.

More later.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", is written below the word "Sincerely,".

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

CC:
Rose Zamaria
(ACTION)
Kathy Super
(FYI)

Mr. Bradford M. Freeman
Freeman Spogli and Company
Suite 1900
11100 Santa Monica Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90025

TELECOPY COVER MEMO

FREEMAN SPOGLI & CO.
11100 Santa Monica Blvd., Suite 1900
Los Angeles, California 90025
Telecopy No.: (310) 444-1870

TO: Rose Zamaria TELECOPY #202-456-2397
COMPANY: The White House
FROM: Bradford M. Freeman
DATE: July 2, 1992
RE:

NUMBER OF PAGES IN THIS TELECOPY INCLUDING COVER PAGE:

Dear Rose:

Please let the President know that I have cleared my tennis court for July 30 if he would like to get in a quick game before the cocktail party and dinner for the Presidential Trust at Jim Kilroy's house.

Sincerely,



If there is a problem with this transmission, please contact Kathy Dailey at (310) 444-1822.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Greg Norman
Tranquility
382 South Beach Road
Hobe Sound, Florida 33455



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Greg,

Thanks for your kind letter of July 1. Even though
you cannot vote, your support means a lot to me.

Many, many thanks!

Sincerely,

*Just played
28 with those
clubs - A.O.M.!*

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", written in a cursive style.

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria ✓
(1 cc)

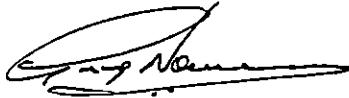
GREG NORMAN

7.1.92

Dear Mr. President,

Just want to congratulate you on a wonderful interview you just did on the CBS Morning Show. As an Australian living here for the past 11 years I am a big supporter of you and even though I cannot vote I fly the Bush flag as much as I can. You are doing a great job and when all is said and done, come the end of the year you will be serving your just second term.

Keep being aggressive with the media the way you were this morning about Iraq.

Sincerely, 

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Lilyan Wilder
Apartment #3B
210 East 68th Street
New York, New York 10021-6097



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Lilyan,

Thanks for the sage advice. I always appreciate your critique.

I'll be keeping you in mind as the campaign begins to roll in full force after the convention -- many more appearances to come. Thanks for checking in!

With affection,

*I agree about
"freeing myself from the written word"
but sometimes I can't do that.*

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria ✓
(1 cc)

MEMO TO: President George Bush
FROM: Lilyan Wilder
RE: Recent Television Appearances
DATE: June 25, 1992

Sitting amidst school children in their classroom is a wonderful setting for you. Your warmth, humanity, and fatherly instincts came out. You were charming, spontaneous and at your best. The tone of your voice was relaxed and warm, very appealing.

* * *

Your press conference on June 4th had very strong messages and a powerful delivery. You were direct, calm, in control and forthright. You were strongest in the give-and-take with reporters.

This is the point that I want to make to you in the clearest possible terms. In the introductory remarks for the press conference you were sometimes a bit stiff, your voice got nasal and you read your remarks. You paid more attention to your script than to the audience. All of that changed when you interacted with, and got response from, the various reporters. The objective is to free yourself from the written word and let the spoken word work. I know this is difficult to do when you are under pressure. But try at all times to remember the basics:

Be Clear
Get a Response
Be Involved

* * *

In the question and answer section you were in control, made your points clearly, and were very much more "alive". You took the time to think. You weren't rushed by the need for a 15-second sound bite, nor did you feel obliged to speak words as they were written. Try to follow that formula in prepared remarks as well.

Some Specifics

The choice of language and the flow of it when you spoke about your handling of the Gulf War were both excellent. Then you very candidly pointed out that you were capable of making mistakes, but that you thought you did an excellent job.

Very good emphasis on \$1.2 trillion the taxpayers will spend.

Your spontaneous laughter and your firm, clear response to the question regarding Ross Perot were indications of how much in control you were of the whole press conference and yourself.

You emphasized, "that is my detailed program," well. You made that point very clear and important.

Your review of your command of the Gulf War situation, about not letting aggression stand, was rationally and thoughtfully stated. Your tone was confident and strong. You were at one with yourself.

* * *

You kept the momentum of the press conference going from start to finish. Your voice, the variety, strength and appeal of your sound, reflected the content of what you were saying. You were on the right wavelength.

Just as you said at the end of the conference, "I need your assistance Jim, about getting the balanced budget out," you got the message out. Good for you.

* * *

I caught a couple of images from the upcoming Barbara Walters interview on 20/20 on television. You seemed to-the-point, direct and you were speaking like you were on top of things. This is how I like best to see you operating.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Alan Green, Jr.
Suite 1000
Security Pacific Plaza
1001 Southwest Fifth Avenue
Portland, Oregon 97204



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Punch,

Thanks for your kind words about my CBS interview.
I enjoyed doing it.

Barbara and I just got back from Munich and
Helsinki -- now, a few days in Kennebunkport.

Warm regards to you and Joanie.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", written in a cursive style.

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria ✓
(1 cc)

ALAN GREEN, JR.
SUITE 1000 • ~~ORANGE BUILDING~~
1001 S. W. FIFTH AVENUE
PORTLAND, OREGON 97204
TELEPHONE (503) 294-0484

July 1, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

I watched you on C.B.S.
this morning - you were great!!!

Sincerely,
"Thank"

ALAN GREEN, JR.
PORTLAND, OREGON 97204

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. John B. Ashmun
2119 Troon Road
Houston, Texas 77019



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Brucie,

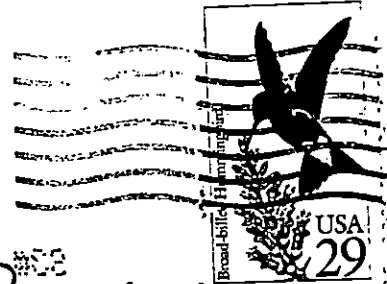
I'm glad you liked my interview on the morning show.
I enjoyed doing it, too. Thanks for the kind words.
Your support and friendship mean a lot to me.

Bar and I just got back from Munich and Helsinki.
It sounds like you're having a great summer. Please
send John and everyone our love.

Sincere best wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "George".

✓ CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)



President George Bush
The White House
Washington
D.C. 20501

Att.
Walker

ABA

30 June

Darling Prez—

Saw you this A.M. on Good Morning America & you were terrific!! A wonderful idea to go on T.V. like that. Personal, relaxed, & very effective. YOU at your best. A winner.

We are just HERE This summer. Spent last wkend with Mary & her babies in

Chicago - Then a few days with
Betty Holland in Santa Fe - going
to Alvarado with Ritchie over the
weekend. But, That's about it.

See you in Aug.

Much, much love to you

& Bea as always -

Patrice

Please. no need to reply - Love
= Yours truly.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Thomas J. Devine
28th Floor
641 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10022



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear "T",

Thanks for your letter and advice. It's always a pleasure to hear from old friends.

I enjoyed the CBS interview and am glad you did, too.

Bar joins in sending warm regards to you and Alix.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be "Bill Clinton".

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria ✓
(1 cc)

THOMAS J. DEVINE,
641 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022
212/593-1777

July 1, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

I always hesitate to write, because you will feel compelled to reply and are as swamped with advice as you are burdened by protagonists in the media. Nevertheless, here goes.

In the first forty five minutes of your questions and answers on CBS this morning, I thought you were sensational. Others say the same about the second half. You were just as good in the largely obscured press conference a few weeks ago and before the ag group outside of Sacramento, which only C-Span covered. In this format, you can win anything. More of the same, I say.

From a short position, it is a crime publicly to declare a bank insolvent. How about a federal indictment of Ross Perot?

Do not acknowledge.

The best to you and Bar from both of us.

Sincerely,



The President
The White House
Washington

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Heinz C. Prechter
Chairman and President
ASC Incorporated
Post Office Box 1186
Southgate, Michigan 48195



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Heinz,

Thanks for your letter of July 1. I enjoyed my trip to Michigan and am glad that it was a success. I will keep your advice in mind as the campaign begins to roll faster after the convention.

Just back from Munich and Helsinki, now I'm enjoying a few days in Kennebunkport.

Best wishes to you and Wally.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", written over the word "Sincerely,".

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria ✓
(1 cc)

July 1, 1992

Heinz Prechter
Chairman and
Chief Executive

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for being in Michigan on Monday; your performance was outstanding. After the event, I walked through the audience, taking a poll, and found that even those people who have been very negative in the past were very much impressed with what you had to say. Please keep up the momentum because, without doubt, it will be a very difficult summer and it could be a very strenuous campaign in the fall.

Mr. President, I realize all of us, including your Staff, must ration your time so you are not taken advantage of. However, it is important that you use your instincts and interpersonal skills - which have proven to be right so many times - today just as effectively as you have used them in the past.

As mentioned to you the other day, you must reach beyond Washington and impact your friends throughout this country to help you in conveying the positive message of what you have accomplished in the past four years; take stock of where we are today and tell them what you are going to do in the next four years - with a single vision - so the American people will regain the confidence which would make everything else, including the economy, move in the right direction.

Again, it was good having you in Michigan and we will do whatever we can to continue supporting your efforts.

Sincerely yours,

MR. PRESIDENT;



HAVE A GOOD JOURNEY TO MUNICH, BAVARIA,
MY PLACE OF BIRTH, ARE YOU SURE
YOU SHOULDN'T HAVE AN "EXPERT" ALONG



'Where Ideas
Become Reality'

Operating companies:
American Sunroof Company
Automobile Specialty Company
Aeromotive Systems Company

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Henry O. Dormann
Chairman and Editor-in-Chief
Leaders Magazine
59 East 54th Street
New York, New York 10022



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Henry,

Thanks for sending the July issue of "Leaders" and the special supplements. I hope you had a happy 60th. Wait until you see 68! Actually, it didn't hurt a bit.

I do think it's your incredible "wrinkle-free" ink that did the trick.

Best wishes to you and Alice.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", with a stylized "B" and "C".

CC: (incoming ltr
only and outgoing
ltr)

✓ Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)

LEADERS

1 July 1992

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

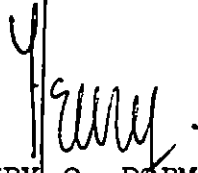
Dear Mr. President:

Here's our July issue with a very special cover featuring our Go*USA travel supplement.

I just turned sixty and I look older than you but I find that when I rub your picture on my face all my wrinkles disappear. It's either the power of the Presidency or the ink we are using.

Warmest regards.

Cordially yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "H. Dormann", written over a vertical line.

HENRY O. DORMANN
Chairman & Editor-in-Chief

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. E. E. Dunsworth
3223 Stratford Street
Pearland, Texas 77581



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Dunny,

Thanks for the update. I'm sorry that you will not be going to the Convention, but I'm grateful to have your support in Aransas County.

These are tough times politically, but I feel silently confident.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely belonging to Bill Clinton, written in dark ink.

CC: (in & out)
✓ Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)

E. E. Dunsworth
P.O.Box 927
Rockport, TX 78382-0927

28 June, 1992

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear President Bush,

Once again I have been denied the opportunity to be a Delegate to the National Convention and cast my vote for you.

Remember how they wouldn't accept us back in the late fifties, because we were too conservative. Now they won't accept me because I'm too liberal. And I havn't changed!

I sincerely hope that these people won't produce for you the same problems that the John Birch Society produced for Barry Goldwater.

We have six Republicans on the ballot for County positions and it looks like we have a very good chance of electing all of them.

I will continue to support you and will do every thing in my power to carry Aransas County for you in November.

Very Respectfully Yours,

Robert
his a friend
& POTUS
should see
P.

Dunmy
E. E. Dunsworth

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Peter D. Hannaford
Chairman of the Board
The Hannaford Company
Suite 200
655 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Peter,

Thanks for sending me your article on the
"chattering classes." I, too, am hoping The Tory
Rule, The Tall-Man Rule and the NFL Rule will
prevail.

Your vote of confidence means a lot to me.

Best wishes to you and Irene.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", written over a horizontal line.

✓ CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)

Peter D. Hannaford
635 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005
202/638-4600

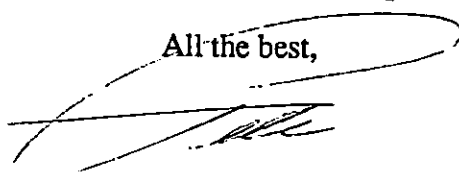
June 30, 1992

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

About the enclosed, the Delphi business was just a way to end the column. I really think The Tory Rule, The Tall-Man Theory and the NFL Rule will prevail!

All the best,



not at fancy
Rose Garden")
how he intends
s problems.
tr version of The
te Horse. One
lls him H. Ross

Perot has seized
scontent among
parent paralysis
ngton and he is

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t about
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air
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nnaford

Political punditry, 1992-style

By Peter D. Hannaford

In India, a pundit, according to the dictionary, is "a learned teacher or critic." We have imported the word and applied it to journalists and academics who make their living giving out opinions about politics and the fate of the republic.

The British are less reverential toward these people. They call them "the chattering classes," for chatter is what they do, more or less non-stop. They chatter in print, on the op-ed pages of newspapers, in short quotations in campaign news stories and under bylines atop "news analyses" (opinion articles by another name and carried on the news pages).

On television, they chatter on "public affairs" shows. Some of the latter are raucous (such as "The McLaughlin Group" in which he or she who shouts loudest gets the floor. Others are august (such as "Washington Week in Review"), in which journalists sit about congratulating one another on their penetrating insights into the issues of the day.

It all adds up to the same thing: rendering opinions for a living.

This being the case, it is necessary for the pundits to possess much arcane information about politics to maintain their certification as experts. In the case of a crowded early field for a presidential nomination, they may use this information to deduce who will become the front-runner. Early this year, for example, they decided that Bill Clinton was the front-runner for the Democratic nomination even before he was (not that he wasn't courting them).

More recently, they have been trying to figure out H. Ross Perot. They still don't know what to make of him.

Here is a man who made a fortune processing Medicare claims through his computers, but who denounces Washington. Biting the hand that fed him?

He is in the vanguard of the throw-the-Congressional-rascals-out movement, yet Perot's lobbyists came within a whisker of pulling off an amendment to a bill in Congress that would have saved him (and him alone) \$15 million in taxes.

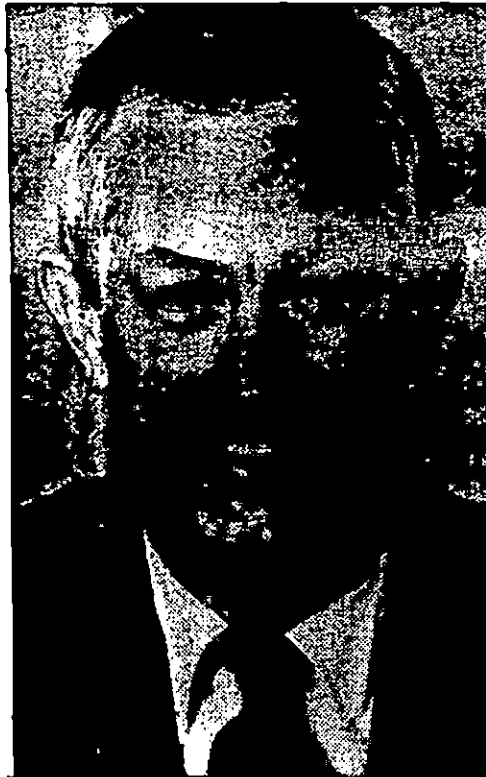
He has routinely lavished contributions on members of Congress yet talks as if he were the ultimate outsider.

Perot talks in metaphors and mini-homilies ("I'll be under the hood fix-

ing the engine, not at fancy ceremonies in the Rose Garden") without a word as to how he intends to solve the nation's problems.

He seems to be our version of The Man on the White Horse. One Washington wag calls him H. Ross Peron.

The pundits know Perot has seized on the widespread discontent among voters about the apparent paralysis and mess in Washington and he is giving voice to it.



The "chattering
classes" sit about
congratulating
one another
on their
penetrating
insights.

—Peter D. Hannaford

It bothers them that no one seems to question whether his skills as a businessman are transferable to the White House and, having read the polls, they are worried he might actually win.

Our chattering classes are the dispensers of political conventional wisdom. Indeed, it becomes so because they dispense it. They, after all, are experts.

Thus, they remind us that no independent candidate has won the presidency, that in 1980, John Anderson was in the mid-twenties in the polls in the spring but ended up with seven percent of the vote. Back in 1912, all Teddy Roosevelt did in creating the Bull Moose party was to insure Woodrow Wilson's election over William Howard Taft.

All of this is true, but then no independent candidate thus far has had \$150 million of his own money to spend on a campaign. That is more than either major party will have available.

Even if the "Teflon" quality of Perot's candidacy rubs off, the fact is no one knows today how the election will turn out. We have an incumbent president whose poll ratings keep slipping despite an improving economy. We have a Democratic challenger who talks in detail about issues with what seems to be great earnestness, yet he consistently runs third in the polls.

Sometimes the pundits fall back on "the rules" of presidential elections for reassurance. Here is a sampling:

***The Tory Rule.** Since 1945, election victories by the Conservatives in Britain have foreshadowed Republican victories in this country. Prime Minister John Major's victory this spring was thus good news for George Bush.

***Years-Ending-in-Two Rule.** According to Professor Alfred E. Eckes of Ohio University, an examination of presidential elections over two centuries shows that turnover in the White House is most likely to occur in years ending in "2" or "0." He notes ominously that, since 1832, no president has been re-elected in a year ending in "2" unless that number followed a "7." He says, "At the beginning of decades people may be more disposed to undertake the political equivalent of a spring house cleaning, and to look favorably toward new leadership and different

ideas." Is he hinting at a Perot victory?

***The Optimistic Acceptance Speech Rule.** Michael Rowan, a New York City political consultant, contends that "the presidential nominee who gives the most optimistic acceptance speech wins the election in November. This pattern holds since the Depression."

***The Tall-Man Theory.** Although Jimmy Carter and Richard Nixon broke this "rule," it is generally true that the taller of the candidates wins. This will be big relief to Bush, who wins over both rivals in the height category.

***The NFL Rule.** In four of six elections since 1968, the NFL has won the Super Bowl and the Republicans have won the White House. Since the Washington Redskins won again this year, President Bush may view this as a particularly favorable sign.

***The Misery Index.** Ronald Reagan invented this in 1980 by combining the unemployment rate and the rise in the Consumer Price Index. It was a lulu that year, over 20 percent. Since Bush's election in 1988 the index has risen slightly, from 9.5 percent to about 10 percent now. That, in itself, is not a bad omen, although the unemployment rate must be watched closely. History shows that if the rate is rising toward election day, the incumbent is in big trouble.

***The Real Income Rule.** If real incomes grow less than 2.7 percent in a presidential election year, there will be a change in the White House. This "rule," noted by pundit Kevin Phillips, has not yet been broken in the 20th century. Keep a close eye on this one in September and October.

Two rules have been broken in recent years. Ronald Reagan broke the Year-Ending-in-Zero rule (that is, presidents elected in years ending in zero will die in office) and George Bush broke the Martin Van Buren rule, named for the fact that no one between the 1836 election of Kinderhook's favorite son and the election of Bush in 1988 has acceded directly to the presidency from the vice presidency.

Which rule will apply in 1992? Take your pick. I'm off to Delphi to see if the Oracle is still in business. □

Peter D. Hannaford is a public affairs consultant in Washington, D.C., author of "Talking Back to the Media" and co-author of the forthcoming "Remembering Reagan."



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Mary,

I'm glad you liked my CBS interview. I enjoyed doing it, too.

Many thanks for those kind words. I am grateful for the support and friendship from you and Ralph.

Bar joins in sending warm regards to you both.

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Mary Regula
Post Office Box 1-8787
Erie Avenue
Navarre, Ohio 44662

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria
(-1 cc)

June 31/92

9 A.M.

Farm - Ohio

Dear Mr. President,

You did such a fantastic job on the "Morning Show" today!

That a joy to see and hear of you instead of the usual "duo"!

Your warmth.
your understanding of our nation's problems came across so clearly

— a stark difference from the short, cold statements that Americans have been accustomed to hearing from you. (mediclip)

Your love of this nation, your love of people came through beautifully.

Please, reach out and do more of this.

Then "Victory '92" will become a reality.

Love,

Mary Regula

RELATED TO
CONGRESSMAN RALPH REGULA?????

Yes, his wife.

check file -
didn't Regula call
CB? see what
was done.

delivered via the
Ambassador to Finland



Aboard Air Force One

(en route Kennebunkport)

July 10, 1992

Dear Ilkka,

It was certainly a pleasure sitting next to you at the lovely dinner held at the President's house last night. In fact, Barbara and I were just discussing how great it was to be back in Finland.

I thought you might like to have the enclosed picture taken of us at dinner. It comes to you with sincere thanks for your hospitality.

Yours very truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Geo Bush".

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Ilkka Olavi Suominen
Speaker of the Parliament of Finland
Helsinki

H. Ross Perot Daybook

Friday, July 10, 1992

Schedule

Today: In Lansing, MI., 12:00 noon, attends petition turn-in-rally, State Capitol.

Tomorrow: In Nashville, TN, 10:30 a.m., attends NAACP Presidential Council Conference.

News

- In an interview with *The Washington Post*, Perot Petition Committee chairman, Tom Luce, said that Hamilton Jordan and Mort Meyerson are currently reviewing vice presidential choices for Perot. Luce also said that Perot hopes to hold some sort of national convention in "mid to late August." Perot's veep announcement would also come around the same time, Luce said. (7/10)
- *The Los Angeles Times* reports that Perot will practically drop out of sight while the Democrats have their convention next week. Tom Luce said that Perot has no public appearances scheduled next week so that he could "finalize" several policy papers and deal with organizational problems. (7/10)
- **The Washington Post/ABC News Poll:** Chilton Research Services of Radnor, PA conducted a poll of 1,506 adults (including 1,166 registered voters) between July 1-3 and 6-8:

Bush	33%
Clinton	30%
Perot	30%

The poll was published today and has a margin of error of $\pm 3\%$. (7/10)

- **CNN/USA Today Poll:** 1,004 registered voters were polled between July 5-8:

Bush	35%
Perot	30%
Clinton	28%

The telephone poll has a margin of error of $\pm 3\%$. (7/10)

- **Jewish Polls:** The National Jewish Democratic Council commissioned various polls of 1,519 voters in California, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, Maryland, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania:

California Republicans

Perot 63%
Bush 31%

New Jersey Republicans

Perot 42%
Bush 33%

California Democrats

Clinton 65%
Perot 27%
Bush 0%

New Jersey Democrats

Clinton 72%
Perot 19%
Bush 3%

The dates of the poll nor the margin of error was available. (AP, 7/10)

- Perot, concerned about the way he was portrayed in an upcoming article, once offered to buy out the 50,000-copy press run of *Texas Business* magazine, according to a report in *The Boston Globe*. Brooks Austin, Editor of the magazine, recalled a conversation with Perot over the story: "It's really the tone of the story. It makes me look a bit negative. It makes fun of me in parts," said Perot. "Finally, he said: 'Mr. Austin, why don't you just change it?' He said: 'It isn't good for Texas.' He says, 'It's not good for me,'" (7/5)
- Perot is now on the ballot in 22 states:

Alabama	Massachusetts
Alaska	Nebraska
Arkansas	Nevada
California	New Hampshire
Colorado	New Jersey
Delaware	North Carolina
Florida	Tennessee
Idaho	Texas
Kansas	Utah
Kentucky	Washington
Maine	Wyoming

- A local Perot office in California was closed by the Dallas headquarters Tuesday after volunteers took an interest in a splinter group that promotes candidates who would push Perot's policies. (AP, 7/10)



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Larry, Steve, and Rudy,

Along with the enclosed photos, Barbara and I send our deep thanks for your super performance at our annual Congressional Barbecue. Once again, we were fortunate that you happened to be in town and we were able to lure you away from Wolf Trap to entertain our guests. It was great fun, and please know how appreciative we are.

Thanks, too, for sending your latest CD.

All the best,

July 15, 1992

Note for record:

Letter and photographs were returned to Kathy Fenton for dispatch.

CC: (in & out)

Rose Zamaria

(1 cc)

Mary Ingals

No incoming

FOR LIZ ROBBINS



Liz Robbins —

6-2-92

Best Wishes. Cy Bond

FOR RUDY AND KIM
GATLIN



Buddy & Kim —
Warm White House Greetings • Thanks
Cz Bud

FOR JOSH GATLIN
(LARRY'S SON)

(16 yr old son. 1st
time at White House.)



To Tosh -
Good Luck & Best Wishes, *Ag Burl*

FOR LARRY AND JANIS
GATLIN



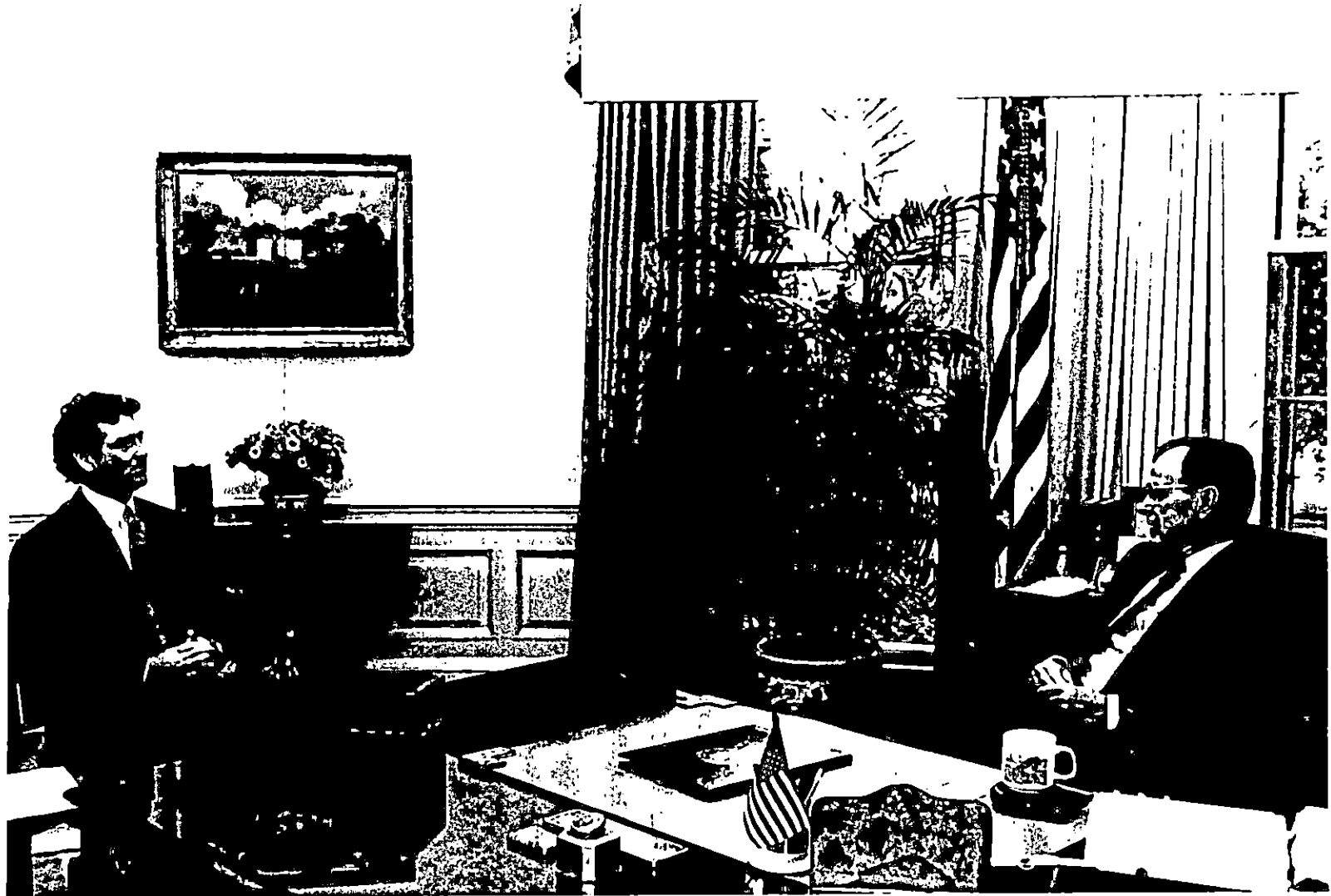
Larry & Janis —
Many many thanks.
A great evening at the White House. Cy Bird

FOR STEVE AND CYNTHIA
GATLIN



Steve - Cynthia -
Wendell Bent Wishes
and Thanks, Cap Bent

6-2-92



Larry - Welcome Back

By Bush

6-2-92



Aboard Air Force One

July 10, 1992

Dear Brad,

Flying high above Finland's territorial waters, headed for Maine, Rose gave me the tennis challenge for July 30.

1) I want to do it, but I don't know what the schedule is and 2) you will be happy to know that in spite of the score in our last encounter, the ranking committee has indeed approved you for another challenge match. Given the magnitude of that defeat, this was a surprise decision by the ranking committee, but I will honor that decision.

More later.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "G. Bush".

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

CC:
✓ Rose Zamaria
(ACTION)
Kathy Super
(FYI)

Mr. Bradford M. Freeman
Freeman Spogli and Company
Suite 1900
11100 Santa Monica Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90025

T E L E C O P Y C O V E R M E M O

FREEMAN SPOGLI & CO.
11100 Santa Monica Blvd., Suite 1900
Los Angeles, California 90025
Telecopy No.: (310) 444-1870

TO: Rose Zamaria **TELECOPY #202-456-2397**
COMPANY: The White House
FROM: Bradford M. Freeman
DATE: July 2, 1992
RE:

NUMBER OF PAGES IN THIS TELECOPY INCLUDING COVER PAGE:

Dear Rose:

 Please let the President know that I have cleared my tennis court for July 30 if he would like to get in a quick game before the cocktail party and dinner for the Presidential Trust at Jim Kilroy's house.

Sincerely,



If there is a problem with this transmission, please contact Kathy Dailey at (310) 444-1822.

Rose -
Copies for
you -
Cathy Fenton



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Larry, Steve, and Rudy,

Along with the enclosed photos, Barbara and I send our deep thanks for your super performance at our annual Congressional Barbecue. Once again, we were fortunate that you happened to be in town and we were able to lure you away from Wolf Trap to entertain our guests. It was great fun, and please know how appreciative we are.

Thanks, too, for sending your latest CD.

All the best,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill Clinton".

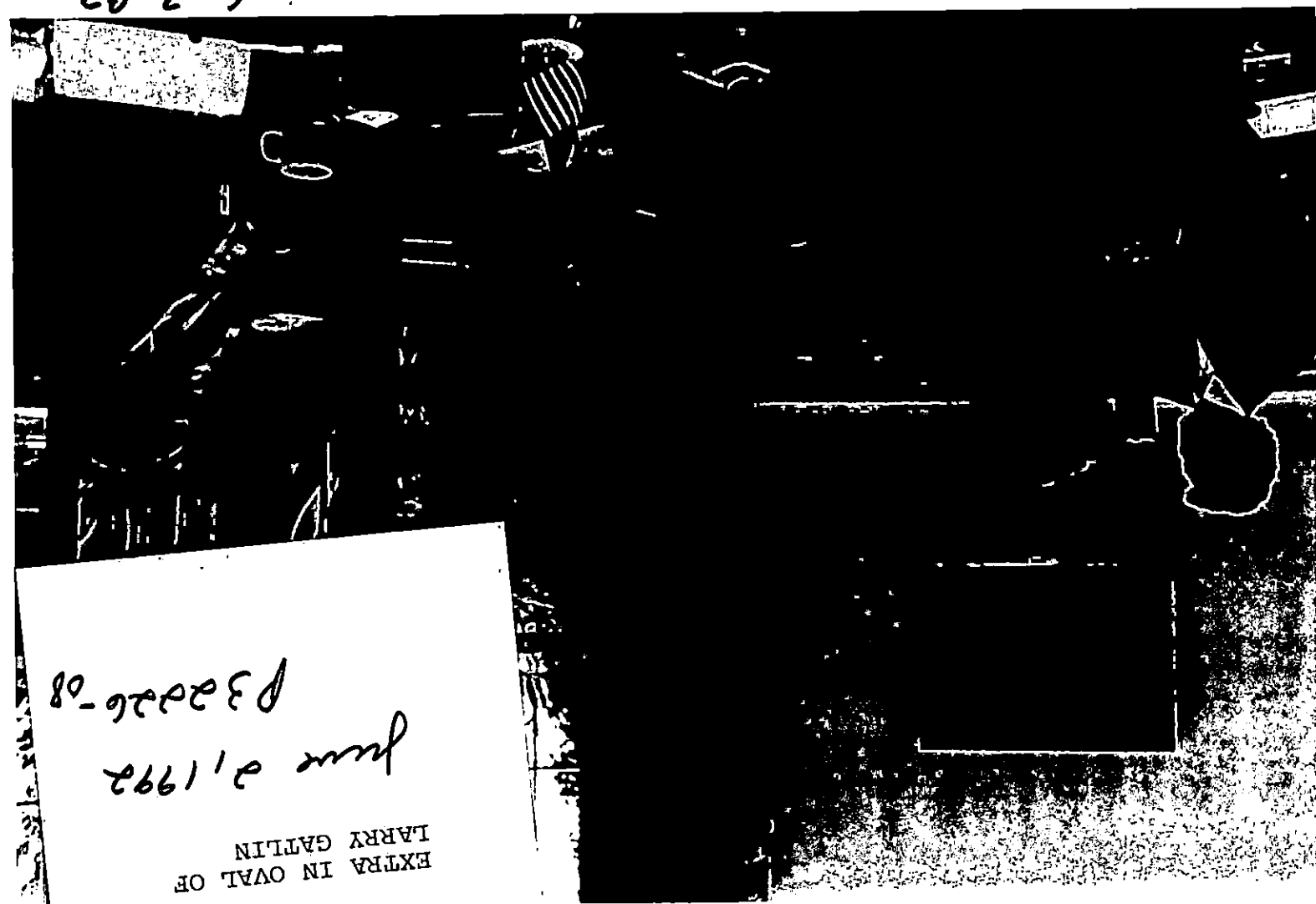
FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE GATLIN BROTHERS
GATLIN BROTHERS ENTERPRISES, INC.
7003 CHADWICK DRIVE, SUITE 360
BRENTWOOD, TN 37027

ATTENTION: PAT BELEW

Larry - Welcome Back by Bunk

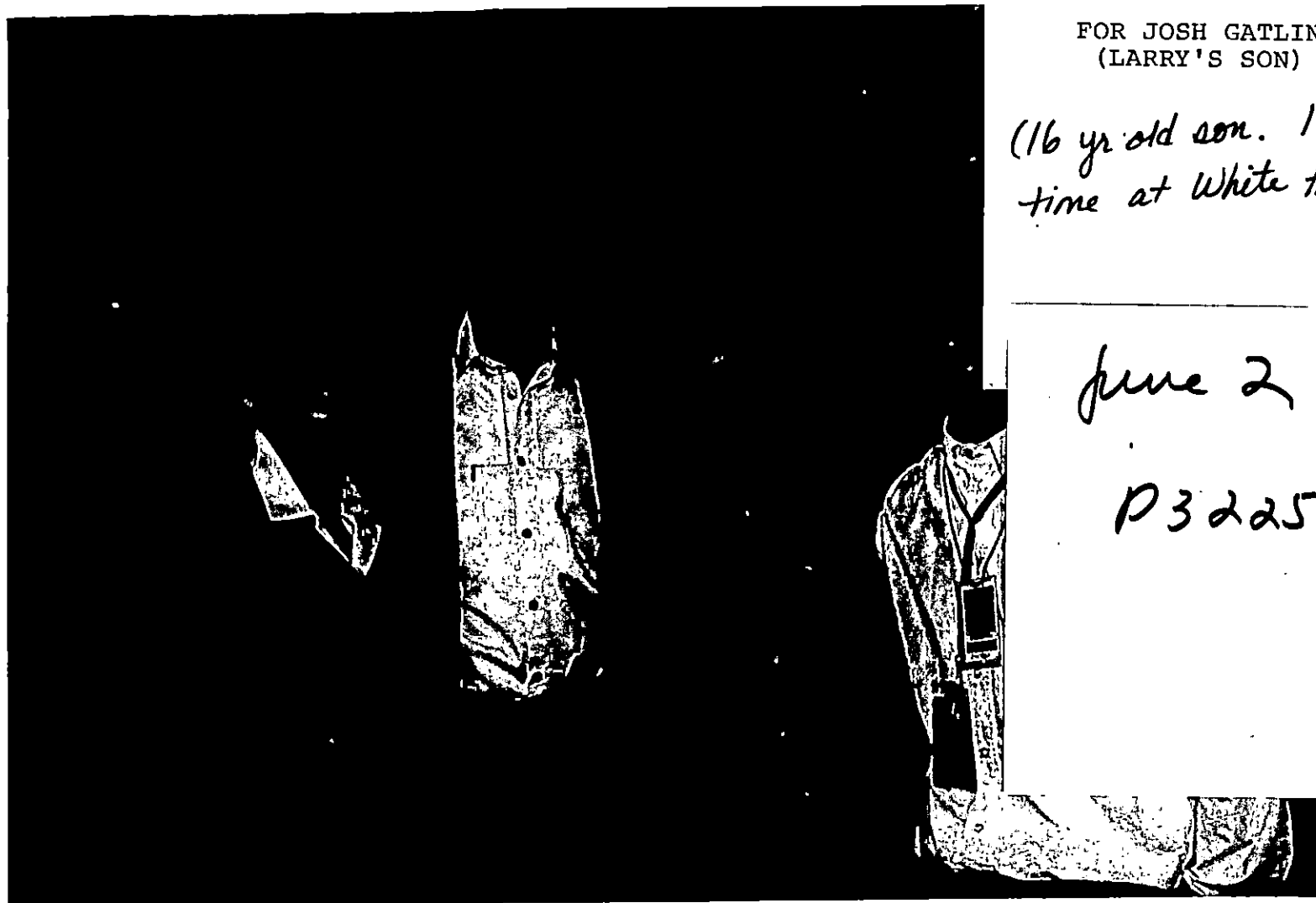
6-2-92



P32226-08

June 2, 1992

EXTRA IN OVAL OF
LARRY GATLIN



FOR JOSH GATLIN
(LARRY'S SON)

(16 yr old son. 1st
time at White House.)

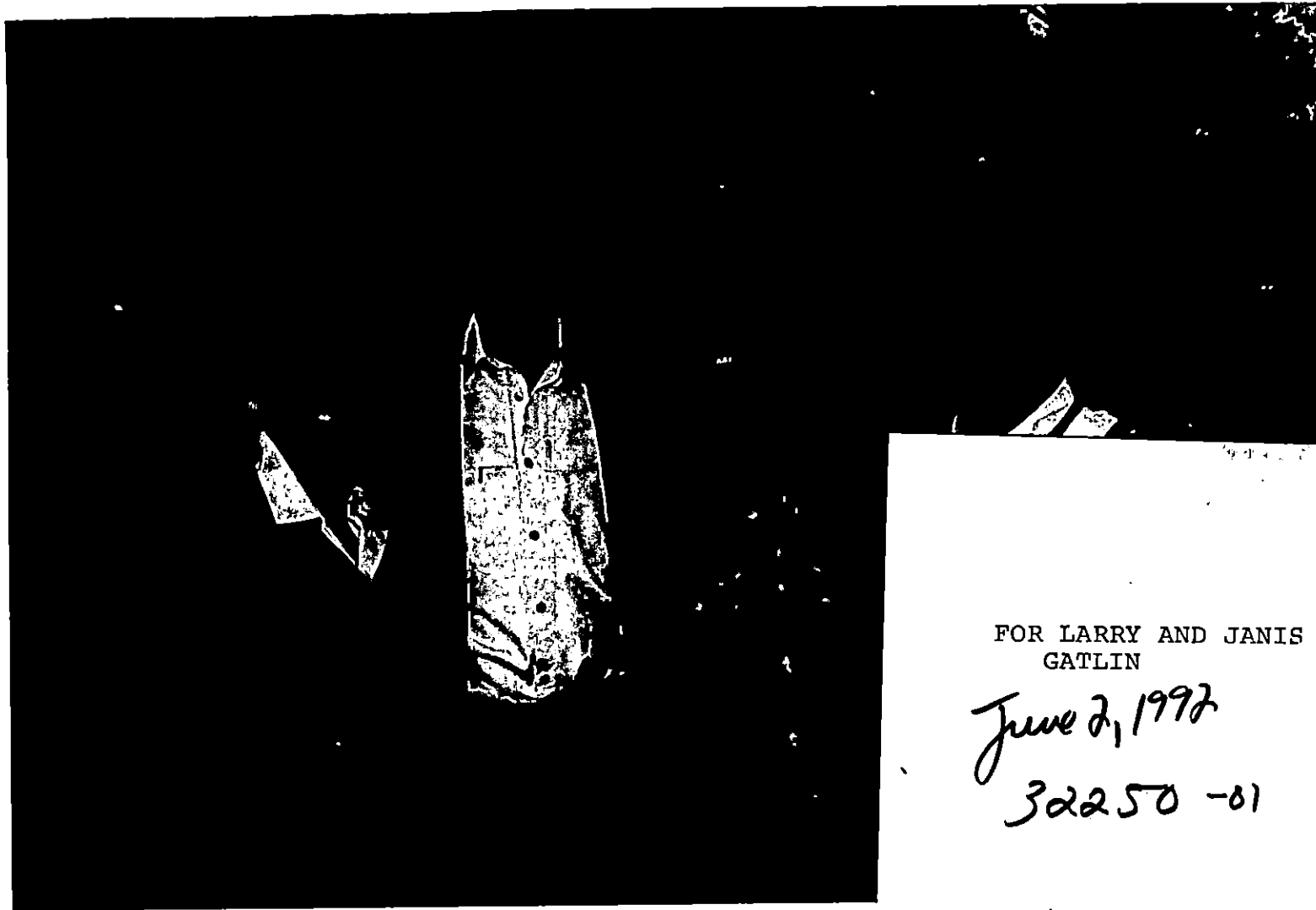
June 2, 1992

P32250-01

To Tosh -

Good Luck on Best Wishes,

Ag Burl



FOR LARRY AND JANIS
GATLIN

June 2, 1997

32250 -01

Larry & Janis -
Many many thanks.
A great evening at the White House. Ag Bird

HE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE GATLIN BROTHERS
GATLIN BROTHERS ENTERPRISES, INC.
7003 CHADWICK DRIVE, SUITE 360
BRENTWOOD, TN 37027

ATTENTION: PAT BELEW

FOR STEVE AND CYNTHIA
GATLIN

June 2, 1992
P30250-03

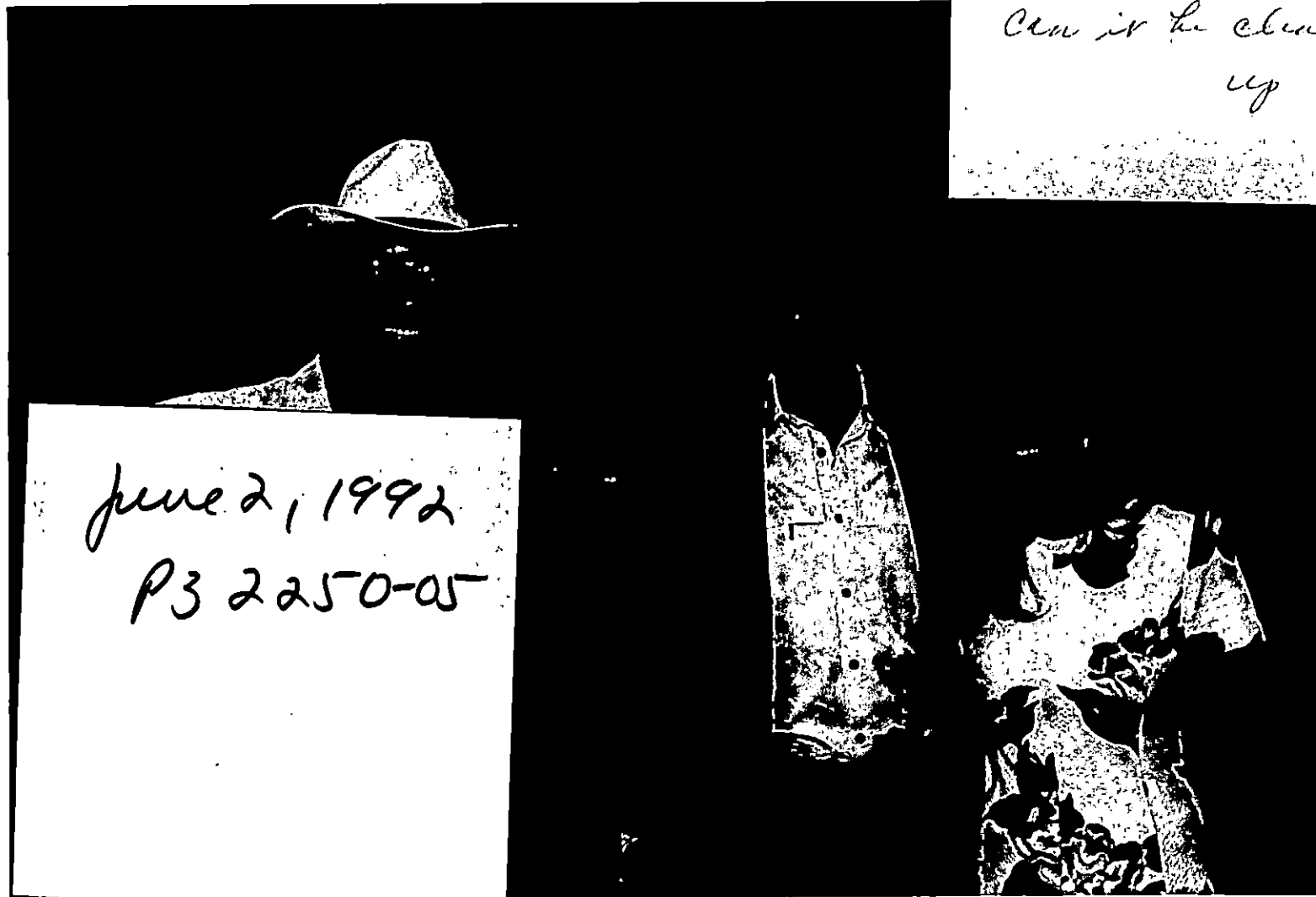


Steve - Cynthia -
Wendy Bent Wilson
and Charles, Cap Bent

6.2.92

FOR RUDY AND KIM
GATLIN

Can it be cleaned
up



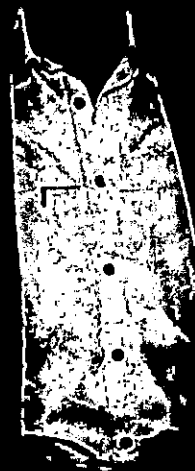
June 2, 1992
P3 2250-05

Buddy & Kim —
Warm White House Greetings - Thanks
By Bud

FOR LIZ ROBBINS



June 2, 1992
P3 2250-05



Liz Robbins —

6-2-92

Bent Wishes, Gay Band

From the desk of
George Bush

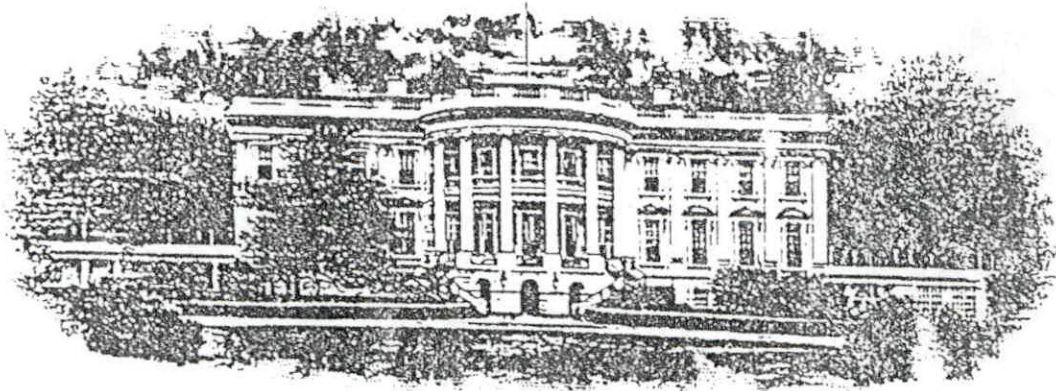
W.C.N. Reilly

EPA

FAA

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

WHITE HOUSE



CIRCLE ONE BELOW

☒ IMMEDIATE

☐ PRIORITY

☐ ROUTINE

FROM/LOCATION

1. PRESIDENT BUSH - MAINE

TO/LOCATION, TIME OF RECEIPT

1. DIRECTOR BILL REILLY

2. _____

3. 202 260 0279 FAX

CLASSIFICATION



THE PRESIDENT

K'port, Maine

July 10

Dear Bill,

Please take a personal
look at Bob Dole's request
to Mr. Rosenberg. We really
need to get Ethanol on the
move. Thanks — GB

From the desk of
George Bush

Reilly

EPA

FAX

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE REURBUCAN LEADER
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-7020

JULY 9, 1992

William C. Rosenberg
Assistant Administrator
for Air and Radiation
U.S. Environmental Protection Agency
401 M Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20460

Dear Bill:

I have recently been apprised of a report prepared for the Department of Agriculture by Dr. Michael S. Graboski, Director of the Colorado Institute for Fuels and High Altitude Engine Research, which reviews the role of ethanol in the reformulated gasoline program (RFG) initiated by the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990 (CAW).

In his report, Dr. Graboski demonstrates that ethanol can be utilized at vapor pressures well above the simple model caps while meeting the fifteen percent volatile organic compounds (VOC) reductions required by the CAW. In addition, Dr. Graboski concludes that oxides of nitrogen (NOX) should not be an issue in the context of reformulated gasoline. I request EPA expedite a review of the report and, if the research is accurate, incorporate the VOC and NOX accounting mechanisms into the RFG rulemaking.

If, after reviewing the report, you conclude there is insufficient technical data or legal authority to adopt this approach in the final rule, I request you reevaluate the matter of the legislative correction which I previously made available to you. While I have not received any formal reply to the earlier request for comment on that proposal, I am aware an EPA spokesperson has been quoted as labeling my amendment "atrocious." I certainly hope the requests contained in this letter and any future requests by me or you will be handled in a more appropriate manner.

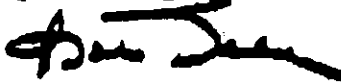
Finally, if upon further review you are unable to support the proposed amendment, I request you provide me with a draft amendment which resolves the issue and which the Administration will support.

William G. Rosenberg
July 9, 1992
Page 2

The President shares my view that this issue must be successfully resolved. While a regulatory resolution would certainly be preferable to revisiting the Clean Air Act, I am confident that, with the Administration's support, a legislative solution would receive strong bipartisan support of the majority of Congress.

I look forward to your prompt and professional response.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bob Dole", with a stylized flourish at the end.

Bob Dole

cc: President George Bush



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992
Kennebunkport

Dear Megan,

This is just a little thank
you note. I love the flowers.
They are going to brighten our
house at Kennebunkport just
like your smile brightened my

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Miss Megan Minard
14 Beach Road
South Berwick, Maine 03908

if I can down
the steps of Air Force I
will you give your Mom
a big hug and tell her I loved
her letter.
I am tired now from my
trip abroad but when I touch
in my bed I'll think of you
and my flowers Love Ag. B. J.

Mrs. Michael Minard
14 Beech Road
South Berwick, Maine 03908

July 10, 1992

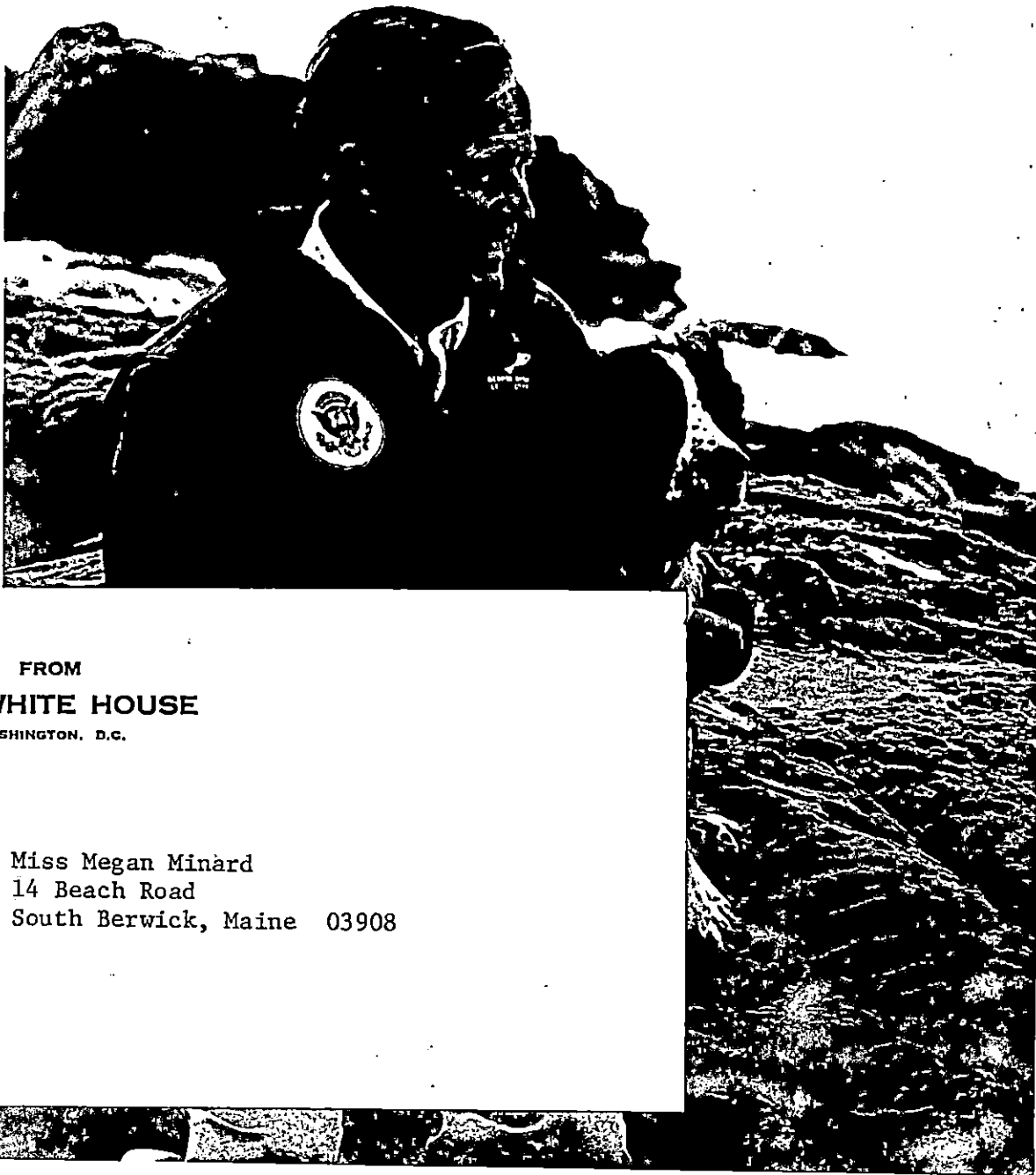
Dear President and Mrs. Bush,

These flowers are from my ten year old daughter, Megan's, allowance. She was adopted while we were stationed in Germany in early June. I awoke one morning at 6 a.m. to

find her writing a letter to you - she was asking for advice because she'd been called a "Nigger" at school. She truly thinks the world of you - and so do we!

Enjoy a peaceful vacation in Maine and
God Bless you both!

Always
Margaret Minard



FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Miss Megan Minard
14 Beach Road
South Berwick, Maine 03908

To Megan Minard

July 10 '92

"Ranger" and I send your love. Thanks
for my flowers. Good Luck. Big Bear

daily 7/10
(orig in not in
system file)



Aboard Air Force One

returning to K'point

July 10, 1992

Re your 7-10 letter

Dear Dave,

I do understand!
And I know it
hasn't been easy. The most
hateful part is the trial by
the leaks to ^{the} press-fire. It's
sick. I have become immune
to it - hateful and ugly as it is.
What does hurt me is to see
friends (read Dave Demarest)
rational over the coals.

Dave, you did a great
job - and I label worthy speeches
with you; but this is Hail
not Farewell; for now, together,
we go to Liaison - darned
important.

Ag. T. B. M.

I'm no great speech giver
s.o. whoever has the speech
portfolio will always get some
glief from the know-it-all critics;
but well win. Well win not
because of my overdoing or
lack thereof but because
of loyal trusted friends
who help me in so many
ways present that sense
of caring, decency and
experience that the people
are entitled to. You're
there's almost lyrically
like well (see
Heng in!

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 10, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

As I resume permanent responsibility for Public Liaison and Intergovernmental, I think you know that I will put everything I've got into helping those organizations perform at their peak. They can be of great help to you these next few months. They are staffed with dedicated and decent people who care deeply about you and your Presidency. I've worked with many of them, even hired some of them earlier in the Administration or during the 1988 campaign.

Leaving the speechwriting operation just four months before the election is difficult and hard to explain -- particularly leaving it to someone neither you nor I have met. That's why I want you to know that contrary to what you may have heard or read, this reorganization was not at my request or initiative.

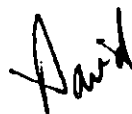
It is true that I didn't fight it. Being at the center of a crossfire between the campaign and the White House, often watching it aired in the newspaper, and perhaps most importantly, not being able to control it, has not been easy.

I believe you are probably the most skeptical, rightly, of the silver bullet speech theory -- that if only we could figure out the right words we can set everything right with the polls. But the fact that we have spent so much time and energy wrestling with this notion is troubling. The endless and impersonal debate outside your office about your speeches -- their role in "getting your message out" -- their deficiencies -- how to make them more effective -- that debate has never been particularly informed, inclusive, or in touch with how a speechwriter actually writes a speech for George Bush. Maybe it never will be, but until it is, your speeches will continue to suffer from being oversold and under-bought.

Through it all though, I'm still confident about November. Perot will fade. Clinton just doesn't have what it takes -- Gore adds little. Voters will sort it all out, they're smarter than politicians and reporters think they are.

I hope you saw the column by Ms. Ely in the Houston Chronicle about your Texas speech. Not bad for a no-vision, inarticulate President who can't inspire the troops! For my part, it was nice to have that one be my last. The last few years for me have been extraordinary. I got to see leadership close-up. Thanks for everything. Anything more I can do, just let me know.

With great respect,





OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH 10 JUL 92 P33542 11A DV



DATE: July 10 92

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washington Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times



• FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 • USA TODAY

Clinton gaining on Perot, poll shows

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

Ross Perot, seen by many as a knight in shining armor a month ago, is now just another politician running for the White House.

And Bill Clinton, muscled into third place by the Perot juggernaut, is fighting his way back into the thick of the race, a solid indicator voters are giving him a second look.

A USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll taken July 6-8 shows President Bush inching ahead, with Clinton gaining and Perot slipping.

Perot also is seeing a sharp drop in his favorable ratings, a rise in his unfavorables and an uptick in those who say there's no chance they'll vote for him — putting his numbers closer to those of Bush and Clinton than they were last month.

"Perot is now back with the other candidates," said Larry Hugiick, Gallup polling editor. "The question now is, can he hang in there as a competitive third choice?"

A flurry of stories about Perot's penchant for investigating rivals and infighting among campaign workers, and a lack of specifics on issues, may have raised his negative score.

"I suspect that many people who say they favor Perot are really still shopping and haven't made up their mind yet. The more they find out about him, the more his negatives go up," said Everett Ladd, director of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.

But Perot gets the best marks on handling the economy and unemployment, a sign he's still very much in the race.

Meanwhile, although Clinton's negatives still outweigh his positives, he's gaining ground on the character issue. Yet the numbers show he hasn't yet put questions about marital infidelity, draft evasion and honesty behind him.

The poll found 56% say Clinton has the honesty and integrity to serve as president, up from 45% in April. But more than one in three still say he doesn't measure up.

And while he gets high marks on judgment in a crisis and grasp of the issues, he has yet to convince voters he has a clear plan for solving the country's problems.

Analysts say next week's Democratic convention offers the Arkansas governor an opportunity to showcase himself to a wider audience and make further gains in the polls.

"He needs to get his message across," said Hugiick.

The usual boost convention exposure provides for a candidate could push Perot into third place, triggering speculation that he's damaged goods.

Those who had a favorable opinion of Clinton were most likely to mention his plans and programs to address the issues.

"I like it that he's actually laid out his ideas," said Christopher English, 42, a Rancho Mirage, Calif., builder. "He's for ... middle-class people and improving education."

The poll was taken before Clinton selected Sen. Al Gore to be his running mate.

USA TODAY

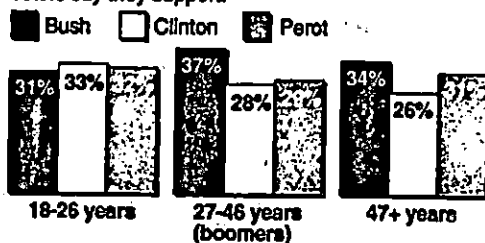
No. 1 IN

FRI./SAT./SUN., JULY 10-12, 1992

SAT. DAY

The generation gap

The baby-boom generation represents the largest bloc of the voting-age population — 42.3%. Who voters say they support:



Source: USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll By Elys A. McLean, USA TODAY

COVER STORY

Democrats see team as a 'contrast'

Boomers 'slow to form the voting habit,' but that may be changing

By Bill Nichols
USA TODAY

Bill Clinton and Al Gore, button-down white men from the small-town South, are unlikely representatives of a generation that challenged the nation's basic values.

But in Clinton's selection Thursday of the Tennessee senator as his running mate, a torch has been passed.

For the first time, a presidential ticket has two candidates born after World War II — children of Vietnam instead of Vichy, the Temptations rather than Tommy Dorsey, of *All in the Family* not *Ozzie and Harriet*.

And what Clinton and Gore hope to accomplish with this bit of political history is not only to energize their fellow baby boomers — 78 million strong — but also to personify

Please see COVER STORY next page ►



• FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 • USA TODAY

Age may not be a key issue

Continued from 1A

the change for which most polls show the voters are clamoring. "Throughout American history," Gore said in Little Rock, "each generation has passed on leadership to the next. That time has come again."

Clinton media adviser Frank Greer says the ticket — Gore is 44, Clinton, 45 — represents "a new era. It is post-Cold War ... People are ready for the kind of change they're bringing."

Says California Democratic chairman Phil Angelides: "It's no longer 1945 with America astride the world. In a sense, the last burst of energy came in the postwar era and we need a new burst from people who are not wedded to what this country was mythically, but what it really is today."

Others argue that the vice presidential choice, no matter who it was, has almost no bearing on the election result — a view best illustrated by the negligible effect of President Bush's controversial choice of baby boomer Dan Quayle, now 45, in 1988.

Still other analysts, while acknowledging Clinton has offered voters a clear, generational alternative to Bush, 68, or undeclared presidential candidate Ross Perot, 62, have their doubts about how much effect Gore's selection will have.

The generational theme is "great. But the younger people are, the more they voted for Reagan and Bush in the last three elections," says Bush senior adviser Charles Black.

"I've never bought the generational politics argument," says Larry Sabato, professor of government at the University of Virginia. "I don't think baby boomers are going to rush to support them."

Atlanta pollster Claibourne Darden wonders, "Is it the case of a college kid just wanting his roommate to run with him?"

The hard numbers also aren't promising. The newest USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll shows voters 18-49 are less likely to have a favorable opinion of Gore and Clinton than voters 50 and older.

And many polling analysts say there's little evidence to show that baby boomers — with a median income of \$36,000 and almost evenly split between men and women — can be counted on to vote as a bloc in the 1992 presidential race — and have, in fact, been becoming increasingly disinterested in politics.

In 1988, voters 25-44, most of them part of the baby-boom generation, had a 9% lower turnout rate than voters 24-44 in 1972 and have consistently been less likely to vote than older voters.

"Baby boomers have been slow to form the voting habit," says Larry Hugick, Gallup polling editor.

Baby boomers also are as demographically varied as the population — 84% are white, 11% black, 8% Hispanic. They tend to be more socially liberal, but more economically conservative.

"I don't see any sign that someone is going to be attracted or repelled relating to age," says Everett Ladd, director of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research. "It's just business as usual."

A Times Mirror survey this week, however, notes voter registration has been growing as baby boomers get older and boomers are showing signs they may vote in larger numbers this year.

What Clinton is betting on is that Gore's complementary strengths — foreign policy, environmental expertise and a near-model family life — reinforce the message that has been his mantra since the snows of New Hampshire: change, change, change.

"If Clinton and Gore can sell the fact that they're part of the first post-Cold War generation as part of their new ideas, it cannot only contrast them with Bush, but with Perot as well," says American University historian Allan Lichtman.

But the Arkansas governor is no clone of the two-term senator, despite their shared small-town roots: Clinton from Hope, Ark., and Gore from Carthage, Tenn. — though he was mostly raised in Washington, D.C., when his father was in the Senate.

Gore said both were born in "a place where people know about it when you're born and care about it when you die."

Both are sons of the Ivy League — Clinton went to Yale Law School, Gore got his undergraduate degree from Harvard.

Both men, like most of their generation, say they tried marijuana, though Gore inhaled while Clinton maintains he didn't.

Perhaps the biggest split is in the way they dealt with the moral dilemma of the Vietnam War, a defining moment of their youth.

Clinton didn't serve in Vietnam and has been dogged by charges he dodged the draft by securing a spot in the Arkansas ROTC when he really didn't intend to return to Arkansas after his Rhodes Scholarship in England.

Gore, though his father was one of the Senate's most vocal opponents of the war, joined the Army and served as a combat journalist in Vietnam after graduating from Harvard in 1969.

Albert Gore Sr. told USA TODAY last year how his son reached his decision. "He walked about a mile back to the river, all by himself. Then he walked in the door and said, 'Well, I made my decision. I will go and do my duty.'"

Democrats relish comparing Gore's biography with Quayle's decision to serve in the Indiana National Guard rather than go to Vietnam, a point sure to come up in any Gore/Quayle debates.

But this generational business can be tricky. The theme propelled John Kennedy in 1960, but not former Colorado senator Gary Hart in 1984 and '88 or Delaware Sen. Joseph Biden Jr. in 1988. And it bore little fruit for Quayle four years ago.

The inherent turbulence of the generation makes for political problems once unthinkable. The much-publicized alcoholism of Clinton's stepfather and his acknowledged rough times with wife Hillary illustrate changing lifestyles and media boundaries that have regularly come to affect politics.

But Clinton and Gore obviously feel their time has come and that a country seemingly starving for change will finally be willing to throw its lot in with a group that 25 years ago vowed to change the world.

This year, they'll just take the White House — if they can.

Says Mason-Dixon pollster Brad Coker: "We've never really had this before ... so what effect it will have, who knows? Change is what the voters want, but figuring out what they want changed is what's hard to figure."

Contributors: Richard Benedetto, Judy Keen, Adam Nagourney in Little Rock, Margaret L. Usdansky

Gore's focus keeps him on track

• FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 • USA TODAY

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

When Rep. Al Gore was running for the Senate in 1984, he told an aide to read *The Inner Game of Tennis* to learn the art of concentration.

When Sen. Albert Gore was running for president in 1988, he bumped into a homeless man he had met weeks earlier at a soup kitchen and greeted him by name.

It's that sense of single-minded focus, friends and colleagues say, that the 44-year-old Gore will bring to his eighth political race in 16 years.

"He's a very intense individual," says Tennessee lawyer and friend George Phillips. "He's very focused."

Gore was groomed for politics. "We raised him for it," his father, Al Gore Sr., a former congressman and senator himself, said Thursday. But the son got to the nation's most exclusive club himself, through tunnel-visioned tenacity.

That quality, which also can make Gore appear aloof from the backslappers among his colleagues, extends from poli-

tics to policy to personal time:

► During his failed 1988 presidential campaign, Gore adopted the motto, "Early to bed, early to rise, work like hell and organize," then followed it religiously with early-morning runs and methodical base-building in the South.

► After returning to the Senate, Gore adopted the environment as his pet project and emerged as the Senate's leading authority on global warming and ozone depletion. One result: *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit* was published this year.

► When his son Albert III was struck by a car in 1989 after attending a baseball game with his father, Gore and his wife, Tipper, put their lives on hold to spend a month at the hospital. Even when the boy came home in a body cast, the couple slept by his side. Albert, now 9, has recovered.

Like his new running mate, Bill Clinton, Gore's life has taken him from the rural South to Ivy League sophistication and back again. He's equally comfortable carving pig at a barbecue and debating the future of

THE GORE FILE

BORN: March 31, 1948, in Washington, D.C.; father, Albert Gore Sr., was a Tennessee congressman and senator from 1938-1970.

EDUCATION: St. Albans prep in Washington; graduated Harvard, 1969 with a degree in government; senior thesis: "The Impact of Television on the Conduct of the Presidency, 1947-1969."

FAMILY: Married Mary Elizabeth "Tipper" Gore in 1970; four children: Karanna, Kristin, Sarah and Albert 3rd.

RÉSUMÉ: Army '69-71, including service in Vietnam; Reporter for *Nashville Tennessean*, 73-76; Elected to House, '76; Elected to Senate '84; Unsuccessfully sought presidential nomination '88.

POLITICS: Self-described "raging moderate." "I believe that people have partially discredited liberalism because they have lost faith in its competence. They have discredited conservatism because of its apparent complacency in the face of unprecedented magnitude." Based on his 1991 Senate votes, *National Journal* rated him more liberal than 71% of other senators on economic issues, 87% of others on social issues and 54% of others on foreign policy.

fiber-optics networks.

What links Carthage, Tenn., (pop. 2,500) with the halls of Congress is faith, family and consuming ambition.

Gore's decision in 1970 to go to Vietnam may have combined all three.

Despite his father's opposition to the war and his own unease, the young Harvard graduate did not want to desert

friends serving overseas or damage the elder Gore's re-election campaign.

That campaign was lost, however, and it was six years before a Gore returned to Congress. There, he has focused on the future: arms control, global warming and high technology, from biomedical research to outer space.

"He's got an inquiring mind," says Rep. Henry Waxman, D-Calif., the House's top environmentalist. "Some of these issues that are otherwise complicated seem to attract his attention."

Not that Gore can't relax. He shoots hoops with former House colleagues Norman Dicks and Thomas Downey, hits the movie theaters with Waxman and loves to go water-skiing with his kids.

Gore broke from the Democratic mainstream and voted to give President Bush authority to go to war against Iraq. But he also led the assault on the administration afterward for deserting Kurdish refugees and threatening to use the war vote in political campaigns.

Like Clinton, Gore is a strong supporter of abortion rights. Republicans attack him as too liberal, some liberals say he's too conservative, and his political tactics sometimes irked fellow Democrats.

During the 1988 campaign, for example, Gore attacked Michael Dukakis' prison furlough policy, later capitalized on by Republicans in the infamous Willie Horton ad.

Now Gore is one step from a job he called "a political dead end" four years ago — and two steps from the White House.

"Al Gore is methodical, careful, and I think it's on his future agenda," says Maryland Democratic Chairman Nathan Landow. "This is one more step toward reaching that goal."



ON HIS WAY: Sen. Al Gore heads to Little Rock, after accepting position as Gov. Bill Clinton's running mate.
By Mark Humphrey, AP

Hillary Clinton: Asset or liability?

'Feisty' wife says she's been misunderstood

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

In a newspaper cartoon last week, Hillary Clinton turned up as Catwoman, complete with extended fingernails, itching to jump into a fight between President Bush — depicted as Batman — and Ross Perot, a squat Penguin.

A voice, presumably husband Bill Clinton's, bellows from the sidelines: "Hillary! We're staying out of this!"

At the same time, voters found a polar opposite image of Barbara Bush on the cover of *Family Circle* magazine, cuddling "first dog" Millie. Inside: Bush's "Favorite Recipes and Crafts."

Hillary Clinton — lawyer, children's rights lobbyist, corporate board member and mother — is a new breed of political wife, representing a new generation of working women. To many she's a role model, an inspiration.

In other quarters, the 44-year-old, Yale-educated first lady of Arkansas is seen as a brash, overbearing career woman one step away from being a liability. Her outspokenness has made many uncomfortable, even angry.

Hillary Clinton is "a very strident, pushy ... feminist," says Phyllis Schlafly, head of the conservative group Eagle Forum. "Men and women are uncomfortable with that."

The wife of the Democratic presidential contender says she's been misunderstood and that the criticism is misdirected. Still, she appears to be taking at least some of it to heart.

In the first months of the campaign, she occupied a larger share of the spotlight than any candidate's wife in recent memory. She participated in high-profile rallies and behind-the-



A NEW BREED: Hillary Clinton, wife of Democratic presidential contender Bill Clinton, says she has "always spoken as a surrogate."

scenes strategy sessions. She stumped against the Democratic challengers and lashed out at President Bush.

But lately, Hillary Clinton has left the dirty work to her husband.

Now, she's more likely to wow the crowds at a children's hospital or senior center — appearances long relegated to candidates' wives.

"I'm really impressed with her," said Marjorie Shallcross at a recent Clinton fund-raiser in Louisville, Ky.

"She's a feisty woman, and that's what we need in the White House."

But more and more, she focuses on what Bill Clinton will do if elected, not on policy changes she'd like.

"I'm doing what I've always done" as a political wife, she insists. "I've always spoken ... as a surrogate."

And if her husband wins the White House, she may act more like a surrogate, dropping the law practice she's maintained in Little Rock to concen-

trate on children's issues.

"This election is very important to me," she says. "Not because Bill is running ... I don't want to see this country go down the wrong track."

Her step back from the limelight apparently reflects a growing concern in the campaign that she was starting to damage, rather than help.

It wasn't that way at first, when she may have saved Clinton's candidacy in a bold TV appearance to talk about his alleged marital infidelity.

But as time went on, that very boldness made her a target.

"Hillary in an apron is like Michael Dukakis in a tank," GOP strategist Roger Altes told NBC, recalling a much-ridiculed photograph of the 1988 Democratic presidential contender.

Altes' remark came amid a string of Hillary Clinton apologies over several comments: that she wasn't just "standing by her man" like Tammy Wynette; that the press ignored rumors of an extramarital affair by President Bush; that "I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas."

Hillary Clinton says she "learned a big lesson" from the tea and cookies episode. "I never anticipated or sought the kind of attention I have received. ... Part of it is getting to know the process. Women are facing very different kinds of responsibilities."

Hillary Clinton's mother, Dorothy Rodham, says her daughter long has fought for what she believes in.

"Hillary is a rare combination of people, like Eleanor Roosevelt, who was so admired for her courage and determination," Rodham says.

Whether voters are ready for Hillary Clinton's version of that is yet to be seen. But her strategy of stepping back appears to be working.

A new USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll shows that 45% of voters have a favorable opinion of her — up from 36% in April.

And she continues to dismiss any contention she's hurt the campaign.

"People vote based on the candidate," she says. "I don't think they vote for spouse."

USA TODAY

No. 1111

FRI./SAT./SUN., JULY 10-12, 1992

SAT. DAY

Tipper Gore, a contrast yet complementary

By Judy Keen and Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

Bill Clinton has added two famous names to the Democratic ticket — Sen. Al Gore and his wife, Tipper.

Unlike most running mates' spouses, Gore already has a high profile, thanks to her successful 1985 crusade to label records with explicit references to sex, drugs and violence.

And now some observers say Gore's family-first lifestyle makes her the right contrast and complement for Hillary Clinton, a lawyer whose blunt style makes some voters uneasy.

"Between the two of them, you get a good feel for modern-day women," says Democratic pollster Geoff Garin.

Introducing Sen. Gore Thursday, Gov. Clinton called their spouses "two of the most devoted children's advocates in the United States."

Tipper Gore, 43, works with the homeless and backs better children's mental health care. In 1988, she said she'd open a White House day care center. The Gores have four children.

Hillary Clinton, 44, lobbies for the Children's Defense Fund and education issues. The Clintons have one child.

"Hillary and Tipper probably don't agree on some things, but (they have) a lot in common. Women can support their husbands and have their own lives," says Harriett Woods of the National Women's Political Caucus.

Like her husband, Gore endured the scrutiny of seven campaigns — including the 1988 presidential race — and speaks with self-confidence. Like her husband, she's admitted smoking marijuana. "She's been there before," says Kitty Dukakis.

Her labeling fight could match Vice President Quayle's family values talks. "She understands real voters," says Democratic analyst Brian Lunde.

Mary Elizabeth Aitcheson — dubbed "Tipper" as a child — met her future husband at his senior prom. They married in 1970 and live on a ranch near Carthage, Tenn., and in a suburban Washington home. She was a newspaper photographer until 1976.

Tipper Gore founded the Parents Music Resource Center, with Secretary of State James Baker's wife, Susan. She also wrote a book — *Raising PG Kids in an X-Rated Society* — and was hurt when her intent was misinterpreted.

"For Tipper, it was a consumer is-



By Danny Johnston, AP

SHARING KIDS' CONCERNS: Tipper Gore, left, huddles with Hillary Clinton Thursday at Arkansas Children's Hospital. They talked with about 12 ill children.

sue, not a subjective values issue," says friend Chris Downey.

Gore's crusade may have hurt her husband's Hollywood fund-raising but was probably a political wash, attracting as many conservatives as the liberals it repelled.

But Luther Campbell of 2 Live Crew, a target of censors, says of the Gores: "Clinton has picked a man and his wife who are against black people

and black music. So all I can suggest is that we vote for Bush."

Friend Carmala Walgren says Tipper Gore asked her husband during his 1988 presidential bid whether she should drop the labeling campaign. "He said no, because he knows I'm right," Walgren remembers Tipper Gore saying. "She's not afraid to be controversial."

Contributing: Edna Gundersen

Clinton-Flowers ad assailed, called 'voyeurism'

By Leslie Phillips
USA TODAY

X-rated advertising was introduced into the body politic Thursday with the unveiling of a lurid attack ad urging viewers to call a "Bill Clinton Fact Line" that plays taped phone conversations between Clinton and Gennifer Flowers.

"Get to know Bill Clinton the way Gennifer Flowers did," the ad urges.

It warns of "explicit language" on the tape and cautions "no callers under 18."

The spot was produced by Floyd Brown, who gained notoriety for co-producing the 1988 Willie Horton ad denouncing Michael Dukakis' prisoner furlough policy. Horton, a convicted murderer, was charged with raping a woman while on furlough.

Although he's a Republican, Brown says he acts independently of the Bush campaign.

"It's Peeping Tom-style politics," says GOP consultant J.



By Barry Thumma, AP

NEW AMMO: Floyd Brown announces his newest TV ad campaign: tapes of Bill Clinton-Gennifer Flowers conversations.

Bryant Smith. "This isn't an ad, this is voyeurism."

In fact, it doesn't work like a traditional campaign spot at all. Ads generally sink into the public consciousness through repetition on network TV.

This ad, however, will air, starting today, only during the Democratic National Conven-

tion and only on one cable channel in New York City.

Its real purpose is to attract free media exposure, scrapping the need for a fat advertising budget. Since each call costs \$4.99 — half of which is profit for Brown — it also helps him raise money.

The Clinton and Bush cam-

paigns condemned the ad.

Brown used similar tactics with the Horton ad and with a 1991 spot defending then-Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas.

Neither ad ran more than a few times. Both ran on cable, which is cheaper and has a smaller audience than network TV. And both were stories on the network news.

In the July issue of *Harper's* magazine, Brown boasts he and his partner spent \$200,000 for the Horton ad, "but we were featured on the CBS Evening News, which is time you just can't buy. We got over \$1 million in free exposure."

But this year, Brown's announcement came the same day Clinton chose Tennessee Sen. Al Gore as his running mate, forcing some media organizations to skip the story.

Only CBS aired the story with pictures. CNN had a brief story without pictures. ABC and NBC passed altogether.

Cleveland Plain Dealer

Washington Bureau Chief Thomas Brazaitis said he was "too backed up with real news" to write about the ad. But he said Brown "cannot just be brushed off considering what happened in 1988."

New York Daily News Washington Bureau Chief Lars Eric Nelson filed a short story and predicted most media outlets will cover the story "one way or another. Some cover it the first time around. Some as a media story."

In January, Flowers claimed in the supermarket tabloid *Star* to have had an affair with Clinton. She held a news conference to reveal the existence of tapes of their phone conversations.

Clinton was hounded about the story for weeks.

"Listen to the tape excerpts," says Flowers in the ad, her voice taken from her news conference. "Judge for yourself if this is the way a man talks to a woman who is just a friendly acquaintance."

Behind the politics, focus is on family

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

She maintains a grueling schedule as the wife of a presidential candidate. She's a partner in a top law firm. She sits on more than a dozen corporate boards. She's the first lady of Arkansas.

But what some might not realize is that Hillary Clinton is a doting mother who takes a good chunk of time out to spend with 12-year-old Chelsea, the Clintons' only child.

"She's very family-oriented," says her mother, Dorothy Rodham, who with her husband moved from Park Ridge, Ill., to Little Rock five years ago at Hillary's urging.

Chelsea wasn't born when her father was first elected governor of Arkansas in 1978. Except for a two-year stint from 1980-82, she has lived her whole life in the governor's mansion.

But she's been carefully shielded from the public eye. Her mother says she's constantly trying to work out "how to give her the opportunity to have a normal childhood."

Chelsea goes to camp, takes ballet,

plays softball and attends public school in Little Rock, where she'll be in eighth grade this fall. She has typical childhood dreams, says her mother — to be "a scientist or ballet dancer, but she leans toward scientist."

Her parents spend a great deal of time on the road, so she's been raised, in part, by grandparents, friends and the governor's staff. Friends say that may be unusual, but that she has blossomed from having such high-energy parents who adore her.

"This is a child who knows beyond any doubt her central place in her parents' eyes," says family friend Diane Blair. "I think that gives her a security that gives her the ability to adapt to this very peculiar schedule."

Hillary Clinton demands that her schedulers get her home two to three days a week. "I don't want to get out of the rhythm of my daughter's life."

Bill Clinton, too, has been known to skip fund-raisers to attend a father-daughter dance at the YMCA or go to one of Chelsea's softball games.

"He's a wonderful father," Hillary Clinton says. "He's not only loving and supportive, he's interested in her life

and views."

But there's no way to replace missing the day-to-day developments. "I think it pains Bill and Hillary every day they're not with her," Blair says.

And there's been some hard explaining to do — not the least of which involved telling a child to ignore headlines about her father's alleged affair.

The Clintons' schedule may only get

worse after the Democratic convention, where voters will get a chance to see Chelsea on stage with her parents.

And if Bill Clinton is elected president, it will be near-impossible to give Chelsea a "normal" life.

"I'm going to try to make it as normal an experience as I can," says Hillary Clinton. In the White House? "I'm going to have to think about that."



By Larry Trussell, Arkansas Democrat-Gazette

DOTING PARENTS: Bill and Hillary Clinton try to see that daughter Chelsea has a normal childhood despite their very public life.

Clinton's positions on the big issues

What Democrat Bill Clinton has said and where he stands:

EDUCATION

"Education today is more than the key to climbing the ladder of opportunity. It is an imperative for our nation. Our economic life is on the line. The 1980s witnessed the emergence of immense education gaps between America and the world, and among our own people."

Backs full funding for Head Start for disadvantaged preschoolers, tougher K-12 standards, smaller classes, more parental involvement. Favors letting parents choose public school their child attends. Would create program to train dropouts and teach trade skills by apprenticeships. Would require employers to spend 1.5% of payroll on continuing education, training of employees. Favors national service trust fund that would let students borrow for college and repay through payroll deduction or community service.

TAXES

"There is great unfairness in our tax system. While taxes fall and incomes rise for those at the top of the totem pole, middle-class families pay more and earn less."

Would increase earned income tax credit for low-income families, increase taxes on wealthy and give middle class an option of children's tax credit or lower income tax rate. Pledges to close "corporate tax loopholes."

ECONOMY/DEFICIT

"Economic growth does not come without a national economic strategy to invest in people and meet the competition. Today we have no economic vision, no economic leadership and no economic strategy."

Would create an \$80 billion, four-year program to rebuild roads, bridges, sewer and water systems and low-income housing; establish urban enterprise zones to aid businesses locating in inner cities; and establish community development banks to lend to low-income businesses, homeowners. Would give investment tax credits to expanding businesses, tax breaks to small businesses; halve deficit over four years by eliminating 100,000 federal jobs; and save \$300 billion by cutting spending, closing corporate tax loopholes, raising taxes on wealthy and controlling health-care costs.

DEFENSE/NATIONAL SECURITY

"Foreign policy and domestic policy are inseparable in today's world. If we're not strong at home, we cannot lead the world we've done so much to make. And if we withdraw from the world, it will hurt us economically at home."

Would cut defense spending by \$50 billion beyond Bush plan over next five years, end production of B-2 bomber to save \$20 billion over five years, and reduce Bush's proposed 150,000 U.S. troop level in Europe.

HEALTH CARE

"America has the potential to provide the world's best, most advanced and cost-effective health care. What we need are leaders who are willing to take on the insurance companies, the drug companies and the health-care bureaucracies to bring costs down."

Would give all Americans access to basic health care in managed-care networks by requiring employees and employers to share in cost of government or private insurance. Unemployed would be covered by government insurance.

WELFARE REFORM

"We will make welfare a second chance, not a way of life. People cannot stay on welfare forever."

Would give those on welfare up to two years of education, job training, child care. After that, those who can work would have to work in private jobs or community service.

CRIME/DRUGS

"We're losing the war on crime and drugs because there are too many guns on the street and too few cops. In the 1950s there were three police officers in America for every violent crime. Now, there are three violent crimes for every police officer."

Supports death penalty. Would put 100,000 new police officers on streets, create national police corps providing education in return for service. Backs waiting period for handgun purchases and ban on sale of most assault weapons.

ABORTION

"The constitutional right to choose is hanging by a thread. Only the next election can preserve it."

Supports abortion rights; signed state parental-notification law. Would sign federal law guaranteeing abortion rights if passed by Congress. Supports repeal of Hyde Amendment prohibiting federal funds for abortions in most cases.

DRAFT STATUS

"I want to thank you not just for saving me from the draft, but for being so kind and decent to me last summer," said Clinton in Dec. 3, 1969, letter to Col. Eugene Holmes. "I came to believe that the draft system itself is illegitimate. No government really rooted in limited parliamentary democracy should have the power to make its citizens fight and kill and die in a war they may oppose."

Got draft deferment by promising to join ROTC at University of Arkansas Law School after stint as Rhodes scholar in England, but changed his mind and wrote to ROTC commander saying he'd decided to take his chances with the draft. He never was called. Critics say he manipulated the system to stay out of harm's way; he denies it.

INFIDELITY

"The story is not accurate. The story is just not true. . . . If perfection was the standard, I couldn't meet it and I don't think anyone else could. Should we be disqualified because we aren't perfect and have had our troubles?"

Singer Gennifer Flowers claims 12-year affair with Clinton; other unproven allegations of affairs have circulated. He's denied them all but acknowledged past marital problems.

MARIJUANA

"I didn't inhale."

Asked if he'd ever used drugs, Clinton said he never broke state or federal laws. Later, asked if he broke laws of another country, he admitted he smoked marijuana "a time or two" while a student in England but didn't enjoy it.

Compiled by Richard Benedetto

Ticket set to 'get to work'

Clinton, Gore off to convention

- ▶ Al Gore's father, a long-time senator, says son 'raised' for politics. Friends call Gore 'Intense.' 2A
- ▶ Poll shows Ross Perot's status as political outsider fading into the sunset. 2A
- ▶ Tipper Gore, like Hillary Clinton, is a high-profile woman who supports her own causes. 3A
- ▶ Bill Clinton's VP choice is a signal he hopes to lure Southern Democrats back into the fold. 3A
- ▶ Lurid ad attacking Clinton draws attention despite being disavowed by the Bush campaign. 3A
- ▶ Full guide to next week's Democratic convention. 7-9A
- ▶ Editorial, 12A



FAMILIES ON PARADE: Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton, left, named Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore, right, as his running mate Thursday. Pictured: Clinton's daughter Chelsea and wife Hillary and, at top, Gore's wife Tipper and two of his four children, daughter Sarah and son Albert III. Clinton called Gore 'a leader of great strength, integrity and stature.'

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

Democrats hope Bill Clinton's choice of an all-Southern, under-50 ticket can be the move that sets him apart in a three-way presidential race.

Clinton and Tennessee Sen. Al Gore step into the spotlight at the party's convention — opening Monday in New York.

"We're ready to roll up our sleeves and get to work," Clinton told supporters Thursday.

But a USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll finds President Bush holding a slight lead.

Clinton and independent Ross Perot, however, remain within striking distance.

And Clinton is counting on the traditional boost from the convention, and his decision to wage a generational campaign by picking fellow baby boomer Gore as his running mate.

The latest poll shows Bush at 35%, Perot with 30% and Clinton at 28%. The margin of error: 3 percentage points.

The poll of 1,004 registered voters taken Monday through Wednesday — before Clinton picked Gore — shows:

- ▶ Bush holding his own, despite a rise in unemployment.
- ▶ Clinton gaining in weak areas, honesty and integrity.
- ▶ Perot's unfavorable ratings rise to 37%, from 23% in April, as voters begin to get a fuller picture of him.

Democrats say the choice of Gore offers a solid chance to carry the South and snap a presidential losing streak that began in 1980.

"He's tough, he's smart and he'll chew up (Vice President) Quayle," said Michael Dukakis, the 1988 Democratic presidential nominee.

But Jesse Jackson, two-time presidential candidate, was skeptical of pairing two Southern moderates.

"It takes two wings to fly, and here you have two of the same wing," he said.

From the other camps:

- ▶ "It looks like a traditional Democratic liberal ticket," said Torie Clarke, Bush-Quayle campaign spokeswoman.
- ▶ "Mr. Perot feels Mr. Gore is a strong individual (and) should add a lot to the ticket," said Perot campaign manager Tom Luce.

Dems seek special probe of Bush's Iraq dealings

By Sam Vincent Meddis
USA TODAY

House Democrats, in a highly charged election-year atmosphere, Thursday demanded that a special prosecutor investigate the Bush administration's pre-war dealings with Iraq.

Attorney General William Barr has 90 days to decide whether to ask a special three-judge panel to make the appointment. But he can seek a 60-day extension — until well after Election Day.

"I guess he's going to stall as long as he can," says George Washington University law professor John Banzhaf. "Even with a straight-shooter, political pressures

are very, very powerful."

A delay could be seen as a cover-up, says University of Southern California's Larry Berg. "Cover-up is a no-no in this kind of situation."

But, he adds, Democrats could be hurt if their move is seen as a partisan attack.

Twenty House Judiciary members asked that a special prosecutor probe.

- ▶ Whether the White House interfered in a federal probe of more than \$4 billion in loans to Iraq by the Atlanta branch of an Italian bank.
- ▶ Whether U.S. assistance to Iraq prior to its 1990 invasion of Kuwait was illegal.
- ▶ Whether Congress was given falsified data and if probes were denied data.

Ever-ready candidate Clinton is still going

By Bill Nichols
USA TODAY

LITTLE ROCK

When he was first elected governor in 1978 at the remarkable age of 32, Bill Clinton was the golden boy of this poor but beautiful state, a political powerhouse who could rule Arkansas as long as his heart desired.

In 1980, Clinton was supposed to be re-elected handily. But an amazing thing happened: He lost.

Friends and Clinton watchers say that experience, more than his alcoholic stepfather or the four gubernatorial terms to follow, shaped the instincts and potential presidential style of the man who next week becomes the Democratic nominee.

It was, says John Brummett of *Arkansas Times* magazine, "the seminal event in his life. And he decided he preferred winning to losing."

What happened? Winning the governorship after two aggressive years as attorney general, Clinton took on almost every vested interest in a small state used to incremental change — or no change at all.

The young governor took on powerful timber companies on clear-cutting, challenged utilities on building new plants — both fossil fuel and nuclear — and brought in out-of-state staff, many of them political neophytes, wounding Arkansans' pride.

The final blow — and dual centerpieces of Republican Frank White's 1980 campaign — came when Cuban refugees were housed by the federal government at Fort Chaffee, raising security fears in western Arkansas,



AP (1980 photo)
CLINTON: Took on the world at age 32

“
He thought he was invincible. He had risen to such heights ... he thought he could pursue a broad agenda and change Arkansas.
”

— John Brummett, editor of *Arkansas Times* magazine, on Bill Clinton's 1980 campaign

and when Clinton raised fees for car tags to finance road improvements.

"I caught him when he was arrogant. ... He didn't think I could beat him," says White. "To run against him now, you do the same thing I did then — run against his record."

Everyone agrees the numbing loss forced Clinton to change. But the split that still remains among his original supporters is whether he learned to face political realities or sacrificed principle to crass politics.

Supporters say Clinton learned, after a humiliating loss, that change can be effected only after developing broad public support for it.

Betsy Wright, Clinton's longtime chief of staff, says he decided — and his style has reflected it ever since

— that "people don't want to feel they've had things done to them ... He had moved on so many fronts that there wasn't a way for people to understand what was happening."

She says Clinton found, touring the state for months after his loss, people were angry about their car-tag costs being raised but didn't understand the money would build new roads.

Since then, all his major legislative efforts — on education, ethics reform or economic development — have been preceded by polling, grass-roots campaigning by Clinton and, often, radio and TV ads.

Says Wright: "He knew he had to operate in such a way that he connected voters to major changes that he was proposing along the way."

Clinton also learned, friends say, to pick his spots, to concentrate his energies on one area at a time rather than try to overwhelm a system that had resisted state and federal oversight since the Civil War.

Says Patty Howe Criner, a 40-year Clinton friend and former press secretary: "There were lots of old-guard politicians whose feelings were hurt that this young fellow was coming in. People didn't really want Bill to lose that race. They just wanted him to not try to do so many things at once. ... He was very bright. But that just wasn't the way we did things."

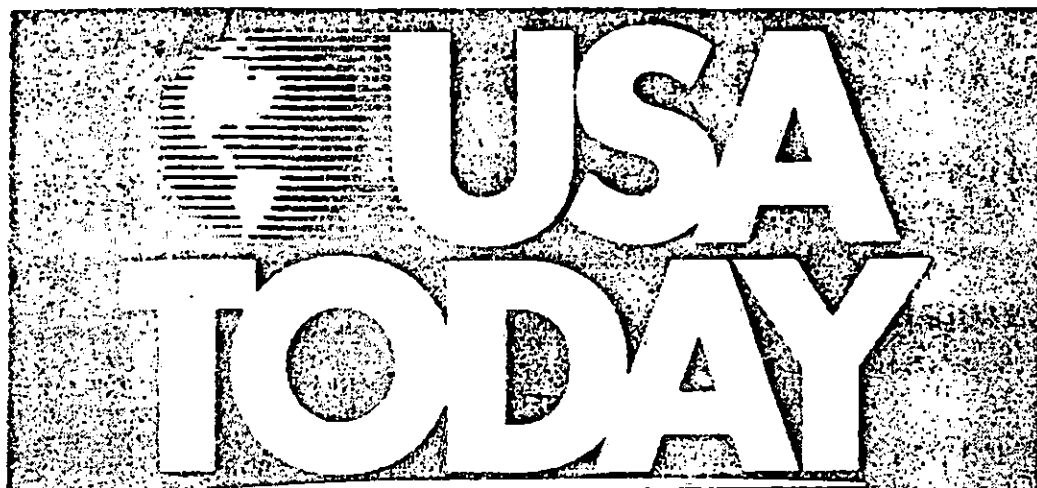
The other view is that Clinton, a robust liberal who had been George McGovern's Texas coordinator in 1972, became more moderate, more cautious and more willing to compromise just to keep getting elected.

"Finesse, evasion, those are just ways of life for him," says Brummett. "I know he gets mad when he gets called 'Slick Willie' ... but he's just slick. He's adept at the game of politics, he's adept at finessing."

White, who twice lost to Clinton after 1980, admits Clinton learned his political lessons well: "This guy is as good as there is. You can hit him with everything you can but you can't knock him out. But that's when he's at his best — running."

Both camps agree Clinton learned — as this year's sometimes savage primary campaign has shown — to fight back when attacked.

Says Wright: "People are amazed the guy is still going. Why, it was never an option to collapse. You just fight back, and he does. It's the natural reaction now. That doesn't mean it's not tough."



USA TODAY

No. 1 IN

FRI./SAT./SUN., JULY 10-12, 1992

S A DAY

U.S. may strike at Sarajevo siege

By Jessica Lee
USA TODAY

HELSINKI, Finland — President Bush, after days of often conflicting signals, edged closer to committing U.S. air power to break the siege of Sarajevo.

Early today, European and NATO nations agreed to dispatch ships and surveillance aircraft to enforce U.N. sanctions against Serbia, blamed for most of the bloodshed in Yugoslavia's civil war.

They also agreed to seek ways to open a land corridor to Sarajevo, to supplement emergency aid airlifts.

On Thursday, Bush told Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic at a European security summit here he "would consider" a request for air strikes against Serbian artillery pounding Bosnia's capital.

But he balked at ground troops, reaffirming support for U.N. troops trying to quell the fighting that has killed 7,500 and caused 300,000 to flee.

Secretary of State James Baker reiterated the United States would support a new U.N. resolution "calling for all necessary means" to protect food and medical shipments.

That, said the Pentagon, includes sending the amphibious assault ship Iwo Jima — with 1,700 Marines — and the missile cruiser Biddle to the Adriatic Sea. Meanwhile:

► France dispatched nine helicopters and 144 soldiers to

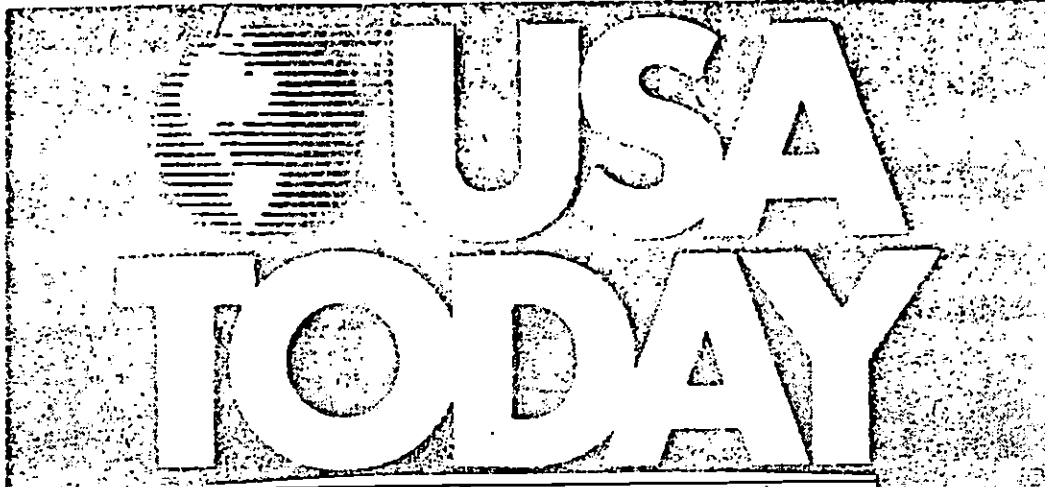
reinforce U.N. peacekeepers guarding Sarajevo's airport.

► Mortar fire hit the U.N. base in Sarajevo, injuring a Canadian soldier.

► Police in Belgrade blocked thousands of students from marching against Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to demand his resignation.

► On the front lines, 11A

► Today's debate, 12A



USA TODAY

No. 1 IN

FRI./SAT./SUN., JULY 10-12, 1992

S A D A Y

Jewish groups in USA face a new Israel

By Johanna Neuman
USA TODAY

Jewish groups in the USA, including many of Washington's most powerful lobbyists, may face a shake-up after Yitzhak Rabin's election.

Rabin Thursday succeeded in forming a Labor Party-led government in Israel, ending 15 years of conservative rule by Yitzhak Shamir's Likud party.

Peace advocates in the USA, feeling they were snubbed for years by Jewish leaders affiliated with the Likud, are relishing the chance to settle scores.

"For years conservatives who run the organized Jewish community tried to discredit (those) identified with the Israeli peace movement," says Michael Lerner, editor of *Tikkun*, a liberal magazine. "If they had a shred of decency, they'd resign."

One target of liberal ire is the American-Israel Political Action Committee — a powerhouse with a \$14 million budget and 55,000 members.

Executive Director Tom Dine, who cut his lobbyist teeth fighting arms sales to Saudi Arabia in the Reagan years, is among those on the line.

AIPAC President David Steiner, in a statement, said the group "has very wide support in the mainstream" and Dine "is held in high esteem."

And Malcolm Hoenlein, whose Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations was close to Likud, says: "This is a non-issue. . . . We work with whoever is prime minister in Israel."

Yet, for Jewish groups that call on Washington, Rabin's election is a clear shift. AIPAC, for instance, made its reputation influencing Capitol Hill. But Rabin wants U.S.-Israeli relations conducted directly between Jerusalem and the White House.

As a former ambassador to the United States, Rabin considers himself a Washington hand; he won't delegate crucial matters to subordinates.

Israel is savoring a Rabin visit to Washington. President Bush, who had stormy relations with Shamir, will use the visit to reopen Israel's plea for \$10 billion in loan guarantees — to rescue Jewish votes.

Few expect changes soon in the ranks of U.S. Jewish leaders, more likely this fall. A wholesale shake-up now would look as if Israel is dictating to U.S. Jews, something both sides quickly disavow.



Recollections: Kennedy, Kefauver and me

What really made me fall in love with American politics was the convention of 1956.

I was 9 years old, about to be 10, and my family had just gotten a television. I remember sitting transfixed in front of the television watching both the Republican and Democratic conventions. I watched Eisenhower and Nixon get renominated but since my whole family was Democrats, I was more interested in the Democratic convention.

I remember Adlai Stevenson being renominated. I remember Frank Clements' keynote speech, in particular, be-

In the words of

Bill Clinton

cause he was the youngest governor in the country then. He was about the same age I was when I was first elected. His son is now a congressman and a good friend and supporter of mine. He gave me a film of his father's convention speech during this campaign,

which was really touching.

The most interesting thing that happened at that convention, of course, was that John Kennedy challenged Estes Kefauver of Tennessee for the vice presidential nomination. Kennedy lost, but it was America's introduction to him on the national scene.

I was captivated even as a young child by the big ideas and powerful speeches of these national leaders. They were debating things that seemed so vast and important to me. I certainly could not grasp the full extent of the issues, but I remember the crowds, the

signs, and the excitement.

Now, almost 40 years later, I'm still thrilled by this process. The excitement of real people coming together, debating the issues, listening to commanding speakers and national leaders — this is the heart of American democracy. I am honored to be part of it, and on the eve of this convention in New York City, I'm just as excited as a 9-year-old kid watching his first convention.

USA TODAY will ask President Bush and Ross Perot for their political recollections as the campaign continues.

Win or lose, Clinton's no quitter

Adversity 'made me stronger'

By Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

LITTLE ROCK — When Bill Clinton takes the podium to deliver his acceptance speech in New York Thursday night, it will be easy to think back over the past seven months and remember only a candidate who always seemed to be on the brink of collapsing.

Be it Clinton and his wife, Hillary, struggling on *60 Minutes* with tabloid charges of marital infidelity, or Clinton on *Nightline* explaining why he did not go to Vietnam, or Clinton trying to explain why he played golf at an all-white country club, the Arkansas governor seems to have spent much of the past seven months tied to the tracks as some new scandal comes rumbling toward him.

Still, Clinton will be nominated this week without a whisper of serious opposition, and will enjoy almost unprecedented control of a Democratic convention, given his overwhelming delegate lead.

For all the talk of Clinton as a fatally damaged nominee, he wiped out his serious opponents within six weeks after the Feb. 18 New Hampshire primary, won every big state vote — from New York to Illinois to California to Florida to Ohio to Texas — and even managed to squelch talk of party elders drafting some last-minute nominee to lead the charge in November.

And no matter how fickle polls today might be, the fact remains that Clinton is in a dead heat with President Bush and Ross Perot — and that's before a convention that, if history is a guide, should push him higher.

For all the attention given the dramatic, high-profile events that came to define the Clinton campaign, there were other less-noticed moments that may go further toward explaining why the little-known governor of a small state is now in such a dominant position.

Yes, Clinton's past marital problems almost doomed his campaign, and might destroy him yet. So might his shifting explanations on how he got out of going to Vietnam, or his evasive answer on marijuana smoking — "I didn't inhale" — that proved a devastatingly convenient peg for voters already suspicious of a politi-



IN VICTORY: Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton at his victory party after the Illinois primary.

cian labeled by rivals "Slick Willie."

But equally important, last November Clinton gave a speech to state Democratic leaders in Chicago that so galvanized them — and dwarfed his opponents — that it helped him stake a psychological lead that his rivals couldn't overcome.

"I'm a Democrat by heritage, instinct and conviction," he said at the time, effectively addressing many liberals' concerns about this Southern moderate.

Within 24 hours, his aides had sent out copies of glowing newspaper stories about that performance to columnists, fund-raisers and opinion-makers. It helped produce a quiet wave that led to such things as a Jan. 27 *Time* magazine cover touting Clinton as his party's "rising star."

While it wasn't noticed as much as Gennifer Flowers' allegations of a 12-year affair, Clinton managed to present a solid eight-point loss to Paul Tsongas in New Hampshire as a victory over expectations. He went on national TV before all the results were in to proclaim himself "Come-back Kid" — because he didn't do as badly as some polls had said he might.



ANSWERING ALLEGATIONS: The Clintons appear on CBS' '60 Minutes' to respond to charges of marital infidelity.

That helped stop a hemorrhaging of political and financial support and established him as something of a front-runner — an important designation when many political professionals are as interested in hooking up with a winner as finding someone who shares their ideology.

Further, Clinton's early decision to concentrate his resources in Illinois, hiring veteran Chicago operative David Wilhelm as his national campaign manager, helped him come out of an expected strong showing in the March 10 Super Tuesday Southern

"No candidate in my memory has demonstrated more tenacity, more courage, more fortitude than Bill Clinton."
— Democratic National Chairman Ron Brown



MUSIC MAN: Bill Clinton displayed his prowess on the saxophone on 'The Arsenio Hall Show' in June.



FLOWERS: Alleged Clinton affair



TWO FACES: 'Time' made Bill Clinton its cover story in January, left, and in April.



And Jesse Jackson's decision not to run meant Clinton could compete easily for black votes.

"The truth is, he was favored from the beginning," said New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, one of those who decided not to run. "There was no favorite — in the race — other than Clinton."

The big question in the months ahead is whether Clinton's performance over the past seven months so impressed voters as to immunize him from further attacks or merely presaged the tenor of the fall campaign.

"No candidate in my memory has demonstrated more tenacity, more courage, more fortitude than Bill Clinton," said Democratic National Chairman Ron Brown.

But Clinton himself seems unsure what it will all mean in the end.

On one hand, he said, the rough road to the nomination had "potentially made me a stronger candidate."

Still, he said, "It's never good in the short run to have any kind of negative publicity and take those kind of blows."

Then he added, "The American people should at least know I'm not a quitter."

Contributing: Bill Nichols

HIGHLIGHTS

KEY EVENTS AT NEXT WEEK'S CONVENTION

MONDAY

The four-day Democratic national extravaganza opens at a frenzied pace with speakers, song and dance, and state-of-the-art technology vying for delegates' attention. The evening will focus on oratory, a presentation of the party's female candidates and the expected high-spirited tone set by convention Chair Ann Richards. Highlights:



USA TODAY
RICHARDS

- A musical number from the hit Broadway show *The Will Rogers Follies* — including a speech Rogers delivered to a Depression-weary nation in 1931.
- Traditional political speeches come early in the evening — before the major TV networks tune in — from party officers in charge of credentialing delegates and devising rules.
- Sen. Charles Robb, D-Va., speaks. Then New York City Mayor David Dinkins and Democratic National Committee Chairman Ron Brown welcome conventioners.
- Sen. Barbara Mikulski, D-Md., will introduce seven female Senate candidates.
- And the networks will begin their coverage with keynote speakers New Jersey Sen. Bill Bradley, Georgia Gov. Zell Miller and former representative Barbara Jordan.

TUESDAY

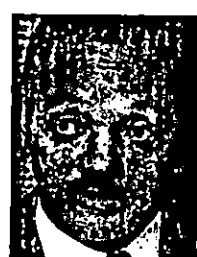
The fast pace slows a bit as delegates tackle their party platform and CBS turns its cameras away from the convention to broadcast the baseball All-Star Game. Highlights:

- Former presidential candidate Paul Tsongas will offer four minority planks on tax policy, which are expected to be defeated. Otherwise, speakers — mostly members of Congress — are expected to uniformly endorse the platform.

- Big-city mayors — Sharon Pratt Kelly of Washington, D.C., Richard Daley of Chicago and Kurt Schmoke of Baltimore — will get a rare national platform.

- Ex-president Jimmy Carter addresses the convention. (Neither Walter Mondale nor Michael Dukakis is scheduled to appear.)

- The evening's big event will be Jesse Jackson's address. His battles with Bill Clinton are reminiscent of those he fought with Mondale in 1984 and Dukakis in 1988. Pundits will listen for clues to how strongly he'll support Clinton.



USA TODAY
JACKSON

WEDNESDAY

With the more tedious work completed, delegates give themselves over to the best of the party's past and present. Highlights:



USA TODAY
CUOMO

- A film honoring Robert F. Kennedy will be shown, and Sen. Edward Kennedy will speak. Convention-watchers will recall deep emotion at the 1964 convention when Robert Kennedy introduced a film about his brother John, or as recently as 1988 when John Kennedy Jr. addressed the delegates.

- When Paul Tsongas dropped out of the race in March, he said he'd continue to have a voice in party affairs. Tonight, he speaks for 15 minutes.

- The crowning speech will be given by New York Gov. Mario Cuomo. Will his speech match the unforgettable address he delivered in 1984? And if so, will that overshadow the crucial speech Clinton must deliver the following night?

- In the night's climax, there's a roll call vote to nominate Clinton for president.

THURSDAY

The final night, the night traditionally given over to flags, balloons and the Democratic presidential nominee. Highlights:

- Sen. Al Gore Jr. is nominated for vice president, is voted on and gives an acceptance speech.

- All eyes turn to Clinton. Given the saturation media coverage that generally attends nominee acceptance speeches, this may be Clinton's most important night until the fall debates. Pressure is compounded by memories of his rambling 30-minute speech nominating Michael Dukakis in 1988 as well as what's expected to be a barn-burner from Cuomo on Wednesday.



USA TODAY
GORE

- This speech, along with his choice of Gore, will define Clinton for millions of Americans who are just beginning to get into presidential politics.

Shaping up sexual attitudes should be a priority for new acting Navy Secretary Sean O'Keefe, USA TODAY said Wednesday in an editorial. Readers, on what advice they'd give O'Keefe, said:

Fix the problem

What the Navy needs to do is find out exactly what happened. Find out if it was actually active-duty naval personnel and condemn the incident, but not the entire United States Navy and all males in the Navy.

Find out what the problem is and fix it.

Gary Grimes
Columbus, Ga.

Critical aggressiveness

I'm a retired Navy pilot. If acting Navy Secretary O'Keefe sees the Navy's main mission as a popularity contestant defending its image before militant feminists and media detractors, then he should flog this harassment thing to the limit.

But if he sees the Navy as a national defender, a potential contestant in the deadly game of war, perhaps he should recognize this macho aggressiveness as a critical ingredient.

Frank Powell
Florence, Ala.

Why not a woman?

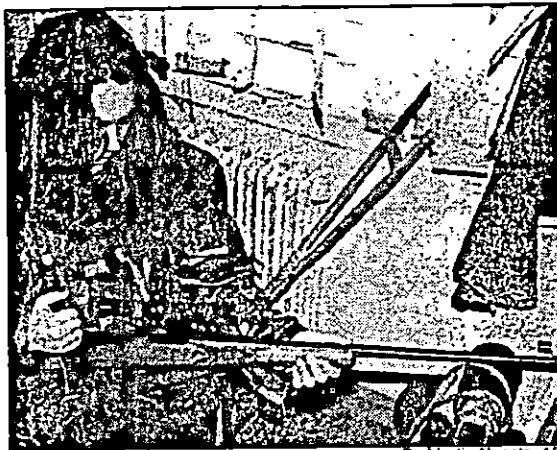
My first concern is, why wasn't a woman appointed secretary of the Navy?

After something like the Tailhook incident, if it had been a black-and-white issue regarding discrimination, race would have been the first thing that would have been considered.

First, O'Keefe needs to appoint more women to leadership roles because, for as long as I can remember and before that, women have lived in a state of what I call "terrorism."

They are afraid to go out at night. They have to be aware of their surroundings at all times, wherever they are, whatever time of day, much more so than men ever have been.

Sherree Rabe
Austin, Texas



'ARROW': Code-named 20-year-old sharpshooter in Bosnia says most targets are snipers on Serbian side.

By Martin Nangle, AP

Honor the real heroes

While reading USA TODAY July 1, I came across a photo that made me question your newspaper.

The caption under the picture, "A killer for her country," has left me somewhat confused. Or perhaps it indicates the individual writing the cutline was confused. It refers to "Arrow," the only woman on a Bosnian sniper team.

Aren't all residents of Bosnia-Herzegovina referred to as Bosnians? Why didn't you list her distinct ethnic group, either Croat or Muslim, instead of calling her a Bosnian?

The writer didn't hesitate to refer to Serbians living in Bosnia as Serbs. Is it that you are trying to single out the Serbs? Are you afraid of the negative connotations that go along with saying Muslim or Croat?

Additionally, to publish a picture of someone who brags about killing even one person is a misuse of newspaper space. "Arrow" indicates that she has lost count of the number of Serbs she has killed.

Anyone with that type of mentality does not deserve publicity.

Instead, your newspaper

should be printing pictures of brave individuals who are trying to halt the killing.

Julie L. Redman
Champaign, Ill.

Rewriting history

George Bogdanich, director, Serbian-American Media Center, Chicago, is spreading distorted facts — in other words, lies — something the world has come to expect from the Belgrade regime and its supporters ("Critic says Bosnia has not honored agreements," Tuesday).

I recommend that the Serbian-American Media Center check the history books before posing as specialists on Bosnian historical demography.

Besides the fact that Bogdanich's statements are inaccurate, today's pressing issues deal with the present and not the tragic and complex past. This is not 1941; this is 1992.

As Secretary of State James Baker has correctly stated, President Slobodan Milosevic's Serbia and its proponents bear the overwhelming responsibility for the bloody human nightmare in former Yugoslavia.

John P. Muhar
Mississauga, Ontario

Troubled-banks story used flawed criteria, Georgia banker says

The criteria used in your "Special report on USA's banks," May 26, labeling us as a "troubled bank," are flawed in several respects. When one thinks in terms of non-performing assets, a logical and immediate thought is that the assets are not producing income.

However, in our case, nothing much further from the truth was printed and circulated. The inequity and unfairness of "Call Reporting and Disclosure" mandated we include \$7.2 million of performing loans in a non-performing status, therefore increasing our "troubled assets" from 75% of our capital to approximately 131% of our capital.

Rather than judging banks based on non-performing assets to capital, why don't you take into consideration total capital and risk-based capital instead of just equity capital, return on equity rather than just return on assets, and place emphasis on the net profits for the year?

During 1991, our net profits were approximately \$2 million; return on equity approximately 30%; return on assets 1.50%; equity capital approximately 6%; and total capital was approximately 8%. Despite these impressive numbers, you labeled this bank a troubled institution based on the total of 90-day past dues, non-accruals and other real estate in ratio to total capital.

It is deplorable that you would adversely judge this bank that has served the people of this county for 64 years without stating all the facts or telling the complete story. As chairman of the board, I can assure you that your article has had a tremendously negative impact on this bank.

The faith and trust that the people of our community have in us is in direct contrast with your indictment of us.

Robert R. Pope, chairman
The Commercial Bank
Douglasville, Ga.

75% fly flag in typical New England town

In your USA Snapshot ("To wave or not to wave," July 2) I was surprised your survey found only 46% of Americans polled wave the flag on July Fourth.

Our town, Cheshire, Conn., a typical New England town, usually has 75%

flag wavers, based on a survey taken annually by local citizens.

Personally, I believe the bulk of Americana is more in line with Cheshire's waving of the flag.

Leo Lavallee
Cheshire, Conn.

Firms consider execs' ages; voters should, too

In selecting a chief executive, major corporations carefully consider a prospect's age and health, since the position requires long hours and considerable travel in most cases.

The world's largest "corporation" is the United States government, with millions of employees and a budget of billions.

If we look at the chief executives since 1900 who are no longer with us, we find there were 12 and their average age at departure from this world was 67.

The present chief executive is 68, has some health problems of record and asks for an extension of his contract.

If history is a reliable indicator, the current vice president would very likely assume the position of chief executive at some point in the coming new term.

Lifespan of presidents

Age at death of 20th-century presidents:

William McKinley	58
Theodore Roosevelt	60
William Taft	72
Woodrow Wilson	67
Warren Harding	57
Calvin Coolidge	60
Herbert Hoover	90
Franklin Roosevelt	63
Harry Truman	88
Dwight Eisenhower	78
John Kennedy	46
Lyndon Johnson	64

Source: The World Almanac

I recognize this is a sensitive subject; however, I think it only prudent that this strong possibility be considered at this time.

Joseph E. Irvine
Santa Ana, Calif.

Should doctors publicize fees for procedures?

That idea's an insult

As a physician, I was disgusted with USA TODAY's depiction and American Medical Association trustee Lonnie Bristow's comments concerning the AMA recommendation to make office procedural fees more available to patients ("Doctors vote to post fees," June 25).

If physicians resort to publicized acts of price cutting and fare wars for the performance of procedures, this will surely result in decreasing the quality of health care given to patients. Would you want your physician driven to reduce prices that could possibly lead to a poor outcome simply because he or she were trying to cut corners to outbid the competition?

As an advocate of superior health care and the appropriate curtailment of health-care cost, I support efforts to educate our patients concerning office procedures, their cost, and the overcharging by unethical physicians. But, if this means lowering ourselves to referring to our procedures, which we have spent years in training mastering, as items on a restaurant menu, I find this despicable and a gross insult to our profession.

If patients would like information concerning the costs of procedures, it is certainly their

right, and I encourage it. However, disclosure of such information should be done professionally and discreetly with the patient's best interest in mind.

Robert Bratton, M.D.
Rochester, Minn.

A second opinion

Posting fees for physician services is an idea whose time has come. But much more needs to be done to encourage cost-effective health care.

Most physicians, particularly specialists, have no notion of the total cost of various procedures. A surgeon recommending an operation, for instance, can only cite his or her fee, not the estimated cost for medications, hospital charges, anesthesiologist, X-rays and so on, even though he or she may have done hundreds of similar operations.

The current system not only discourages shopping but also makes it impossible for a cost-conscious consumer to control health-care costs, even when covered by insurance.

What we need are "health-care agents," modeled along the lines of travel agents, to assemble a complete health-care package, enabling cost comparisons while preserving patient options.

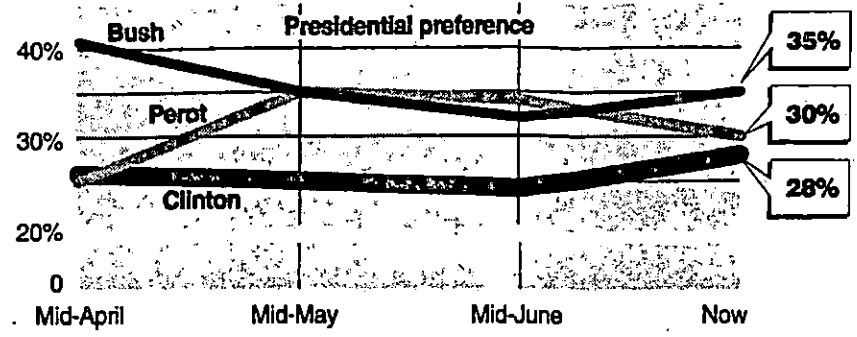
Kerry P. McClanahan
Indianapolis, Ind.

Clinton moves up, but with baggage

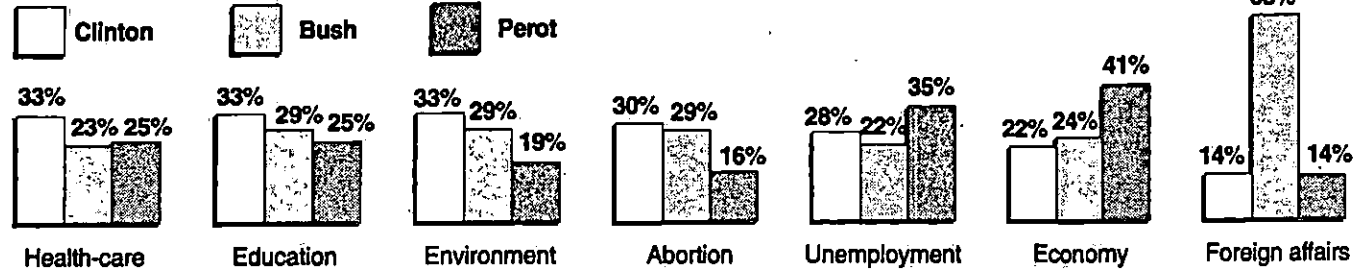
A new USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll shows Bill Clinton gaining on President Bush and Ross Perot in the race for the presidency. While he's made some headway in the crucial battle to convince voters he can be trusted with the presidency, he needs a strong showing at the upcoming Democratic National Convention to win over those still expressing doubts about his character and ability to be an agent of change.



In a three-way race, Clinton has moved into a virtual deadlock:

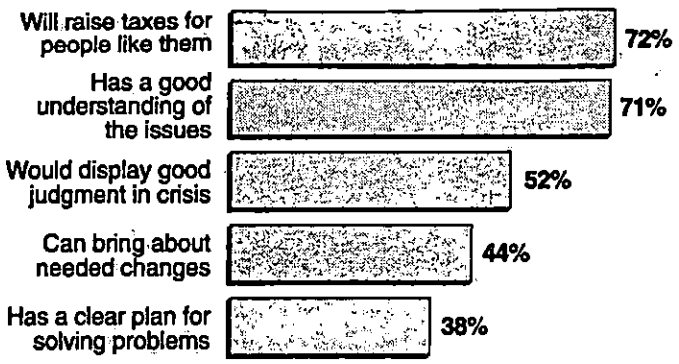


Voters very divided on which candidate would do the best job on the issues:

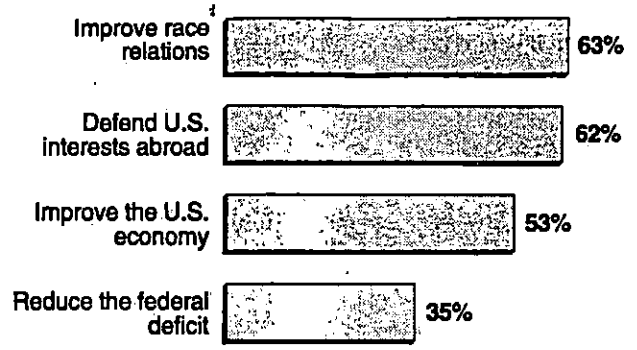


Focus on Clinton

Percentage of voters who say, as president, Bill Clinton:

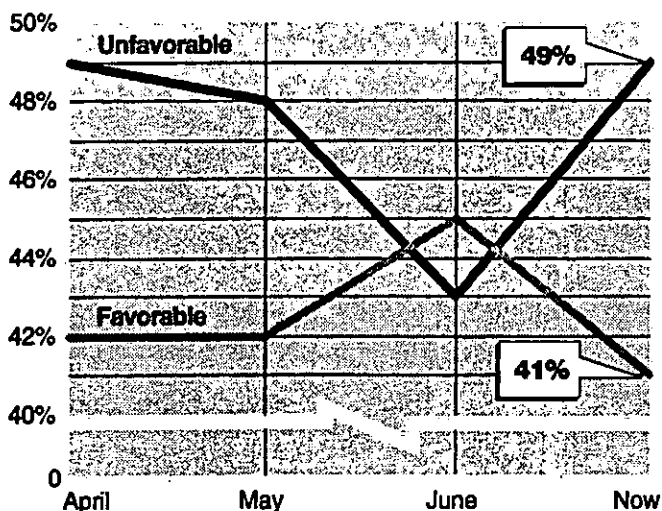


Percentage of voters who say they are confident Bill Clinton can:

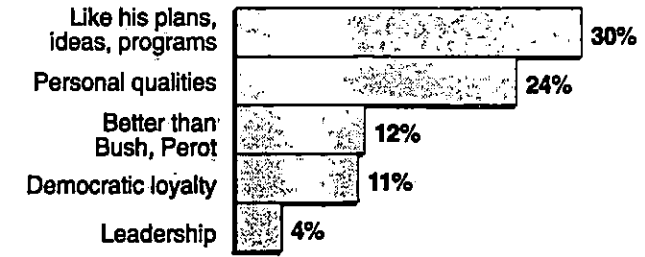


Clinton's favorable ratings dip

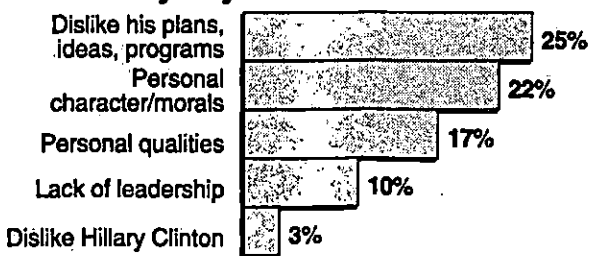
While Clinton's favorable ratings have remained almost constant, his unfavorable marks have climbed again. Voter views of Clinton:



Why people like Clinton . . .



. . . and why they don't



Clinton supporters . . .



By Chris Gardner, AP

"He's got a lot of ideas that can be implemented if he's given the chance. Clinton's a Democrat and the Democrats run Congress, so he'll be able to work with members of his own party and actually get things done."

— Lisa Thompson, 24 Philadelphia

. . . and detractors

"No individual is perfect. The thing I feel strongest against is his lying and cheating about things. It would be one thing to make mistakes and own up to them, but this guy dances around and won't even tell the truth about anything."



— Bob McClellan, 60 Thiensville, Wis.

By Neal Lambert, AP

USA TODAY

No. 1111

FRI./SAT./SUN., JULY 10-12, 1992

SADAY

IN QUOTES

"Keep it short."

— Clinton aide Dee Dee Myers, relaying her boss's advice to Mario Cuomo on his nominating speech

"He'll be able to do something this week he's never been able to do before — check into a hotel under his own name."

— Jay Leno on Ted Kennedy's honeymoon

"I enjoyed the hell out of it. Gotta do it again."

— Escaped convict Danny Ray Horning, who eluded the biggest manhunt in Arizona's history by hiding in the woods using "Rambo"-style survival techniques he learned in the Army

'It's hideous, it's hard. It's embarrassing and strange.'

— Actress Meg Ryan on what it is like to film a love scene with Alec Baldwin.

"They are younger than most of the voters they will ask to support them."

— Chris Matthews, San Francisco Examiner, on the Bill Clinton, 45-Al Gore, 44, ticket

"They all look alike, they talk alike, they are all clones."

— Ex-New York mayor Ed Koch on Southerners

"It's bad enough you want me to design them. Now you want me to wear them?"

— Grateful Dead guitarist Jerry Garcia, when asked to model one of the ties he designed for neckwear maker Stonehenge Ltd.

"Nudists are trying to support the community in any way they can."

— Carol Preston, co-owner of Buckridge Nudist Park in Candor, N.Y., on the drive at nudist clubs across the country this weekend when people will be asked to donate clothing to charity

Lazy summer days: Boring or blissful?

Hot-weather blahs getting the best of you? You're not alone. Most of us get bored stiff in summertime slumps.

Appropriately, July is Anti-Boredom Month. A New Jersey writer and huckster, Alan Caruba, created it in 1986.

Then, he did it as a spoof against such as Hot Dog Month, Ice Cream Month and Baked Bean Month.

Now, Caruba and The Boring Institute he has started are deadly serious. He says boredom is the root of all evil.

Among problems Caruba says are brought on by boredom:

- ▶ Drug and alcohol abuse.
- ▶ Overeating.
- ▶ School dropouts.
- ▶ Teen-age pregnancies.
- ▶ Divorce.
- ▶ Crime.
- ▶ Suicide.
- ▶ Low election turnouts.

Caruba is right when he points to boredom as a potential national peril. But he's wrong when he says all bored people "are the least likely to rise from their lethargy to do anything about it."

Boredom can be bad. It also can be a blessing.



AL NEUHARTH
 USA TODAY FOUNDER

Summer or any other season, I'm bored easily. Some of my critics charge I have a low boiling point, a temper. Actually, my boring point is much lower than my boiling point.

Boredom is like a twitch or a trick knee to me. I can cure it only by moving around or moving on. A new setting. New adventure.

All my life, boredom has been like a bulldozer. It pushes me. Out of the box that is boredom's home. Up or down or sideways. To successes or failures.

The beauty of beating boredom is that you don't need a shrink to show you the way. All it takes is a little get up and go.

So go for it this summer. Whatever "it" is for you. Then relax and enjoy.

Boredom can become blissful for anyone daring enough to try things that are different.

FEEDBACK

Other views on boredom

"Boredom can have a serious impact on people's lives, more as a kind of background music to self-destructive or anti-social behavior than as a specific cause. It's a warning sign of potential trouble."

— Alan Caruba, *The Boring Institute*

"I don't think temporary boredom causes severe problems. Simply being bored won't make people do anything that's not in their nature anyway. Boredom is its own cure."

— Donna K. Darden, sociologist who studied boredom

"I agree that boredom can be a stimulus. On the rare occasion I happen to be bored, it stimulates me to make a change."

— Jane Voucher, author, *How to Love the Job You Hate*

IN OTHER WORDS

We do not "watch" the television; we sample, taste, choose, reject, and consume in bits and pieces ... often watching two or three different "programs" at once. ... The golden section of our attention span is now measured in seconds, not minutes. Young watchers have a "nesting channel" from which they start their diurnal migration. Programmers refer to this activity as "video grazing" or "video surfing."

In a two-year observation of 200 families in Seattle, the R.D. Perry Co. concluded: "Most of us simply snap on the set rather than select a show. The first five minutes are spent prospecting channels, looking for gripping images. Even when we find those images, many of us don't stay for long. A *TV Guide* report ... concludes ... of those who [have a remote control] 30% say they try to watch two or more shows at once.

— from *Carnival Culture, the Trashing of Taste in America*, by James B. Twitchell Columbia University Press

OPINION USA

Clinton-Gore ticket another sign of politics as usual

For months, I've thought the presidential candidates would give us a little respect.

But as the choice of Al Gore for veep shows, they have missed few chances to push us aside and stomp on our feelings. As a voter, I feel like Rodney Dangerfield.

As Aretha says: R-E-S-P-E-C-T. But women aren't getting it. Day care and comparable-pay issues are being snubbed. And Murphy Brown and a misquoted Sister Souljah are treated like voodoo dolls.

African-Americans and Hispanics have been kicked in their rears, as well. Even the L.A. riot, with 55 dead and \$755 million in property damage, hasn't driven home to the



BARBARA REYNOLDS
COLUMNIST

candidates the dangers of urbanites drowning in squalor within reach of suburbs brimming with wealth.

No wonder, the New York primary drew only 7% of the eligible voters. No wonder Tuesday's ABC-Washington Post poll showed 82% of the public believes the parties are out of touch.

With the veep choice, Clinton had a golden chance to show he would discard politics as usual.

Blacks traditionally vote 85% Democratic, and women are 53% of the electorate. Why not a black or a woman on the ticket? Two white males on the ticket is a colossal yawn.

The Clinton-Gore ticket represents a coup of the country-club conservatives who were formed in 1985 to rid the

party of its liberal tradition. They aimed to woo back the Reagan Democrats and shore up the suburban vote, even at the risk of hurting the liberal wing, which they felt had no place to go. Their plans may be derailed by the Perot factor.

The media should take the politicians to task for their cultural snobbishness and attempts to brainwash the electorate with store-bought values and divisive issues.

But, with few exceptions, the media elite — the political reporters, the news decision-makers — are white, male suburbanites. The press, the political handlers and politicians are so alike in income

and ideology that they reflect each other's views and values rather than the more diverse interests of the electorate as a whole.

On Monday, for example, a high-ranking Bush aide said that Americans are better off than they were four years ago. The media should have torn his hide off, firing back with reports of children sliding deeper into poverty and cities plagued by homelessness. Instead, the big lie went right over their heads.

Maybe after the crowds thin and the lights dim, the press and the politicians will figure out why they are turning off more people than they're turning on.

Today's debate is on **DEFENDING EUROPE**
and the role of the United States.

U.S. can't ignore Europe

OUR VIEW The United States must stay involved in European affairs for its own security and for humanity's sake.

President Bush set the nation on a sound course this week for future involvement in Europe.

The formula: Europeans solve their own problems. We try to help, lending military support if needed.

That may not please those who would like to bring every U.S. troop home and lock out the rest of the world.

But with 7,500 people, mostly civilians, being killed in a war in Bosnia and thousands more in clashes in the Caucasus, the U.S. simply can't turn its back.

Two world wars and 300,000 American deaths are sober reminders that the USA can't ignore Europe's ethnic skirmishes without dreadful consequences.

We can't ignore them because millions of English, German, Polish, Russian, Armenian, Yugoslav, Polish, Hungarian and other immigrants provide family ties to the old countries.

We can't ignore them because Europeans buy \$100 billion from us and we

buy almost as much from them.

And we can't ignore them because our security depends on reducing thousands of nuclear missiles in Europe.

That doesn't mean sending in the Marines to end every squabble. Bush has been wise not to rush U.S. troops into Yugoslavia. It does mean seeking new ways to bring about and keep the peace.

The agreements signed in Helsinki Thursday at the 52-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe are a step in that direction.

They will involve NATO, which includes U.S. troops, in peacekeeping for areas where cease-fires are agreed upon. They also create mechanisms to attack human-rights abuses. And CSCE will oversee nuclear weapons destruction.

By joining with Europeans in peacekeeping efforts, the U.S. promotes its own security and helps keep its troops from ever being needed in a major war.

By staying involved, the U.S. preserves a hope people here share with their European cousins — that the bloodshed may end.

► Fighting in Yugoslavia, 1A, 11A

Avoid Europe's tangles

OPPOSING VIEW These parochial concerns do not justify the sacrifice of U.S. blood or treasure.

Efforts to strengthen the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe pose serious dangers to the USA. The decision to make NATO forces available for CSCE peacekeeping operations is especially unwise because it means that U.S. lives may be lost in some obscure military adventure in Eastern Europe or the former Soviet Union.

Most Americans accepted the risks and costs of the U.S. commitment to defend Europe during the Cold War, but the rationale was the need to prevent an expansionist Soviet Union from controlling Western Europe's population and industrial capacity, thereby posing an increased threat to our own security.

Accepting the risks and costs of a mis-

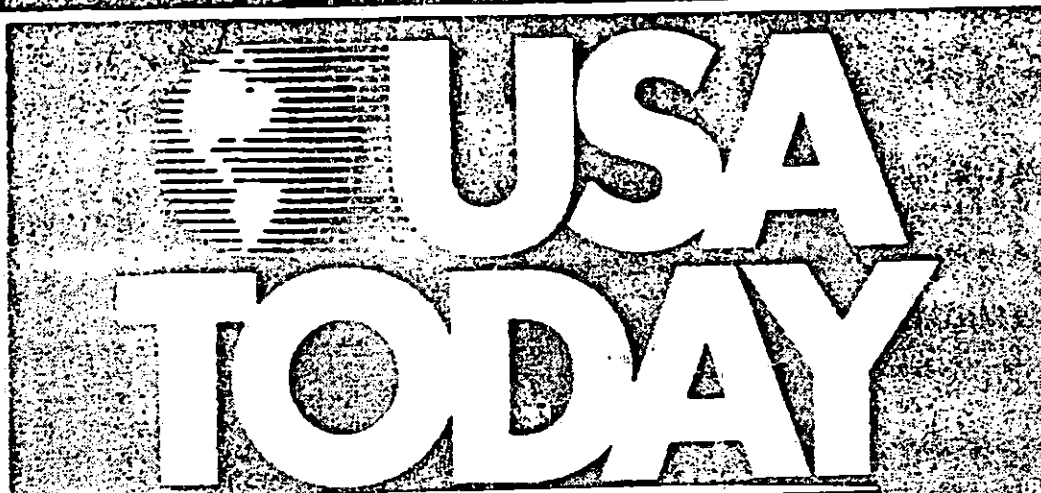
sion to preserve "stability" in the Balkans or the Caucasus is another matter entirely. The status of Nagorno-Karabakh, Moldova or Bosnia may be extremely important to the parties involved, but the outcomes of conflicts over those territories would rarely affect even the European, much less the global, balance of power. They are parochial concerns that do not justify the sacrifice of American blood or treasure.

Injecting the USA into ancient and intractable ethnic, religious or territorial quarrels in remote regions would not serve the best interests of Americans. It would be foreign-policy masochism.

Instead of entangling the USA in irrelevant conflicts through the CSCE, Washington should encourage the creation of a "Europeans only" security organization. The USA's military commitment to Europe was a response to conditions that were unique to the Cold War, when it seemed that only a superpower could neutralize the threat posed by the rival superpower. But the European nations now have sufficient economic, political and military resources to deal with lesser security threats.



By Ted Galen Carpenter, director of foreign policy studies at Cato Institute.



USA TODAY

No. 1 IN

FRI./SAT./SUN., JULY 10-12, 1992

S A DAY

Four white males again head major-party tickets

The pool of women and minorities in high public office must be widened to reflect USA's diversity.

In this offbeat presidential-election year, one thing hasn't changed: The candidates so far are white and male. Bill Clinton's selection of Al Gore as a running mate brings the total to five, counting the undeclared Ross Perot.

Only Geraldine Ferraro's 1984 nomination breaks that historic pattern.

One reason: While growing numbers of women and minorities have the capability to be president, few hold offices from which presidents and vice presidents usually graduate.

Among women, there are three governors, two senators and 28 House members. Among blacks, one governor, no senators and 25 House members. Among Hispanics: 11 House members.

Happily, all these numbers are at an all-time high and are growing.

Record numbers of women and mi-

Women & minorities

Women and minorities in the USA:

Women	51.5%
Blacks	12.1
Hispanics	9.0
Asian-Americans	2.9
Native Americans	0.8

Source: Bureau of the Census

norities are running for office this year, so future presidential candidates will have more choices.

This is progress, but not enough.

Those white-male tickets will look more appealing if candidates make clear plans for giving women and minorities key jobs. They could announce Cabinet appointments before the election.

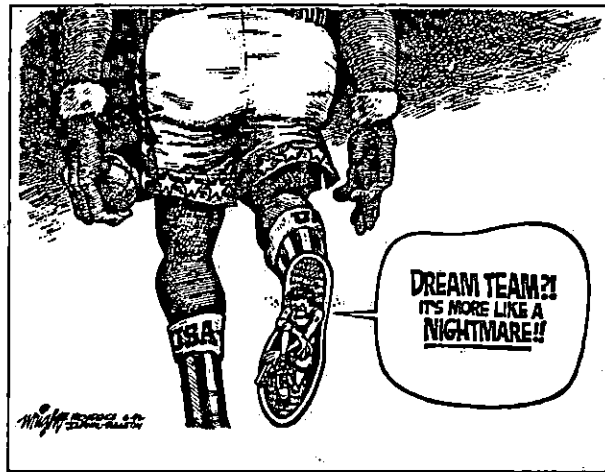
The result: a pool of candidates to assure that future presidential tickets reflect the nation.

► Clinton-Gore ticket, 1A

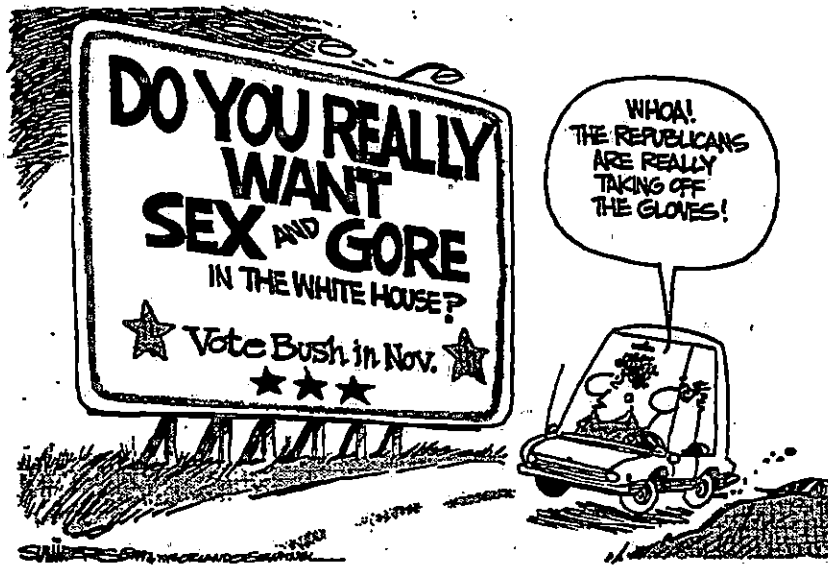
THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER

USA TODAY

No. 1 IN THE FRI./SAT./SUN., JULY 10-12, 1992 S.A. DAY



Dick Wright, Providence Journal Bulletin, United Features Syndicate



Dana Summers, The Orlando (Fla.) Sentinel, The Washington Post Writers Group

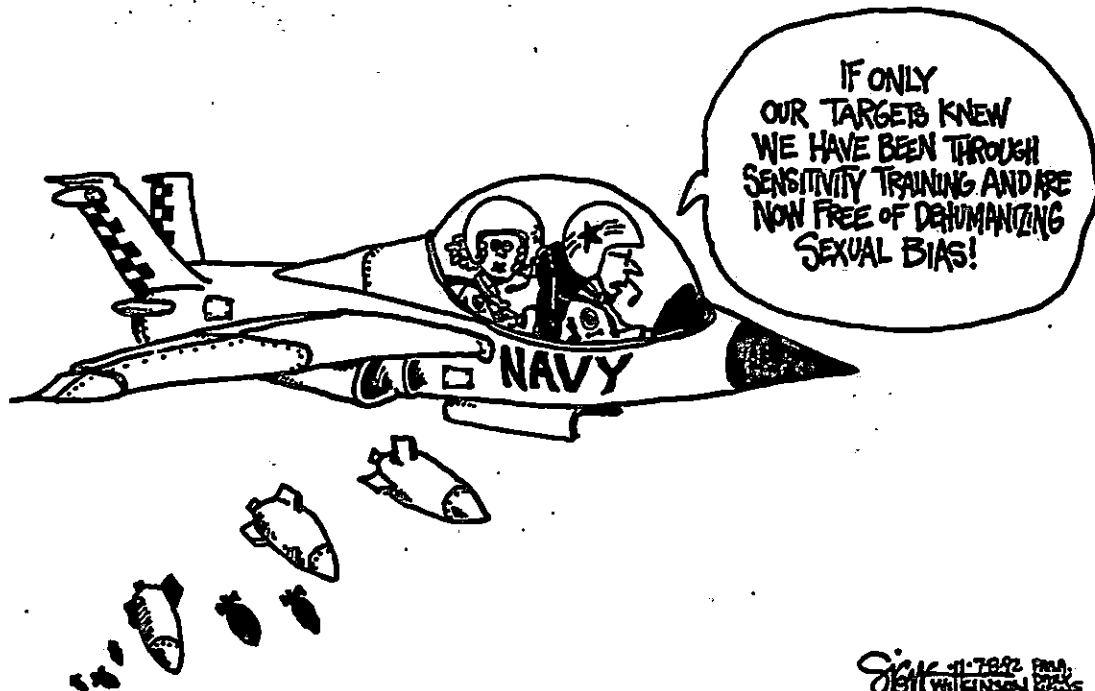


Chip Bok, Akron Beacon Journal, Creators Syndicate

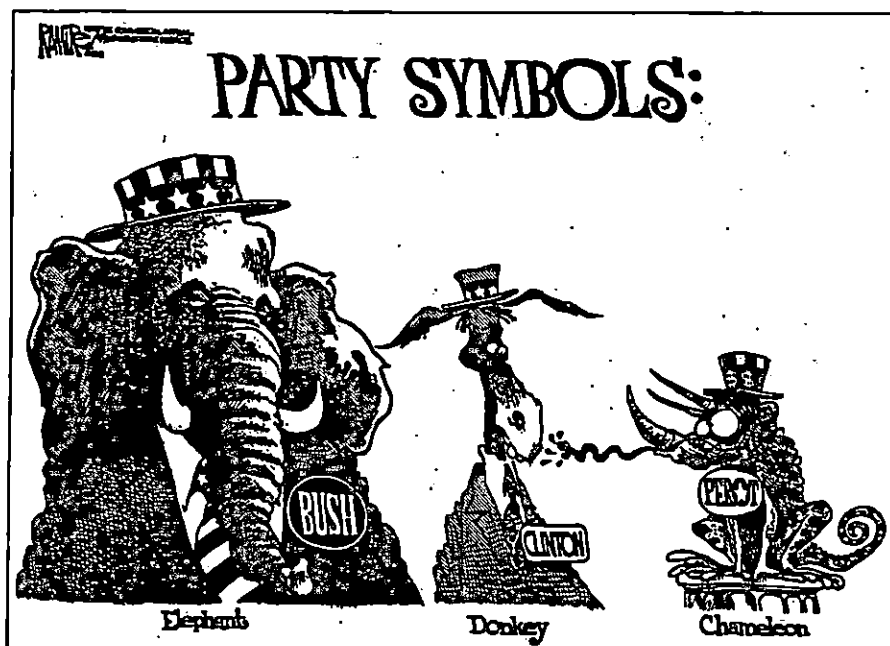
THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER

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Signe Wilkinson 11-7892 PHA.
Signe Wilkinson, Philadelphia Daily News



Mike Ramirez, Memphis Commercial Appeal, Copley News Service



Jim Borgman, The Cincinnati Enquirer

Richard Cohen

Free and Adrift

At the battle of Solferino, Lt. Joseph Trotta, a Slovene, saved the life of the Austro-Hungarian emperor by throwing him to the ground. "That same instant, a shot pierced Trotta's left shoulder—a shot aimed at the Emperor's heart." Trotta was promoted to captain, awarded the order of Maria Theresa and permitted to add the prefix "von" to his name. Choosing the name of his village in Slovenia, he became Capt. Joseph Trotta von Sipolje—and a literary figure relevant to our own times.

Trotta is the invention of Joseph Roth, who is quoted above. He was a German-speaking writer who published between the First and Second World Wars. He fought for Austria-Hungary during the First World War and died an alcoholic in Paris in 1939, a refugee from Nazi Germany. He wrote many novels, of which "The Radetzky March" is probably best known—or, to be more precise, least obscure. It is the story of the Trottas—father, son and grandson.

One of Roth's themes is the dissolution of empire, the Austro-Hungarian in his case. When thrones are toppled, people are set both free and adrift at the same time. The scaffolding of empire,

its petty honors, its sinecures and its minor obligations, give order and predictability to the lives of the Trottas and other citizens of the empire. It's as if the band has no purpose if it has no emperor to salute. Another cause must be found.

I think Roth would have recognized in George Bush the material for a literary character. Here, too, is a man afflicted with political vertigo. The structure of the Cold War is gone, and Bush was a soldier of it. Almost all his offices were appointive; he was a man given one sinecure after another for doing what was asked of him. For instance, asked by Richard Nixon to run for the Senate from Texas, he was given the "von" of becoming United Nations representative when he lost. In almost all cases, he moved from one assignment to another at someone else's behest. The Cold War gave substance and meaning to his career, purpose to his ambition—a splendid Republican reason to be in government.

The struggle with the Soviet Union, the good fight against communism, was what occupied George Bush in many of his posts—as director of the CIA, as U.N. ambassador, as vice president, as ambassador to China (the Soviet Union's enemy) and even as chairman of the Republican

National Committee, the party with a clear and unambiguous foreign policy and the one that had, for ideological reasons, been best organized to fight the Cold War. Only as a congressman did Bush have mostly domestic obligations.

Bush, of course, is not the only person suffering from a kind of post-Cold War ennui. Most of America and Europe seem deflated, cantankerously vexed and bored at the same time. Some of the causes are economic. Germany (West) is having difficulty swallowing Germany (East). The economies of the West are not robust. The United States, slowly lumbering out of a recession, finds itself a military powerhouse with no war to fight and no enemy in sight. The euphoria that accompanied the end of the Cold War—the breaching of the Berlin Wall, for instance—has dissipated. The party's over and sobriety, it turns out, is a bummer.

But Roth would understand that political reorganization produces a kind of disorientation. The fact is that just as Austro-Hungarian society was focused around the emperor, so has ours been focused around the Cold War. Without it, we can turn to other matters, but we are not yet organized

to do so, and our leaders were not chosen to think in those terms. The rank, the power, the fawning of the press are still reserved for national security types. Bush himself was chosen, remember, because he was more commander-in-chiefish than Michael Dukakis, the man who looked like a geek in a tank. Ross Perot would look no less ridiculous, but, like Calvin Coolidge in an Indian war bonnet, now it would hardly matter.

The Slovenia of Roth is back in the news. The ugly churning of Balkan peoples, the imperial poverty of Russia, the grand claims of Serbia and the vacant look of disjointed peoples—all this suggests the interwar period of Roth's 15 novels and novellas. It was a time when the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe searched for a political grid to replace the one that had collapsed in the First World War. The ones some of them chose, fascism and communism, provoked the Second World War and then the Cold War—a war of one kind or another for the entire adulthood of our political leadership. We are out of that now.

But as Roth might have told us, we know where we've been. We just don't know where we're going.

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

William Raspberry

Academics Who Ought to Know Better

Despite more than a quarter century of transfer payments in fighting a war on poverty, poverty persists. Rising welfare payments and income levels have been accompanied by rising poverty. More Americans live in poverty than 20 years ago.

That is the lead paragraph from a new study out of the Institute for Policy Innovation, and it is consistent with the theme of the study: Lyndon Johnson's "war on poverty" failed because welfare is a disincentive to work. It failed so badly, in fact, that Richard Vedder and Lowell Gallaway, the Ohio University economics professors who wrote the IPI monograph, cleverly titled their work "The War on the Poor."

The only trouble is that the authors aren't talking about LBJ's war on poverty at all; they are talking about a welfare system that dates back to

Franklin D. Roosevelt and whose inadequacies (the "welfare trap" was much agonized over in the Johnson years) inspired the programs and policies that came to be known as the war on poverty.

It's true that not all of those experiments worked, but the OU professors (like George Bush and Marlin Fitzwater before them) make the mistake—deliberately?—of treating welfare and war on poverty as the same thing.

They never were. Welfare was designed primarily to ease the pain of poverty. The war on poverty was intended—as the '60s rhetoric had it—to "break the cycle of poverty." In my early days at The Post, I covered the war on poverty—that amalgam of community action, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Corps, job-readiness training, Head Start, Medicaid and Medicare programs

coordinated (largely) by the Office of Economic Opportunity. A colleague covered the welfare department, which dealt mainly with transfer payments and efforts to enforce the man-in-the-house rule, which denied benefits to families that included an able-bodied adult male, employed or not.

When the Bush White House opined that it was the "liberal programs" of the 1960s Great Society that sowed the seeds of the Los Angeles riots 30 years later, the obvious retort was: Politics. But what do you say when two professors at a major university say the same thing?

Well, I've just talked to them, and what I say is: They know better. They know (or surely ought to) that welfare was not Lyndon Johnson's idea for creating the Great Society. They know (or ought to) that to the extent some of

the programs later got "cashed out" it was the work of conservative Republicans, who resisted the "social engineering" of the Johnson liberals.

But it isn't just shaky history that flaws the IPI paper. Three other problems raise (for me, at least) the question of academic seriousness.

The first is minor and involves the authors' attempt to position themselves as welfare centrists. They accomplish this by asserting (1) a "traditional" view that every increase in welfare further diminishes the poverty rate and (2) "the Charles Murray view" that every increase in welfare *increases* the poverty rate. Then—*voilà!*—their own notion that welfare actually does reduce poverty rates, up to a point; but after that point, further increases reduce the work incentive and therefore increase poverty.

As a matter of fact, their "intermediate" view is common sense, though it takes a bit of boldness to come up with hard numbers for the increase in poverty resulting from "excessive" welfare payments. They put it at 4,491,000 persons. That is, nearly 4.5 million Americans could be lifted out of poverty just by reducing their welfare checks.

A second problem is a species of academic cuteness. Take this statement: "In the five years 1965-1970, the total volume of [welfare] payments, in real terms, rose by about ten percent a year, despite a fall of more than 25 percent in the poverty rate."

It seems clear they want you to believe that we were stupidly handing out welfare checks to people who didn't need the money. In fact, they told me in interviews, that 25 percent decrease in

the poverty rate was at least in part the result of the welfare grants.

And here's a third. Despite their broadsides against the war on poverty, the professors acknowledge a virtually unbroken drop in the poverty rate—from nearly 30 percent in 1960 to a 40-year low of 11.1 percent in 1973. "Then," Gallaway told me, "it fluctuates for a while, and then really drives upward after 1979 or 1980."

What accounts for that remarkable upward surge in poverty?

"What happened here," said the professor, "is a lot of macroeconomic phenomena impacting on the poverty rate . . . 1979-1981 was a tough period."

I found it a curiously incurious response from an academic interested in the nexus between social policy and poverty.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

Choosing To Be One People

It is a subversive experience to celebrate the Fourth of July on the Mall. It was so mellow and golden there this year—the crowd so friendly and communal, the festivities and fireworks so brilliant—that it was possible to imagine for a few hours that this is the way life actually is. The usual economic discontents were parked for the day. A speaker on the stage hailed the collapse of communism, and the crowd cheered. We had a sip of a nice California wine.

Well, yes, I know, life is no picnic, not even in the United States. All holidays come to an end, and the sparklers fizzle out. Still, it is not required, nor is it right, to put aside all thoughts of the favor our country enjoys. To be in this setting of great democratic institutions, to look at the crowd spreading across every inch of green as far as the eye can see, to hear everyone buzzing away in holiday distraction: To do this is to be seized by a certainty that people know the real reason why they have come together on that day.

It is, I think, to express their joy and gratitude at being American, and perhaps to recommit themselves to the nation's virtues and ideals.

I felt that way.

In particular, at this moment of global rediscovery of the darker ethnic passions, I felt that the United States has been incredibly fortunate to find its own ways of subordinating group differences and group tensions in the possibilities of individual achievement and of respect for an impartial law.

Not that Americans have been sufficiently attentive and successful in this regard. Very few black faces were to be seen in the mass spilling down from the Capitol's West Front onto the Mall. This suggests a degree of alienation that is bound to trouble anyone whose definition of national purpose is to draw all citizens into the full privileges of citizenship.

But just look at the agonies of other countries in this post-Cold War time of troubles. You will understand that the United States by its profoundly democratic system and by its general rule of mutual respect among different peoples has found a path at least to social coexistence and often to something more.

Our family has often brought foreign friends to the Fourth on the Mall; it's fun and it invariably sharpens cross-cultural perceptions. One year we took some new immigrants from Russia who were partaking of their first Fourth. They were staggered to be introduced to some other friends we bumped into, he a past director of the CIA. Coming from the land of the KGB, the former Russians simply could not believe such an encounter was possible.

This year we took some Yugoslav friends, who quickly picked up the spirit of the occasion and reveled in the spontaneity of the huge, inevitably multi-ethnic crowd—the dancing on the grass, the broad and cheerful singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner," the general politeness. You can say that Yugoslavs, whose own country is being torn into ethnic pieces, are bound to be sentimental about a foreign country where the ethnic parts more or less fit together. But that is an immense national achievement. Americans are in a better position to appreciate it now that the Cold War clutter has been removed. As it happens, the two countries' civil wars are both currently on television, but while America's is a historical series, Yugoslavia's is the daily news.

The saddest thing I have read about Bosnia, where the Yugoslav breakup is now at its most intense, goes precisely to the tragedy of people who have tried to rise above narrow ethnic chauvinism into a common condition of being Bosnian. Bosnia, of course, is not a people but a place, an address, where people of different ethnic backgrounds had sought to live together.

The Muslims, Serbs and Croats of Bosnia, a Hungarian diplomat told the *Financial Times*, "have lost. Like the people of Sarajevo, they see themselves as Bosnian. They do not want ethnicity or identity imposed on them by outsiders from Croatia, Serbia, or Montenegro. If they choose to be Bosnian, instead of belonging to one ethnic group, they will be forced to choose their ethnicity, or else be killed or forced to flee."

By and large, Americans have chosen to be "Bosnian," to identify themselves in the first instance not as inheritors of an exclusive ethnic tradition but as sharers of an inclusive citizenship and common culture. The choice affects everything. It is part of the American genius.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

It's Clinton-Gore

THE NAMING of a vice-presidential candidate creates an instant political calculus. Among which groups and to what extent will the choice of Sen. Albert Gore help Bill Clinton, and what are the opportunity costs in the sense of advantages forgone by virtue of not having chosen some other candidate? How much stronger or weaker are the party's chances now in the South (North, East, West), among the young, among environmentalists, women, blacks, dairy farmers, people with red hair, long hair, no hair? And on into the evening.

But well before all this comes the awful other question, the first that has to be asked in the case of any vice-presidential nominee and in a certain constitutional and visceral sense the only one that matters: How plausible a president would that person make in the event that he or she had to assume that ultimate office? Could the backup play in the Super Bowl? In the case of Mr. Gore the answer is a resounding yes, and that becomes still another distinction between the two parties, as well as a distinction—thus far—between Mr. Clinton and Ross Perot, whose running mate is yet to come.

This choice of a running mate is likewise an early test of a presidential candidate's instincts and self-confidence and how he or she might use the presidency's considerable appointive powers.

Here, too, Mr. Clinton shows up well for having chosen someone strong.

Jesse Jackson said a bit petulantly yesterday (he and Sen. Gore had a bad patch in the 1988 presidential primaries, you remember) that it was a "fairly narrow" ticket. That's only true if you have a fairly narrow definition of "narrow." It's an attractive ticket. It's true that both of the nominees-to-be are from the broad middle of their party (as well as from adjacent southernish states, itself a departure but not what Mr. Jackson meant). But surely for the Democrats after all these years, ideological moderation in pursuit of the presidency is no vice. Nor really is "moderate" the right word. Together, these candidates are committed on their records to what are pretty clearly progressive policies across the full range of domestic issues; they seem to us to have a fairly balanced approach to national security questions as well.

It is a young ticket, but these are not inexperienced men. The Democrats will have a lot of their eggs in the southern basket, but that has at least as many possible electoral advantages as not. In a number of areas of expertise, from arms control to threats to the environment, Sen. Gore's credentials will strengthen the ticket. Surely there's nothing wrong with that. The Democrats are presenting the country with a good choice.

Rumors of a Coup

REPORTS OF A recent attempted and aborted coup in Iraq have caught Washington in a decidedly mixed mood. It's good news—if it's true—that Saddam Hussein may be losing some of his grip on the Iraqi military, principal bulwark of his rule. But it's discouraging to consider that this evil figure remains in power, defying the United States and all the other states that would like to see him gone. It is especially bitter and even politically costly to the Bush administration that Saddam Hussein not only survived a tremendous military pounding by the United States but may yet outlast President Bush in office.

It seems that the Bush administration has used intelligence and propaganda means to try to embolden some of the Iraqi opponents of the dictator to push him out. But the administration has withheld full political support from Iraqi opposition elements and has hesitated to be seen cranking up any new military operations. This policy of one foot on the accelerator and one foot on the brake reflects more than Washington's embarrassment at having earlier encouraged more defiance and boldness by the Iraqi resistance than it was prepared to support in the crunch. The political circumstances in Iraq, in the Persian Gulf and in the United Nations do not encourage much risk-taking. The

prevailing sentiment is that the main danger posed by Saddam Hussein has been and is being contained. Most governments are prepared to live with his quieted tyranny and wait for events to take their course.

There is a case to be made that, given the circumstances, this is an acceptably expedient policy. Its continuance can be justified, however, only if some of the particular aspects of it are kept steady and sharp. There can be no slacking in the pursuit of Iran's lingering special weapons, nuclear and otherwise. There can be no softening of the economic embargo and of Iraq's political isolation except on the controlled terms approved by the United Nations. Kurds inside Iraq, and any other democratic opposition elements in exile, deserve political respect and cooperation. The air shield that Americans and others provide over the Kurds' lands in northern Iraq must be maintained; for them and only for them, the international embargo on Iraq ought to be relaxed. Arrangements must be extended for the foreign providers of relief.

Measures such as these do not guarantee that the regime of Saddam Hussein will go. They do keep the Iraqi leader under pressure, limit the further damage he could do beyond Iraq and offer some hope for a successor regime.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

The Council's Unfinished Business

AS D.C. COUNCIL members prepare for their summer recess, they leave behind a gamy campaign finance situation. If left unchanged, the system's gaping loopholes and weak enforcement tools will only hurt the city.

In fact, the suspicion that big campaign contributors have already gained control of D.C. elected officials has brought into being a group called Citizens for Campaign Finance Reform. It claims to have more than 40,000 signatures to put an initiative limiting campaign contributions on the November ballot. It will take several days for the Board of Elections to certify whether the petitions have the necessary 14,376 valid signatures. But the mayor and the council don't have to wait to decide to clean up the city's campaign finance laws themselves.

Current law limits an individual contribution to a candidate for council chairman to \$1,000. So how did a real estate and restaurant magnate give \$12,500 to a candidate in the 1990 campaign? He wrote one check to the candidate's organization and then check after check through various business partnerships. Why? Because unlike federal law, the city allows contributors to give the maximum amount through corporations and partnerships. The same loophole allowed the skirting of the \$2,000 limit set for mayor, the \$1,000 limit for at-large council and the \$400 ceiling on ward council races.

On top of this, the law builds in secrecy by not requiring candidates to disclose the names of members of partnerships that contribute to their campaigns. This makes a mockery of contribution limits. At-large council member Bill Lightfoot charges that "to date, no mayoral candidate has received even half of his or her support from District voters." This underscores the fear that big-money players are purchasing access that ordinary city residents may not have.

The proposed initiative would drastically lower contribution limits to \$100 for mayor, council chair and at-large council members and \$50 for ward council and school board seats. It would also require disclosure of the names of individuals who contribute under the name of partnerships. Disclosure is fine, but the limits proposed are so low they could actually worsen the system by shifting the fund-raising advantage to the better-known incumbent. We believe the initiative is a blunt instrument that wrongly wrests the responsibility for solutions from officials accountable to the voters.

Council member Jim Nathanson has scheduled October hearings on reform proposals by Mr. Lightfoot and the city's Office of Campaign Finance. Mayor Kelly and citizens' groups may wish to produce their own proposals. That is where the action should take place—if for no other reason than to show that the city's elected leaders are not and will not be bought.

Eric Sevareid

THE PERIOD before World War II produced a remarkable flow of talented young Americans into international journalism. Coming—many of them—from the Midwest, they sallied forth into a troubled world and became absorbed in conveying its galloping discontents to a public back home. Most of them, like Eric Sevareid of CBS, who died yesterday at age 79, were Roosevelt liberals who believed that the United States had to go to war against Hitler and, later, that the country could not lapse back into isolationism. The members of this small, distinguished and, in time, famous band came to play a historical role. They became the chroniclers and authenticators of the passage of the United States from an inward-focused country into one striding the world.

Eric Sevareid came out of North Dakota and Minnesota and was working for United Press and the New York Herald in Paris when Edward Murrow, attracted by his seriousness and his way with the language, hired him for CBS radio. He

had his journalistic scoops, including the surrender of France—they don't make scoops like that anymore. But, as Paris colleague William Shirer put it yesterday, he felt himself part of a heartland literary tradition established by Theodore Dreiser and Sinclair Lewis, and he was thoughtful, he wrote well, and he did not suffer editors meekly. When he went to television, and especially when he moved from hard news to commentary, viewers saw him as a paragon of quiet, sonorous and authoritative cool. But he tended to squirm a bit in his chair and to fret about the lights and to concentrate—you could see it on the screen—on getting the words right.

Eric Sevareid was one of a select few who established the pattern of journalism—the special chemistry of shocking event, engaged communicator and mass audience—in his time. He brought decency and a sense of America's worth, and its vulnerabilities, to the experience of seeing America into the world. He got the words right.

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

Bush Turns Aside Bosnian Plea for Military Intervention



Nine-year-old Sarac Saud, a Bosnian Muslim wounded by a mortar round, is attended by a nurse in a Sarajevo hospital.

Western Allies at Helsinki Summit Favor More Action

By Don Oberdorfer
and Marc Fisher
Washington Post Foreign Service

HELSINKI, July 9—President Bush turned aside a fervent personal appeal from the president of Bosnia today for direct military intervention to stop the slaughter of civilians in his country, but he repeated his call for international efforts to ensure delivery of humanitarian aid to victims of the fighting.

Bush and other U.S. officials at the 51-nation summit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe refused to go beyond their previous support for humanitarian relief and enforcement of U.N. economic sanctions.

"Humanitarian relief is not enough," Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic said he told Bush, describing to him in graphic terms the killing of "thousands of people" that he said is still taking place at the hands of Serb militia forces seeking to partition the republic.

The Bosnian president's plea to Bush and his later appeal to the world as a whole came as leaders of

Europe, North America and the former Soviet republics of Central Asia met here to grapple with ethnic, religious and sub-national conflicts that have erupted with renewed virulence in the post-Cold War world. The security conference, founded in Helsinki in 1975, is preparing to adopt a new blueprint Friday for heading off, mediating and, if necessary, stopping such conflicts as the one now taking place in Bosnia.

Izetbegovic, a member of Bosnia's large Slavic Muslim community, told Bush that his country needs "peace-making forces" to suppress Serb attacks, rather than just "peace-keeping forces," and he specifically called for air strikes to knock out Serb artillery.

Officials of several other countries appeared willing to consider direct intervention in the conflict, but the United States gave no indication it would do so. "We'll support anything that will stop this fighting," said Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall, whose country has the largest number of troops deployed in Bosnia for U.N. peace keeping.

Secretary of State James A. Baker

III, who was at the meeting with Izetbegovic, quoted Bush as saying he would consider the Bosnian's request for active military intervention and that "he hasn't ruled anything in or anything out."

But Baker pointedly reconfirmed the previously established limits of U.S. willingness to intervene militarily, which do not go beyond providing humanitarian aid and, in recent days, discussions on helping enforce U.N. sanctions imposed on the Yugoslav republic of Serbia for its role in instigating and abetting the war in Bosnia. Anything further, Baker said, would probably have to be done as part of a multinational effort based on a new, more far-reaching Security Council resolution.

The security conference decided to send a 100-man observer team to the Nagorno-Karabakh region of the former Soviet Transcaucasus region, where Armenians and Azerbaijanis have been fighting for four years. Spokesmen for both Armenia and Azerbaijan "welcomed" the decision, the Associated Press reported from Moscow.

See SUMMIT, A17, Col. 1

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

SUMMIT, From A13

While debate continued over whether to expand joint military action in Bosnia beyond a peace-keeping function, Italy and France moved to strengthen the U.N. effort to deliver humanitarian aid to Sarajevo, the besieged Bosnian capital. French President Francois Mitterrand said his country will send an additional 700 troops and a squadron of helicopter gunships to support U.N. troops trying to keep a corridor open to transfer the relief supplies from Sarajevo's airport into the city.

But the Canadian commander of U.N. forces there, Maj. Gen. Lewis MacKenzie, recommended delaying the helicopters because ground fighting between Serb forces and Muslim-led Bosnian government forces in the area is too heavy, according to a U.N. spokesman.

The nine-nation Western European Union is to meet here Friday to work out details of a naval blockade along the Adriatic coast, an effort to enforce U.N. sanctions on delivery of arms and other material to Serbia and its satellite in the new Yugoslav state it controls, Montenegro.

Baker said the United States is talking to its allies about helping the blockade with "air and naval assets" but reiterated that "it's not likely" U.S. combat troops would be used in the Bosnian conflict.

Reports from Washington said a U.S. cruiser and an amphibious landing ship are being sent to the Adriatic to join the flotilla enforcing the sanctions. Baker suggested that NATO might play a role in the operation, and some NATO foreign ministers at the conference said they expect to meet Friday to discuss what that role might be.

Bush told the CSCE leaders that even in 1990, when the previous CSCE summit declared the Cold War over, "we did not appreciate what awaited us." Since then, "a vast empire has collapsed, a score of new states has been born and a brutal war rages in the Balkans," he declared.

Addressing "the nightmare in Bosnia," Bush outlined in cautious and precise terms what Washington is prepared to do along with other U.N. members: to see to it that relief supplies get through and that U.N. sanctions are respected, "no matter what it takes"; to do all that can be done to prevent spread of the conflict; and to call for "a ceasefire on all fronts."

Bosnia's Izetbegovic, in his address to the CSCE conference, called the killing of civilians by Serb forces "the disgrace of Europe" and asked: "Is the world powerless to put an end to this evil?"

Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic compared Serb violence against Muslims, Croats and other communal groups in Bosnia to Nazi atrocities during World War II and said of the diplomatic discussions here about justification for an international response: "This is what is killing us." He said he is hopeful that, despite Bush's caution, that the president will react more forcefully because, "in the end, presidents are just human."

Izetbegovic, in an interview with Cable News Network, said he had not asked Bush for U.S. ground troops to stop the war in Bosnia "because I know they don't like that."

A senior State Department official told reporters that "the president of Bosnia would like us to treat this like Kuwait," referring to the large-scale military operation to oust Iraqi troops from that Persian Gulf emirate last year. However, the official said, "there's a difference between the gulf and the situation here in terms of our national security interests."

On Wednesday, diplomats here agreed to suspend the new, Serb-ruled Yugoslav state from CSCE activities for 100 days and warned it would be expelled if it did not cease supporting aggression in Bosnia and help end the warfare there. U.S. officials had argued for immediate expulsion, but Russian objections led to the compromise.



Secretary of State Baker talks with President Bush during the CSCE session.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

Democrats Prepared To Contest Election in All Areas of Country

Choice of Gore Sends Signal to GOP, Perot

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Bill Clinton cast aside many of the old political assumptions in choosing Sen. Albert Gore Jr. as his vice-presidential running mate and sent a signal to the Republicans and Ross Perot that the Democrats are prepared to contest this election in all regions of the country.

In this age of television politics and national culture, Clinton opted for the symbolism of generational change over the traditions of ticket balancing, gambling that Gore's youth and political record would reinforce his "change" and economic messages this fall without alienating Democrats and independents from other parts of the country.

Clinton's selection of a fellow southerner, fellow Baby Boomer and fellow Ivy Leaguer may initially leave some elements of the Democratic Party—particularly those in urban areas of the Northeast—wondering where they fit into Clinton's campaign strategy. This was perhaps one reason why there were discussions about whether New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo might be available shortly before Clinton settled on Gore.

Describing Clinton and Gore as "regional and ideological twins," Jesse L. Jackson said: "It takes two wings to fly and here you have two of the same wing."

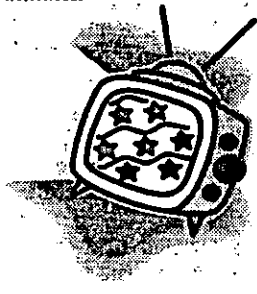
But Jackson's reaction was out of tune with most Democrats, and if Clinton and Gore must work to energize and turn out the Democratic base this fall, together they create fresh opportunities to hector the Republican southern base for the first time in more than a decade.

"This ticket is as good as any ticket at putting more states into play," said Paul Tully, political director of the Democratic National Committee.

ON TV

PRESIDENT BUSH

■ Today: WETA (Ch. 26), 7 p.m.
"MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour"
Robert MacNeil will interview
Bush via satellite from Helsinki
for 25 minutes.



mental record would play poorly in the business community.

Democrats said yesterday that Gore's environmental credentials, offsetting Clinton's weaker record in that area, would help the ticket in the West, including linchpin California. But Dianne Feinstein, the former San Francisco mayor now running for the Senate, said yesterday the economy is a more important issue there than the environment right now and added that neither Clinton nor Gore is well known in that state.

Gore's presence on the ticket also could help the Democrats in Oregon and Washington, which Michael S. Dukakis won in 1988 but where Perot now runs strong. Colorado, a state with a young, environmentally conscious population, also ranks as a Democratic target. "I'm delighted by the choice," said Howard Gelt, the Democratic chairman in Colorado.

On the eve of the Democratic National Convention that will formally ratify his nomination, Clinton finds himself in a deadlocked contest, according to a new Washington Post-ABC News Poll.

The survey found President Bush was the choice of 33 percent of all registered voters questioned, while Clinton, who led narrowly in the last Post-ABC poll, and Perot trailed with 30 percent. Bush enjoyed a slightly larger advantage among those most likely to vote. The president was the choice of 35 percent of those who said they were certain to vote in the fall, while Perot and Clinton were both at 30 percent.

Perot's presence in the 1992 race scrambled the electoral map, threatening Bush's support in the suburbs, among white men and in the South, while throwing up obstacles to Democratic hopes of sweeping the Pacific Coast and picking up selected states in the Rocky Mountain West. Clinton's decision to team up with Gore was in part an attempt to position the Democrats to compete on this altered terrain.

The Clinton-Gore ticket assures that Bush will be forced to spend time and money defending his southern base. "I think we'll end up with a good block of southern states," Stan Greenberg, Clinton's pollster, said yesterday.

In addition to obvious targets like Tennessee and Kentucky, Greenberg said Democrats will show strength in places like Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi, where the substantial black vote could make the Clinton-Gore ticket competitive in a three-way race. Other Democrats said the ticket also could have improved chances in states like Georgia and North Carolina.

But the Clinton-Gore ticket won't be able to take black voters for granted. While Clinton won substantial majorities among black voters in the primaries, turnout fell sharply in many states compared to 1988. "They've got to give everybody a reason to vote for them," one Democrat said.

Democratic strategists said the southern and generational appeal also provides openings across the center of the country, in border states like Missouri and with certain voters in Illinois, Michigan and Ohio who have southern connections from earlier generations of migration.

But in those midwestern industrial states in particular, the Republicans will counter with criticism that the Democratic ticket represents "environmental extremism" that would threaten the automobile industry's economic vitality. The attack began hours after Gore's selection, with top Bush campaign officials warning that Gore's environ-

Bush campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter said Clinton's choice of Gore "indicates to us he needs help" in his own region. But Teeter said the selection will help only in Tennessee if history is a guide. "I don't think there is any evidence a vice-presidential candidate helps in a state other than his own," he added.

Gore's addition to the Democratic ticket does least for the northeastern states, a region of the country where Clinton often struggled during the primaries. But Democrats predicted that the weak economy and Clinton's ability to sell his economic program, not his choice of vice president, would prove decisive in that region. "The guy who needs to spend a lot of time here is Clinton," one northeastern Democrat said yesterday.

Clinton this spring and Gore in 1988 ran into problems campaigning in New York, and Jimmy Carter's experience during his campaigns suggests a culture gap that the all-southern ticket could face in a state the Democrats must win. At the same time, Gore's liberal positions on social issues, which are similar to Clinton's, may cause unease among white ethnics, despite the view among Democrats that Gore and his wife, Tipper, help the party offset Republican "family values" appeals.

Republican National Committee chairman Rich Bond called the Gore choice "dud on arrival" and said it meant the Democrats had settled on a southern enclave strategy designed to gridlock the election.

The Democrats, he said, "are trying to go at Bush's electoral strength in the South with no ability to appeal elsewhere. . . . If you are a New Yorker, where is the appeal, considering Gore's performance there in 1988." Bond said the Democrats want to "dilute Bush enough in the South" to throw the election into the House.

Clinton's choice was as safe as it was somewhat unconventional. In choosing someone who ran for president in 1988, and who experienced some of the intensity, scrutiny and hardball tactics of a national campaign, Clinton minimized the danger of an embarrassment from his running mate before the election is over. "What Gore brings is rock-solidness," said former Nebraska House member John Cavanaugh, a friend of Gore's.

Sixteen years ago, when southerner Carter won the Democratic nomination, he reached into a different region and a different wing of the party to select Walter F. Mondale as his running mate to assure harmony at his convention. Clinton's choice of Gore underscored how much the party—desperate to win back the White House—and politics have changed since then.

Staff writers Ann Devroy and E.J. Dionne Jr. and polling director Richard Morin contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

Charles Krauthammer

Slow, Steady, Smart

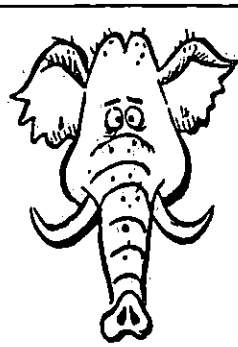
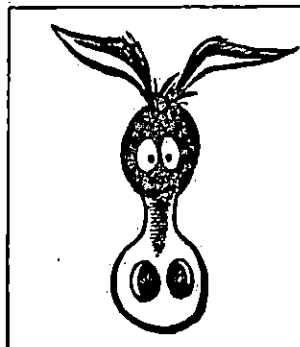
A presidential election is first and foremost a referendum on the character of the presidential candidates. But it is also a referendum on the condition of the country. Perot, Bush and Clinton are each appealing to distinctly different views of the state of the nation.

"Things can't get any worse" is the constant refrain of the Perot constituency—and the rationalization for its receptivity to Perot's leap-in-the-dark campaign. The country is obviously in a deep funk, with 83 percent of Americans thinking that the country is on the wrong track, the highest pessimism level ever recorded.

There are grounds for that pessimism. The most recent economic news points to the possibility that the country may be headed for a triple-dip recession. Historians may look back on the Bush presidency as the beginning of a Great Recession, a period of prolonged economic stagnation, a kind of muted echo of the Great Depression, which too followed a decade of prosperity, growth and speculative excess.

Nonetheless, however much people may be feeling pinched, the idea that things can't get any worse is dangerous nonsense. Can't get any worse? Try Bosnia and Bangladesh. Try Warsaw and Moscow. Try America, 1982, when unemployment hit 10.8 percent.

Economic stagnation is unpleasant and highly anxiety-provoking. But it is not economic collapse. Moreover, economics is not everything (though in election years, it seems so). As a nation, America is more secure today than at any time in this century. It is so secure, in fact, that national security has ceased to be an issue—with the paradoxical effect that the sense



BY BRUCE PLANTE

of well-being one would expect with victory in the Cold War has been entirely overtaken by national economic anxieties.

These anxieties are such that the idea that things can't get any worse is current again. The last time this idea had such currency was 1980, when it helped elect Ronald Reagan, another leap-in-the-dark candidate the country felt desperate enough to gamble on.

The gambling continued into the Reagan presidency. Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker called Reaganomics, which featured a huge, free-lunch tax cut, a "riverboat gamble." Suffering now from the consequence of that gamble—a \$400 billion deficit that makes it impossible to fiscally stimulate us out of this recession—many Americans seem to believe that the cure for one gamble is another. Hence Perot.

The non-gambling set will stick with Bush. He is the choice of those who think that the country may not be doing well but will right itself of itself. Bush has nothing to offer but the comfort of continuity. Having done what it had to do—liquidate the Cold War and produce a singular (if incomplete) act of boldness in the gulf—the Bush presidency is spent. Bush's first term was spent consolidating Reagan's foreign policy achievements and caretaking the Reagan legacy. Bush's second term promises to be caretaker to the caretaker.

The idea of Bush as an instrument of change, a campaign persona he has taken on periodically this season, is merely silly. Bush is today, as he was four years ago, the candidate of the status quo. It is because the (economic) status quo is so

much worse today than in 1988 that Bush is in such deep trouble in the polls. But as Election Day approaches and people consider how much worse things really could get under an untried president, Bush will rise again in the polls.

That leaves Clinton. If he tries to tell people that things can't get any worse, he is not only preaching to a constituency already prepared to leap to Perot, he runs into a credibility problem. It is simply not true. Which is why Clinton's message is more moderate and practical: We can do better. I know how. Here is an eight-point plan.

Clinton has the opportunity to seize the psychological middle ground in this campaign. Leave the mad-as-hell populism to Perot. Concede the constituency for coasting to Bush. Present yourself as the candidate not of barn-clearing reform or do-nothingism but of serious tinkering.

With the country so anxious and angry it appears at times unhinged, a promise to tinker might appear too boring and plodding to win this election. Clinton's recent rise in the polls has been attributed mainly to his being a coat-holder for the Bush-Perot spitting match. But it may show that a slow, serious, reformist candidacy is what the country needs and will eventually turn to after its fling with Perot is over.

The moderate Democratic Party platform Clinton wrote is a good start. So is his choice of the solid, stolid Al Gore as his running mate. But most important is the moderation in the tone of the candidate and in the cadence of the campaign. In this crazy year, slow and serious might just win the race.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

David S. Broder

The Gore Choice

The legacy of 1948—and of 1968—and the influence of Ross Perot lie heavily on Bill Clinton's choice of Albert Gore Jr. for the Democratic ticket. It is an unconventional but shrewd political decision for the Arkansas governor to pick the Tennessee senator as his running mate.

Back in 1948, Harry Truman of Missouri, a scorned underdog in the race, picked Sen. Alben Barkley of neighboring Kentucky for second place on his ticket and scored one of the great upsets of American political history. Shift the axis two counties south and you have the Clinton-Gore ticket of 1992.

The pairing also owes much to the "southern strategy" that became part of Republican presidential doctrine in 1968. That was the year that Richard Nixon, politically homeless after moving from California to New York, found in the South a new political base.

The southern strategy has been the basis of almost every GOP campaign since then. Ronald Reagan cemented the South to the GOP in the 1980s and George Bush—insisting he was a Texan—made it the cornerstone of his 1988 drive for nomination and election.

That Clinton feels emboldened to challenge the southern strategy head-on in 1992 owes something to his own Dixie roots but more to the presence of third-party candidate Perot in the contest. With Perot combating Bush for the support of conservative white males, especially in the South, the Democrats have a realistic chance to win plurality victories with the help of a solid black vote in both the Deep South and the Border States.

As Clinton campaign manager David Wilhelm told me the day before Gore was formally announced, "If it's Gore, we can force Bush to defend his base. He won't be able to spend all his time in Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and California, as he did in 1988."

In fact, Gore may help in several of those states as well. The Tennessean is accustomed to campaigning in small towns and rural areas, and there is a lot of the South in downstate Illinois, in California's Central Valley and in all of Ohio below Columbus.

Gore also offers Clinton at least a veneer of protection on two of the vulnerabilities in the Clinton record. If Bush hopes to make hay on Clinton's suspect environmental decisions as governor, Gore, as the Senate's leading environmental advocate, has the credentials to challenge what the Bush administration has done in that area. And if Clinton's draft record becomes an issue in the autumn, as it almost certainly will, Gore will be a defender who volunteered for military service during the Vietnam War but long has made it clear that he, too, opposed the war and respected the motives of antiwar protesters such as Clinton.

In all these ways, Gore seems an almost-perfect match for Clinton, despite the geographical oddity of the ticket. What is suspect about the senator is his ability to campaign well when away from home. He has been unbeatable in Tennessee, where his father had pioneered the way to the Senate in 1952. But his 1988 bid for the Democratic presidential nomination showed him often the opposite of the easy-going, engaging and yet substantive stump speaker he is at home.

Perhaps because of his youth—he had just turned 40 then—Gore was solemn to the point of pomposity at many campaign stops in 1988. His attempts at humor seemed forced. He bombed almost everywhere after victories in several of the southern "Super Tuesday" primaries seemingly had provided him an opening into the contest.

That same stupefyingly boring Gore was on display last year at the Democratic Leadership Council convention in Cleveland—the same convention where Clinton spoke so well that it lit the fires of his bid for the presidential nomination.

Yet it would be a mistake to underestimate Gore—especially in the television debate against Vice President Quayle and Perot's choice for a running mate. Quayle will not want to compare military records with Gore. And he can hardly fault Gore's credentials on foreign policy, since Gore broke with Democratic orthodoxy and supported the administration on military action against Saddam Hussein.

And if Quayle chooses to raise his favorite "family values" issue, he will find his Democratic opponent well-prepared. As I learned one evening at the home of a Gore colleague, the Tennessean has devoted much time and thought to the dynamics of contemporary family life, reading psychoanalyst Erik Erikson and Harvard psychologist Carol Gilligan among many others. He is prepared to carry that discussion beyond the Murphy Brown level—so Quayle had better be sure he's done his homework.

It could be a show worth watching.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

Rowland Evans
And Robert Novak

Why a Second Term?

Frank advice to President Bush from his campaign chiefs—to forgo “speed” golf and cigarette boats in Maine this summer and instead take his case to America—begs an important question: What is his case?

The warning that this is no year for prolonged vacationing, made during a campaign conference call last weekend, reflects deep concern in the Bush-Quayle campaign. In private, some even admit that the president has no coherent program—or at least none ready to push today.

That harsh reality was actually voiced in the Oval Office last month when the president's former drug czar, William J. Bennett, was invited in and offered a national co-chairmanship of the reelection effort. Bennett respectfully declined, temporarily on grounds of television commitments but more permanently because he simply does not know what a Bush second term would stand for. Bennett blames the campaign for failing to provide a theme for the president. The campaign blames the White House for not putting Bush on a steady policy course. The White House blames the Treasury and Office of Management Budget for rigidity and reluctance to accept new policy ideas.

But the blame-passing buck stops on the president's desk. “I do not think there is really anything that we can do for the president right now,” one policy adviser confided to us. “It's up to him.” That is a tall order for a president whose base is drifting away and whose performance in recent weeks has been alarmingly uneven. He still cannot accept the fact that the failing economy is a millstone around his neck. When asked in last month's New York Times interview about America's biggest problem, he reflexively replied that it was education.

If, after 12 years at the seat of power, Bush cannot shape a consistent message for the country by himself, his closest supporters wonder where it will come from. There is no sign it will come from inside the administration.

Much-abused White House Chief of Staff Sam Skinner is viewed by Republican politicians as less responsible for what has happened than the two most prominent economic policy makers, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady and OMB Director Richard Darman. The pols complain that any idea not coming from within Treasury and OMB is dead on arrival.

That's what seems to have happened to the revived civilian conservation corps pushed after the Los Angeles riots by the campaign's idea man, James Pinkerton. It picked up wide support, but not from Pinkerton's old nemesis, Darman, who belittled the notion. The CCC remains dead.

According to White House aides, the president earlier this year seriously considered dropping Brady and Darman overboard and bringing in a new team. But he viewed such a shakeup, so soon after Skinner replaced John Sununu, as posing too great a threat. If too risky in January, it is out of the question in July.

A somewhat more realistic change, still talked about in the inner reaches of the campaign, might be James A. Baker III's coming over from the State Department to take charge.

But this misses a broader problem raised by one experienced Republican hand: “There have been many cases where the White House runs the campaign, but I've never heard of one where the campaign runs the White House. I don't think it can be done.”

The last option is the kind of campaign Democrats have always expected and many Bush advisers think now cannot be avoided: an unrelenting attack on Bill Clinton and, if he is still around, Ross Perot. That's not the answer the Bill Bennetts of the GOP have in mind when they ask what George Bush's second term will be like.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

WASHINGTON POST-ABC NEWS POLL

Q If the 1992 presidential election were being held today, and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican candidate, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, and Ross Perot, the Independent, for whom would you vote? (Registered voters)

	George Bush	Bill Clinton	Ross Perot
July 8	33%	30%	30%
June 28	28	33	31
June 7	30	26	36

Q Regardless of whom you support, please tell me if you think the person that I name is basically qualified or not qualified to be president, or if you don't know enough about that person to say.

	George Bush		Bill Clinton		Ross Perot	
	July 8	June 7	July 8	June 7	July 8	June 7
Qualified	74%	72%	55%	47%	39%	34%
Not qualified	22	25	27	31	30	25
Don't know	4	3	18	22	31	41

Q I am going to read you a list of names. For each, please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of that person, or perhaps you don't know enough to say.

	Barbara Bush		Hillary Clinton	
	July 8	March 18	July 8	March 18
Favorable	73%	75%	30%	28%
Unfavorable	14	11	26	22
Don't know	13	14	44	50

NOTE: Figures do not always add to 100 percent because "don't know" is sometimes not included. Results are based on a national random sample of 1,506 adults that included 1,166 registered voters interviewed by telephone July 1-3 and 6-8. Margin of sampling error for the overall results and for registered voters is plus or minus 3 percentage points. Sampling error is, however, only one of many potential sources of error in this or any public opinion poll. Interviewing was conducted by Chilton Research Services of Radnor, Pa.

—Compiled by Sharon Warden

POLITICS

Rep. Solarz Decides to Run In Hispanic New York District

Rep. Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.), whose Brooklyn district was dismantled in reapportionment, has decided to run in a majority Hispanic district rather than oppose Rep. Ted Weiss (D) in a Sept. 15 primary or Rep. Bill Green (R) in the November general election.

Solarz, who is Jewish, has represented one of the few districts in the country with a majority Jewish population since 1974. In announcing his plans, he said that New York could not afford to lose another incumbent in the wake of the announced retirements of seven senior members. Solarz is in line to become the second-ranking Democrat on the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

The unexpected decision won no applause from Hispanics, who have pressed in court for creation of majority Hispanic districts under the Voting Rights Act. Solarz, his critics note, makes a daunting opponent with his \$2 million campaign chest.

Several announced Hispanic candidates in the 58 percent Hispanic district have begun talking about uniting behind one of their number, according to candidate Ruben Franco.

Massachusetts Finally Draws the Lines

■ With less than 10 weeks to go until primary day, Massachusetts voters and politicians are finally discovering just where their new congressional districts are. Some may feel a bit lost for a while.

A few new districts are so convoluted that they drew complaints even in Massachusetts, where the term "gerrymandering" was coined in 1811 under Gov. Elbridge Gerry and where the practice was perfected over the years by Democrats. Critics say the new 4th Congressional District, for example, looks like a fish hook, but it also resembles a question mark.

The new lines were the product of fierce bickering between the Democrats—who control the Legislature, as well as all 11 seats in the current House delegation—and the 18-month-old Republican administration of Gov. William F. Weld.

About the only thing the two sides agreed on was the importance of preserving the contours of the district represented by J. Joseph Moakley, the House Rules chairman and dean of the delegation.

Negotiators also had to cut the number of seats from 11 to 10, under orders from the Supreme Court, which ruled on June 26 that Massachusetts had to yield a seat to Washington state to reflect population shifts.

With the retirement of Rep. Brian J. Donnelly, one Democratic seat certainly will be lost, and others are now believed to be vulnerable to challengers.

Weld, who signed the new districts into law on Thursday, demanded and won a new seat based in the increasingly conservative Merrimack Valley, which may cause problems for Rep. Chester G. Atkins. And he pried the city of New Bedford away from Rep. Gerry E. Studds, a descendant of Gov. Gerry.

—Kenneth J. Cooper and Christopher B. Daly

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

Poll Faults Bush and Rivals In Approach to AIDS Fight

Associated Press

Only 6 percent of Americans think President Bush is doing a good job of handling the AIDS problem, but few believe Bill Clinton or Ross Perot would do better, according to a poll released yesterday by an AIDS activist group.

The survey found 9 percent felt Perot would do a good job of handling the AIDS problem, and 8 percent felt Clinton would. But 52 percent of respondents said none of the candidates is equal to the task, while 24 percent had no opinion.

"The public wants both plain talk and action on AIDS from the government, from the presidential candidates and from the president," said Burns Roper, chairman of the Roper Organization, which conducted the poll. "It doesn't feel it has been getting appropriate action from government or appropriate leadership either from Bush or his would-be successors."

Timothy J. Sweeney, executive director of the New York-based Gay Men's Health Crisis, which commissioned the poll, said it shows the government is out of sync with the public on AIDS.

Some of the poll results released yesterday were updates of a larger poll conducted a year ago by Roper. A handful of political questions were added this year, Roper said.

Among the new questions was whether people believed the president should "take an active and highly visible role in leading the fight against AIDS." Eighty-three percent said yes; 13 percent said no. The remainder had no opinion.

Another new question found that

88 percent of those polled felt the government should mount "a massive scientific effort to find a cure and a vaccine for AIDS." Ten percent disagreed with that statement.

The survey also found 85 percent of the respondents viewed AIDS as a major problem, placing it ahead of heroin and cocaine use, the budget

*The survey was
commissioned by
the Gay Men's
Health Crisis of
New York.*

deficit, homelessness, toxic waste cleanup and equality for minorities.

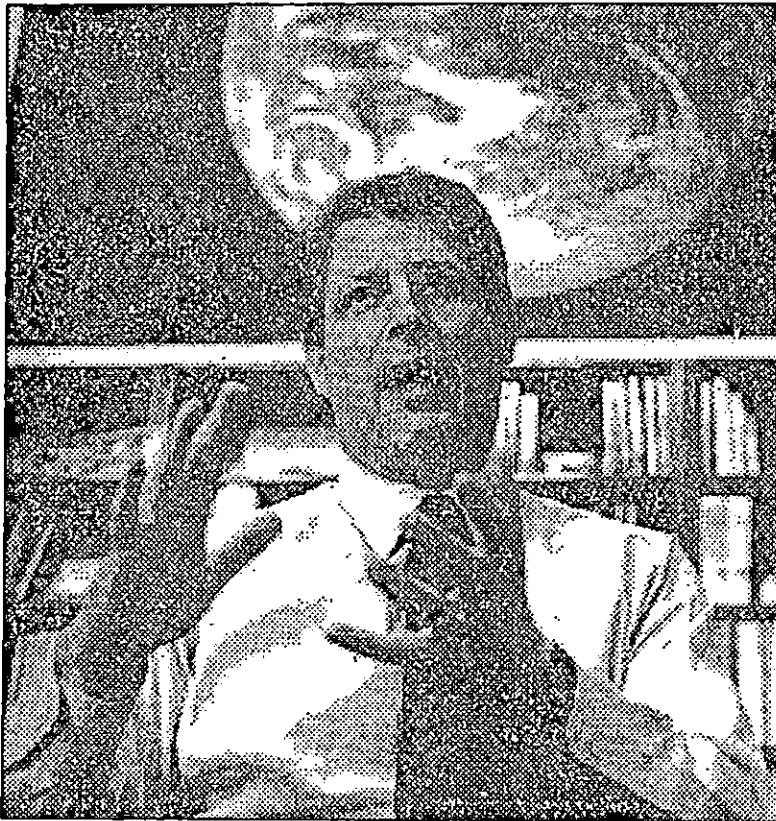
Results of the 1991 poll ranked heroin and cocaine use slightly ahead of AIDS as a major problem. Because of error margins, however, Roper said differences between 1991 and 1992 were not statistically significant—with one exception. That concerned whether people felt the federal government was doing all it should be doing to educate the public about AIDS. In 1991, 53 percent of those polled said no. A year later, 63 percent answered no to that question.

The 1992 poll was based on a national telephone survey in June of 1,006 randomly selected adults. The 1991 telephone poll queried 1,004 randomly selected adults in late May last year. Both had a margin of sampling error of plus or minus 3 percentage points.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS



SEN. ALBERT GORE JR. (D-TENN.)

PHOTO BY CRAIG HERNDON-THE WASHINGTON POST

BORN: March 31, 1948, in Washington, D.C.

EDUCATION: St. Albans School for Boys, 1965; B.A., Harvard University, 1969; Vanderbilt School of Religion, 1972; Vanderbilt Law School, 1976.

HOME: Carthage, Tenn.

FAMILY: Married Mary Elizabeth "Tipper" Aitcheson in 1970. They have four children. Gore is the

son of former senator Albert Gore Sr. (D-Tenn.).

RELIGION: Baptist

CAREER:

1969-71: U.S. Army service in Vietnam.

1973-76: Reporter and editorial writer for the Nashville Tennessean.

1976: Elected to the House of

Representatives.

1984: Elected to the Senate.

April 10, 1987: Says he is reconsidering his March decision not to run for president in 1988.

June 29, 1987: Officially declares his candidacy.

Nov. 7, 1987: Joins other politicians in admitting past marijuana use after Federal Appeals Judge Douglas H. Ginsburg acknowledged past marijuana use, ending his nomination to the Supreme Court.

March 8, 1988: Wins primaries in five "Super Tuesday" states after bypassing earlier caucuses and primaries in unusual strategy.

April 21, 1988: Withdraws from presidential race after losing New York primary two days earlier.

April 3, 1989: Son Albert III seriously injured when struck by a car in a parking lot at Baltimore's Memorial Stadium as he and his father left an Orioles game.

Nov. 6, 1990: Wins reelection to the Senate with 68 percent of the vote.

Aug. 21, 1991: Announces that he will not run for president in 1992 to spend more time with his family.

March 22, 1992: "Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit," his book on the environment, hits the New York Times bestseller list.

—Compiled by Mark Stencel

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

Clinton Picks Gore to Form A 'New Generation' Ticket

Tennessean Called Environmentalist And Family Man

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., July 9—Turning to his home region and his own generation to convey a message of youthful and energetic new leadership, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton today named Sen. Albert Gore Jr. of Tennessee to be his vice-presidential running mate in a campaign that he and his strategists believe will turn on a restive electorate's strong desire for change in Washington.

In sweltering heat and humidity on the lawn outside the Governor's Mansion here, the presumptive Democratic presidential nominee, who will be 46 in August, introduced his 44-year-old designated ticket mate as someone "who has what it takes to lead this nation from the day we take office."

"Throughout American history each generation has passed on leadership to the next," Gore said in voicing what is certain to be a central Democratic campaign theme in the fall. "That time has come again—the time for a new generation of leadership."

While the selection of Gore defied certain long-standing conventions of presidential politics, such as the presumed need for regional balance, the two-term senator appeared to complement Clinton in other important respects.

A member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Gore has foreign policy and national security credentials that Clinton lacks. While Clinton's environmental record in Arkansas has come under fire, Gore is considered one of Washington's leading environmental advocates.

Gore served in Vietnam, a contrast to Clinton's much publicized attempts to stay out of the draft, and Gore and his wife, Tipper, who has crusaded against obscenity in rock music lyrics, project an image of wholesome family life that could help shield Clinton from a Republican assault stressing personal character and "family value" issues.

But President Bush's spokesmen immediately
See DEMOCRATS, A8, Col. 1

■ Perot expects to name a running mate and hold convention in August. Page A9



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Sen. Albert Gore Jr. joins Clinton outside Governor's Mansion in Little Rock for announcement.

A Well-Groomed Understudy

Washington-Bred Gore Seen as Complementing Clinton

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

No one ever accused Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (D-Tenn.) of thinking small.

Four years ago, Gore, groomed for big things in politics from his birth as the son of a senator, was running for the Democratic presidential nomination before he turned 40. Last year, like many other prominent Democrats, he decided to sit out a race that President Bush seemed bound to win, saying family needs came first.

Instead of running again, Gore completed a book called "Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit" and led the Senate's delegation to last month's Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, adding to his reputation as one of the leading environmental voices in Washington.

Yesterday, however, Gore agreed to

make a bid for the role of the nation's premier understudy as the running mate of Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, an equally ambitious man of Gore's region and generation who had won the prize that had eluded Gore only four years before.

It makes sense in a strange sort of way: the 44-year-old Tennessean, who has never made any secret of his presidential ambitions, seems to have little to lose and everything to gain by making a creditable race for the vice presidency on a Clinton-Gore ticket, regardless of its success or lack of it in the November election.

"His party needed him, and, if things go wrong, it won't be his fault," said Rep. Thomas J. Downey (D-N.Y.), Gore's longtime Capitol Hill friend and ally, as word spread earlier this week that Gore was Clinton's likely choice.

With his high-profile record of environmental work
See GORE, A9, Col. 1

The Washington Post

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DEMOCRATS, From A1

diately sought to portray Gore as a tax-and-spend liberal with extremist views on the environment. "He is at the left end of the spectrum," said White House Chief of Staff Samuel K. Skinner, adding that Gore's selection "will send chills" through the business and conservative communities and "help us with our conservative base, our entrepreneurial base."

Independent Ross Perot, the likely third candidate in the presidential race, who has yet to choose his running mate, was more charitable about Gore. "He's a fine man, wonderful family, and I think he's an excellent choice," Perot said.

Clinton settled on Gore as his running mate late Wednesday night and telephoned the senator at his home in Carthage, Tenn., at 11:15 p.m. CDT to offer him the position, according to campaign aides. Gore immediately accepted and this morning flew here for the announcement.

His appearance with Clinton at a noon rally was a carefully staged tableau that stressed the running mates' common small-town southern roots in Carthage and Hope, Ark. Emerging from the mansion, the two men posed alone on a balcony for about two minutes before they were joined by their wives, Clinton's daughter, Chelsea, and Gore's children, Kristin, Sarah and Albert III.

It seemed just the image of energy and activism that Clinton strategists—and many Democrats—said they are counting on from the youthful ticket as a contrast to what they say is a Republican leadership in Washington that has run out of ideas and energy after 12 years in power.

Stan Greenberg, Clinton's campaign pollster, discounted the likelihood of voters looking for generational change when they cast their ballots in November. "I think they're looking for change. What's important about these two candidates is their energy and youth and

ability to take on the kind of changes people are looking for."

When voters consider 68-year-old Bush, Greenberg added, "it's not that age is the issue, it's a lack of energy and a lack of vision and I think that will be the contrast."

But other Democrats heard echoes of 1961 and John F. Kennedy's inaugural address. "This is truly a case where the torch may be passed to a new generation," said Sen. Harris Wofford (D-Pa.), one of five or six candidates who was on Clinton's list of finalists for the vice-presidential nomination.

"Senior citizens like myself and a lot of young people in this country are kind of tired of the old birds that have made such a mess of politics

and this is another chance as 1960 was for a new generation of leaders, tempered by these amazing decades we've just been through, to take over," Wofford said.

Clinton will attempt to begin projecting an image of youthful vigor with a hard-charging general election campaign he will begin immediately after next week's Democratic National Convention in New York City with a five-day bus tour to several northeastern, Middle Atlantic and border South states, ending in St. Louis. Gore will accompany Clinton on part of the trip. Aides say Clinton then plans to campaign almost full time throughout the summer.

Clinton met with Gore for almost three hours at the Capital Hilton ho-

tel in Washington the night of June 30 to discuss the nomination, according to Warren Christopher, the former Carter administration State Department official who headed a three-member panel that assisted Clinton in the selection. Other sources said Gore was exceptionally well prepared for the meeting and clearly made a good impression on Clinton.

By the time of that interview, research teams headed by Washington lawyer Victoria Radd had done preliminary research on what Christopher described as "quite an eclectic list" of about 40 names that Clinton wanted considered.

Christopher said "about six" men were on the final list of potential running mates and underwent thorough investigations of their financial, medical and personal histories. The investigations were conducted by teams of lawyers and others put together by Richard Moe, who was chief of staff to former Vice President Walter F. Mondale.

Although Christopher would not identify the other finalists, they are known to be Wofford, Sens. Bob Graham (Fla.), Bob Kerrey (Neb.) and John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV (W.Va.) and Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (Ind.).

Both Vernon Jordan, the former president of the National Urban League, and former Vermont governor Madeleine Kunin, who served on the panel headed by Christopher, said they were not upset that the final list included no women or minorities.

Clinton's decision was made in the east conference room of the Governor's Mansion here Wednesday night. He and Christopher first met privately for 20 minutes, then they were joined for a two-hour meeting by Clinton's wife, Hillary, his campaign director and close friend, Bruce Lindsay, and by Mark Gearan, executive director of the Democratic Governors' Association who is expected to play a key role in the vice-presidential candidate's campaign.

During the final hours of deliberation Wednesday night, Clinton and his advisers discussed whether to make an offer to New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo. According to one source, there was some belief that Cuomo, who had publicly expressed no interest in the vice presidency, might be willing to take it if offered. Cuomo's attraction was that he would be an extremely bold choice and help with ethnic and urban voters, particularly in the Northeast.

But Cuomo had not gone through the same kind of background and financial investigation as had the other finalists, and it was deemed too risky to make an offer at such a late hour.

Clinton made the decision about 11 p.m. Because Graham faces a filing deadline Friday for reelection, Clinton first called the Florida senator, telling him only that he was not the choice. He then called Gore.

"Tipper, I hope I didn't wake you up; even if I did I had to," Gearan quoted Clinton as saying when Mrs. Gore answered the telephone. Gearan said Clinton then told Gore, "You'd be an excellent president and if you are willing I'd like you to be my running mate."

Gore, who unsuccessfully sought the 1988 Democratic presidential nomination, remained in Little Rock today for meetings with Clinton campaign officials. Clinton and Gore are to hold a news conference here Friday.

Staff writers Dan Balz in New York, E. J. Dionne Jr. in Washington and Guy Gugliotta in Little Rock contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

GORE, From A1

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

mental advocacy, his military service in Vietnam, an unblemished marital history and his Washington-based experience on military and foreign policy issues, Gore appears almost tailor-made to patch some of the holes in Clinton's personal and political résumé.

Gore could also help reinforce Clinton's appeal to the South and to voters born after World War II, as both of them were. But, as someone who was born in Washington, bred on national politics and served for 16 years in Congress, Gore—for all his youthful looks and talk of sweeping reforms—cannot run as a fresh-faced "outsider."

Like Clinton, Gore has an outspoken wife with interests of her own. Tipper Gore has crusaded against obscene lyrics in rock songs.

In his eight years each in the House and Senate, Gore, who has referred to himself as a "raging moderate," charted a course that ranged from a variety of consumer issues to nuclear arms control, falling in the liberal-to-moderate area in most rankings of congressional votes.

Courty in Old-Fashioned, Southern Way

Colleagues have described Gore as bright, earnest, hard-working, collegial and courtly in a curiously old-fashioned southern kind of way. But some have also found him to be excessively ambitious (even for a senator), calculating in his self-promotion, a tad pompous and a master at the art of headline-grabbing and camera-hogging.

Like Clinton, Gore supported offensive military action in the Persian Gulf War, earning points from Democratic colleagues who opposed it by defending them from Republican attacks on the issue.

An impresario of legislative hearings that make for good television but sometimes put colleagues' teeth on edge, Gore pounced on government and corporate excesses on subjects ranging from infant formulas to dumping of hazardous wastes.

He was also one of the early "Atari Democrats" who championed investment in high technology and continued to plug it as recently as a week ago in a long-range growth package advanced by Senate Democrats to promote creation of high-tech, high-wage jobs.

Although he was the most hawklike candidate in the 1988 race, his main claim to fame on Capitol Hill was arms control, which he mastered in a yearlong, self-conducted crash course that led eventually to a strategy for tradeoff of multi-warhead (MIRV) missiles for mobile single-warhead weapons that became a serious point of discussion in arms control debates.

Like Clinton, Gore has been an abortion-rights supporter, although he has disparaged the kind of "litmus tests" that some in the party have used on abortion and other issues, saying he favors more "pragmatic" solutions.

An early interest in environmental concerns, which he says goes back as far as soil erosion problems on the family's Tennessee farm, gradually grew into the virtual obsession that was expressed in "Earth in the Balance."

pital for weeks; for months more, they devoted most of their time to his lengthy recovery.

Gore wrote that the experience changed him in a profound way, and friends such as Downey say that it forced him to think more deeply about what really mattered in his life.

"I don't think my son's brush with death was solely responsible, although that was the catalyst," Gore wrote. "But I had also just lost a presidential campaign; moreover, I had just turned 40 years old. I was, in a sense, vulnerable to the change that sought me out in the middle of my life and gave me a new sense of urgency about those things I value the most."

Gore was able to accept the vice-presidential bid because it required far less time away from his family than a yearlong run for the presidency and because his son had almost completely recovered, Downey said. Gore has had no regrets about not seeking the presidency this year, Downey added, although one Senate colleague, who asked not to be identified, said Gore showed some signs of second thoughts when Clinton stumbled in the early primaries.

Gore was born into a life of privilege that contrasts strongly with Clinton's early years. While the family's roots are in the small town of Carthage in the Cumberland foothills between Nashville and Knoxville, Gore was born and educated in Washington, attending St. Albans School for Boys before going to Harvard.

It was at a St. Albans dance in Gore's senior year that he met his wife-to-be, Mary Elizabeth Aitcheson, known as Tipper. They now have four children.

Politics at the Dinner Table

Gore grew up in what has been described as an especially close-knit family, deeply involved in politics and government, which was discussed at the dinner table, often with important visitors brought home by Gore's father. His mother, like his father, was a lawyer intensely interested in public affairs, a "formidable personality in her own right," as a friend of the family recalls. At one point, the younger Gore served as a translator for his father on a trip to Central America.

But the senior Sen. Gore's 32-year Washington career came crashing to an end in 1970, a political casualty of the Vietnam War, which he opposed.

In what he has described as an effort to make it easier for his father during his campaign, Gore Jr., even though he too opposed the war, had enlisted in the Army, serving in Vietnam as an Army journalist. Before he left for Vietnam, he posed in his Army uniform for a television campaign ad, which featured his father on horseback. In Vietnam, the younger Gore saw but did not participate in combat.

When he returned to Tennessee, Gore became a reporter for the Nashville Tennessean and attended divinity school at night for a time. Along the way, he soured on politics, then drifted back and jumped at the chance to run for the House in 1976 when a local seat became vacant.

He won narrowly and continued to serve in the House until 1984, when he ran for the Senate seat of retiring majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr. (R), winning by a landslide both that year and in his bid for a second term in 1990.

THE WASHINGTON POST

In the book, he said the world must make "the rescue of the environment the central organizing principle for civilization" and called for nothing less than a "global Marshall Plan" that would attempt to stabilize population growth, introduce new technologies and promote societal changes aimed at protecting the environment.

But Gore also conceded that he played down the global ecology issue in 1988 when no one paid it much attention. At one point, when he did get into the subject, he noted that a rival suggested that he sounded as though he was running for "national scientist" (actually, James I. Hansen had said that).

truth is that I simply lacked the strength to keep on talking about the environmental crisis constantly whether it was being reported in the press or not," Gore wrote.

At least in part, Gore ascribed his new sense of commitment to the global environmental to a sudden, near-tragic event that he has said also contributed to his decision not to seek the presidency this year.

One April afternoon in 1989, Gore saw his 6-year-old son Albert III hit by a car outside Memorial Stadium in Baltimore and hurled 30 feet through the air, skidding another 20 feet along the pavement before he came to

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Kindred Spirits

Gore Brings Strength— But Not Diversity— To Democratic Ticket

Vice-Presidential Nominee
Is Youthful, Moderate
And an Environmentalist

Will Tipper Balance Hillary?

By JEFFREY H. BIRNBAUM
And DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — On the surface, Bill Clinton and Albert Gore seem unlikely running mates. Their very similarity—two young, Southern, white men with centrist views and strong-willed wives—flies in the face of conventional wisdom about a balanced ticket.

"It takes two wings to fly, and here you have two of the same wing," complained Jesse Jackson on a morning news show.

Yet Mr. Clinton's choice of the Tennessee senator to be his vice presidential

candidate may prove politically shrewd. Mr. Gore brings credibility and strength to the Democrats' ticket on issues from foreign policy to technology. Mr. Gore may bring Mr. Clinton new support among environmentalists, Jews and baby boomers. A Vietnam veteran, Mr. Gore may also help defuse criticism of Mr. Clinton's dealings with his draft board during the war. Mr. Gore's war record also contrasts starkly with Vice President Quayle's National Guard duty.

Only 44 years old, Mr. Gore has earned considerable respect in the political community in his 16 years in Congress, as well as in his unsuccessful 1988 presidential campaign. Most top Democrats say they're delighted with the ticket. "This is a very high-energy, very tough ticket," says John Sasso, who ran Michael Dukakis's 1988 campaign.

What Mr. Gore doesn't bring to the ticket, of course, is geographical diversity. Past nominees have sought regional balance in their tickets. The pairing of two southerners may risk alienating big Democratic voting blocs in the industrial Midwest and the East.

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But this isn't a conventional election season, and the dynamics of the three-way race with President Bush and independent Ross Perot may help a Democratic ticket with a strong southern flavor. The South is President Bush's political base, and with Mr. Perot peeling off some of his support there, the region suddenly is within reach of Mr. Clinton — and may be closer now with Mr. Gore on the ticket. This may be especially true in such states as North Carolina and Kentucky.

Moreover, Mr. Gore reinforces the Democrats' message that their ticket represents a generational change in American politics. Some Democrats outside the South suggest Mr. Gore could be an asset in their regions — Mr. Sasso in the Northeast, for example, and California-based party strategist Bill Carrick.

The Republicans immediately began denouncing the ticket. Bush-Quayle chairman Robert Teeter labeled Mr. Gore a big-spending liberal, while other GOP spokesmen said the choice proved Gov. Clinton was a liberal because he had picked "an environmental extremist" for the ticket.

Mr. Gore has taken some tough environmental stands — a book he wrote on the



Bill Clinton and Albert Gore

subject has become a best-seller. But his views hardly seem extreme, and Republican charges that he's a strong environmentalist may only help the Democrats. "That's great for us in California," says John Emerson, who is running the Clinton-Gore campaign there. And Mr. Gore's sober image in Congress will make it difficult for the big-spending liberal label to stick.

Another reason it may be hard to portray Mr. Gore as a liberal is his wife, Tipper. With her well-publicized campaigns against pornography and obscene record lyrics, Mrs. Gore may partly offset Republican efforts to make "family values" a centerpiece of their campaign.

"If she gets trashed by Rolling Stone, they'll love her in Reader's Digest," observes Kevin Phillips, the maverick Republican theoretician.

Mrs. Gore may also complement Hillary Clinton, the presidential nominee's wife, whose assertively feminist views polarize many voters. In the most recent Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll, 22% of the voters expressed a positive opinion of Mrs. Clinton, while 30% viewed her negatively.

Mr. Clinton, 45, and Mr. Gore have known each other for some time. As two contemporaries from the South and from the moderate Democratic Leadership

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Kindred Spirits: Albert Gore Brings Strength, Not Diversity, to Ticket

Continued From First Page

Council, both of whom believe they're smarter than most, they have also eyed each other warily.

In 1988, then-presidential candidate Gore won Arkansas's Super Tuesday primary without an endorsement from Mr. Clinton, who often appeared to be leaning toward Michael Dukakis. Mr. Clinton appeared with Sen. Gore in Little Rock on the eve of the primary, but maintained his neutrality and warned that the race had become so nasty that the survivors would be weakened. That's exactly what happened to Mr. Gore, who was never able to capitalize on his victories in the South.

Short of money, he stumbled when he came north to Illinois and Wisconsin. Then New York proved fatal: his campaign seemed to slip out of his control and into the hands of then-controversial New York City Mayor Ed Koch, whose acerbic attacks on Jesse Jackson caused problems for Mr. Gore. The Tennessee senator wound up finishing far behind both Mr. Dukakis and Mr. Jackson, effectively ending his candidacy.

In the Senate in recent years, Mr. Gore has worked toward modifying the tax code to shift money to middle- and working-class families with children. He is the lead co-sponsor, with his friend, Rep. Thomas Downey, of a proposal to replace the personal exemption for children with a refundable credit of \$800 for each child under 18 years old. As part of the plan, a new income-tax rate structure would be established, with a top rate of 36% for wealthier families with an adjusted gross income above \$130,000 to \$140,000.

As a member of the Armed Services Committee, Mr. Gore brings a knowledge of military matters. He voted for the use of military force in the Persian Gulf, and he has been a proponent of deep cuts in the Strategic Defense Initiative budget.

Mr. Gore has strong ties to the pro-Israel community, which should provide campaign funds as well as support in the Northeast, California and Florida. The ticket "is a very strong pro-Israel team," says Thomas Dine, executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

Looking Forward

Part of Mr. Gore's generational appeal is that he has identified himself with some important issues of the future, including national computer networks, fiber optics and the complicated bioethics of new medical technologies.

"He's one of the smartest people I know in Congress," says Paul Huray, who served in the Reagan and Bush White Houses and is now senior vice president for research at the University of South Carolina. "He could interact with any group of scientists, engineers, physicists, biologists. He listens and then he acts. . . . He's a man who understands science and the use of science." (Richard Neustadt, a Harvard University expert on the presidency, once said that of the thousands of students he has taught, young Mr. Gore was the most outstanding.)

Mr. Gore has the additional feature of having survived the intense media scrutiny of the 1988 presidential campaign without damaging personal revelations.

while Mr. Kerrey is divorced. In deciding not to run for president this year, Mr. Gore cited concern for his family as a major reason; now he faces a shorter, four-month campaign.

Silence Is Golden

Knowing he was under scrutiny, Mr. Gore was discreet. He was the only contender on the short list whose meeting with Mr. Clinton — in Washington last week — didn't become public knowledge.

A last-minute effort by Democratic Chairman Ron Brown to push New York Gov. Mario Cuomo for the nomination failed to get off the ground. Gov. Clinton's final decision was made in the East Conference Room of the stately governor's mansion in Little Rock, in a session with Mrs. Clinton, search-committee chairman Warren Christopher, Clinton aide Bruce Lindsey and Mark Gearan, the executive director of the Democratic Governors' Association, who is thought to be in line to head Mr. Gore's staff. At last, he called Sen. Gore Wednesday night, a little after midnight.

Why, finally, Sen. Gore? Says George Stephanopoulos, Mr. Clinton's communications director: "He's tested. He knows his stuff."

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Friend of Consumers

As a member first of the House Energy and Commerce Committee and now of the Senate Commerce panel, Mr. Gore has waged a series of fights on consumer issues. Among the most notable is his battle with the cable industry on behalf of the owners of satellite dishes. He also supported the Federal Trade Commission in the early 1980s on such issues as regulating used-car dealers. Despite his pro-consumer positions, he has also attracted considerable financial support from business.

The senator's book, "Earth in the Balance," and his legislative record on such international issues as ozone depletion and global warming give him a high profile. His aggressive stand put pressure on the Bush administration, which announced earlier this year that it would go beyond international requirements and accelerate the process of phasing out the manufacture of ozone depleting chemicals.

In the case of global warming, critics say he is self-righteous and fails to recognize contrary evidence on the issue. He infuriated even pro-environment forces in the Bush administration by traveling to the Rio conference last month and offering himself as a critic of U.S. positions. But in truth, he isn't so far ahead of many of the positions privately favored by EPA Administrator William Reilly.

Mr. Gore has pushed the U.S. by the year 2000 to stabilize emissions of carbon dioxide — a prime cause of global warming — at 1990 levels. Administration officials argue that this sort of agreement could cost billions of dollars after 2000, possibly crippling economic growth.

Mr. Clinton's Lists

In searching for a vice presidential candidate, Mr. Clinton set out several criteria: The nominee should make a good president, should share his view about the future and the plight of the middle class and should have different strengths from his.

Unlike Walter Mondale in 1984, who publicly paraded his vice-presidential candidates, and Michael Dukakis in 1988, whose widely publicized list of candidates contained bows to many constituency groups, Mr. Clinton's search was low-key and methodical.

In early June, Mr. Clinton and his aides came up with a list of six names: Sens. Gore, Harris Wofford of Pennsylvania, Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, Bob Graham of Florida and Jay Rockefeller of West Virginia, and Rep. Lee Hamilton of Indiana. Mr. Rockefeller took himself out for personal reasons, while Mr. Graham is up for re-election this year and so would have had to give up his seat to run. (Some Clinton strategists were convinced he would have quit the Senate if he was tapped.)

Mr. Clinton decided that generational change should be a major theme of the campaign. The two who best filled that bill were Sens. Gore and Kerrey. One advantage for Mr. Gore was that he has a family,

Abortion Issue Could Benefit Clinton's Bid

By DAVID SHRIBMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

The abortion issue gives the Democrats a weapon in the fall presidential campaign—but it's one that could boomerang.

If the focus of the abortion debate in the campaign is on the survival of *Roe vs. Wade*, the 1973 Supreme Court decision that established abortion rights, then it will give a boost to Bill Clinton and the Democrats. A new Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll shows that by an overwhelming margin of 45% to 21%, voters believe the next new justice on the Supreme Court should side with those who wish to prevent states from making abortion illegal rather than permit states to ban the procedure. Currently, four of the nine justices on the high court support overturning *Roe*.

But if the debate centers on the sort of restrictions the high court upheld in the Pennsylvania case two weeks ago, the Democrats' advantage may disappear—and the Republicans may be the beneficiaries. U.S. voters by a 57%-to-38% margin support the principal tenets of the Pennsylvania law.

Right now abortion is a mine buried in the landscape of politics — explosive but unpredictable. Indeed, the hazards that this issue presents are underlined in the latest Journal/NBC poll, which illuminates both the deep feelings and the ambiguities the issue prompts among voters.

The poll of 1,105 registered voters taken Sunday through Tuesday — the first the Journal and NBC have taken since the court acted last month—shows that two out of three voters believe abortion shouldn't be outlawed.

Support for Restrictions

At the same time, however, voters by a large margin support requiring women to wait 24 hours before receiving an abortion and requiring those under age 18 to obtain permission from a parent before having the procedure — two of the principal elements of the Pennsylvania law.

Gov. Clinton, who next week will accept the Democratic presidential nomination, already has said that he will make support of the *Roe* decision a litmus test for his appointments to the court. But he could be harmed if a perception takes hold that he eliminated two contenders for the vice presidency, Sen. Harris Wofford of Pennsylvania and Rep. Lee Hamilton of Indiana, because of their support for the Pennsylvania law.

"Anyone who tries to make an advantage of the abortion issue has to be very careful," says James Reichley, a Georgetown University political scientist who specializes in religious and social issues.

Even so, the Democrats appear to have

an advantage over the Republicans on the abortion issue as the fall general-election season approaches.

Voters, by a 32%-to-18% margin, believe that the Democrats would do a better job dealing with the issue of abortion. That represents an increase in the Democrats' advantage since November 1989.

Views on Candidates

Moreover, the public, by a smaller margin of 27% to 23%, believes that Gov. Clinton, who supports abortion rights, would do a better job than President Bush, who opposes them, in handling the issue. Though his views are similar to Mr. Clinton's, independent undeclared candidate Ross Perot comes in a distant third on the issue with 15%.

Although those who oppose legal abortion tend to give the issue more weight when they vote, the poll numbers show that public sentiment could work to the advantage of those who support abortion rights.

The Journal/NBC poll, for instance, shows that two-thirds of the 26% who oppose abortion say it is either the most important issue in deciding their vote or one of the most important issues affecting their vote. But half of the 67% who support legal abortion — a much bigger number of people — consider it the most or one of the most important issues.

"With very few exceptions the pro-

The Next Choice

Percentages of voters who believe the next justice appointed to the Supreme Court should or should not vote to overturn *Roe vs. Wade* or who don't think it's an important consideration:

Should vote to overturn	21%
Should not vote to overturn	45%
Not an important consideration	28%

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL/NBC NEWS POLL

choice people never voted single issue on this or on anything else," says Douglas Bailey, a Republican political consultant. "But what is new is the willingness of pro-choice people to consider voting on a single issue, which they have never done prior to the last few years."

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From Political Rap to a Plastic Foot, Clinton Is Flooded With Free Advice

By DAVID SHRIEMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — Dear Bill:
Use more self-deprecating humor.
Film an ad in someone's kitchen.
Attack Ross Perot.
Don't use so many abstractions.
Relax. Get some rest.
Don't smile so much.

As if Gov. Bill Clinton doesn't get enough paid advice, an avalanche of free advice like this has been rumbling into his headquarters here in Little Rock. Also free campaign songs. And free campaign slogans. And free advertising gimmicks. And free logos.

What's America about anyway, if not free speech? So nobody should have been surprised the other day when a free speech arrived at Clinton headquarters.

If Prof. John McInerney had his way, Mr. Clinton would stand before the delegates to the Democratic National Convention next week and deplore the "nowhere-to-go, no-way-to-grow hopelessness" of urban America.

Then he'd add: "I've been working and struggling to change things for the better for 11 years now as the governor of Arkansas. We've launched many successful new programs in my state, and we're headed in the right direction, but progress has been slower than I'd like, because for the last 12 years the do-nothing federal government has stood in the way."

Mr. McInerney, an English professor at the University of Scranton in Pennsylvania, has never been involved much in politics. He has voted, of course, and he is a Democrat. But Mr. Clinton's campaign troubles prompted him to sit down at a word processor the other day to write a 13-page acceptance speech he hoped the Arkansas governor might deliver to the convention.

Then he zipped it off to headquarters—where it actually got read.

Mr. McInerney's speech isn't likely to be read aloud by Mr. Clinton anytime soon — the professor says he would be happy if "only chunks of it" were used—but it isn't the only mail Mr. Clinton and his campaign consultants, James Carville and Paul Begala, are getting these days.

Presidential campaigns often get unsolicited advice, but the converted newspaper office that Mr. Clinton is using as his campaign headquarters here is filling up with manuscripts, issue briefs and packages at a remarkable rate. They come from people such as James Sanford, who owns a bookstore in Providence, R.I., and sent along a series of suggestions and an appeal to stress women's issues. "I'm frustrated," says Mr. Sanford. "I just wanted to help."

So did Daniel Kursevski, a security guard in an insurance office in Plover, Wis., who sent along the idea of a campaign ad set in the kitchen of an ordinary family. "I thought he had to communicate trust," says Mr. Kursevski. "I felt strongly about it."

Then there is the green plastic foot.

Nobody quite remembers where it came from, but it's the perfect thing for a campaign that's looking for a message—because it has a message printed right on it that says: "Let's Boot Bush."

The prototype has one of those small rubber suction cups that people use to stick little signs in their car windows trumpeting a baby on board. Presumably the green foot would go in the same place.

There is the Governor's Summer Reading and Research Workshop.

This is a spiffy document in a plastic case. It is supposed to "transform Gov. Clinton into 'The Great Educator'" by

linking him to a "series of instructive exercises that might keep thousands of children away from television sets and give them a strong reason to visit the libraries of America." But this one isn't so selfless. The man behind the idea wants Mr. Clinton to pay a fee for the workshop.

There are the "Bush-whacking commercials."

These are scripts for television spots. They have endings like "Bill Clinton: Real Service, Not Lip Service" and "Bill Clinton—a president for every American."

Then there are the suggestions. Lots of them.

Mr. Sanford, the Providence bookseller, suggests that Mr. Clinton adopt the phrase "Bush is the president for whom the buck stops elsewhere." Another correspondent believes Mr. Clinton should reserve the phrase "world class" to mock Mr. Perot. A third, retired executive Dorothy Green from Jamaica Plain, Mass., finds Mr. Clinton's smile unsettling and urges the governor "not to be afraid to look serious, angry, thoughtful when that is appropriate."

One of the campaign's pen pals thinks an attack on Mr. Perot "would be useful right now." He helpfully attaches a few remarks that he believes Gov. Clinton could fold immediately into his speeches. Such as: "I've had 10 years' experience at the give-and-take of shared-power democracy. Ten years' successful experience at it. Mr. Perot hasn't had a day of it. Tell me he will get more done than I will!"

There is the campaign logo.

Gary Pierce, a San Francisco graphic designer who will serve as a Clinton precinct captain in the fall campaign, sent his own color logo (red, white and blue, naturally), with the candidate's name printed against the background of a flag and with a star serving as the dot over the "i." It's pretty attractive, too.

The logo started as modern-day doodling by a man with a new software program and an itch to see what it could do. "I was just fooling around," he says. "I began to like what I was playing with, so I refined it. Then I figured there was no reason not to send it in."

And of course there are the policy proposals.

Spend more on education. Adjust the price of imported goods to reflect the difference between U.S. wages and those in foreign countries. Crack down on polluters. One man has in mind a "Family Hours Act," which would "restructure the work week around the needs of the family," shortening the work day to six hours.

All of these get read, sometimes by Mr. Carville himself. Most of them get answered. And the answers produce — well, you knew this—follow-up letters. One such letter began, truthfully enough, "You still don't know whether I am a nut or a nuisance . . ."

The campaign is still waiting for the original rap song that one writer promised would profess "many of the beliefs and convictions that Bill Clinton stands for." A campaign never knows when that sort of thing can come in handy.

But all of this raises some sticky questions for the governor.

If, for example, Mr. Clinton heeded Mr. McInerney's advice and read his speech at the convention, he would run headlong into the advice of another correspondent from New Orleans. This writer suggests that Mr. Clinton deliver his acceptance speech "without any notes, any speechwriters."

Nobody ever said democracy was easy.

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Bush Urges A Joint Effort On Ethnic Strife

At Finnish Parley, President Asked by Bosnia's Chief For 'Military Action'

By MICHEL MCQUEEN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

HELSINKI, Finland — President Bush called for international cooperation to settle ethnic conflicts and promote human rights in Europe, even as the crisis in Yugoslavia was testing the limits of the U.S.'s own role in achieving these goals.

Before Mr. Bush could deliver his remarks at a conference on trans-Atlantic and regional security issues here yesterday, he received a personal plea from the president of Bosnia-Herzegovina for "peace-making forces" to counter the Serbian militia's assault on his new nation.

President Alijah Izetbegovic told reporters after his private meeting with Mr. Bush that "of course I asked for a kind of military action." He also told Cable News Network that although he understood Mr. Bush's unwillingness to send ground troops "because I know they don't like that," he had suggested that the U.S. could instead use its aircraft to destroy Serbian artillery and other heavy equipment, which he said makes it impossible for his people to fight back.

But President Bush's diplomatic advisers reiterated that they draw a sharp distinction between providing food and supplies and trying to resolve the underlying dispute, even when civilians are being killed. "The president made it very clear that the focus of United States efforts is on the provisioning of humanitarian relief and not an ultimate solution to the political conflict," Secretary of State James Baker told reporters.

A senior official traveling with Mr. Bush to Helsinki was more blunt, saying: "The president of Bosnia would like us to treat this like Kuwait. There's a difference between the Gulf and the situation here in terms of our national security interests."

Conditions for Intervention

Still, Mr. Baker continued to insist that Mr. Bush hasn't ruled out the use of U.S. troops should conditions warrant, although he refused to specify what those conditions might be. He said that Mr. Bush will consider the Bosnian leader's request to use U.S. air power against Serbian heavy equipment, but continued to caution that the U.S. is only likely to act in the context of a multilateral effort after further discussion at the United Nations.

The discussion over Yugoslavia, which has preoccupied Mr. Bush throughout his weeklong visit to Europe, was emblematic of the issues he and the other world leaders sought to address as they consider new economic problems and security arrangements in the wake of the Cold War's sudden end.

After attending a meeting in Munich, Germany, of the biggest industrial powers, Mr. Bush came here to attend a meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, a 52-member group founded in 1975 to manage East-West relations and to introduce human rights standards in both blocs.

Mr. Bush told the group, which this week expelled Serbia-Montenegro for its aggression, that it must expand its purpose to better manage the changes of the new world order, especially a rise of ethnic conflicts that he said threaten the democratic movement in Europe. "We must not be so paralyzed by the turmoil around us that we lose sight of our historic mission, completing the grand liberation of the past three years," Mr. Bush said. "We should use CSCE to nurture democratic ways in those societies where people have been oppressed for generations under the heel of the state."

Declaration to Be Signed

Mr. Bush and the other leaders will sign a declaration today reaffirming the human rights standards that launched the CSCE and promising to hold member nations accountable. The accord will transform what has been essentially a discussion group into a political structure aimed at promoting democratic values and a vehicle for handling conflicts in Europe.

The document calls for creation of arbitration boards to address the ethnic and nationalist conflicts that have arisen with the collapse of the Soviet empire. If arbitration fails, peacekeeping forces may be called in. In a victory for the French, the declaration will state that North Atlantic Treaty Organization forces, which include the U.S. troops, may be called, as well as troops under the command of the Western European Union, in which France is the dominant military power.

Mr. Bush will also sign a conventional force agreement here that limits the number of troops in Europe. It applies to land and air forces in the region between the Atlantic and the Ural mountains. It will be the last such agreement between NATO members and countries that made up the Warsaw Pact, which ceased to exist with the end of the Cold War.

After the signing, Mr. Bush returns to the U.S. for a week's vacation while the Democrats meet at their presidential nominating convention in New York.

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Clinton & Clone: For Once, a Ticket That's Not Doomed

The night before the Senate vote on the Persian Gulf War, Al Gore had decided what he'd say. It just wasn't the same thing he'd end up saying 12 hours later.

That night he'd agonized with his staff and had all but decided to oppose the use of force. Only the next morning did the Tennessee senator ask for the speech supporting the war that is now hailed as an act of courageous non-conformity. Right up to the time he delivered his speech, even most senators didn't know how Mr. Gore was going to vote.

If this sounds like Bill Clinton's hemming-and-hawing before he also supported the war, maybe that's what Bill Clinton had in mind by choosing Al Gore. The pair are political twins. If Mr. Clinton were part of George Mitchell's liberal Senate instead of a governor in the conservative South, he'd probably be Al Gore. And vice versa. One way to think about this ticket is Clinton and Clone. With dark glasses, hats and Mr. Clinton's saxophone, they could tour as the Blues Brothers.

The conventional wisdom is to choose a vice president for "balance"—geographic, generational or ideological. Mr. Clinton has gone instead for a man who reinforces the image he himself wants to project as a younger, centrist, non-traditional Democrat. In this odd political year, with Mr. Clinton's public character so muddled by the primaries, Mr. Gore is a shrewder choice than Republicans want to admit.

He's no Geraldine Ferraro, for one thing. Having been vetted by the national press in the 1988 presidential race, Mr. Gore is a safe sell. Mr. Clinton won't now have to answer weeks of surprise questions about his veep choice.

Mr. Gore's lack of geographic balance is also an ironic asset. Mr. Clinton's draft-

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

avoidance and marital history made him unlikely to break President Bush's "electoral lock" in the South. But in a three-way race the South is competitive again, and Mr. Gore reinforces Mr. Clinton's draw in the border states at least. A Mario Cuomo might have carried New York, but it would have shut Mr. Clinton out in the South.

Most important, though, Mr. Gore is supposed to reinforce Mr. Clinton's case that he isn't just Dukakis with a drawl. "Things got sufficiently blurred during the primaries," says William Galston, a Democratic strategist of non-traditional bent, "so that reinforcing the basic point that a change has taken place in the Democratic Party is the prime objective."

In other words, Mr. Clinton ran to the left to beat Paul Tsongas. Mr. Gore helps him return to the centrist themes he started with last summer.

Like his Arkansas twin, Mr. Gore has tempered his mostly liberal instincts with a few significant dissents. The Gulf War vote was one. He was also a rare member of his Harvard and economic class to actually serve in Vietnam. His wife, Tipper, had the gumption to take on Hollywood's — dare I say it — cultural elites on rock lyrics. She may have even baked cookies and held teas while raising four kids.

In 1988, Mr. Gore was the candidate who allied himself with former New York mayor Ed Koch against Jesse Jackson. Liberals hated him for it. Mr. Gore also first uttered the dread words, "Willie Horton," in public. He cited the world's most famous prisoner in a debate with Mr. Dukakis. (Maybe now Democrats will give Roger Ailes a furlough, too.)

Jesse Jackson, the old reliable, was only doing Mr. Clinton a favor yesterday by saying Mr. Gore made it a "narrow ticket" too confined to the "moderate" wing of the party. This is exactly what the Clinton campaign wants suburban and Southern voters to think about their ticket.

Like other liberals, Mr. Jackson won't object in the end because he smells a real Democratic chance at victory this year.

Liberals also know Mr. Gore didn't become the poster child of the New Republic magazine because he's a conservative. His COPE— or labor union—rating is a New Dealish 87%. He brooks no restrictions on abortion. He was also one of the first Democrats, in 1991, to mask his proposal for higher tax rates with a tax-subsidy bribe for the middle-class. Mr. Clinton has adopted the same tax strategy.



Al Gore

If Mr. Gore has a political vulnerability, it may be his super-green environmentalism. I saw this first-hand a couple of months back after I'd written a column critical of global warming alarmists. Mr. Gore invited me to lunch because he wanted to persuade someone "on your side" that something more than politics was involved in his cause.

Mr. Gore is smart, informed and I admire his conviction. But there's also a hint of the Malthusian in him, as if the world is going to hell in an internal-combustion engine. His recent book, "Earth in the Balance," has an apocalyptic undercurrent. The world is in "grave crisis," and we have "lost our feeling of connectedness to the rest of nature." His solutions—a "global Marshall Plan" and a "strategic environment initiative"—put more faith in bureaucratic planning than those of anyone now living within 1,000 miles of Moscow.

But if Mr. Gore plays down the worst of this in the actual campaign, as no doubt he will, Mr. Clinton has improved his chances of winning.

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The Masque of the Democrats

By R. EMMETT TYRRELL JR.

NEW YORK — The Democrats returning to the Big Apple are scarcely the boisterous, ebullient bunch from days gone by. Fruit juice tipplers have replaced most of the beer guzzlers and dispelled the cigar smoke. The party once characterized as that of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" is now that of "Yogurt, Yoga and Bumperstickers."

Yet this is unquestionably a great political apparatus. True, the party is at odds with itself—"odd" being the *mot juste*—but the Democratic Party contains a prodigious collection of political dramatists. For over half a century the Democrats have given us practically all of our political myths, melodramas, epics, and even superstitions. They have come up with our catchiest slogans, and prettiest lapel pins, and I, for one, am still touched by that little girl back in 1964 who picked the daisy that blew up the world. At their best, the Democrats are the party of "Camelot," "Sunrise at Campobello," and "Give 'em Hell Harry." In this century only one Republican has surpassed his Democratic adversaries in the political art of self-dramatization—Ronald Reagan, ex-Democrat.

In recent years as the fragmentation and radicalization of the Democratic Party has worsened, its idealists and tireless campaigners have actually sharpened their artistic skills, transforming themselves into legendary figures and their ideas into The American Credo.

Clinton and Cuomo

Consider Gov. Clinton. He is Georgetown-schooled and Oxford-trimmed. He is a modern, progressive cosmopolitan, who remains vulnerable to the hallelujah wails of that old-time religion. He is a policy whiz kid with a special touch for the poor, the black, the unlettered. He is a jogger and widely read. He is Huck Finn, Holden Caulfield and almost any Kennedy.

Consider Gov. Cuomo. He is a ballplayer. He is a tough guy. He is large-souled. He can cry in public, but get mad too. He also is a reader — all Democrats are readers! — partial to Teilhard de Chardin, Reinhold Niebuhr and Garry Wills. He is a pious Catholic, but superior to priests, nuns, and his local cardinal, with whom he is in a spectacular metaphysical row. He is a scholar of A. Lincoln and perhaps St. Augustine. He flays George Bush over the U.S. economy, though the Hon. Cuomo's state and its largest city are practically in bankruptcy.

In the above depictions do you detect incongruities? Fear not, the Democrats' political dramatists will blend them all into compelling legends for both men just as they turned an artless rube from Plains, Ga., known for his mean streak, into a loving humanitarian, too good for Washington and too bright for politics. They took a rich Harvard-bred patrician from the 1900s and an equally rich Harvard-bred

playboy from the 1940s and turned both into statesmen with an uncommon empathy for poverty, suffering, being black. Would not a rich Yale-bred patrician, heroic in war and seasoned in the rough-and-tumble of Texas business, covet such a team of dramatists?

Alas, it is not in the Republican temperament to dramatize one's political ideas or persona. George Bush believes his private life should remain private and unmarketed, though I have personally gathered much incriminating evidence

Democrats mask their belief in government regulation, high taxation and social engineering behind the diverting costumes of the environmentalist, the consumerist, the feminist.

that he is a reader, a thinker, and a man in sympathy with humanity.

The Democrats in our time have mastered what may be called "masked politics." Like guests at a masked ball the Democrats don attractive disguises. They recognize the usefulness of masking their belief in government regulation, high taxation, and social engineering behind the diverting costumes and sonorous dicta of the environmentalist, the consumerist, the feminist, and so forth. When the Republican is faced by one of these masked politicians he has not the wit to recognize that he is looking into the face of a Democrat and responding to a Democrat's demands. He thinks he is simply responding to the noble desiderata of America's political culture. Consequently the Democrats have successfully polluted American political culture with their ideas and panaceas. There are effective conservative policy responses to the good causes of fiscal responsibility, the environment, and civil rights, but they are not to be found in the polluted atmosphere created by the political masqueraders.

Until Republicans avail themselves of their own dramatists, they will be trapped in the Democrats' *Kultursmog*, responding to the liberals' legends and bugaboos. That course, the present presidential campaign makes clear, is ruinous for Republicans.

We are now well into the second longest Republican presidential ascendancy of this century. Twelve years into Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal the culture of America was alive with New Deal enthusiasms and enthusiasts. The enthusiasts were writers, artists, policy makers. Pulitzer and other prizes had been won by New Dealers active in and out of government.

Who from the Bush administration has made a similar appearance in our *Kultur*? And, for that matter, did President Reagan's administration do any better?

In part this is because the keepers of the *Kultursmog* are not the champions of pluralism and diversity that they claim to be. Yet conservatives could have done better than merely cry "liberal bias." They could have employed their own conservative political dramatists, who have been proliferating at the conservative think tanks and magazines for years. During both the Reagan and the Bush administrations Republican leaders were urged to bring in their own intellectuals, and send them off into high-profile government positions, conferring on them the prestige that they need to fight the battle of cultural politics outside government.

What is more, Republicans could have given their own journalists access to the White House. They could have encouraged books, articles, documentaries. Friendly Democratic writers set out whole bookshelves of hagiography even during the Carter drear. The Republicans could have opened their administrations to friendly artists and thinkers; they never did.

There's Still Time

With their money-raising talents, the Republicans could have acted even more ambitiously than the New Dealers and New Frontiersmen. In fact, they still have time. Adam Meyerson, editor of the Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review*, urges that former Secretary of Education Bill Bennett be set the task of founding a conservative university. Then, too, the conservatives need a television network. The corporation that owns ABC is run by Republicans of a conservative stripe. They ought to perceive the profitability of breaking with the conformity of the other networks, the same kind of conformity that led Detroit to lose much of its market to Europe and Japan. If ABC is not interested, Rupert Murdoch should be.

Finally, such information producers as the Washington Times and the editorial page of this newspaper have demonstrated that there are alternatives to the *Kultursmog*'s conception and presentation of news and commentary. Britain's conservatives have seen the value of challenging their left's dominance of culture. British conservatives now control something like half of British media — and they recently kept control of Number 10 Downing Street in a squeaker. But let us not remind our Democrats of that unhappy event. Let us congratulate them on the power of their pens even as we hope they run out of ink this fall.

Mr. Tyrrell is editor in chief of *The American Spectator*. His latest book, "The Conservative Crack-Up," was published in May by Simon & Schuster.

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

The Truth About Boipatong

By JOHN KOPPISCH

JOHANNESBURG — A month ago the African National Congress was floundering. The breakdown of negotiations with the South African government in May had left it divided between moderates who wanted to keep talking and hardliners who wanted to take the battle to the streets. Polls showed that the congress could count on only 45% support in the coming election, in which all adult South Africans will have the right to vote. President F.W. de Klerk was on another overseas tour, this time winning applause for his reforms in Moscow—the A.N.C.'s old sponsor—Tokyo and Singapore.

Then came Boipatong. The first reports of the massacre late on the night of June 17 said a group of 200 to 300 mostly Zulu-speaking men had swept through the A.N.C.-supporting black township and the adjacent Slovo squatter camp (named for the chairman of the A.N.C.'s close ally, the South African Communist Party) and had killed 39 men, women and children.

It was an appalling but not unique display of brutality. In the past two years alone there have been 49 massacres of 10 people or more in the townships, and six of these had greater death tolls than Boipatong. But for a coalition as fragile as the A.N.C., Boipatong was a godsend. The movement's propaganda machine spewed out a barrage of charges—that the police had transported the attackers to the township and then supervised the slaughter, and that the mainly Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party had helped plan the attack on the mainly Xhosa township.

Around the world the unproven allegations were unquestioningly accepted. The U.S. Conference of Mayors, meeting in Houston, condemned government complicity in the murders and voted to maintain city sanctions against South Africa. Mikhail Baryshnikov canceled a tour of the country. Desmond Tutu called for South Africa to be banned once again from the Olympics. The A.N.C.—now feeling confident that it could do what it had wanted to do since May—dropped out of the constitutional negotiations.

An A.N.C.-inspired general strike is now scheduled to begin in August. Yesterday, Nelson Mandela curtly dismissed a plea from Mr. De Klerk to resume talks. A.N.C. cadres talk instead of a "Leipzig Option," a series of strikes and marches leading to mass action and the collapse of the government, much like Leipzig, East Germany in 1989. Boipatong is quickly taking its place alongside the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 and the Soweto uprising of 1976.

But unlike Sharpeville and Soweto, there is still no evidence that the police were involved. In fact, the A.N.C.'s case against the police has unraveled. The eyewitnesses in the township who told reporters right after the massacre that they saw white cops assisting in the attack turn out to have heard the stories second-hand. The A.N.C. has now instructed township residents not to give statements to police investigators. And it provided no evidence of police involvement to the Goldstone Commission, an independent judicial inquiry into South Africa's endemic violence. The government did

give evidence, however, that rebutted the claims of police involvement.

The claims were ludicrous from the beginning. What would the government gain from leading indiscriminate rampages in the townships? And if cops were going to go on killing sprees, why would they wear their uniforms, speak in Afrikaans and use official police vehicles, as the A.N.C. alleges?

The police have been accused of official collusion in 19 massacres over the past two years, but the allegations always turn out to be empty. The accusations stick because of the police's "appalling track record during the apartheid years and their culture of being above the law," says John Kane-Berman, executive director of the scrupulously neutral South African Institute of Race Relations. But under Mr. De Klerk, police atrocities are no longer sanctioned.

As for Inkatha, it flatly denies any involvement in Boipatong and in fact claims that 10 of its members were victims of the attack. Suzanne Vos, an Inkatha spokeswoman, says that at least a few of the 81 suspects detained by the police are Inkatha members, but that if they were involved, they certainly acted for their own reasons. There has never been any evidence of Mangosothu Buthelezi or any other top Inkatha leader ordering or approving attacks on A.N.C. settlements, just as there never has been evidence of Mr. Mandela or other A.N.C. leaders sanctioning massacres in Inkatha areas, such as the little-reported one in April that left 23 people dead. But as a result of the A.N.C.'s long campaign to discredit Inkatha, allegations against Inkatha also stick.

Boipatong, rather than being an orchestrated battle to take control of a rival stronghold, should be understood as an example of how South Africa's never-ending violence—14,000 people have been killed since 1984—creates a climate in which small slights and ethnic differences can lead to a massacre. The attackers all lived in a workers' hostel owned by a steel mill. Residents of the dozens of hostels around the country are rarely integrated into their nearby townships—they're usually migrant laborers, less schooled and usually from a different ethnic group. They're most often away from their families and are there to work, so they have little interest in politics and are usually not consulted when the township's A.N.C. branch plans a stayaway or a march.

The story was the same with the Boipatong hostel, called KwaMadala. Its residents don't appreciate losing a day's pay for a cause they're not part of. And they don't like the taunts from township residents for their country ways, different language or pagan beliefs. Ostracized by their Xhosa neighbors, they say they can't send their children to the local school or get treatment at the local hospital.

But since they have jobs, they have township girlfriends and this causes more friction. In the days before the massacre, according to the Johannesburg Star, the girlfriend of one hostel resident was necklaced—an A.N.C. killing technique that involves placing a gasoline-soaked tire around the victim and then striking a match. An Inkatha supporter and another

Zulu also were killed, and there was a series of shootings, firebombings and other incidents aimed at Zulus in the area.

Then came June 16, Soweto Day, commemorating the 1976 uprising and an official A.N.C. stayaway day. The mill's union contract largely defuses this issue. But stayaways always raise the temperature in the townships and hostels because they succeed only through intimidation (the three-day stayaway last November led to about 100 deaths). On the next night the rampage through the township occurred.

The A.N.C. probably will come back to the negotiating table in the weeks ahead. But the central conflict among South Africa's contending factions—federalism versus centralized power—shows no sign of being resolved. The government, Inkatha and nine of the other 19 groups in the talks want a constitution that devolves power. But Mr. Mandela and the A.N.C. did not spend long years in the wilderness only to miss out on the unfettered power that most other African liberation leaders got. "The A.N.C. wants power and they want it all," says Wim Booysse, managing director of an African consulting firm. "They say, 'Whities had all the power for so many years, so why should we talk about less power than the whities had?'"

Mr. Koppisch writes for the Johannesburg-based Financial Mail. Maureen Sullivan, also a Financial Mail writer, contributed to this story.

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

Party of Protectionism

Almost on the eve of the Democratic National Convention, the House this week passed a trade bill, unequivocally establishing the Democrats as the Party of Protectionism. Such are the Democratic fetishes Bill Clinton will have to deal with in New York next week and for the next four months. The House charge was led by Rep. Dick Gephardt, the protectionist Ahab who is forever chasing after "fair trade." Mr. Gephardt is scheduled to address the convention Thursday, the night of Governor Clinton's acceptance speech.

The bill passed Wednesday, among other things, promises to beat up on the Japanese if their auto makers don't buy more American auto parts for Japanese cars made in Japan and the U.S. The bill caps the number of cars the Japanese can export at 1.65 million a year, and reauthorizes the notorious Super 301 trade retaliation measure. This is the GATT-buster that calls for retribution against countries that "unfairly" trade.

In all, 251 Democrats (and one Socialist) and 28 Republicans voted for the bill. It now goes to the Senate, whose members don't plan to roll out the red carpet, and the White House has thundered that it will veto the bill.

The bill was spawned in the Ways and Means Committee, chaired by the usually free-trading Dan Rostenkowski. But the Japan-bashers have been baying at the gate; unable to fight them off, Mr. Rostenkowski and a number of other Democrats have signed on to this exercise.

The Clinton campaign, having just moved successfully through the primaries, must marvel at their colleagues' inability to conduct a reality

check. Mr. Gephardt ran for President on protectionism in 1988 and lost. This year, Senator Bob Kerrey's campaign was put on ice in the New Hampshire primaries by his famous protectionism commercial (he said it was a mistake).

The Clinton campaign itself isn't immune to the virus. The Governor's "Putting People First" economic agenda calls for "stronger, sharper" Super 301 legislation. Newly announced vice presidential candidate Senator Al Gore voted in 1988 to override President's Reagan's veto of the bill that created Super 301. Some things may never change.

We have said in the past that the Members of Congress, always on the lookout for personal political gain, most of the time put parochial interests above the national good. But the Democrats seem to have some dementia about trade. Election after election the voters have rejected this strategy, understanding that "fair" trade isn't at all fair to the average consumer, who has to bear the financial brunt of protectionism. In fact, a congressional study showed that similar trade restrictions in 1981 raised the average price of Japanese cars by \$1,700 and American cars by \$1,200. People notice such things; Democratic politicians, somehow, don't.

Though he has at times made protectionist noises, Bill Clinton is generally known as a supporter of free trade. He has made some recent brave breaks with his party's apparatus. The coming week in New York would be an opportunity for him to place the Party of Protectionism back on the side of the poor and middle-class American consumer — that is, on the side of open trade.

Asides

FDR v. LBJ

It's worth noting that Senator David Boren and ABC News are plumping for a resurrection of the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Works Progress Administration — not as unemployment relief, but as welfare reform. They quote FDR saying that a

no-strings-attached check from government is a "narcotic." Thus they reach back to Democratic tradition (the New Deal) to make palatable a conservative critique of Democratic tradition (the Great Society). ABC in its report covered everything well, except the irony.

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

Penny-Ante Prosecutor?

In the wake of new disclosures from House Banking Committee Chairman Henry Gonzalez, there's now talk of another special prosecutor, this time to investigate any criminal wrongdoing in the Bush administration's pre-war policy of coddling Iraq. What Rep. Gonzalez is onto here, though, is much too important for such a penny-ante answer.

From our miserable experience with the office of special prosecutor, we know what would happen. There would be a few headlines momentarily embarrassing to the Bush administration, then the whole thing would be kicked over past the election. Then the investigation, assuming that Mr. Bush is reelected and the Congress stays Democratic, would become a handy club for beating on the executive branch. Any Congressional complicity, of which we suspect plenty, would be ignored. Ultimately some unfortunate miscreant would be found to have altered a document, and forced to cop a plea or impoverish his family. There would be great *sturm und drang* about someone other than Congressmen telling lies in the halls of Congress, and the whole thing would go down as yet another messy partisan battle.

And nothing would really get at the question: How did the United States of America fall into the monumental idiocy of rearming Saddam Hussein? And did it learn the lesson, or will it do the same thing again with the next pirate, Syria's Assad, for example?

Now, our institutions have been steadily losing their capacity to take serious issues seriously. From Vietnam to Watergate to Bert Lance to Iran-Contra to Anita Hill, we've displaced policy debate with a game of "gotcha." Still, what we need on Iraq is a serious *political* investigation of where we went wrong.

Start by letting those who thought they could moderate Saddam try to explain their notions, which these columns were warning at the time this was dangerous nonsense. No one wants this kind of inquiry, of course. The Republicans don't want their victory tarnished. The Democrats are scarcely in position to ask such questions when they opposed going to war even after Saddam woke everyone up. So have a special prosecutor paw through documents looking for procedural crimes.

In asking how this happened, we certainly don't dismiss the possibility that influences were at work beyond a State Department's consistency invincible to experience. Nor do we rule out crimes by either the executive or Congressmen beyond say, obstructing justice. What particularly needs investigating is the Middle East's strange financial genies.

The center of concern about Iraq,

of course, concerns the approval of agricultural loans and credit guarantees that found their way into Saddam's weapons programs. Saddam's principal banker in these transactions was the Atlanta branch of BNL, Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, owned by the Italian government. A number of Atlanta employees have entered guilty pleas to various criminal violations in connection with some \$5.5 billion in loans to Iraq. No full explanation has emerged, though; the federal judge who accepted the plea from the Atlanta branch manager complained that the summary of the affair submitted by the U.S. attorney's office was "a sanitized version."

An internal Federal Reserve memo, our Peter Truell reported last September, detailed links between BNL and the rogue Bank of Credit and Commerce International, including overnight funding from BCCI to BNL in support of Iraqi transactions. A BCCI director was head of the Swiss subsidiaries of both BCCI and BNL. And one of the early BCCI purchases was the BNL branch's neighbor, the National Bank of Georgia.

The latest development in the BCCI scandal was the indictment of Sheik Khalid bin Mahfouz, principal banker to the Saudi Arabian court. It further turns out that the National Commercial Bank, his \$20-billion-plus bank, was allowed to operate its New York branch even though it filed no financial results in 1990 and 1991, while federal bank examiners were staging a credit crunch by asking American bankers what they spent for lunch. What is going on here anyway?

This much we know: That around the world BCCI's principal *modus operandi* was buying political influence. And that it secretly owned the biggest bank in the District of Columbia, run by Clark Clifford, Mr. Democrat, and Robert Altman, his Republican sidekick. We are likely to learn more now that First American Bank is safely in the hands of trustee Harry Albright, who is an ally of Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau.

It is perhaps unfortunate, though scarcely surprising, that the institution of special counsel has been discredited by Lawrence Walsh and his ilk. We are likely to get further with Mr. Morgenthau on the legal side and Chairman Gonzalez, happily a Congressional outsider, on the political side — though both need more resources and support. Certainly the Iraq-BNL-BCCI-NCB affair needs a thorough airing, and there may well come a point to worry about crimes by U.S. officials. But the more important thing is to make sure we learn what happened.

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

Democrats Call for Independent Counsel To Probe Handling of U.S. Policy on Iraq

By PETER TRUETT

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Twenty of the 21 Democratic members of the House Judiciary Committee called on the attorney general to appoint an independent counsel "to investigate serious allegations of possible violations of federal criminal statutes" by high-ranking administration officials in their handling of U.S. policy toward Iraq.

The conduct in question relates to allegedly illegal acts to assist the regime of Saddam Hussein prior to the August 1990 invasion of Kuwait. These acts, in turn, allegedly later led to attempts to cover up some of the assistance by providing Congress with false statements and altered documentation, according to a letter sent yesterday to Attorney General William Barr.

The Justice Department responded with a statement saying it had begun looking into the issue of whether to appoint an independent counsel. Under the statute governing the appointment of such a counsel, a majority of either the Republicans or the Democrats on the House Judiciary Committee may call for the appointment of an independent counsel to look into matters that involve potential criminal acts by high-ranking administration officials. The law gives the attorney general up to 150 days to make a decision, which would postpone that action past the presidential election in November.

At a news conference, Judiciary Committee Chairman Jack Brooks (D., Texas) pointed to the Justice Department's treatment of the Atlanta branch manager of Banca Nazionale del Lavoro of Italy, which loaned \$4.5 billion to Iraq in the years before the Gulf War, much of it guaranteed by the U.S., to show why an independent counsel was needed. As part of a plea bargain, some 287 of the 347 criminal counts against the banker, Christopher Droghoul, were dropped by the Justice Department just before he was to go to

trial. In addition, Rep. Brooks said, a prosecutor from Washington suddenly replaced the local prosecutor during the days around Mr. Droghoul's guilty plea. And, he noted, even the federal judge in Mr. Droghoul's case said from the bench that he thinks an independent counsel is necessary to get to the truth of the matter of U.S. loans to Iraq through BNL Atlanta.

The White House said it would cooperate with the Justice Department, but didn't have any further comment. In the past, administration officials have conceded that they failed in their efforts to moderate Iraqi behavior with \$5 billion in credit guarantees in the years before the Gulf War. But they have vigorously disputed that they acted improperly, or subsequently sought to cover up their policy blunders. "We did nothing illegal or wrong here," President Bush said in May.

In a speech earlier this week, Rep. Henry Gonzalez, the Texas Democrat who is chairman of the House Banking Committee, disclosed that a White House aide had called the Atlanta investigators in 1989. In another speech yesterday, Rep. Gonzalez said that National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft and the State Department had intervened with the Agriculture Department in 1990 to have it hide the fact that part of the U.S. aid program to Iraq was being suspended. A spokesman for Mr. Scowcroft didn't have any immediate comment.

Value City's Sales Rose in June

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Value City Department Stores Inc. said comparable-store sales, or sales from stores open more than a year, rose 2.9% in June.

The off-price department store chain reported total retail sales of \$60.2 million for June, up 7.3% from \$56.1 million in June 1991.

In the 48 weeks ended June 27, sales were \$618.3 million, up 13.2% from \$546.2 million in the year-earlier period.

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

Transport Vote By House Poses Budget Challenge

By LAURIE MCGINLEY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — In the strongest challenge yet to the 1990 budget agreement, the House voted to increase transportation outlays for the coming fiscal year by \$400 million, paid for with cuts in foreign-aid spending.

The 213-190 vote last night came in an amendment to a transportation appropriations bill for fiscal 1993, which begins Oct. 1. The overall \$37.6 billion bill was then approved on a 306-74 vote.

The margin of victory on the amendment, however, indicates that if President Bush vetoes the bill, as his aides have threatened, the House may balk at overriding him. Nevertheless, the vote showed a marked change of heart — and rising election-year anxiety — about the stubbornly high jobless rate. In late March, the House overwhelmingly rejected a Democratic leadership plan to alter drastically the budget pact by using projected defense savings to pay for domestic programs.

The budget pact hashed out in October 1990 by Congress and the White House set spending caps for three categories of programs — defense, international and domestic — and required that any savings be used to reduce the deficit, not to increase funding for the other categories.

The transportation amendment, whose chief sponsor was Rep. David Obey (D., Wis.), would essentially raise the domestic spending cap by \$400 million and lower the international affairs cap by the same amount. The bulk of that \$400 million transfer would come from cuts in the foreign-aid bill passed two weeks ago.

In pushing the amendment, which received strong support from both the Republican and Democratic leadership of the House Public Works and Transportation Committee, Rep. Obey predicted it would create 150,000 jobs. "This institution, and government itself, has an obligation to get off its collective duff" in the face of economic hardship among the citizenry, he said.

House Public Works Committee Chairman Robert Roe (D., N.J.) said, "By God, it's time we said to the people overseas, 'Pay some of your own bills.' And let us spend our tax money on our own people."

But critics scoffed at the proposal. The vote wasn't "a tradeoff between spending on Americans and spending on foreigners," said Ohio Rep. William Gradison, the ranking Republican on the House Budget Committee. "It's a choice between spending and not spending." He and other opponents warned that the Obey amendment was just the first step in what could turn out to be a wholesale gutting of the budget agreement.

The Bush administration, in warning that the president would veto the bill if it changed the budget agreement, acknowledged that it wanted higher spending for highways than the measure approved by the Appropriations Committee. That legislation appropriated \$5 billion less in spending on highways and mass transit next year than did the six-year, \$155 billion transportation authorization bill passed last year. But the administration said that changing the budget agreement to increase highway spending would rattle the financial markets, causing interest rates to rise.

To produce a \$400 million increase in outlays for the next fiscal year, the amendment increased budget authority for highways, transit, airports and other programs by \$2.6 billion over the next few years. Transportation programs tend to involve complicated, slow-spending projects that occur over many years.

The biggest single item in the bill is the federal-aid highway program. The Obey amendment boosted to \$16.7 billion the amount that can be spent out of the highway trust fund, which is financed by gasoline taxes, for highways. The provision also boosted spending limits for mass transit discretionary grants to \$1.85 billion and for airport grants to \$1.85 billion.

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

JOURNAL

WHITE OAK, MARYLAND

Washington Wire

A Special Weekly Report From
The Wall Street Journal's
Capital Bureau

CLINTON MUST ALLAY doubts about his character at next week's convention.

A new nationwide Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll taken earlier this week shows 51% of voters still have "major doubts" about his character and values. "Until he gets over that gap, he's going to have a candidacy that is basically stuck in neutral," says Republican pollster Vince Breglio, who conducted the survey with Democrat Peter Hart.

The poll finds that three out of four voters say giving a fuller explanation of his background and values should be a priority at the convention. Thus, much of Clinton's acceptance speech will be autobiographical, and a video will discuss his troubled childhood. The poll also finds an overwhelming majority of voters want him to show he isn't controlled by special-interest groups.

Only 18% say making peace with Jesse Jackson should be a top priority. Nearly half say it shouldn't be a priority at all.

BUSH SEARCHES for some way to repair his tattered leadership credentials.

The Journal/NBC poll is full of forebodings for the president. Only 38% approve his handling of his job while 56% disapprove — the worst figures of his presidency. Seventy-six percent disapprove of his handling of the economy. More ominously, his base looks soft: His support among Republicans has dropped by seven points since April, and his backing in the South has fallen 11 points.

On foreign policy, voters still approve of his performance, by 51% to 41%, but problems loom even here. A nervous public would oppose by more than two to one using U.S. troops in Yugoslavia. And Clinton's choice of Gore, a Gulf War supporter, likely negates any last GOP hopes of using it as an issue.

THE WALL
STREET
JOURNAL/
NBC NEWS
POLL

OPTIMISM FADES among voters that the economy will rebound.

The latest rise in the unemployment rate is felt in the new poll. Concern about joblessness, which had been declining steadily since February, jumps again; 50% of voters now cite it as the No. 1 economic problem, twice as many as cite the deficit. Only 28% think the economy will improve in the coming year, the lowest figure since December; 23% think things will get worse.

The poll shows that voters divide blame for the nation's woes almost evenly between Bush and congressional Democrats; the White House will step up Democrat-bashing in coming weeks. Following his fishing trip with Baker, Bush plans a series of speeches touting his unsuccessful growth package — the first time he's made an issue of it in months.

One major unresolved issue: How hard to press the capital-gains tax cut.

HOUSEBOUND? GOP pollster Breglio says Perot's strength "virtually guarantees that no one can achieve a majority of electoral votes." If the election goes to the House, 33% say their representative should vote for the candidate who carried the district; 32% say vote for the nationwide popular-vote leader; 22% say vote according to conscience. Only 8% say vote according to party.

SPLIT DECISIONS: Voter sentiment in favor of having different parties control the presidency and Congress drops to 47% in the Journal/NBC survey from more than 60%. Democrats will likely use the shifting mood as a reason to vote for Clinton; Republicans, as a reason to elect GOP lawmakers.

BOLSTERING PREDICTIONS of an anti-incumbent wave, only one in four voters think their representative deserves to be re-elected, while 62% say it's time for someone new. But Democratic candidates still enjoy a four-point edge in voting preference, little changed from previous polls.

YEAR OF THE WOMAN: With so many women candidates this year, 41% of voters say issues concerning them would be better dealt with with more women in office, while only 7% say worse. A large plurality of women, 48%, agree with the statement — but the strongest group in favor of more women in office is black voters.

QUAYLE BRACES for a wave of ridicule at next week's Democratic convention.

The vice president's chief of staff, William Kristol, is dispatched to New York for on-site responses to what are expected to be scathing Democratic attacks. The Journal/NBC survey shows Quayle's political problems continuing to mount. Fifty percent of voters now view the vice president negatively, the highest of his term.

His traditional-values themes fail to bolster his standing. Many voters agree with his message; for instance, 68% agree that Hollywood doesn't represent traditional American values. But 42% say Quayle himself doesn't well represent such values — significantly worse than Perot, Bush or Clinton.

The poll finds that two-thirds of voters are uncomfortable with the idea of Quayle as president.

MINOR MEMOS: Benefit of the doubt: 69% think Quayle's misspelling of "potato" was "just an unfortunate mistake." Only 25% believe he really didn't know how to spell it. . . . A lot of people don't love New York: Only 15% have a positive opinion of the Democrat's convention site, while 38% view it negatively. The GOP site, Houston, is viewed positively by 25%, negatively by 14%.

—RICH JAROSLOVSKY

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

What's

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Business and Finance

COMPAQ IS STRUGGLING to meet the demand for its new ProLinea line of low-cost personal computers. Company officials concede they misread the market, leading to a shortage that has upset many big customers and could jeopardize Compaq's bid to rebound from a disastrous 1991.

(Article on Page B1)

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General Electric is expected to plead guilty to criminal charges and pay the federal government about \$70 million to settle allegations that GE diverted U.S. military aid earmarked for Israel and bribed an Israeli general.

(Article on Page A3)

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Stocks rallied as investors began to agonize less about the economy. The Dow Jones industrials gained 30.80 to 3324.08 in heavy trading. Bond prices edged up while the dollar surged.

(Article on Page C1)

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Mutual Benefit Life's policyholders would be paid off in full under a tentative \$800 million pact to bail out the insolvent New Jersey insurer. State guarantee funds would put up most of the money with private insurance companies paying the rest.

(Article on Page A3)

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The nation's airlines matched Continental's 25% price cut on advance-purchase tickets on some U.S. routes. But American and Delta, unlike Continental, don't have many summer-flight seats left to sell at the discount.

An investor group led by Houston financier Charles Hurwitz agreed to pour \$350 million into Continental in exchange for a 72% stake in the carrier after it emerges from Chapter 11.

(Articles on Pages B1 and A3)

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Big retailers posted disappointing sales for the five weeks that ended July 4, reflecting consumers' persistent worries about the economy.

(Article on Page A2)

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The IRS is proposing new rules that could be worth \$1 billion to real estate companies over five years, although the Treasury contends the change won't reduce federal revenue.

(Article on Page A2)

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Humana is considering splitting into two companies, separating its hospitals from its health-maintenance organizations, after finding that one unit was hurting the other. Humana's stock price climbed \$1 to \$23.25.

(Article on Page A4)

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Brazil completed an agreement to reduce the \$44 billion debt it owes foreign banks. The accord effectively ends the Latin American debt crisis, but not the region's economic crisis.

(Article on Page A9)

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The major TV networks obtained price increases averaging about 4% for advertising for the coming fall season, in what the networks hailed as the first sign of the media recession's end.

(Article on Page B12)

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Platinum prices jumped on news of a work stoppage at a big South African mine, extending a two-week rally.

(Article on Page C12)

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Milken is expected to be called as a defense witness in the trial of a former Fidelity Investments portfolio manager who is accused of taking payoffs from the ex-Drexel junk bond chief.

(Article on Page B12)

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Markets—

Stocks: Volume 207,970,000 shares. Dow Jones industrials 3324.08, up 30.80; transportation 1301.57, up 11.96; utilities 218.08, up 0.44.

Bonds: Lehman Brothers Treasury index 4456.26, up 4.58.

Commodities: Oil \$21.40 a barrel, off one cent. Dow Jones futures index 119.03, up 0.03; spot index 118.40, unchanged.

Dollar: 125.60 yen, up 0.85; 1.5120 marks, up 0.0230.

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

News—

World-Wide

CLINTON CHOSE Tennessee's Sen. Gore as his Democratic running mate.

The selection of Gore, 44, gives the Democrats a young and moderate ticket as they mount a campaign to win the White House for only the second time in 28 years. The pairing of two Southerners is unconventional and goes against the usual maxim of balancing the ticket. Gore, who has served 16 years in Congress, reinforces the Democrats' message that their ticket represents a generational change in American politics. (Article in Column 1)

In a joint appearance in Arkansas, the two men said they stood for strong families, a clean environment and a growing economy with benefits for all.

BUSH URGED international cooperation to settle ethnic conflicts in Europe.

The president, addressing a conference in Helsinki, called for a peacekeeping force to cope with "intolerant nationalism." Before his speech, Bush received a personal plea from Bosnia's leader for "a kind of military action" to counter an assault by Serbs. Secretary of State Baker insisted Bush hasn't ruled out the use of U.S. troops to help Bosnia, although Baker refused to specify what conditions would warrant such a step. (Article on Page A14)

U.N. troops came under heavy fire in Sarajevo. France dispatched more soldiers to the Bosnian capital, and the U.S. sent ships back into the Adriatic.

Voters believe, by an overwhelming margin of 45% to 21%, that the next new justice on the Supreme Court should side with those who wish to prevent states from making abortion illegal rather than permit states to ban the procedure, according to a new Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll. (Article on Page A14)

Rabin clinched agreements with two small Israeli parties, assuring that the prime minister-designate will form a government committed to swift progress in Mideast talks. He signed accords with the ultra-religious Shas party and the leftist Meretz bloc to give his Labor party-led coalition a majority in parliament.

Iraq ridiculed U.S. reports of an assassination attempt against Saddam Hussein as "sick imaginings" by Washington and pledged the Iraqi leader would "remain a thorn in the side" of his enemies. In Baghdad, a U.N. team waited in vain for a reply from Iraq on proposals to break a deadlock over inspection of a ministry building.

House Judiciary Democrats called for an independent counsel to probe allegations of possible violations of U.S. criminal statutes by Bush administration officials concerning U.S. policy toward Iraq. The request relates to allegedly illegal acts to aid Saddam Hussein prior to his invasion of Kuwait.

The House voted to increase transportation outlays for the coming fiscal year by \$400 million, paid for with cuts in foreign-aid spending. The 213-190 vote was the strongest challenge yet to the 1990 budget agreement. (Article on Page A4)

Dual efforts were launched to protect the privacy of computerized patient records. The head of a House panel proposed a ban on disclosing prescription records without patient consent. The AMA is warning doctors about the ethical dangers of giving data to market researchers. (Article on Page B2)

Cancer researchers said they developed a way to marshal the body's immune cells to fight off life-threatening infections common among patients treated for leukemia and other cancers. (Article on Page B2)

The space shuttle Columbia landed in Florida, completing a 14-day mission, the longest shuttle flight ever. Columbia's crew of seven conducted a variety of biological, medical and physics experiments.

Gamsakhurdia backers kidnapped Georgia's deputy premier, Alexander Kavsadze. Supporters of Gamsakhurdia, ousted as president in January, have been waging a guerrilla war against the government.

Tens of thousands of Somalis will die of starvation unless other nations double their assistance efforts to the drought-stricken African nation, the International Committee of the Red Cross warned.

Died: Eric Sevareid, 79, veteran CBS broadcaster known for his foreign wartime coverage and political commentaries, in Washington, of cancer.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 *

Up from harassment

Today's Valkyries know sexual harassment when they see it, and, as Justice Clarence Thomas found out the hard way during his confirmation hearings, they see it everywhere these days. Some women now appear to be wondering whether this single-minded approach to male-female relations isn't getting a little out of hand. But they are no safer than men when it comes to expressing politically incorrect thoughts.

The story goes that a female faculty member at the University of Arizona posted an anonymous sexual harassment consent form on a Physics Department file cabinet. It may have been nothing more than a humorous attempt to draw men out of the social exile to which they withdrew under fire from the harassment police. Perhaps it was legal insurance for men in the court of feminism. Whatever, it read as follows:

"I consent to the following forms of sexual harassment: [Check all that apply.]

- "Salutory greetings
- "Eye-to-Eye contact
- "Eye-to-Bust contact
- "Heavy breathing on neck
- ear
- other
- "Hands on body
- shoulder
- waist
- Gluteus Maximus
- "feelies
- "gropies"
- And so on.

Whatever the intent of the document, the university

was not amused. An editorial in the Arizona Daily Wildcat under the headline, "Consent Form Deals Blow to Human Rights," mused, "How sad for a woman to have respected herself so little that she would fall victim to her own oppression."

Not to be outdone, the school's affirmative action officer, Jay Stauss, announced that the consent form violated federal law and university policy. University President Manuel Pacheco issued his own statement, declaring, "I find it difficult to see a sexual harassment consent form as a joke." Down came an order requiring the entire physics department staff to attend sexual harassment workshops. The school-funded University of Arizona Faculty and Staff for Gay, Lesbian and Bi-sexual Equity followed up with a survey to detect additional sexist or homophobic attitudes.

Physics Chairman Peter Carruthers, who said the consent form was just a "whimsical thing," declined to play along. He refused to reveal the name of the offending woman, announced he would not go to sexual harassment re-education camp and said he didn't expect his staff to do so either. In addition, he called the Gay, Lesbian and Bi-sexual Faculty survey "offensive," and asked whether the university was also funding "gila monsters, Democrats, communists and other worthy causes?" For this remark, the critics deem him "homophobic."

There the matter rests, according to an account in a new publication, Heterodoxy (12400 Ventura Blvd., Studio City, Calif. 91604), put out by editors Peter Collier and David Horowitz. Let it serve as a lesson to faculty members everywhere. Consenting adults need the consent of the politically correct.

Voting for Nobody

What alternatives do fed-up voters really have? There's Ross Perot for president, maybe. But what about other offices? Well, citizens of Washington state can vote for Nobody — Absolutely Nobody to be precise — for lieutenant governor. Mr. Nobody was somebody named David M. Powers before he changed his legal name in an effort to give absolutely everybody in Washington a chance to express frustration.

According to the New York Times, Mr. ("Call me Ab") Nobody previously managed a doughnut shop and now works as a customer service representative at the U-Rent outlet in Seattle. And Mr. Nobody is nothing if not serious. If elected, he promises he will work to abolish his job, which he thinks isn't worth anybody's tax money.

Mr. Nobody isn't running on a Nobody-only platform; he wants to give Washington voters the right to

vote for None of the Above, but unlike Mr. Nobody, None of the Above is nobody with a small n. In Nevada, for example, you can vote for None of the Above in presidential and state elections, but state law requires that somebody take office, so if Mr. Above wins, the runner-up gets the job.

As amusing as Mr. Nobody's campaign is, it shows us how far ostensibly serious politicians have drifted from reality. People think — with reason — that nobody in government cares how high taxes are or how much public money is misspent. And Mr. Nobody's willingness to work himself out of a public job is a virtue you won't find in just anybody.

There's something to be said for Mr. Nobody, who told the Times that if he fathers a child, it will be a somebody. He won't name it Nobody. Alas, the Times didn't ask the candidate if you're nobody until somebody loves you. Maybe voters will.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 *

Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore

Bill Clinton's nod to Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore as his running mate is an interesting decision. It flies in the face of a couple of pieces of conventional political wisdom. But it is a move of considerable acuity just the same.

The first bit of upset wisdom concerns the purported need for regional balance on the ticket. Mr. Gore, like Mr. Clinton, is a southerner, so those who had been expecting a Clinton campaign effort to "broaden the base" of the Arkansas governor are disappointed that the selection was not someone like Sen. Harris Wofford of Pennsylvania or Rep. Lee Hamilton of Indiana. Their concern may well be misplaced in this highly volatile political year, however. The potential candidacy of Ross Perot has changed the electoral dynamics considerably. In presidential politics, the GOP traditionally enjoys significant advantages in the West and South. Mr. Perot may, however, give President Bush a run for his money in the West. If Mr. Bush needs to devote a lot of time, energy and money to staying on top there, he may be especially vulnerable to a challenge in the South from a strongly southern Democratic ticket.

The second bit of upset wisdom is a little less serious, and that is the purported need for ideological balance on the ticket. The Rev. Jesse Jackson, among others, is upset that both Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore come from the same wing of the party — namely, its moderate wing. Mr. Gore arrives at his moderate credentials principally through his interest in defense

matters, his vote in support of the congressional authorization of the Persian Gulf war and wife Tipper's work in opposing smutty song lyrics.

The moderate vs. liberal inclinations of the Clinton ticket are very much open to debate, not least in the campaign itself. Suffice it so say that Mr. Gore has been more outspoken than any other prominent Democrat on at least one issue of profound concern to many liberals, namely the environment. At a recent lunch with editors and reporters of The Washington Times, Mr. Gore spoke at length on the environment, complete with charts he had brought along for the occasion. He argued strongly against the notion that environmentalists are obliged to prove that such phenomena as increased greenhouse gasses causing global warming actually exist before (expensive) efforts to correct the problem are undertaken. The stakes are too high, in Mr. Gore's view, to require such proof. In this regard, he can hardly be called too middle-of-the-road. He will be popular with most of the party's left.

So, a potentially very good choice for Mr. Clinton. It is also a choice that throws the difference between Democrats and Republicans into sharper relief. In the Bush White House, Vice President Dan Quayle chairs the Competitiveness Council, which tries to assess the potential adverse economic impact of proposed regulations from the Environmental Protection Agency, among others. It is clear that Mr. Gore will not be playing the same role in the Clinton White House. So an issue for the Republicans is: Will anybody?

Crashing the G-7 summit

Wonder what Russian President Boris Yeltsin was like as a teen-ager. Judging by the way he most bodaciously crashed his way into the party at the summit meeting of the Group of Seven (that's G-7 to their friends) in Munich on Tuesday, one suspects that he must have practiced that fine art on a regular basis in his younger days in Sverdlovsk. Although, perhaps, the leaders of the G-7 industrialized democracies didn't mind so much. Mr. Yeltsin provided a welcome diversion from the tragedy in Yugoslavia, the petrified Uruguay round of trade talks and the depressing state of the world economy.

Unlike Mikhail Gorbachev, who returned from last year's G-7 summit in London with nothing more than vague promises, Mr. Yeltsin will have something to show for his efforts: A \$1 billion loan advance from the IMF on the \$24 billion package pledged by the G-7 in April, a partial deferment of repayment on the \$65 billion debt incurred by the communists, commitments to aid for security improvement in the dangerously accident-prone Russian nuclear industry.

What Mr. Yeltsin did not get was membership in the G-7. There is no G-8 in the foreseeable future, and that is as it should be. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl may be a gracious host and courteously emphasize that Mr. Yeltsin came not just as a "visitor, a kind of poor relation visiting his rich relations," but the fact remains that, at least for now, a poor relation is exactly what Russia is. The idea of the G-8 came up in one of the early meetings and was apparently endorsed by

Mr. Bush in a moment of overeager good cheer.

The idea was immediately shot down by Britain, France and Japan. While Russia certainly is industrialized, they argue, while it may be on the way to becoming a democracy, it does not have a market economy. Describing Russia right now as a world economic leader would be rather a stretch. "If Russia stays on a democratic and free market course, it might be very likely that the next summit would see the leader of Russia in attendance," Secretary of State James Baker suggested diplomatically and somewhat vaguely.

For Russia, the benefit of belonging to this enviable and exclusive club of the rich and famous would be mostly psychological at this point. Mr. Yeltsin is understandably eager to span the economic chasm that remains where the Iron Curtain once was. Russia is a once and future great power, and there is no doubt that the Russian people feel keenly the loss of prestige they have experienced. Many wept at the thought of accepting Western handouts during Operation Provide Hope.

However, if the gatherings of the seven that began during the oil crisis in 1973-74 are to provide an informal forum for meaningful discussions of trade, interest rates and growth among the countries that account for 80 percent of the world's industrial output, it would be counterproductive to expand its membership. Otherwise, it will simply grow into yet another multilateral international organization attended by infinite numbers of bureaucrats and good for little more than expensive dinner parties and press releases.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 *

KEN ADELMAN

Democrats gathering in New York to nominate Bill Clinton as their standard-bearer have a queasy feeling. It's partly from fear of another character-clouding issue arising, and partly because of Mr. Clinton's lack of hefty experience.

But just how much does experience count in presidential performance? Surprisingly little, the historical record shows.

Sure, Mr. Clinton was governor for more than a decade, but governor of a pipsqueak state. He lacks much national or international experience.

So what?

Evidence shows experience and even raw brainpower count surprisingly little in presidential success. That, at least, should console the Democrats.

The two most recent statehouse-to-White House leaps were by Jimmy Carter, who, like Mr. Clinton, came from a relatively pipsqueak state, and Ronald Reagan, who came from a megastate. Neither had much international experience, yet Mr. Reagan made a great historical mark here.

More dramatic examples come from earlier evidence. The most all-around experienced hand to grab the presidency was among our worst presidents. James Buchanan stacked up 40 years of stellar service to prepare him for the White House, where he flopped.

Buchanan began as a state legislator, served in Congress for a decade, as American envoy to Russia afterward, U.S. senator for another 10 years, as a marvelous secretary of state for four years, and top diplomat in Britain before becoming president in 1857.

Despite such a rich resume — richer even than President Bush's — he was a wretched president. Even the kindly Encyclopedia Britannica concludes with the blanket statement: "Nothing important that Buchanan attempted in domestic or foreign policy succeeded." The nation plunged toward civil war while he shifted feebly and dithered endlessly.

The least experienced man assumed the nation's toughest office at its gravest moment. Right after Buchanan came Abraham Lincoln — a country lawyer with one undistinguished term in Congress and two defeats for the U.S. Senate.

So much for the sure-fire test of experience. What about raw intellect?

Ken Adelman is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Like experience, it's better to have than not to have. But it's surely no guarantee to stellar stewardship. Indeed, some mental mighty-mights have made mediocre masters of America.

Some superb presidents lacked intellectual distinction. Harry Truman was called "simple" as a man though "great" as chief executive by the razor-sharp and erudite Dean Acheson. To quote Acheson's memoirs "Present at the Creation": "No one can decide and act who is beset by second thoughts, self-doubt, and that most enfeebling of emotions, regret. With the president [Truman] a decision made was done with and he went on to another."

Leaders are a rare breed. They can arise and achieve greatness regardless of previous experience or innate brilliance.

Acheson found Truman's mind "uncluttered with abstractions," something that made the far more brilliant Woodrow Wilson far less capable as a leader.

Historian Walter Weyl wrote how Wilson failed since he "seems to see the world in abstractions. To him, railroad cars are not railroad cars but a gray, generalized thing called 'transportation.' To him, morals and laws are not created out of the rub and wear of men and societies but are things innate, uncreated, immutable, absolute."

Though emotionally deep, Lincoln was railied for being intellectually simple. And, in a sense, he was.

In an 1862 editorial, Horace Greeley lashed out at Lincoln for not grasping the recondite relationship between the Civil War and slavery. Lincoln wrote back plainly: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that."

Thumbing through history one finds that the converse also holds: Intellectually inspiring individuals floundered as president.

Thomas Jefferson, scribe of the Declaration of Independence and the Virginia Constitution, came on

hard times in the White House. Mounting foreign failures and domestic criticism caused him to slither from the nation's capital weeks before his successor's inauguration, leaving the presidency vacant during the interval.

That successor, James Madison, was even more endowed with intellect, as his authorship of much of the Federalist Papers and of the Constitution proves.

Yet Madison was even less adept in office than Jefferson. Shrill cries for his resignation and for secession — by states in the North, not in the South — accompanied his inglorious departure from office.

To glance back to the 1950s, few historians would contend that the owlish Adlai Stevenson would have proven a better president than that devourer of Zane Grey novels, Dwight Eisenhower. Few today con-

tend that the brainier Jimmy Carter did better than the simpler Ronald Reagan.

Hence is leadership a strange and ultimately mysterious phenomenon.

Leaders are a rare breed. They can arise and achieve greatness, regardless of previous experience or innate brilliance, when we least expect them and most need them. Thank goodness so.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 *

CONNIE MACK

Efforts to further cut over-regulation in the approval of life-saving pharmaceutical drugs for the terminally ill may be in jeopardy because of political maneuverings in Congress.

Congressional Democrats have voted to deny funding to a presidential council that can be credited with important steps to make pharmaceutical drugs more available — saving and enhancing the lives of the terminally ill.

The President's Council on Competitiveness — which has been successful in advocating less bureaucratic red tape — has been a thorn to Democrats who want more control over government regulations. The council operates on a simple premise: The less needless government intervention into people's lives, the better.

Americans should be alarmed by the ever-growing regulatory burdens being placed on individuals and businesses. The Federal Register, a publication listing federal regulations, has increased from 55,000 pages in 1989 to more than 70,000 today. Overregulation is destroying jobs, placing many small businesses in jeopardy of bankruptcy, and hurting our nation's ability to compete in the global marketplace.

The council has been working with federal agencies to eliminate unnecessary regulatory burdens and accelerate programs that stimulate economic growth. As a result, federal agencies have taken more than 70 significant deregulatory actions that estimates show will save countless jobs and save American workers, consumers and businesses between \$10 billion and \$20 billion each year.

One of the areas that has attracted a great deal of attention is the council's work to get the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) to cut the bureaucratic red tape associated with approving life-saving new drugs.

Debate has focused on a central

Connie Mack is a Republican member of the U.S. Senate from Florida.

Ruinious political quackery

question: Does the federal government have the right to tell a terminally ill patient, and the physician treating that patient, that a potentially life-saving experimental drug is off-limits?

My family faced that situation in 1979 when my brother was diagnosed with end-stage cancer. We shared the grief caused by the lack of opportunity for him to use experimental drugs that could have been life-saving. For my family, the issue brought to light a clear absurdity: How can a government interested in saving lives not allow terminally ill

Americans with life-threatening illnesses must have the right to use experimental drugs.

patients — even with permission from their physicians — to grasp one last hope for life by allowing the use of an experimental drug?

As my family experienced, the process by which the FDA approves new drugs is cruel and shatters the hopes of millions of Americans with life-threatening illnesses who must have the right, without government overregulation, to use experimental drugs that could save or enhance their lives.

Mercifully, this is finally beginning to change. Vice President Dan Quayle, the Council on Competitive-

ness, Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan and FDA Commissioner David Kessler have worked to streamline the process by which new drugs receive FDA approval. They have cut by approximately half the approval time for drugs to treat life-threatening illnesses.

They also have taken a bold step by implementing a "parallel track" method of permitting AIDS patients to have access to experimental therapies, even if the patient is unable to participate in an FDA clinical trial.

I would like to see this same "parallel track" initiative taken on behalf of other terminally ill patients — such as those with cancer. I have introduced legislation calling on the FDA to revise the approval process to incorporate a means by which all terminally ill patients, following consultation with and approval from their physicians, may have access to experimental drugs awaiting FDA approval.

While more needs to be done to cut the drug approval bureaucracy, there is little doubt that the changes in the FDA drug approval process would not have happened had it not been for the work of the President's Council on Competitiveness.

However, the ability of the Competitiveness Council to continue this common-sense regulatory reform is in great jeopardy. Congressional Democrats must not succeed in gutting the work of the Council by once again burdening the terminally ill and their families.

It's time congressional Democrats put aside their political power move over the council. The American people are fed up with undue mandates and regulations on virtually every aspect of their lives. America cannot afford an overtaxed, overregulated economy. We need more freedom, not less.

That's especially true for terminally ill Americans who are willing to assume risks with experimental pharmaceutical drugs, especially when there is nothing to lose and maybe everything to gain. It's a decision best left to the patient, family, and physician, not the government.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 *

SAMUEL FRANCIS

Women warriors as captives

So what did you think, that Iraqi troops were all gay? That men in war take vows of monkish celibacy? That enemy soldiers with absolute power over female prisoners would treat them like maidens in a dancing class?

In recent weeks, the nation has been shocked, shocked, to learn that an American woman serving in the Gulf war and captured by the Iraqis was sexually abused by her captors. But what exactly did you expect would happen to women who fall into the hands of the enemy? What, indeed, do you think will happen when you have women fighting your wars?

The ordeal of Maj. Rhonda Cornum, flight surgeon and scientist, at the hands (literally) of the Iraqi troops who abused her seems to have elicited some second thoughts (or maybe first thoughts) about whether we really want women serving in combat roles. It concentrates the mind wonderfully on the differences between men and women, those that are natural and those that are "merely" cultural, and those we want to preserve and respect.

But Maj. Cornum herself doesn't seem to agree. Interviewed by the New York Times last week, she discussed her experience — well — manfully. To hear her tell it, it was nothing to write home about. "Everyone's made such a big deal about this indecent assault," she says. "But the only thing that makes it indecent is that it was nonconsensual. I asked myself, 'Is it going to prevent me from getting out of here? Is there a risk of death attached to it? Is it permanently disabling? Is it permanently disfiguring? Lastly, is it excruciating?' If it doesn't fit one of those five categories, then it isn't important."

Maj. Cornum can speak for her-

Samuel Francis, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

Americans need to think hard about what happened to Maj. Cornum and whether they want it to happen to their wives and daughters.

self, but just maybe her response, that of a doctor and a scientist, isn't typical of either men or women. Maybe other women really would mind having hostile soldiers paw them and worse while completely at their mercy. Maybe men really don't want women subjected to that. Maybe those are two good reasons among many why women shouldn't be in military combat at all or any other role that leaves them exposed to the brutalities of war.

The fact, whether you approve or not, is that men are sexually attracted to women. That in itself is a powerful reason why no one should be surprised to learn that Iraqi peasants who have not experienced the enlightenment of sensitivity seminars decided to take their pleasure with Maj. Cornum. Nor should anyone be surprised to learn that female soldiers are sometimes abused, assaulted, harassed or actually raped by male soldiers in their own army.

To recognize the facts of the sexual nature of men and women is not to excuse the abuse that results from it. There are laws against rape and abuse, and there is or used to be a body of custom regulating how men should treat women. Men who violate those laws and customs and inflict their physical attentions on unwilling women should be strongly punished. But the laws and customs exist in the first place precisely because of the libidinous energies that

naturally flow between the sexes and because of the universally recognized need to regulate such energies.

In most civilizations, men and women regulate sexuality in part by separation of the sexes, on the theory, increasingly supported by biology and psychology, that there exist natural differences between male and female that are not merely cultural or artificial. But aside from natural differentiations, there also are cultural ones. In Western civilization, the code of chivalry, under which men treated women with special respect, was the principal cultural regulation of sexual manners.

Today, thanks in large part to sedulous subversion by feminists and the women warrior lobby, the code of chivalry is about as thriving as Saddam Hussein's plans for urban development in Kuwait City. Since the culturally enforced code has been gutted, we are left only with law to regulate sexuality, and with nature itself.

When Maj. Cornum was thrown into the back of a truck with her arms broken and assaulted by her Iraqi guard, we found out what nature has to say about relations between the sexes. What the women-at-war party wants the law to say is, "So what? Maj. Cornum took her chances like any other soldier."

But to normal people who recognize nature even before it rips their clothes off and who develop culture to control nature, women are not indistinguishable from men. That culture holds that if there should be female soldiers at all, they ought not to have to endure paying the price nature imposes. Americans need to think hard about what happened to Maj. Cornum and whether they really want it to happen to their wives and daughters, and they need to face up to the truth that with women in combat, that and worse is exactly what they can expect to happen.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 *

JOHN LEO

How can the al Finding the right forum

In 1973, Yale Law Professor Alexander Bickel, one of the eminent constitutional scholars of his day, had an immediate objection to *Roe vs. Wade*. Since "moral philosophy, logic, reason or other materials of law" can give no answer to the dilemma of what to do about abortion, he wrote, "Should not the question then have been left to the political process, which in state after state can achieve not one but many accommodations, adjusting them from time to time as attitudes change?"

Obvious answer: Yes. If politics had been allowed to operate, we wouldn't be in such a fix today. Lacking an imperial judiciary, other democracies have reached tolerable accommodations and moved on. The court has prevented that here. By foreclosing normal democratic outlets, *Roe vs. Wade* distorted abortion politics, setting the stage for extreme street politics and frank attempts to pack the courts. If judges are going to impose social policy, then politicians will try to impose judges.

In the 1989 Webster decision, four justices seemed poised to overturn *Roe*. And the decision suggested that the right to decide about abortion belongs to the people, through their legislatures, and not to the courts. But last week in *Planned Parenthood vs. Casey*, the court veered away from the expected next step — junking *Roe* altogether — and produced a patched-up, head-scratching decision that accomplishes nothing. *Casey* maintains the status quo. *Roe* is reaffirmed.

The plurality's argument that the court can't back down because it has staked its authority and reputation on *Roe* is truly pathetic. It sounds like late 1960s White House rhetoric on why America can't afford to leave Vietnam. The adventure has been a giant mistake. It has torn the country apart, but we can't do anything about it or we'll lose face.

A comment in the *Wall Street Journal* by Harvard Law Professor Mary Ann Glendon echoes Mr. Bickel: The *Casey* decision "disappoints those who hoped that the court would adhere to the principle that, in the absence of clear guidelines from constitutional text or tradition, controversial social issues are to be worked out through the ordinary processes or bargaining, education and persuasion, rather than resolved by judicial fiat."

Miss Glendon's book, "Abortion and Divorce in Western Law," shows how this process worked in other Western democracies. France, bitterly divided on the issue in the early 1970s, worked out a compromise and

turmoil has ended. Up to the 10th week, abortion is offered to any woman in a state of "distress" over her pregnancy. "Distress" is self-defined, no questions asked. Later abortions are somewhat harder to get.

But ease of access is balanced by emphasis, mostly rhetorical, on the duty to protect developing human life. The French statute names the underlying problem as one involving developing life, not as a conflict between a woman's freedom and a non-person. "Distress" makes the point that abortion is a serious matter. Regulations call for a one-week waiting period, which can sometimes be waived, and counseling, preferably with the male partner present, on alternatives to abortion and the benefits guaranteed to all mothers.

The law states that abortion is not a form of birth control, and backs that up with government promotion

This sort of compromise will not appeal to those who think early abortion is murder, or to those devoted to the hysterical argument that a one-day waiting period is an intolerable act of oppression. But it would appeal to the vast majority of Americans who want the turmoil to end.

of birth control information. To avoid bringing abortion mills into existence, and thus making abortion look routine, the operations are government-funded and must be performed by doctors in approved facilities. ("Only in America has a vast profit-making industry grown up around abortion," Miss Glendon writes.)

Could such a compromise take hold in the United States? Not in that form, surely. France has a long tradition of paternalistic government. America has its fierce individualism. But if the Supreme Court can get hold of itself and return abortion to the political process, Miss Glendon thinks legislators would do well to study foreign models.

The French solution can be viewed cynically — easy abortion in exchange for accepting a few platitudes on the value of human life. But Miss Glendon considers it a "humane, democratic compromise" built around compassion and concern for pregnant woman, married and unmarried, as well as concern for fetal life.

The key to the compromise is that abortion is socially positioned as a regrettable exception to the principle that developing life is to be protected. French law embodies the idea that abortions should be kept to a minimum. The idea is backed by social programs, including grants and day care, that help women avoid abortion. The mandatory counseling, a simple discussion of options, does not have the punitive or anxiety-producing tone that arouses such resentment here. Miss Glendon reports it is "clearly meant to be helpful to the woman while trying to preserve the life of the fetus."

This sort of compromise will not appeal to those who think early abortion is murder, or to those devoted to the hysterical argument that a one-day waiting period is an intolerable act of oppression. But it would appeal to the vast majority of Americans who want the turmoil to end. Polls consistently show that a decisive majority opposes abortion, wants it discouraged and regulated, but is unwilling to use law to forbid abortions. So an Americanized version of the French accommodation may be the future of the issue here. But not until the Supreme Court extricates itself from its 19-year Vietnam.

John Leo is a contributing editor to U.S. News & World Report.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 *

PHILIP GOLD

Denying fathers a voice

This is not about abortion. It is about men. And it is not about rights. It is about stewardship — the disposition of the planet, and the life that therein is.

Last June 29, the Supreme Court ruled in "Planned Parenthood of Pennsylvania vs. Casey" that: "A husband has no enforceable right to require a wife to advise him before she exercises her personal choices." To adapt the language of the Dred Scott case a bit: A husband has no rights anyone is bound to respect. The court's reasoning — if such it can be called — was tortured, even by the pathetic standards of that verbose, grandiloquent document and that increasingly bizarre institution.

First, the court asserted (or assumed) that, in the vast majority of marriages, such notification will occur automatically. Perhaps it would. But, the court went on, "There are millions of women in this country who are the victims of regular [emphasis added] physical and psychological abuse at the hands of their husbands." The court next cited a few of the "studies" and "estimates" always near at hand when so-called women's issues are discussed, and noted a few of the nefarious things that abusive husbands "might" or "could" do when the "flashpoint" of pregnancy is reached.

Finally, the court concluded that, because of all these surveys and estimates and might and could,

spousal notification places an "undue burden" on a wife's exercise of choice.

Spousal and child abuse are real. Some guys are just plain sick. Others experience lapses in the kind of self-control that used to be subsumed under the words "Christian" and "gentleman." And the Pennsylvania statute offered several grounds for waiver of the notification requirement, including reasonable fear of abuse. But what the court has said here, all its legalistic cover-yourself verbiage notwithstanding, is that, in this matter, sickness is the norm. Men are such monsters that the law cannot entrust them with even the most minimal rights concerning the fate of the life they have fathered — and could properly be imprisoned for future failure to support.

In one sense, this "men are monsters" reasoning is new. For centuries, American and Anglo-Saxon law offered special protections to women and children. These laws, however, were not based on the premise of innate and omnipresent male evil. They were predicated on the belief that, while men may be inherently good (or at least desirous of goodness), power corrupts. And the family relationship, as then structured, reflected the larger society by placing certain persons, in this case women and children, in extremely disadvantageous power relationships. Whether this structure was right or wrong in and for its era may be debated. Certainly, it is a struc-

irredeemably evil.

Yet in another sense, this "men are monsters" doctrine merely codifies what is now standard-issue truth in the nation's schools and arts and media. Men, especially white men, have been defined as the curse of the Earth. Their moralities are hypocrisies, their accomplishments atrocities, their legacies deadly, their proper role now never-ending penitence for the sin of having been born male. A recent New Yorker cartoon showed a dismal-faced fellow in a bar, pressing a pistol against his own head, while beside him three females chortled: "Well, finally — a man who gets it right."

Enough.

Men and women must, and will continue to share the Earth. They — we — are its stewards. And a lot of people are beginning to realize that the Imperial Self, like the patriarchal family of yore, may have become maladaptive. The ecology types, the denizens of the ineptly monikered animal rights movement, and sundry other advocates have a point that their arrogance and self-righteousness only partially obscures. This planet, and all its many forms of life, do not exist at human suffrance, to be plundered and

*For centuries,
American law offered
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slaughtered for human extravagance or sport. Life does not exist because humans find it convenient. Life exists for reasons of its own, which humans need not approve or comprehend but must respect. For some, such respect is key to planetary survival. For others, it is tantamount to acknowledgment of God.

Can this emerging ethic of planetary stewardship, with its solicitous reverence for trees and owls and chickens and whales, be insufficiently broad to include the unborn of the human race?

I find abortion abhorrent. It is not, save in extremis, a proper disposition of life. (Should anyone care, I also oppose capital punishment and recently gave up meat for similar reasons.) But criminalization is no answer. The solution must be an exercise in stewardship — making abortion economically unnecessary, culturally unacceptable, and morally repugnant. Like the anti-slavery crusade of centuries past, legal changes must be the final step, not the first.

And as a first step toward the redefinition of abortion as a stewardship issue, it might be useful if men refused to participate any longer in the sterile, vindictive, rights-vs.-rights shouting matches of the past few decades. I stopped some time ago.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 *

DOUG BANDOW

Breaking the monopoly

The emergence of Ross Perot as a serious presidential candidate is a dramatic commentary on the U.S. political system. Most obviously, his popularity reflects the American people's frustration with the two major party contenders: a visionless hack who thinks leadership involves following the latest polls; and a moral-less, untrustworthy defender of the liberal status quo.

When in recent American history was an alternative choice more desperately needed?

Into the gap has ridden Ross Perot. What distinguishes Mr. Perot is not that he is a businessman, plain-speaker, or populist, but that he is a billionaire, and thus is capable of funding a competitive race for president.

George Bush and Bill Clinton will each collect \$55.24 million in public funds for their fall campaigns, on top of \$11 million each for their respective conventions. Only someone like Mr. Perot, ready and able to spend \$100 million or more on his campaign, has a shot at beating the major contenders.

We should be thankful that at least this one alternative exists. In the wake of the Watergate scandal, Congress limited individual political contributions to \$1,000 and provided public funding for presidential elections, skewing the system to favor the major parties.

Since 1976, Republican and Democratic candidates have received \$513.5 million in public funds, with another \$132 million soon to come for the conventions and November election.

Non-Republican candidates have received about \$2 million in so-called matching funds during the

primaries and are eligible for general election money only retrospectively, if they receive at least 5 percent of the vote in the election, as did John Anderson, who collected \$4.2 million in 1980.

It took a Supreme Court's ruling that the First Amendment prevents Congress from barring expenditures either on oneself or independently on another candidate to limit the Republicans' and Democrats' electoral monopoly. These exceptions are quite narrow, however. The number of billionaires with an interest in politics is small, and even fewer such people would make not only good candidates but also good presidents.

Independent expenditures are of only limited benefit because a candidate cannot coordinate his campaign tactics with someone else's outlays. While attack ads on opposing candidates usually help, they alone are unlikely to elect someone president.

Moreover, poor ads, strategy and timing by an independent supporter could actually hurt a candidate's effort. So far, independent expenditures have had little impact on the political process.

Were this 1968 rather than 1992, however, we might not be stuck with a choice among two status quo hacks, one eccentric billionaire, and a bunch of wacky no-names. One wealthy person — or a handful of rich citizens — could sponsor a more serious, better qualified alternative.

Such funding could either enable a traditional but obscure candidate (such as a Paul Tsongas) to mount a successful primary campaign or empower a highly qualified but non-

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Doug Bandow, a senior fellow at the Cato Institute, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

BANDOW

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wealthy independent (columnist Doug Bandow, for instance) to challenge the major parties in the general election. The people would then have a real choice as to who will govern them in coming years.

The critical requirement — not followed in scandal-wracked 1972 — is full disclosure, allowing voters to treat the amount and form of donations as an issue. Let a candidate, in full view of the public, attempt to "buy" an election with money from a few friends. Voters then could answer the question, in whose pocket might he be? — balancing their resulting concerns against the cost of four torturous years of either George Bush or Bill Clinton.

In fact, despite much repeated fears, money seldom determines elections. Republican John Connally rejected federal funds and spent some \$14 million in 1980, twice Ronald Reagan's expenditures — Mr. Connally won one delegate, Mr. Reagan won his party's nomination and the presidency.

Often the big spenders in House and Senate races lose. There's no reason to believe this wouldn't also be the case if presidential elections were freed from current federal rules.

Whether or not Ross Perot remains a viable candidate come Nov. 3, he will offer the American people a bit more choice. But his rise paradoxically demonstrates how the current election law, drafted to reinforce the Republicans' political monopoly, stifles electoral alternatives.

Congress should repeal the restrictions on contributions and expenditures, making our elections again truly free.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 *

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

Who could forget "junk bonds"? For six years, the American public has been told junk bonds were fraudulent instruments used to pyramid debt, bankrupt savings-and-loan associations and stick taxpayers with a \$500 billion bill.

Just last year the Wall Street Journal's front-page editor, James Stewart, published a book, "Den of Thieves," that told a fanciful story of junk bonds as the instrument of "the greatest criminal conspiracy the financial world has ever known."

The many who read the book came away convinced that junk-bond king Michael Milken went to prison and the Wall Street firm of Drexel Burnham was destroyed by the government because they sold junk bonds.

If there was any justice, negligent policy-makers responsible for the wanton destruction of billions of dollars of private investments would be in the dock — and not their victims.

Mr. Stewart even imagined that junk bonds posed a massive challenge to the "foundation of civilized society."

Fairy tales are always entertaining, and many people, especially conservatives who believe that debt

Paul Craig Roberts, an economist at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, is a columnist for The Washington Times and is nationally syndicated.

Junk bonds get new rating

is inherently evil, swallowed the story. Ambitious and unethical U.S. prosecutors are still employing Mr. Stewart's fairy tale to prosecute hapless and innocent financial executives who sincerely saw the high-risk bonds as a good investment.

Having invested so heavily in portraying junk bonds as a failure, imagine the shock that rolled through the executive suites of the Wall Street Journal when the newspaper had to report on July 1 that, far from a defunct and discredited financial instrument, junk bonds are enjoying unprecedented success.

In the first six months of this year, more new junk bonds were issued by companies and bought by the public than ever before, far exceeding the previous record set during the second half of 1986, the heyday of the junk-bond market prior to the attack on the market by incompetent and uninformed U.S. government officials.

Moreover, the firms marketing these "fraudulent instruments of a crime wave" are the premier financial institutions of America: Merrill Lynch, Goldman Sachs, Morgan Stanley, J.P. Morgan, BearStearns, and Salomon Brothers.

And guess who is buying these bonds. It's not "S&L crooks" and high-flying insurance companies, but individual investors in mutual funds.

It is easy to understand why. Just as Milken discovered years ago, the

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ROBERTS

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high-yield interest rates paid by junk bonds have, over time, more than compensated for the higher default rate of these bonds with less than investment grade credit ratings. Last year, for example, Value Line's conservatively managed junk-bond mutual fund produced a total return (interest payments plus price appreciation) of 26.6 percent. More aggressive risk-takers made 40 percent on their junk-bond portfolios during 1991.

Much of this gain was due to the bonds' recovery from the low prices to which they had been driven by federal policy-makers and media hysteria. The people who lost money on junk bonds were victimized as much as by the federal government's crusade against the instrument that financed more than 80 percent of the new jobs during the 1980s as they were through misuse of them.

Ironically, President Bush's hope for re-election is another victim of the Republican administration that disrupted the financing of our successful economy and plunged it into recession.

With junk bonds now a mainline Wall Street product bought by ordinary Americans through mutual funds, sooner or later juries will have to begin wondering why the federal government is prosecuting their local financial institutions for investing in junk bonds.

Why should a thrift president, and the local doctor, lawyer and businessmen who sat on his board, be personally liable for losses suffered when the federal government drove down junk-bond prices and forced the thrift to sell at the bottom of the market?

It is as much government malfeasance as misrepresentation by sellers of the bonds that wrecked the thrifts and many commercial banks.

If there was any justice in America, these negligent policy-makers responsible for the wanton destruction of billions of dollars of private investments would be in the dock — and not their victims.

GEORGIE ANNE GEYER

Saving grace in El Salvador

Over the years, the little living room of my apartment in downtown Washington has been "host" to an amazing (some would say strange) parade of visitors. They have ranged from the eminently respectable to the dregs of the earth, with an occasional saint or scoundrel thrown in for good measure.

First, Nicaraguan Miskito Indian leaders dropped by one day in the early '80s. They revealed the secret that they were beginning to fight the Marxist Sandinistas. After them came everyone from the Sandinistas themselves, to the Iranian Mujaheddin to Turkish specialists on terrorism. Quite a crowd!

But more welcome than all were two men who dropped in early this summer. These two prominent justices of the newly reconstituted Supreme Court of El Salvador wanted to tell me how that country — whose seemingly endless civil war has been since 1979 the horror story of

the hemisphere — is changing dramatically.

"When we arrived at the supreme court in 1989, for a term of three years, we found a situation very different from the one today," Justice Oscar Rodriguez Diaz began. "The court was very backward. There was a great shortage of materials, including even buildings.

"All this has improved extraordinarily in three years. We have instituted a series of innovations for Latin America."

As he and the president of the court, Mauricio Gutierrez Castro, sat in my living room, they enthusiastically ticked off the changes in progress. El Salvador, long despaired of for its corrupt (or nonexistent) judicial system, now has a corps of judicial auditors who travel constantly to check on cases. It has special delegates for the "vigilance" of the prisons, usually lawyers who have offices in the prisons and su-

pervise them on judicial correctness and human rights on behalf of the democratically elected central government.

In a country where hundreds and thousands of people used to simply disappear, a new department of information lists every person who has been arrested. It is now open 24 hours a day for the benefit of families and friends.

The reforms have greatly reduced the numbers of people not convicted (i.e. arrested for political or similar noncriminal offenses), but nevertheless held in prison. "When we came, the rate of prisoners in prison but not convicted was 94 percent," said Justice Gutierrez Castro. "Paraguay was the only country that was worse.

"Today, we have been able to lower that rate to 60 percent, while the average in Latin America is 70 percent. We believe that, by the end of our period, we will have the same

rate as [progressive] Costa Rica."

And there are still other reforms. There were always juries in El Salvador, but people were afraid to serve on them, so much so that 65 of every 100 cases had to be suspended. Now that rate has been reduced to 10.

And then there is the innovative Commission of Truth. Because so many horrible crimes were committed by the two extremes of the political spectrum — and because it would simply be impossible to try everyone — this month there will begin operating in El Salvador the work of a commission of "notable persons," who will investigate the grave violations of human rights in Salvador and try to determine who is responsible.

No one is sure yet just how that will work, but if it is not politicized, the commission could serve, as Justice Gutierrez Castro put it, more than as a judicial trial; it could be the instrument of a historic evolution.

Even at the worst times, I had a certain sovereign faith that Salvador would right itself. Salvador is essentially a modern country; it was never fighting the ancient wars of the Serbs or the Georgians or the Moldovans.

It could, with its growing experience, serve as an example to others, particularly since President Alfredo Cristiani has determined to go down in history as the man who reformed and saved El Salvador.

Ironically, it is not the military now, not the far right, and not the far left who are threatening the supreme court and its work. It is the elected National Assembly, whose various members regularly attack the court for their own ambitious political purposes. One might call it continuing the war by another means.

I know it is not fashionable to be hopeful today, but the truth is that decent Salvadorans, with consistent American backing over many years, are now writing the script for Salvador.

The world may not be getting better, but the company in my living room most definitely is.

Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

BRIAN DICKINSON

Rewards for being bold

A place at the first table

Boris Yeltsin, once dismissed in the West as a noisy oaf, finds himself these days on something of a roll. The Russian president is taking bold strides to bring his staggering country to its feet, and his efforts have won him new respect from the West.

Mr. Yeltsin has emerged as a sort of Russian Texan — proud, boisterous, gregarious and full to overflowing with solutions to every problem under the sun. He exudes self-confidence, even when wrestling with Russia's economic and political mess, and this has only enhanced his stature as a remarkable can-do figure.

At the Munich economic summit, for example, Mr. Yeltsin wangled himself a dinner invitation by arriving a day earlier than scheduled. His ploy raised a few eyebrows, but it also prompted President Bush to ask that Russia be made a permanent member of the industrialized bloc.

France, Germany and Japan thought this was premature, but Secretary of State James Baker praised Mr. Yeltsin's "courageous effort" at reform and said Russian membership might be offered before long. And Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, responding to a persistent Yeltsin plea, indicated that Russia might soon get some relief for its \$74 billion in foreign debt.

These are real prizes for a Russian who only a year ago was struggling

to keep his footing as pressures mounted to oust then-Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. In the months since the abortive August coup, however, and especially since taking the reins of Russian authority last January, Boris Yeltsin has appeared increasingly sure-footed and afraid of little.

It has helped mightily to have the Americans firmly on his side. His recent Washington summit with President Bush, followed by a swift tour of Middle America, recharged Mr. Yeltsin's batteries and underscored his commitment to sweeping change in Russia. As Mr. Yeltsin well knows, the Americans worked hard to gain International Monetary Fund approval for a sizable package of economic aid to Russia. And he knows the Bush administration has encouraged U.S. businesses to seek trade opportunities in his country.

But Mr. Yeltsin also has initiated many changes on his own, especially the bold economic reforms of last January and the recent move to make the ruble fully convertible. These radical shifts, urged by his team of young economic advisers over the angry opposition of bureaucrats and communist hangers-on, are the kinds of crucial changes Mr. Gorbachev could never bring himself to endorse. Not only has Mr. Yeltsin endorsed them, but he has tirelessly taken his case for the reforms to the Russian people.

Mr. Yeltsin also is trying to breath new life into the feeble Commonwealth of Independent States, composed of Russia and nine other former Soviet republics. Just before leaving for the Munich summit, he announced, on behalf of the Com-

monwealth, that Russia, Ukraine, Romania and Bulgaria might create a joint peacekeeping force to end the civil war in the former Soviet republic of Moldova.

This spontaneous proposal was vintage Boris Yeltsin, since no one knows how the opposing forces in Moldova might react, or whether Romania and Bulgaria would even agree to take part. But Mr. Yeltsin is at least churning out ideas and tak-

ing the initiative in a conflict that has the region alarmed, and this is more than can be said for some European institutions that were created to keep the peace.

Even the Russian economy has shown a few signs of life that might help Mr. Yeltsin stave off simmering demands for his ouster. Exports were dropping since January, according to figures from the Russian Research Center at Harvard Univer-

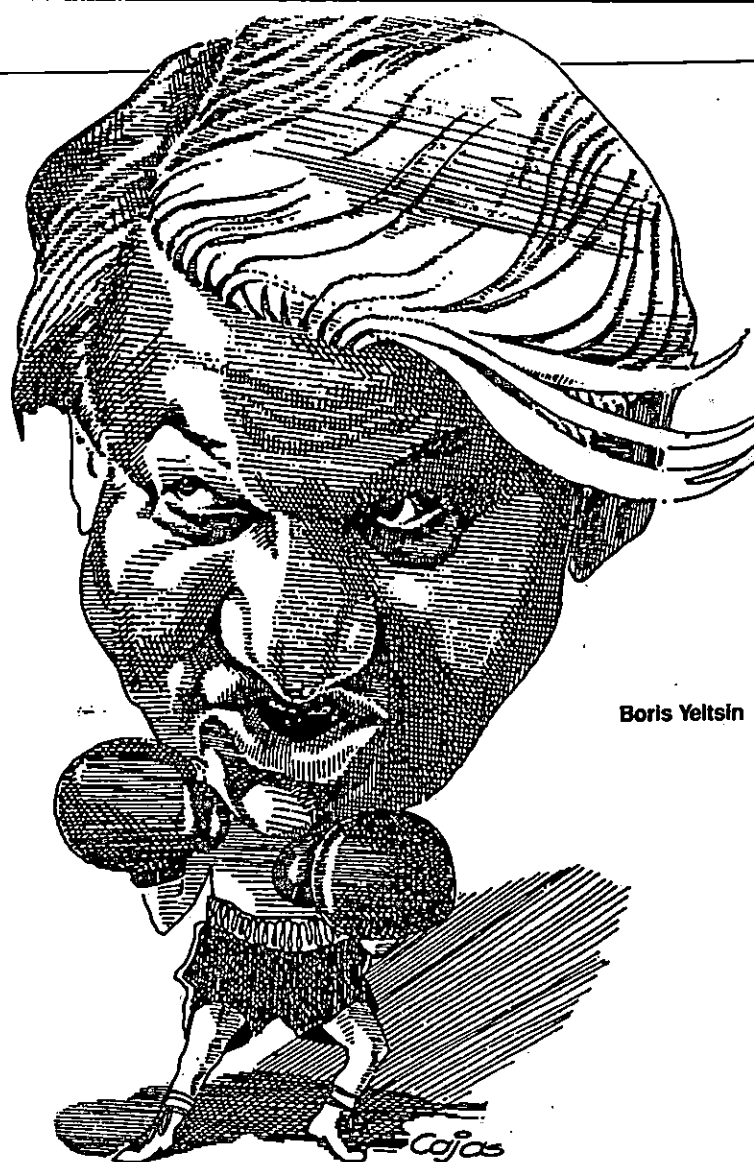
sity, but each month the slippage has been less, and now exports are rising from that January base. Russian exports to Eastern Europe, in fact, doubled at the beginning of 1992 compared to a year earlier. Industrial output is still slipping, but not as fast.

Boris Yeltsin can take heart from such flickering signals, but Russia remains discouragingly far from the recovery it seeks. Living standards have fallen sharply. Unemployment, which did not officially exist during the Soviet era, has increased tenfold in the past year, to more than 150,000. Russia's presses are still printing rubles at a torrential rate, aiding to inflation. Some employers are said to be two or three months behind in paying workers.

These pressures hardly enhance Mr. Yeltsin's position. In fact, his foreign minister, Andrei Kozyrev, has warned darkly of a possible coup attempt by nationalistic forces. The military and the KGB reportedly remain largely immune to civilian control. The dispute with Ukraine over control of the Black Sea Fleet, supposedly resolved last month, seems far from settled; and Ukraine is dawdling on dismantling its stock of nuclear weapons. The Communist Party, although formally banned by Mr. Yeltsin and now being brought to trial for crimes from its past, has organized a secret party congress to chart its future course.

Each of these elements points to a potential explosion in the hard-pressed Russian state, which only adds to the stress on Mr. Yeltsin and his young presidency. With limited resources and an untried administration, he is struggling to heal the wounds of his country's turbulent past, and the chances of failure remain substantial.

But Mr. Yeltsin also has shown himself to be a supple survivor and a master of political acumen. For Russia, stunned by the enormity of its upheaval, he has become a versatile Mr. Fix-It, tirelessly willing to tackle any problem that comes along. Even if he doesn't last, he has forced Russian reforms onto an irreversible course, and this is an achievement of historic dimensions.



Boris Yeltsin

Brian Dickinson writes for the Providence (R.I.) Journal, in which this article appeared prior to distribution by Scripps Howard News Service.

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 *

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Sir Ian McKellen, widely hailed as the new Olivier, has just arrived here in a production of "Richard III," currently at the Kennedy Center. That ought to put a stop to that kind of talk.

Sir Ian just isn't cut out for Shakespeare. He may be good in other things, but I've seen him do Shakespeare twice now, and he simply doesn't know how to speak the most irresistibly rhythmic line in the English language.

Englishmen usually speak the stuff better than Americans, and I don't think it has much to do with accents (the modern English accent, after all, didn't exist in Shakespeare's day). I suspect it has more to do with the national habit of speaking in complete sentences. You can't imagine a man who talked like George Bush rising to the top in British politics.

Maybe Sir Ian has some American blood. That could explain the painful way he chops the blank verse into pieces, full of pointless pauses,

Joseph Sobran, critic-at-large for National Review, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Brutalizing the Bard with fascist fantasy

instead of sensing and following the swing of the lines. He drawls when he should snap.

"Richard III," of course, is about an evil hunchback who murders his way to the throne, dispatching even two innocent young nephews — not one of Shakespeare's subtler efforts, but full of rip-roaring speeches and macabre wit.

Olivier's wonderfully spidery performance still haunts every actor who attempts the role. Sir Ian has chosen to cope with that imposing ghost by trying the wicked hunchback as a disagreeable arthritic. He employs an affected manner of speech said to be taken from Edward VIII. The production is set in the '30s, with visual allusions to fascism, such as military uniforms with armbands bearing sinister insignias.

The fascist parallel is very strained, because Richard III has no agenda. He just wants to be king. Without in any way endorsing the

practice of smothering nephews, I would call this a perfectly understandable ambition. Richard is not at all revolutionary, or for that matter counterrevolutionary. He exploits the normal rules of his time regarding royal succession, admittedly taking a few shortcuts. He is really quite a conventional man, even if he adopts a cynical approach to his society's conventions. A mass movement is about the last thing on his mind.

I've lost count of the Shakespeare productions I've seen or read about that have tried to inject contemporary relevance into the plays by drawing silly parallels with fascism. Shakespeare's history plays show us dynastic struggles that are obsolete in our world, where political power is no longer inherited, and fascism is one of the forces that have made them obsolete.

I think the point needs to be stressed, for the benefit of actors

and directors especially, that you can be quite a nasty person without necessarily being a fascist. For example, you might rob graves, or poison Halloween candy, or torture puppies; but though these are not nice things to do, none of them in itself makes you a fascist. Neither does murdering your nephews.

Forced political allegory doesn't bring Shakespeare up to date. It only mummifies him. It implies that his plays aren't interesting on their own terms, without the superimposition of gimmickry. (Why do these directors always think they're doing Shakespeare a favor?)

The audience on the night I saw this "Richard III" sat in respectful boredom, enduring this palpable misrepresentation for four hours. At moments when it was clear that the actors were trying to be funny, some spectators supplied mercy titters. At the end, many stood and applauded. They evidently wanted to



Sir Ian McKellen

feel they had just witnessed a great play greatly acted.

They hadn't. They'd only seen a stubborn preconception of the play enacted, without regard for Shakespeare's words.

This, mind you, was a sophisticated Washington audience. But they were easy prey for a director like Richard Eyre, who chose to play for their approval by involving modern villains. No doubt a few spectators realized what a scam it was, but the mass succumbed to theatrical demagoguery. Though not exactly entertained, they seemed to think they had been edified.

If there was any parallel to fascism that night, it wasn't in the play Shakespeare wrote. It was in the way the production twisted the meaning of a venerated text in order to manipulate the public.

Somehow I was reminded of the Supreme Court; but let's not force that parallel either.

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 *

Bush tells CSCE he won't use troops to help Bosnia

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HELSINKI — President Bush rejected an impassioned plea for military aid to defend Bosnia-Herzegovina from Serbian forces yesterday, but the administration signaled it was prepared to see NATO troops play a role if the war there drags on.

Attending a summit of the 51-member Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Mr. Bush said the United States was not ready to do more than protect military convoys bringing food and medicine to the beleaguered people of Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities.

But Secretary of State James A. Baker III said Mr. Bush would consider the former Yugoslav republic's request for U.S. air power to knock out heavy military equipment Serbian forces are using to attack Sarajevo.

"The president said that he would consider that," said Mr. Baker. "He hasn't ruled anything in or anything out." He added that any move would be coordinated with the United Nations.

The administration also said it would send more Navy ships to the Adriatic Sea to enforce the embargo on Serbia and support humanitarian relief operations.

But Mr. Bush made no further commitment except to maintain dip-

lomatic pressure on Serbia, its irregular militia allies in Bosnia and on those neighbors of Serbia who are ignoring a U.N. economic and arms embargo on the region.

In an address to the European security conference, Mr. Bush said nations "who violate CSCE norms must be singled out — criticized, isolated, even punished by sanctions."

The CSCE, which includes all of the former Soviet republics, Europe, the United States and Canada, was formed to keep the peace between the East and West blocs during the Cold War and promote human rights.

Shortly before Mr. Bush arrived in the Finnish capital, the group banned what remains of Yugoslavia from the CSCE for launching the Bosnian war after Croats and Muslims there voted for independence on Feb. 29. Some 7,500 people have died in the war, mostly in the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo.

"Let Serbia's absence today serve as a clear message to others," Mr. Bush said to hearty applause.

Spelling out what should be done in Bosnia, he said: "First, we should see to it that relief supplies get through, no matter what it takes. Second, we should see to it that United Nations sanctions are respected, no matter what it takes. Third, we should do all we can to prevent this conflict from spread-

ing. And fourth, let us call with one voice for the guns to fall silent through a cease-fire on all fronts."

Mr. Bush met earlier with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, who appealed for "peacemaking forces" to help remove the heavy weapons of Serbian irregulars who seek to annex part of Bosnia to what remains of Yugoslavia.

Mr. Izetbegovic said after the 20-minute meeting that Mr. Bush did not promise military intervention, and, "I didn't expect him to do so today."

But, he said, "I can only say that President Bush hasn't ruled out military intervention. That was enough for me at this time."

Mr. Baker said later, "It's been made pretty clear he [Mr. Bush] is not talking about putting United States troops in there." He also said the CSCE is considering sending monitors to the Bosnia-Serbian border to determine whether weapons are flowing to pro-Serbian forces.

Mr. Bush won a victory of sorts when the CSCE said it would adopt language today providing for NATO troops to help quiet future military clashes, though not immediately in Serbia.

"If this [Serbian] conflict drags on for years, as it may well, then NATO's role in the future might come into play, but not in this near term," a senior U.S. official said.



Russian President Boris Yeltsin (right) has President Bush amused yesterday during the CSCE summit in Helsinki.

The French had resisted any NATO role because it wants to limit U.S. influence in post-Cold War Europe.

The United States joined with others at the CSCE meeting, calling for more humanitarian aid to Sarajevo via aircraft and truck convoys.

Canada's foreign minister, Barbara McDougall, expressed dismay that the CSCE draft final document didn't take a stronger stance against the violence in Sarajevo. Canadian forces are playing the lead role in securing Sarajevo's airport for the humanitarian flights.

The French government, meanwhile, sent nine attack helicopters and additional soldiers to help protect the airport. The United States has offered to use Navy and Force aircraft to protect the convoys but so far has made no move to provide them.

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 *

House OKs \$35 billion for jobs; Bush veto urged

ASSOCIATED PRESS

The House adopted a Democratic plan yesterday shifting hundreds of millions of foreign aid dollars to job-creating transportation projects, ignoring a veto threat from President Bush.

By 213-190, the House chose to use unspent foreign aid and domestic funds for road-building and other projects. The goal: creating what sponsors said would be perhaps 125,000 jobs in the teeth of an election-year recession.

"This economy has collapsed," said Rep. David Obey, Wisconsin Democrat, the measure's chief sponsor. "This country needs . . . jobs."

One hundred and ninety-six Democrats were joined by 16 Republicans and one independent in voting for the measure, while 51 Democrats and 139 Republicans opposed it. The bill now goes to the Senate.

Republicans said the Obey measure would tear down the "firewalls" the two parties built in a formal agreement in 1990 to compartmentalize government spending and use any savings to reduce the budget deficit.

"It's the reason people are disgusted with this place," said Rep. Robert S. Walker, Pennsylvania Republican, of the Democrats and their

plan. "They can't stand up for honor and they can't stand up for law. The budget agreement is being broken right here in this chamber."

Bush administration aides said they would urge the president to veto the entire \$35 billion transportation spending bill containing the shifted spending, saying it would be better to use the unused dollars to reduce the budget deficit. The overall bill passed on a 306-74 vote.

The vote came a week after the national unemployment rate jumped to an eight-year high of 7.8 percent, a sobering statistic that made the prospects of job-creation an enticing one for lawmakers.

Earlier, the House voted 268-143 for an amendment by House Minority Leader Robert Michel, Illinois Republican, that would have required unspent dollars to be used on deficit reduction. But that measure was discarded when the House approved the Obey measure.

Mr. Obey's proposal provides \$400 million for spending next year and authority to spend an additional \$2.2 billion over the next several years. Congress would later have to vote that additional money.

The bill includes: \$17.1 billion for federal highway aid for the states; \$9 billion for the Federal Aviation Administration, including money for

air traffic control and inspections, new facilities and equipment; \$405 million in grants to Amtrak; and \$3.8 billion for the Federal Transit Administration, including financing to help local transit systems pay for new buses and other improvements.

Mr. Obey said the spending shift is essential to create jobs and breathe some life into an economy struggling to recover from a stubborn recession.

Democrats lost a similar fight in March when they proposed shifting billions of dollars from defense to domestic programs and were defeated by a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992

The tricks begin

Count on it, you're going to hear a lot more about dirty tricks in the months ahead. Already a pro-life group says the Democratic National Committee forced a hotel to cancel reservations for space it wanted to use for a news conference. The National Right to Life Committee booked the room at the Omni Park Central Hotel for Tuesday, but then the hotel canceled, saying the DNC did not give its approval.

The right-to-life group considered the deal done, but an official at the hotel called and said: "We're not sure. We have to get the OK through the Democratic National Committee." Then there was a silence until late Wednesday, when the group was informed by the hotel, "We have an agreement with the DNC that if they don't OK it, we can't do it."

Bailing out

Wasn't it just the other day all those big names turned out to show their support for unannounced presidential candidate Ross Perot? Why, there was Willie Nelson and lots of other hotshots. Well, maybe ol' Ross forgot to use his mouthwash and deodorant or something. Already, one big name who was at the Dallas rally has jumped ship. Close associates say top Reagan administration arms negotiator Paul Nitze has called it quits. According to our sources, Mr. Nitze is saying that after just a bit of exposure to Mr. Perot, he's seen enough.

Newt's loot

Rep. Newt Gingrich, Georgia Republican, is the target of a television ad produced by Ralph Nader's Public Citizens Fund for a Clean Congress that begins as the camera focuses on an old-time cash register. The commercial says Newt said he was against pay raises but voted for them anyway. The figure "\$35,000" rings up on the register.

INSIDE THE BELTWAY



Rep. Newt Gingrich has Ralph Nader on his case in a big way.

Then it's noted that Newt says he's against congressional perks. The figure "\$67,000" pops up on the register. "And he stuck us with a chauffeured limousine."

"\$178,000."

"And spent more money on free mail than any Georgia congressman."

"\$1,400,000."

The ad continues on until "No Sale" is rung up, followed by the date of the Georgia primary, July 21, and the closing message: "Boot Newt!"

A new veep

To some, Dan is not the man. Sen. James Jeffords, Vermont Republican, has asked President Bush to dump the veep from the Republican ticket.

So, as goes Vermont, so goes New Hampshire? Manchester Union Leader publisher Nackey Loeb, in a front-page editorial, says Mr. Bush should pick Pat Buchanan for his veep. "Bush said he would do anything to get re-elected. The way things are going, he'd better do something soon," according to the editorial. "We do not fault Dan Quayle, [but] no matter how he may try, Quayle is no great asset to the Bush image."

The influential newspaper publisher concluded her advice to Mr. Bush with the observation that if he "really wants to be president, Buchanan could be his salvation."

Close the door

Rep. Elton Gallegly, California Republican, met recently with Vice President Dan Quayle to discuss the issue of illegal aliens. He "described to him the crisis that virtually unchecked illegal immigration is causing in Southern California and many other parts of the country," Mr. Gallegly said in a letter to constituents. "The vice president was surprised and shocked at the statistics I gave him concerning the cost to the taxpayers and the sheer numbers of illegal aliens in southern California alone, and he promised to relay the message to the president."

Says the savvy Beltway Irregular who called the letter to our attention: "This poor congressman is probably fighting a losing battle, but he's right."

Come on down

We've known John McLaughry for some years as a column contrib-

utor and member of this newspaper's advisory board. Now he's gone and done it. Mr. McLaughry has announced as the "un-challenged, uncontested and under-funded" Republican candidate for governor of Vermont. For those who want to find out if he really deserves the nickname "Country," or if he really can play that gut bucket he has strapped to his shoulder, Mr. McLaughry will be in town July 28 for a barbecue at the Capitol Hill Club. The show costs \$50 and is catered by the Kenilworth-Parkside Tenant Management Catering Service.

Going nowhere

Wash your mouth out with soap if you even suggest that Albert Shanker is ready to pack it in as president of the American Federation of Teachers. We'll take our medicine, since this newspaper played a part in spreading the story around. It was the National Education Association, however, that suggested he might be getting out of the way. But the loose lips at the NEA nattering about his retirement in two years don't have it right, according to the AFT.

Short of being bumped off by a hit man, Mr. Shanker says he's secure in his job and isn't planning on retirement. He expects to be re-elected for another two years when the AFT holds its biennial meeting in August in Pittsburgh.

Mr. Shanker, 63, has headed the AFT since 1974. Speculation about his retirement has centered on the fact that he will be 65 and will have led the union for 20 years when the AFT crowd meets in Anaheim in 1994.

It's hindsight

A Beltway Irregular in Arlington passes along a new bumper sticker that is making the rounds: "Republican Women Make Great Leaders. ... You're Following One Now!"

— John Elvi

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 *

The GOP's own 'Dennis the Menace'

NEW ATTACK ADS TARGET CLINTON

By Judith Colp
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

George Bush's rogue hatchet man strikes again. Four years after creating the Willie Horton attack ads that helped down Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis, Floyd G. Brown is pushing negative political advertising into a new dimension.

In a provocative television commercial scheduled to begin airing tonight on New York stations, viewers are invited to call a telephone number to hear tape-recorded conversations between Mr. Clinton and Gennifer Flowers, the former cabaret singer who claims to have had a long-running affair with the soon-to-be Democratic nominee, who is married.

"Get to know Bill Clinton the way Gennifer Flowers did," an announcer intones dramatically, sounding like a promo for the tabloid show "A Current Affair."

"It's the first interactive commercial of its kind," boasts Mr. Brown, who says he struggled with a reluctant AT&T to provide the number. "I'm doing work so other people in the future will have this First Amendment right."

A reporter who called the number yesterday heard two snippets of conversation apparently taped by Miss Flowers. The first was filled with static and largely unintelligible except for bursts of laughter from Miss Flowers.

In the second, Miss Flowers tells Mr. Clinton that her apartment was broken into but nothing was taken. They discuss Mr. Clinton's latest poll results, and Mr. Clinton remarks

that New York Gov. Mario Cuomo "sure acts like" a Mafia figure.

These conversations were publicized in January, when Miss Flowers played the tapes for reporters at a New York news conference. Extensive transcripts appeared in the Star supermarket tabloid. Without admitting a relationship with Miss Flowers, Mr. Clinton made a public apology to Mr. Cuomo.

Callers also hear some taped negative commentary about Mr. Clinton and the draft. Callers are urged to call back next week for "new information."

"This gets hotter every week," a woman's voice says.

At a downtown news conference yesterday, Mr. Brown said the ad will do a "trial run" in New York during the Democrats' convention week. He said it will run on CNN but declined to name other stations or times, saying it would be "foolish" to reveal tactics to the Clinton camp.

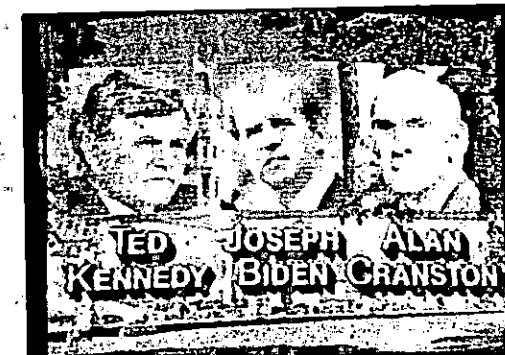
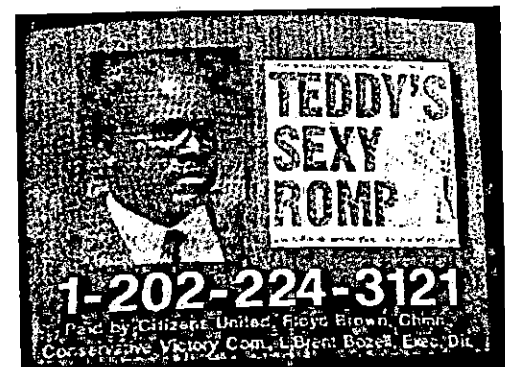
The number can handle up to 30,000 calls a minute.

Callers, whom Mr. Brown said he hopes will be over 18 because of the tape's "graphic" material, are charged \$4.99 to their Visa or MasterCard. Each call costs Mr. Brown \$2.50, and profits will finance future ads, he said.

But Mr. Brown, 31, isn't producing his ads out of great admiration for President Bush. The conservative activist considers the president a country club Republican who is "insensitive to most Americans."

Why then is he chairman of the Presidential Victory Committee, an independent organization that hopes to raise and spend \$8 million

see BROWN, page E5



Brown ads used Willie Horton against Gov. Dukakis (top) and bashed judges of Clarence Thomas

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 *

BROWN

From page E1

to help re-elect the president?

"A lot of conservatives say we'd be better off if Bush was not re-elected," Mr. Brown says. "They think you can have four bad years and then have a conservative like Ronald Reagan ride into town and solve our problems. Reagan didn't solve all our problems. Change is incremental. You make change every day, not in an instant."

"George Bush will leave us in a lot better shape than Bill Clinton will. That's why conservatives should be working to re-elect Bush."

Floyd Brown, baby-faced blond, is the Republican Party's Dennis the Menace. His detractors, many Bush partisans among them, consider him a loose cannon that rolls too far.

But to his admirers, he is an impassioned crusader for conservative causes.

Mr. Brown, who hails from the other Washington, sees himself as representing a segment of voters that not only helped elect Mr. Reagan in 1980 but that the Republicans desperately need to cultivate now: Joe Six Pack.

"I have a sense of what connects with people like me," Mr. Brown says. "We're not culturally Republicans. We're not libertarians. We're not neoconservatives or former liberals. We're just old-fashioned, blue-collar social conservatives. These are people who couldn't care less about politics, want to be left alone by government, but if their country calls for them to fight abroad, will."

"You win elections by cultivating people like me."

In other words: What plays in the Brown family plays in the nation. Four years ago, Mr. Brown proved that with his Horton ads. He had read in *Readers Digest* about the convicted killer who attacked a Maryland man and raped his wife in the couple's home after leaving a Massachusetts prison on a weekend furlough.

The incident, which occurred on then-Gov. Dukakis' watch, reopened an old family wound. When Floyd Brown was in the fourth grade, his 22-year-old aunt, a recent nursing school graduate and newlywed, was robbed and murdered. Though her killer was caught, convicted and imprisoned, he eventually was released.

Some 16 years after that crime, many denounced Mr. Brown's anti-Dukakis commercials as racist because Horton is black. But others saw them as fair shots, helping to ensure Mr. Bush's victory by neatly summarizing a perception that Gov. Dukakis was soft on criminals.

Last fall, Mr. Brown created another stir with hard-hitting TV ads supporting then-Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas. The ads suggested liberal Democrats on the Senate Judiciary Committee were unfit to pass judgment on Mr. Thomas.

Sen. Edward Kennedy, viewers were reminded, "left the scene of the accident at Chappaquiddick."

President Bush called the commercials "totally counterproductive" to the confirmation effort. He publicly urged that they be pulled, to no avail.

"Brown has a highly visible operation, and in our view it confuses people," Bush campaign spokesman Tony Mitchell says. "We don't want to be associated with commercials that we have no participation in or influence over but might be linked to us."

But Floyd Brown didn't back down then and says he won't now.

"People constantly underestimate him because he looks like Baby Huey or an Eagle Scout, so they assume he won't fight back," GOP pollster and friend Tony Fabrizio says. "But he's very vociferous."

Yesterday Mr. Brown denied that he is deceiving viewers who may not be able to distinguish his work as being separate from the Bush campaign. "People don't care about tac-

tics," he said. "They care about message."

Floyd Brown, who stands 6-foot-6 and possesses a hearty laugh, is chairman of Citizens United, a conservative political action group that claims 100,000 members and a \$5 million budget. The organization is based in Fairfax City, far away from the K Street crowd. And that's exactly where Mr. Brown likes it.

During a recent interview in his office, he offers a visitor a bottle of Diet Coke and opens one himself.

"Do you want a glass? I'm a bottle person myself," he says, taking a swig.

He then launches into an explanation of how much he hates Washington the city. It's clearly one of his favorite topics. He has lobbied against District statehood, calling it a "leftist assault" and "a dream come true for liberals."

"I avoid downtown like the plague; people who go into the District take an extraordinary risk, and if they knew how extraordinary they wouldn't take it," he says.

He once talked a staffer out of

moving into the city by showing her the weekly police blotter on crime in her prospective neighborhood.

Mr. Brown and his wife, Mary Beth, live with their children, Peter, 6, and Patrick, 4, farther south in Fairfax County.

There are other dangers in Washington for a conservative, he believes: Too many folks, catching Potomac fever, are transformed into pin-striped establishment types.

"Republicans get good jobs in government and instead of wanting to end these jobs, they want to continue them, so they become their own worst nightmare," he says. "There's nothing sadder than seeing a good congressman come to town with fire [and] then the next thing you know he's voting for a pay increase."

"Washington sucks people up and changes them."

Out in Fairfax, Mr. Brown keeps a safe literal and spiritual distance from the Bush administration. He never has been invited to the White House or even spoken to the president's aides — except by mail.

In March, Bush campaign coun-

sel Bobby Burchfield wrote to Mr. Brown asking him to stop soliciting funds using the name Presidential Victory Committee because people would think it was part of the campaign.

"Your group has neither asked for nor received permission to solicit funds using the name of George Bush," Mr. Burchfield wrote. "The president strongly disapproves of this misleading use of his name and reputation."

Federal election law prohibits presidential candidates from accepting private donations in the general election campaign if the candidates opt to take federal funding. But the law permits independent groups to spend unlimited sums, if such groups are kept separate from campaigns.

The Bush campaign checks federal reports, then writes to Mr. Brown's contributors to tell them his group has nothing to do with the president's campaign.

Mr. Brown says his organization's name is not misleading and refuses to change it. He says less fewer than 1 percent of contributors have asked for their money back.

There seems to be more than

election rules involved here. Some say the clash between Mr. Brown and the Bush camp epitomizes a class distinction dividing the GOP — the same forces that drove Pat Buchanan's unsuccessful presidential campaign.

"They want deniability for those things [Mr. Brown's commercials], but it's also an upper-class distaste for rough and tumble politics that's really part of a much bigger phenomenon," observes GOP consultant Don Devine, a Brown friend. "There's a cultural divide between the upper middle class Bush people and the middle class that's been [an issue] in the Republican Party since 1964."

And in those days, the Browns were Democrats. The family goes back over 100 years in the other Washington, where they helped log the Evergreen State. In the saw mills, they were active union members who idolized Franklin D. Roosevelt.

But the 1976 presidential campaign changed that. Floyd Brown, the eldest of three children and a former saw mill worker himself, was 15 when he and a high school friend decided to become political volunteers.

They would have worked for the presidential campaign of Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson, a Democrat much revered in his native state and by the Brown family. But by the time of the Washington primary, Mr. Jackson had dropped out.

So Floyd Brown read up on Jimmy Carter and the other candidates. A Republican named Ronald Reagan caught his eye. Showing up to volunteer at Reagan headquarters, he recalls, he realized immediately that he belonged.

"These people thought like I did, they were culturally like me," he says. "I was not culturally like Gerald Ford. I would never have been attracted to the Republican Party by him. Ronald Reagan brought my family into the Republican Party."

After his high school graduation in 1979, the senior class president and basketball center entered West Point. But after nine months, Mr. Brown decided the military wasn't for him. So he returned to the West Coast, enrolling in a small Oregon college and becoming Reagan youth coordinator in the state.

By then he was subscribing to *National Review* and *Human Events* and soaking up conservatism. He finished college in 1983 with an economics degree from the University of Washington.

When this season's presidential race began, Mr. Brown was tempted to work for Republican challenger Pat Buchanan. Several friends

joined that campaign, and he was more in sync ideologically with Mr. Buchanan than Mr. Bush.

But Mr. Brown stayed with the president because of his electability. Now that means attacking Bill Clinton, an even easier target than Mr. Dukakis, in Floyd Brown's view.

"He has, like Walter Mondale and Dukakis, worshiped at every special-interest idol in town," Mr. Brown says. "Here's also a guy who has some very serious ethical problems. It's not just one thing. It's the infidelity, smoking marijuana, avoiding the Vietnam draft and his wife getting special deals from the state."

"All of these things are like ornaments on a Christmas tree. You get them all together, and you guarantee Bill Clinton won't be elected president of the United States."

He has yet to go after unannounced candidate Ross Perot but hinted to reporters yesterday that the Texas tycoon is his next target.

And even if George Bush wins, Floyd Brown still has a fight ahead of him: recapturing the Republican Party for conservatives and electing a Republican Congress.

"My family were radicals who were willing to die for their beliefs. I guess I must have gotten some of my grandfather's blood, because I'm willing to do what I have to," he says.

Elisabeth Hickey contributed to this report.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1992 •

FRANCIS MANCINI

Heredity and the hoosegow

Liberals and conservatives quarrel over many things, including their basic approaches toward the factors shaping human behavior: Liberals tend to focus on the influence of the social environment, while conservatives tend to stress the importance of free will.

For example, liberals often portray criminals as victims of their social environment, with poverty being their favorite explanation for criminal behavior. Conservatives, on the other hand, typically view criminal activity as the product of decisions made by people who have the capacity — and the moral duty — to exercise free will.

To the extent that people are products of their social environment, they are not really responsible for their own actions. If so, it is unfair to punish them for behavior that is essentially the "fault" of others — their families, society, etc. But if they have free will, and choose to exercise it by engaging in criminal activity, then it is reasonable and proper to hold them accountable when they go astray.

Hence, the kernel of truth in the view that liberals tend to be "soft" on crime, while conservatives usually take a "hard-line" position.

Of course, these differences are not absolute. For example, most liberals get apoplectic about white collar crime, which suggests that they believe people who embezzle money from banks, or defraud their customers, are not simply victims of their surroundings, but are consciously deciding to satisfy their greed by illegal means.

As for conservatives, despite their emphasis on free will, most of them acknowledge the potentially



destructive consequences for children brought up in single-parent households. Witness Vice President Dan Quayle's concerns about the example set by "Murphy Brown."

Despite their differences over the relative importance of the social environment and free will, liberals and conservatives often join forces to attack a third possible explanation for human behavior: The genetic factor. In this view, people who commit crimes may do so, at least in part, because they are born with innate predispositions toward the sorts of behavior patterns that lead to criminal activity.

This three-way controversy over

the causes of crime is the subject of a lengthy report in the current issue of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, which focuses on the reaction to news that an academic conference on "Genetic Factors in Crime" is scheduled to be held at the University of Maryland in October.

It is appalling to learn that Dr. Peter Breggin, director of the Center for the Study of Psychiatry in Bethesda, is waging a campaign to have the conference canceled. That would be yet another victory for the Thought Police roaming our nation's

see MANCINI, page F4

Francis Mancini is a columnist for the *Providence Journal*. Distributed by Scripps Howard News Service.

MANCINI

From page F1

campuses.

Liberals are right: Our social environment undoubtedly influences our attitudes and behavior. And conservatives are also right: We bear the ultimate responsibility for deciding how to respond to our social environment. But both liberals and conservatives are wrong if they ignore the impact of genetic factors.

a study of convicted murderers in Finland suggests there may be a genetic explanation for their low levels of serotonin.

This is pure speculation on my part, but wouldn't it be wonderful if medical scientists found a way to boost the level of serotonin for peo-

In fact, much work is already being done on the possible role of genetic factors in criminal behavior. For an excellent summary of such findings, see "Crime and Human Nature" (1985) by two of the nation's most distinguished scholars, political scientist James Q. Wilson and psychologist Richard J. Herrnstein.

One interesting example is cited in the *Chronicle* report: It has been known for some time that a low level of a chemical, serotonin, in the brain is linked to aggressive behavior; now

ple who need it? Such people might still be subjected to environmental pressures fostering aggressive behavior, and they would still need to exercise their free will in deciding how to respond to such pressures. But a hypothetical "serotonin booster shot" could help them curb

their aggressive impulses, and thereby diminish the likelihood that they would end up committing murder or other violent crimes.

Surely, it would be folly to squelch research into genetic factors that may influence criminal behavior. As Dr. Gerald Brown, who was the first to note the connection between serotonin and aggression, observes: "I do not know what kind of practical benefits might result from this research, but I think being ignorant is never a solution."

CLINTON SELECTS SENATOR GORE OF TENNESSEE AS RUNNING MATE

A SOUTHERN TICKET

With Both Men in 40's,
Democrats Promote
'New Generation'

By GWEN IFILL

Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., July 9 — Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas today selected Senator Al Gore of Tennessee to join him as his Vice-Presidential running mate when he receives the Democratic nomination for President in New York next week.

In making the much-anticipated announcement on the lawn of the Governor's mansion here, Mr. Clinton emphasized Mr. Gore's experience in foreign policy and the environment. And with their wives and children arrayed behind them in the baking noonday sun, both men spoke of their commitment to family values.

Mr. Clinton offered Mr. Gore the position during a 20-minute conversation shortly before midnight on Wednesday.

Relative Youth Stressed

If elected, Mr. Gore, 44 years old, and Mr. Clinton, 46, would be the youngest team to make it to the White House in the country's history.

Aides to the Arkansas Governor emphasized their relative youth as a positive factor in an election year that has turned on which candidate can offer the best formula for change, a pointed reference to President Bush, 67, who has been a member of the Washington establishment for more than two decades.

"Throughout American history, each generation has passed on leadership to the next," Mr. Gore said. "That time has come again, the time for a new generation of leadership for the United States of America."

In selecting a fellow Southerner, Mr. Clinton cast aside traditional strategies for choosing a Vice-Presidential running mate that have dictated the need for geographical diversity to balance the ticket.

Ready to Battle in South

The choice also signaled that the Democrats were ready to battle the Republicans to regain control of the South and gather the support of swing voters who are concerned about the environment.

"The running mate I have chosen is a leader of great strength, integrity and stature, a father who like me loves his children and shares my hunger to turn this economy around, to change our country and to do it so that we don't

Continued on Page A16, Column 3

A Costly Show

Three days before the Democratic National Convention opens, the financial reality of gathering in New York City has sunk in. Page B1.

Clinton Selects Senator Gore to Be His Running

Continued From Page A1

raise the first generation of children to do worse than their parents," Mr. Clinton said to a crowd of supporters and friends.

But the wisdom of Mr. Clinton's choice was immediately questioned by the Rev. Jesse Jackson, who has twice unsuccessfully sought the Democratic nomination for President and has on several occasions offered himself as a Vice-Presidential running mate. "I have deep concerns about the ticket. It takes two wings to fly and here you have two of the same wing."

And Republican campaign officials quickly denounced Mr. Gore as a liberal and said the Clinton-Gore combination would be far out of the mainstream.

"We think it shows Clinton is operating from weakness," said Frederic V. Malek, the manager of the Bush campaign. "And he's chosen somebody to cover those weaknesses — his lack of a military record, his association with liberal social values, and his need to strengthen himself in the South, his own home region."

Mr. Gore, who like Mr. Clinton has tried to position himself in the moderate wing of the Democratic Party, sought the Presidential nomination in 1988 on much the same model as Mr.

A signal of a major political battle in the South.

Clinton chose this year. By seeking to prove that Democrats could be strong on the military as well as supportive of social programs, he was a member of the leading edge of younger Democrats who have sought to prove that they can regain the White House by retaking the middle ground.

Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore are both active members of the Democratic Leadership Council, a group of mostly Southern Democrats who organized in 1985 with the mission of guiding their party toward more centrist ideals. Mr. Gore, for example, was one of only 10 Senators who broke with his party in 1991 by voting in favor of authorizing the use of force in the Persian Gulf.

Nearly a year ago, Mr. Gore decided not to run in 1992, saying he was concerned that a grueling campaign could harm his family. His son Albert 3d, who is now 9 years old, was seriously injured in an automobile accident in Baltimore in 1989 but is now fully recovered.

Mr. Gore said today that he now

looks forward to a "long hard fight" in the general election campaign. He also took up the Clinton campaign's theme that the ticket would point the country in a new direction.

"I believe in my heart that this ticket gives our country the best chance for the change we so desperately need, to move forward again," Mr. Gore said.

Successive Republican administrations, he said, have "driven this country into the ditch."

"I believe very deeply that this nation simply cannot afford another four years of the kind of leadership that we have now," he said. "They've run out of ideas, they've run out of energy, they've run out of the ability to inspire people."

Mr. Gore spoke with some force today in denouncing the Bush Administration, which he said "has been trying to divide us for too long." Some campaign advisers commented approvingly afterward that the Tennessee Senator's reputation for substance would contrast favorably with Vice President Dan Quayle.

Mr. Clinton called Mr. Gore to offer him the spot on his ticket at 11:15 P.M. Wednesday after meeting with three of his closest aides for about two hours at the Governor's mansion to go over the final list of choices.

Clinton campaign officials confirmed today that the other finalists were Senators Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, John D. Rockefeller 4th of West

Mate

Virginia, Harris Wofford of Pennsylvania, Bob Graham of Florida and Representative Lee H. Hamilton of Indiana.

As a courtesy, Mr. Clinton called Mr. Graham, who had to decide by Friday whether to run for re-election to his Senate seat, shortly before he called Mr. Gore. Today, before making the announcement, he called the other contenders, as well as Democratic Party leaders.

Mr. Clinton's list of finalists did not include either Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey or Gov. Mario M. Cuomo of New York, apparently because both men had repeatedly said they did not want to be considered for the post.

From 40 Names to 6

Former Gov. Madeleine Kunin of Vermont, who served on the selection team that was headed by the Los Angeles lawyer Warren Christopher, said in a telephone interview that Mr. Gore's name "would come up again and again" as they worked to winnow an initial list of about 40 names to the 6 from which Mr. Clinton ultimately chose.

Ms. Kunin said that the choice of Mr. Gore was an important one for Mr. Clinton because the Democratic nominee would be "defined by the choices he makes."

Selecting a running mate to "balance the ticket" geographically, she added, has not made the critical difference for Democrats in the recent past.

"Sometimes the Vice Presidential candidate didn't carry their own state, as it was with Texas and Lloyd Bentsen," she said. "At this critical juncture in the campaign, what this says is it fills out some of the empty spaces in the biography of Clinton himself. It fills in some of the blanks."

Campaign officials said they expected the selection of Mr. Gore to be especially helpful in California, where voters express special concern about the environment. Mr. Gore, who has long been a champion of environmental issues in Congress, wrote a best-selling book entitled "Earth in the Balance" published by Houghton/Mifflin in 1992 that made it to The New York Times best-seller list.

Stan Greenberg, the campaign's poll taker, said the all-Southern ticket would put states like Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee and North Carolina "readily in reach" for Democrats for the first time since Jimmy Carter was elected in 1976.

He said Mr. Clinton's Southern roots alone might not have been enough to win the South because of the virtual certainty of Ross Perot, the billionaire from Texas in the race along with President Bush, who also calls Texas his home.

Mr. Clinton has shown a renewed determination in recent days to challenge the President on the issue of what constitutes family values. In public remarks today, both men made special mention of their school-age children and of their wives, Tipper Gore and Hillary Clinton.

The Clintons — who today stood beaming alongside their 12-year-old daughter, Chelsea — had to fight back accusations of marital infidelity and Mrs. Clinton's image as a woman who chose career over family early in the campaign.

Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore will hold a joint news conference here on Friday before Mr. Gore and his family return to Tennessee. They plan to campaign together in Nashville on Saturday before flying to New York for the Democratic National Convention. After the convention, the two men will travel together on a five-day bus tour from New York to St. Louis, making about three campaign stops a day in towns along the way.

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Pol Pot Against the U.N.

Remember last year's Cambodia peace agreement? World leaders congratulated themselves that they had helped negotiate an end to 20-plus years of carnage.

But the world's diplomats underestimated the duplicity and intransigence of the Khmer Rouge. The fanatics who butchered a million fellow Cambodians in the late 1970's survived the years of Vietnamese occupation, thanks to military support from China and Thailand and diplomatic support from the United States.

Now Pol Pot and his comrades openly defy basic provisions of the peace agreement they signed. They won't let U.N. peacekeepers enter areas under Khmer Rouge military control. And they refuse to demobilize 70 percent of their troops or restrict the remainder to designated zones.

Their excuse is the alleged presence of Vietnamese Army units, a charge no one else takes seriously. In fact, the Khmer Rouge still believes

that political power grows only out of the barrel of a gun. And it notes that U.N. peacekeepers have no mandate to enforce the peace agreement against armed resistance.

Its defiance poses a clear challenge to the Security Council, with global stakes. The Council can now move quickly to reinforce the authority of Yasushi Akashi, the capable U.N. administrator for Cambodia, using maximum diplomatic muscle backed by the threat of military force. Or it can let the Khmer Rouge wreck the peace.

What a terrible example such passivity would set for bullies elsewhere! And what an especially cruel betrayal it would be for Cambodians, who were forced to swallow Khmer Rouge participation as the price of an internationally sponsored peace.

The great powers assembled in the Security Council have the means to face this bullying down, if they will. They will fail not just Cambodians, but vulnerable peoples everywhere, if they don't.

Topics of The Times

Glassboro State's Great Gift

Glassboro State College in Glassboro, N.J., received a gift of \$100 million last week from a local businessman, Henry Rowan, and his wife, Betty. It's the largest cash gift ever made to any public university.

The gift was all the more astonishing because Mr. Rowan, chairman and founder of Inductotherm Industries Inc., which manufactures industrial furnaces, is not even an alumnus of Glassboro State. He attended Williams College and graduated with honors from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

His principal reason for giving to Glassboro State was to repay the southern New Jersey area that has made his business, with 4,200 employees and \$470 million in annual sales, such a huge success.

Glassboro is now likely to be renamed Rowan College of New Jersey. But neither the name change nor Mr. Rowan's generosity provide any reason to release New Jersey from its commitment to the campus.

Mr. Rowan wants the money to build an engineering school, create visiting professorships and establish a scholarship fund that would guarantee free tuition for children of Inductotherm employees. He has prohibited the college from using his gift for operating expenses or capital projects. That's why state funds ought to be maintained at current levels or higher. It would be a

shame if this historic donation inadvertently diminished the college's ability to provide a quality education.

Footnote

He was a giant of the advertising industry, who helped build one of the world's largest advertising agencies and then went on to lead another. But Emerson Foote, who died this week at the age of 85, stood tallest on the occasions he risked that career to protect public health.

In 1948, when he was president of the Foote, Cone & Belding agency — and years before the landmark Surgeon General's report that confirmed the link between smoking and lung cancer — the outspoken Mr. Foote terminated the American Tobacco account. The bold move cost the firm about \$12 million, or about a fifth of its total billings.

In 1964 Mr. Foote again stood up for principle, resigning as chairman of McCann-Erickson Inc. to protest its handling of cigarette accounts.

Cigarette companies still contend that the billions they pour into advertising is aimed only at building brand loyalty among existing smokers, not at hooking new addicts. Yet Mr. Foote long ago demolished that claim. "I am always amused," he said, "by the suggestion that advertising, a function that has been shown to increase consumption of virtually every other product, somehow miraculously fails to work for tobacco products."

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A Torch Passes in Little Rock

When Gov. Bill Clinton introduced Senator Al Gore as his running mate yesterday, Mr. Gore stressed that it was time for a new generation of leaders to replace those he said have run out of energy and ideas. The Democratic candidates, both in their mid-40's, do indeed present a youthful contrast to George Bush and Ross Perot, both in their 60's. But more important than any age difference are the historical forces that have shaped this younger generation of political leaders, the first to be born and grow to maturity after World War II.

Certainly, people become who they are through unique, individual experiences. But it's also clear that Governor Clinton and Senator Gore are a cohort apart from previous political generations, just as those in the Kennedy Administration stood apart from the men who dominated politics before them. They came of age through the same nation-shaping events.

Vietnam is the most obvious one. Americans who matured before that war believed that the nation was invulnerable in the field and steadfast as a force for good. Vietnam shook both these beliefs. That Mr. Gore served and Mr. Clinton did not recalls the painful division that the country experienced around Vietnam. The Clinton-Gore candidacy reminds us that there were brave, principled people on both sides of the Vietnam debate, and that those divisions may yet be healed.

The civil rights movement is another crucial experience shared by the two men. Mr. Clinton, from Arkansas, and Mr. Gore, from Tennessee, both

came of age in states deeply affected by the national struggle against racism and segregation. In 1957 Federal troops arrived in Little Rock, Ark., to provide black children safe passage to school. In 1968 Memphis, Tenn., was the sight of Martin Luther King's assassination. The two know firsthand how racism poisons our society.

The women's movement was unfolding as well — bringing new attitudes and values that have affected both men's lives. Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore have both raised families and asserted themselves outside the home. Their husbands believe that decisions on abortion and reproductive rights belong in the hands of women.

The two Democrats have something else in common: Both chose political careers early and have become expert practitioners. Governor Clinton is held in high esteem by his fellow governors. Senator Gore has earned respect for his incisive work on foreign policy, arms control and the environment. What a contrast to Mr. Perot, the business whiz who boasts of his political inexperience.

Senator Gore also brings candor to the Democratic ticket. Whereas Mr. Clinton exposed himself to derision by saying he'd experimented with marijuana but never inhaled, Senator Gore defused the issue deftly in the 1988 campaign by acknowledging youthful marijuana use and getting on to more important business.

Whatever factors went into it, the choice of Mr. Gore marks the passing of the torch in the Democratic Party.

The Council's Garbage Test

New York's City Council, ever demanding to be taken seriously, has six more weeks to meet a major responsibility or duck. If it ducks, it will be jeopardizing the city's health and future through cowardice.

The issue is garbage — what to do with it in a city that produces 26,000 tons every day and is running out of disposal sites. City Hall has a good, if belated, answer: a long-term plan that includes recycling and construction of a safe waste-to-energy incinerator at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

But the plan needs Council approval, and the Council, afraid of political backlash, yesterday put off the vote until late August.

The city cannot afford any further delays. The Dinkins administration did enough damage by putting off initial construction of the incineration plant until 1996. Recycling, while critical, simply cannot do the job alone. Right now the city recycles 12 percent of its garbage and its new plan would increase that to 41 percent by the year 2000. An additional 7 percent could disappear by reducing the amount of waste. Where will the rest go?

Fresh Kills on Staten Island, the city's last remaining landfill, currently takes 53 percent of the garbage. But it will run out of space by the turn of

the century, if the garbage flow doesn't grow, and within five years if Gov. Mario Cuomo fails to veto a bill that would reduce the landfill's capacity.

Landfills in other states currently take 31 percent of the city's garbage. But those are filling up, and while a few others are opening, most are intended only for local use. Moreover, Congress is considering legislation to inhibit exports.

Meanwhile, the Council calls for an even greater emphasis on recycling, though recycling is difficult and already lagging.

Council members, worried about re-election, are playing to unreasonable fears about incinerators. Modern plants filter their emissions and burn at such high temperatures that they limit the production of pollutants; and they convert the energy produced by the heat into electricity.

The Council insisted on jurisdiction over this sensitive issue. Speaker Peter Vallone dragged his heels at first, but finally showed admirable leadership yesterday, conceding the inevitability of incineration and, by negotiating the extension until August, thwarting members who wanted to reject the plan. He will have to keep up the pressure and educate the Council about a matter that will affect New Yorkers for years to come.

At Home Abroad

ANTHONY LEWIS

Hope Turned to Dust

Southern Africa's severe drought.

HARARE, Zimbabwe
Even a world inured to television pictures of gaunt famine victims should care about the devastation menacing the southern third of Africa. Eleven countries, with a population of more than 120 million, are living under a drought previously unknown to the region in its sweep and severity.

The rains that should have fallen last spring — October and November in the Southern Hemisphere — did not come at all in many places. The corn that is milled into the area's staple meal never grew. Lakes have dried up.

Outside South Africa, the region's industrial powerhouse, 17 million people are now under direct threat of starvation. And even South Africa has been severely hurt. Usually an exporter of cornmeal, it will have to import more than five million tons by next May.

"We'll be lucky if a lot of people don't suffer and die," David Morton, regional director of the U.N.'s World Food Program, said in an interview. "The grain is available in the world. We're talking money — and time."

At a conference in Geneva six weeks ago, donors pledged \$526 million in aid to southern African drought victims, most of it coming from the United States, the European Community, Japan and Scandinavia. The total was only 60 percent of the estimated need.

Mr. Morton said the countries worst hit by the drought are Mozambique, on the east coast, and neighboring Malawi, Zimbabwe and Zambia. He pointed out that they are the coun-

tries of the region with the most severe transportation problems.

Mozambique has been ravaged in the long war against the Government by Renamo, which kidnaps peasants and kills or mutilates those who resist. Moving anything is difficult and dangerous in most of the country. The other three nations are landlocked.

Renamo's war has produced one dramatic illustration of the drought. Zimbabwean troops protect a corridor from the port of Beira, in northern Mozambique, through which a highway and rail line run to Zimbabwe. Hundreds of thousands of starving refugees from Renamo-held areas to the north are now camped out along the Beira highway and are getting some relief food.

Efforts begun two years ago to reconstruct Beira's port have fortunately been carried out to a significant extent. Six ships were unloading grain there the other day, and the road to Zimbabwe was jammed with trucks.

The other ports being used are Maputo in Mozambique, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town in South Africa, and the South African territory of Walvis Bay in Namibia, on the west coast. There is also Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, from which grain has to move to Zambia on a decrepit railroad and highway.

So far the largest part of emergency grain supplies have come through South Africa. There has been good cooperation between South Africa and its neighbors. Even Zimbabwe, which had refused to have any kind of high-level contacts with the white regime, sent its Transport Minister, Denis Norman, to work out plans.

"Food is moving," Mr. Morton said, "but time is running out." What makes this drought so devastating, he said, is that it covers the whole region. In the past this country or that has had trouble but has been able to buy from another in the region, usually South Africa or Zimbabwe. Bringing grain from across the world takes months and costs twice as much.

The drought is having deadly ripple effects on local economies. Zimbabwe, for example, usually produces 450,000 tons of sugar, much of it for export. This year the cane crop was just 12,000 tons. Local cotton, used in a profitable textile industry, is down 70 percent. Bulawayo, the country's second city, has only a 40-day water supply left.

The economic growth rate in Zimbabwe is negative now: minus 8 to 10 percent. The official inflation rate is 43 percent. And prices are bound to go higher with the cost of imported corn, sugar, cotton, oil and other staples.

All this is a cruel blow to a country and a region that had reason to think better times were coming: racial conflicts easing, regional growth a real possibility. Now people are thinking only about getting through to the next rain — if it comes. □

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On My Mind

A. M. ROSENTHAL

Captive Neighborhood

Democrats and Ross Perot talk of the need for change in the way our governments think and act.

All right. Washington Heights, in New York, gives them a chance to prove they are capable of doing anything about change except talk.

In the lobby of an apartment building, a police officer shot and killed a Dominican who lived in the neighborhood. Immediately and without inquiry some other residents of Washington Heights cried murder. Hoodlums used the demonstrations to smash windows and burn cars.

Some appeared on TV to announce their sociological goal: to teach the cops a lesson. In the city's precinct houses, police said what the hell is the use — we risk our lives every day and are denounced as murderers.

If the fires stay out for the convention, it will be partly because Mayor Dinkins spent grueling time in the streets. But we ought also to thank some neighborhood entrepreneurs — the drug gangsters who run Washington Heights and leaped into rampage.

They will decide if they've made their point to the police — back off — and if more rioting might scare away too many customers.

Yes, there was anger and poverty in Washington Heights. But the critical, manipulative importance of drugs and the infesting army of drug criminals has not yet taken full hold in New York or the country.

Over the years I learned that certain law enforcement people tell me the truth at least as often as the elected officials, bureaucrats, generals, diplomats and businessmen who provide most of the information for the press. These law people draw this outline of what happened:

The man who was killed was a member of Los Cibanos, part of a network of Dominican gangs. The shooting took place in a building that is one of the gang's three centers — among scores of similar distributors of drugs and death in the neighborhood. On that street, at least eight drug murders have taken place.

The autopsy shows that the man was shot in the stomach and "across" the back — meaning he might have been standing sideways — not "in the back," as has been reported. The officer says the man had a gun.

Yes, people like me, brought up in safe families in safe, cop-admiring working-class neighborhoods, tend to trust the police and have no fear of them. People in Washington Heights have both distrust and fear.

But they know better than anybody that the spraying bullets that kill their children come not from police but from their drug-dealing neighbors. That may be why only a relative few in a crowded neighborhood of hundreds of thousands took part in the demonstrations.

If necessary a jury will decide on the officer's conduct. But without any jury we know that like hundreds of other American neighborhoods it is dominated by drug gangs armed better than the police. There's a drug

Democrats, Perot and drugs.

war out there, though the phrase disturbs delicate sensitivities.

In their platform the Democrats have one sentence on drugs. Governor Clinton, Senator Gore, Jesse Jackson: If Democrats want change, then change the canned convention agenda; break it open to talk about the drug war.

They could invite Dr. Mitchell Rosenthal, the drug-therapy leader, who can tell them of the desperate need for long-term treatment in special centers and prisons where millions of addicts could be helped to drug freedom. They could invite Robert Morgenthau, the New York District Attorney, who might educate them about what is going on in the captive neighborhoods. And they should get Mr. Jackson to make a speech on what drugs do to African-Americans.

Then the Democrats could show change by putting out a new, full anti-drug platform.

Ross Perot — you said long ago you had a drug plan that would not be pretty. We want legal, never mind pretty. Let's have it now — your obligation to every Washington Heights in the country.

But if neither the Democrats nor Ross Perot want to trouble themselves too much about drugs, there is another solution — legalization. That might reduce the number of killings.

Of course, it would also increase the number of addicts, AIDS victims, babies born with ever-damaged brains. And it would amount to genocide against the major drug victims — blacks and Hispanics. Maybe they wouldn't mind. □

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Partners in the Slave Trade

By Caroline Alexander

At the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Senegal last week, the Rev. Jesse Jackson proposed that Africa be compensated for the losses inflicted by the slave trade. He said the plan would be comparable to aid given to Eastern Europe and reparations paid to Jewish survivors of the Holocaust. Mr. Jackson's proposal raises complicated logistical problems. The doors he has targeted so far are limited to the people of the U.S. and European countries. While no one would contest the proposition that the slave trade, applying America and European colonies inflicted untold evil on the African people, it is worth bearing in mind that slavery was an African institution before the appearance of Europeans on African soil: On the western coast of Africa, certain tribes, such as the Duala of Cameroon, possessed entire villages of slaves, who were not sold abroad but kept for domestic use. Contrary to popular mythology, the slave trade represented a joint enterprise. White men did not set out into the African bush in search of villages to raid; rather, they waited in the relative comfort of their moored ships and coastal camps for word to spread that they had come and for the areas they sought to be brought to them. The dirty job of raid and capture was done by free Africans working in organized tribal groups. Slave markets were held well out of

reach of all but a few of the most intrepid — and non-slaver — European explorers. In Equatorial Africa, for example, a market was held on the Upper Ogooue every February among three river tribes: the Okande, who worked farthest upriver, first acquired their "goods" through raids on villages and then sold their human merchandise at the market to the Enenga and Goloa. The purchased slaves were then ferried downstream by their new owners to be traded to the coastal Orungu, who were responsible for making the final sale to the Europeans.

When the British attempted to outlaw the slave trade in the early 19th century, officials of His Majesty's

Government were sent to Africa to persuade local rulers who had grown rich in this enterprise to turn their attention to the marketing of other, non-human goods.

The most accessible eyewitness accounts of the slave trade were written by Europeans, which is unsurprising in view of the fact that most Africans of the time were illiterate. These written accounts, however, are substantiated by African oral traditions. In 1984, I interviewed an elderly African man, the grandfather of a friend, who at the turn of the century had accompanied his father on slave raids and marches across Mozambique to the Indian Ocean, where the captives were sold to Arab slavers. What follows is an excerpt from his account:

"When walking, it was very difficult. I used to tie a rope here — on their neck — so that they should not run away ... We did not know if it was painning them ... The slaves — they were slaves! That's why they were

slaves ... And if children [are] crying, if one of those slaves has a baby on the back, we just take the baby and throw it away ... If it is a man or a lady [who] is always tired, what we are doing is to shoot her so that she should die, and then leave her. Take off the rope and continue the journey, so they were not giving trouble on the way."

There is no question that European and Arab gold provided the primary incentive for participation in the slave trade, and there is no question that it was these slavers who benefited most. But it is also true that the slave trade could not have existed without the voluntary participation of African tribes.

It is, therefore, difficult to see how the formula for compensation suggested by Mr. Jackson is to be devised. Are the descendants of West African slavers to compensate black Americans? Are the descendants of East African slavers to compensate the descendants of slaves who ended up in Arab hands? Will retribution be claimed from Arab nations? The larger message here should not be overlooked: The devil within is as dangerous as the devil without. □

Jackson's troubling call for reparations.



Caroline Alexander is author of "One Dry Season: In the Footsteps of Mary Kingsley."

Ross Perot: Hero of the Counterculture

By Warren Hinckle

Ross Perot reverses the usual process by which we measure political value. The parts of the man are worth more than the whole. His flashing insights into how America functions — and what's wrong when it doesn't — are goldfish in the mudhole of what stands for political discourse in this country.

Mr. Perot may be, like most of us, wrong more often than right, but when he is right, he is right-on. He was right to oppose the gulf war, even though his own quasi-military exploits have exhibited the wink-and-nod approach to international law that George Bush wholesaled. And he is right to insist that the national debt be reduced, even though the governmental accommodations he has sought and received as a businessman have been part of the irresponsible policies that helped create it.

As an unreconstructed radical, my 1960's trenchmates may expect me to zing the oxymoronic populist billionaire with an ideological attack from the left. But on considering the Presidential alternatives, I found myself giving Mr. Perot a left-handed com-

Warren Hinckle, editor of *Ramparts* magazine from 1964 to 1969, is editor of *Argonaut*, a new political journal.

pliment. Surely 1992 will go down in political history as the year when the voting public came to perceive what we 60's rads were always saying — that the enemy was the system, particularly the two soiled parties dominating the system.

Ross Perot may be many things, but by what political alchemy is he a "little dictator" (Democratic Party chairman Ron Brown), or a "monster" (Presidential press secretary Marlin Fitzwater) or a "temperamental tycoon who has contempt for the Constitution" (Vice President Dan Quayle)?

The media drumbeat against Mr. Perot has been similarly intense, particularly among centrist pundits and liberal commentators. Words such as "Bonapartist," even "fascist," run through their writing like beer through a fraternity boy.

Why is Ross Perot so threatening to the established order? Because the media and the two political parties have consorted for most of this century to keep the reins of government in safe, manicured hands far from the grubby paws of the public.

Their complaint that Mr. Perot does not have a detailed program for the nation is an exercise in hypocrisy. Virtually every promise Mr. Bush made in 1988 has been broken. And Gov. Bill Clinton is a recycled Dixiecrat, whose tired corporate statist programs represent the worst of "me too" Democrat-to-Republican hokey.

The critics of Ross Perot are the

intellectual heirs of Ortega y Gasset ("The Revolt of the Masses") and sociologists of the stripe of Daniel Bell and Seymour Martin Lipset, who fear working class political authoritarianism will develop if individuals are not attached to political institutions whose leaders can form their opinions and broker their votes. These critics have an excessive respect for the established parties that the electorate seems very much in a mood to tear down, or at least bypass. Today's electoral revolt was laid out

The enemy is the two-party system.

in 1974 in Walter Karp's "Indispensable Enemies: The Politics of Misrule in America." A better title would have been "The Two Parties Against The People," because the story he told was one of collusion between the Democrat and Republican leaders to retain their power and patronage.

The threat of a true independent like Ross Perot makes party leaders and their cheerleaders damp with raw animal fear. The orthodoxy is so pervasive that it has become a standard reflex to say Mr. Perot has no political program — when in fact his advocacy

of an industrial policy and his insistence that the U.S. manage its trade and investment and re-examine free trade agreements are the most economically daring changes suggested by any candidate for President since Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Mr. Perot's idea of a plebiscitarian democracy is part and parcel with the populist and La Follette progressive tradition — a tradition that historically has been vilified by the party hacks and political elitists who see direct democracy as a black hole. □

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Moderate Who Was Raised to Be President

Albert Arnold Gore Jr.

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 9 — When he announced last summer that he would not run for President this year, Senator Al Gore of Tennessee said he had too many family responsibilities.

But Mr. Gore left no doubt about his ultimate ambition.
"I would like to be President," he said.

The thought has been in his mind and that of his family since he was a child. "We raised him for it," Mr. Gore's father, a Representative and Senator for more than 30 years, said in an interview today.

A Representative at the age of 28, a

Senator at 36 and an unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination at 39, Mr. Gore, now 44, is tall and broad-shouldered, somewhat resembling Christopher Reeve, the actor who played Superman.

Served in Vietnam

Like Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, he has an Ivy League education, middle-of-the-road positions on most issues and a strong-willed wife.

But unlike Mr. Clinton, Mr. Gore has a long public record on foreign and military matters. He enlisted in the Army and served in Vietnam, despite his opposition to the war. Now he is a strong advocate of environ-

mental causes, an area where Mr. Clinton has been criticized.

And potentially most important to the Clinton campaign, Mr. Gore has a reputation as a straight arrow who will probably not be vulnerable to the Republican stiletto on personal problems and family values.

Mr. Gore's unsuccessful campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination four years ago often seemed unfocused, characterized by shifts in emphasis if not in positions. He did reasonably well in the Southern primaries but dropped out after a poor showing in New York. Still, the experience and the contacts he made in that national campaign could prove valuable in this year's race.

Since his 1988 campaign, Mr. Gore, who is 19 months younger than Mr. Clinton, has concentrated mainly on foreign policy, technology and environmental issues. He was one of only 10 Democratic Senators who broke with their party's leaders and voted to give President Bush authority to

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A Washington Insider With Moderate Image

Continued From Page A1

wage war against Iraq. He wrote a book on ecology that was on The New York Times best-seller list for six weeks this spring. And he led the Senate delegation to the United Nations Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in June.

Mr. Gore, who was elected to the House of Representatives in 1976 and to the Senate eight years later, has made a legislative career of mastering complicated issues like arms control, global warming, biotechnology and computer networks.

"He is extremely intelligent, superbly educated, very industrious and single-minded," said Jim Sasser, the senior Democratic Senator from Tennessee. "His style is to learn absolutely everything there is to know about an issue."

But Mr. Gore has often seemed bored with the legislative process — more interested in holding hearings and exploring ideas than in making deals and writing laws. In that regard, he is more like John F. Kennedy, who was an indifferent lawmaker, than Senator Lloyd Bentsen, the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee four years ago, who is a master of the art of legislating.

As a child, Albert Arnold Gore Jr. led something of a double life. His father, Albert Gore Sr., was a Representative and Senator for more than 30 years, a New Deal populist on social issues and at the end of his career, one of the Senate's fiercest opponents of the war in Vietnam. His mother, Pauline, is a lawyer.

The younger Mr. Gore was born in Washington on March 31, 1948. During the school year, he lived in his

parents' suite at the Fairfax Hotel on Embassy Row and had his head patted by many of the most prominent politicians in the country. He graduated from St. Alban's Episcopal School for Boys, one of this city's toniest prep schools, where he was a top student and played football and basketball.

As a counterweight, he spent the summers on the family farm in Carthage, Tenn., about 40 miles east of Nashville. He worked in the fields with the tenant farmers during the days and hunted with coon dogs at night.

Mr. Gore enrolled at Harvard University in 1965 and became active in the antiwar movement. He worked on Senator Eugene J. McCarthy's Presidential campaign in 1968 and graduated with honors in government in 1969.

As a student, he has said, he occasionally smoked marijuana. But he said he had not used drugs since he became a politician.

Holding a low number in the draft lottery, Mr. Gore considered going to Canada to avoid Vietnam. But after agonizing with his family and friends, he enlisted in the Army, despite his opposition to the war. Friends say the deciding factor was that his father was up for re-election to the Senate, and Mr. Gore did not want to impose on his father the political burden of having a draft-dodging son.

Albert Gore Sr. lost the 1970 election, anyway, to the Republican Bill Brock, and the main campaign issue was Vietnam. Now in their 80's and still active, the senior Gores live on their farm in Carthage.

In Vietnam for about a year, Mr. Gore was a journalist with an engineering unit; he never saw combat.

But he did sometimes carry a rifle, and in his campaign literature, he has often used a photograph of himself in full uniform, carrying his weapon.

Just before he left for Vietnam, he married Mary Elizabeth Aitcheson, whom he had met at a party the night of his high school graduation and dated throughout college. Known as Tipper, Mrs. Gore, who has a master's degree in psychology, has led campaigns against what she considers to be the bad influence of pop culture on children. She has written a book called "Raising PG Kids in an X-Rated Society," published by Abingdon Press in 1987.

school and two years of law school at Vanderbilt University, but he received no graduate degrees.

His career as a journalist and graduate student ended in 1976 when Joe L. Evins, the veteran Democratic Representative from the district that Mr. Gore's father once represented, decided to retire. Mr. Gore immediately moved to Carthage and ran successfully for the office.

After Mr. Gore had been in the House for eight years, Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., a Republican, decided not to run for re-election. Mr. Gore easily won the seat. He was re-elected in 1990.

As a campaign speaker, Mr. Gore is erratic — spirited and evocative one night and flat and routine the next. He often uses a shouting cadence that works better with large audiences than with smaller gatherings.

The Gores, who are Baptists, have four children — Karenna, 18; Kristen, 15; Sara, 13, and Albert 3d, 9 — all of whom attend private schools.

The three youngest children were in Little Rock, Ark., today for the announcement that Mr. Gore had been tapped for the Vice-Presidential nomination. Karenna, who just finished her first year at Harvard, was in Costa Rica, where she is teaching English to Costa Ricans working to preserve the rain forest. Mr. Gore said she would return to join the campaign.

Albert 3d was seriously injured three years ago when he was hit by a

Mr. Gore's position on abortion is somewhat different from Mr. Clinton's and from the plank in this year's Democratic platform. He opposes Government financing of abortions for poor women. Since the mid-1980's, Mr. Gore has favored legal abortions, although before that, he was less firm.

Position on Gulf War

Beyond that, Mr. Gore's stances on issues are similar to the ones Mr. Clinton has expressed. This year, for example, Mr. Gore has been a chief sponsor of a measure that would raise the income taxes of the wealthy and use the money to give a tax break to middle-class families with children. That is also a pet proposal of Mr. Clinton's.

car after attending a Baltimore Orioles baseball game, but he has recovered completely.

Reporter to Representative

Financially, the Gores are comfortable but not so well off as most other senators. Their assets total less than \$1 million, and most of that is tied up in two homes, one in Arlington, Va., the house Mrs. Gore grew up in, and the other in Carthage.

After he returned from Vietnam, Mr. Gore went to work as a reporter and later an editorial writer for The Tennessean in Nashville. While working on the paper, he attended divinity

On military issues, Mr. Gore has usually stood slightly to the right of the Democratic Party's center. He called his decision to support President Bush on the war in the Persian Gulf "excruciating," but told the Senate he believed that the risks of not going to war were ultimately "larger, greater and more costly" than the risks of going to war.

Most politicians do not have the patience to read and study. Mr. Gore does, and one of his main strengths is his ability to master and explain complicated topics.

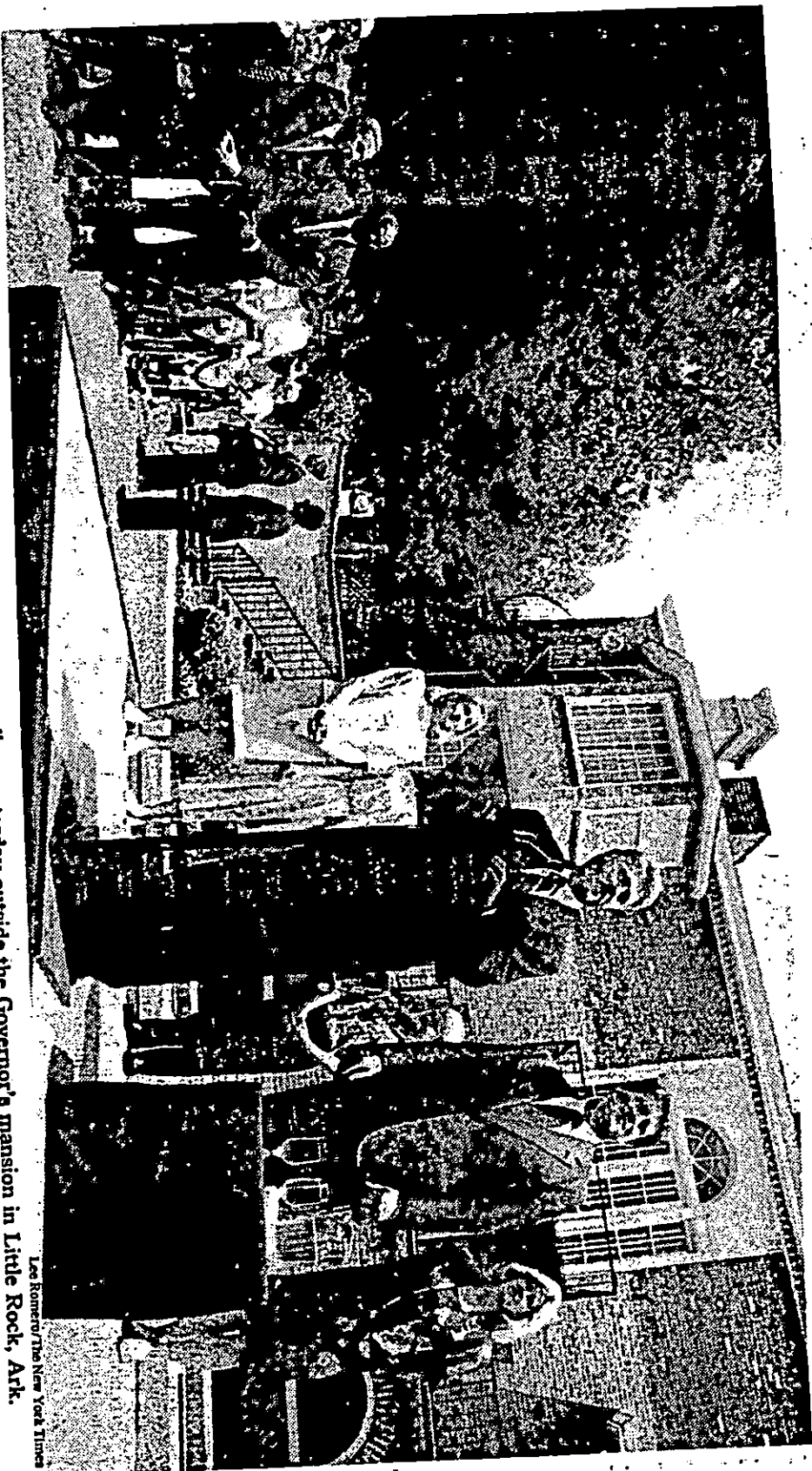
His close friend, Representative Thomas J. Downey, Democrat from Long Island, recalled today a small dinner party a few months ago when Mr. Gore was explaining an environmental principle on the back of a napkin to Chen Ning Yang, who holds a Nobel Prize in physics and teaches at the State University of New York at Stony Brook.

"Imagine," Mr. Downey said, "a United States Senator explaining a scientific principle to Professor Yang."

The New York Times

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Gov. Bill Clinton and his new running mate, Senator Al Gore, standing yesterday outside the Governor's mansion in Little Rock, Ark.

Les Kanner/The New York Times

The New York Times

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BUSH VOWS TO GET SUPPLIES TO BOSNIA

Deliveries 'No Matter What It Takes' — Plan for U.N. to Step In Is Rebuffed

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL
Special to The New York Times

HELSINKI, Finland, July 9 — President Bush vowed today to bring food and medicine to Bosnia and Herzegovina "no matter what it takes," but rebuffed an appeal from the Bosnian President for international military intervention in his country's war against Serbian attackers.

As the 52-member Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe began a summit meeting here, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Western European Union, a nine-nation military alliance, scheduled meetings on Friday. American, British and French officials said the meetings were expected to authorize the use of warships in the Adriatic Sea to enforce the United Nations embargo against the Serbian-dominated Government of Yugoslavia but would refrain from overt intervention in the conflict.

The Pentagon announced tonight that United States Navy ships were re-entering Adriatic waters, and France sent nine helicopters, including four Gazelle gunships, to Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, today. But French officials said the helicopters would be used only to defend the current United Nations effort to bring food and other supplies to the besieged city by air.

President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia said that in a meeting today, Mr. Bush did not grant his appeal for air strikes on the Serbian artillery and other heavy weapons that have been used to pound Sarajevo and other parts of his country for months.

Protecting U.N. Convoys

Mr. Izetbegovic said he had asked for "a kind of military action" against the Serbian forces. In an interview on Cable News Network, he said he did not ask for American troops, "because I know they don't like that." But he said, "I insisted that aircraft can help destroy heavy artillery and heavy weapons around Sarajevo and other places."

Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d said tonight that Mr. Bush told Mr. Izetbegovic that he "would consider that."

But Mr. Baker's response suggested, and other American officials have said outright, that if United States air power is used in Bosnia it will be to protect United Nations convoys there from attack by Serbian forces. Under those circumstances, it would be possible for American warplanes to bomb Serbian artillery positions as a "defensive"



Agence France-Press

President Bush vowed to send supplies to Bosnia and Herzegovina but refused an appeal from President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia, left, for military intervention. They met yesterday in Helsinki, Finland.

measure. American officials said Mr. Bush did not hold out that prospect to Mr. Izetbegovic.

American and other NATO officials said that it now seems inevitable that the United Nations will have to begin overland convoys because the airlift into Sarajevo is not adequate to provide large-scale humanitarian relief.

U.N.'s Use of Force

Mr. Baker said Mr. Bush told the Bosnian President that "whatever the United States does will probably be done in a multilateral context and would probably require another U.N. resolution." He continued, "The President also made it clear that the focus of United States efforts is on the provisioning of humanitarian relief and not an ultimate solution to the political conflict."

"President Bush didn't promise any military intervention and I didn't expect him to do so today," said Mr. Izetbegovic, who flew out of Sarajevo under the guns of the Serbs to come to Helsinki for what he had described as a crucial meeting with the American President. "I can only say President Bush hasn't ruled out military intervention and that was enough for me this time."

But prospects for American and other allied military action in the Balkans remained extremely cloudy. Mr. Bush and other leaders tried to keep their options open and give the impression of firm resolve, without committing themselves to any militarily and politically risky course.

The United States and six other lead-

Bush omits the tough talk he used against Iraq.

ing industrial democracies said at a meeting in Munich this week that they would back the use of force to protect the relief effort that is now under way for Sarajevo and is expected to be expanded to other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina in coming weeks. But that would require Security Council action and it is not at all clear whether it will be necessary.

'Historic Challenge'

The Helsinki gathering is to sign a declaration on Friday that seeks to expand its role in keeping the peace in Europe in the post-cold-war era.

It will include the establishment of a new high commissioner on national minorities, procedures for reporting on trouble spots and the scheduling of a conference in Geneva in October to "negotiate a comprehensive and coherent set of measures" to settle disputes peacefully. Today, the organization said it would dispatch a team of peacekeepers to Nagorno-Karabakh, the region at the center of a bitterly fought territorial war between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Addressing the conference, held in an exhibition hall on the outskirts of Helsinki, President Vaclav Havel of

Czechoslovakia said that the world had "two basic options."

"On the one hand," he said, "we could wait to see what else is going to happen and what new surprises the dramatic developments in the post-Communist pot might still have in store for us and while so doing, put off any major decisions until we know how it all ends up. The other option is to take this moment as a great historic challenge for our generation."

Bush Omits Tough Talk

When it came his turn to speak in the long parade of leaders, Mr. Bush said the conference's response to "the nightmare in Bosnia" would be a test of whether it will have "real meaning" in a new Europe.

"We should see to it that relief supplies get through, no matter what it takes," Mr. Bush said. "Second, we should see to it that the U.N. sanctions are respected, no matter what it takes. Third, we should do all we can to prevent this conflict from spreading. And fourth, let us call with one voice for the guns to fall silent through a cease-fire on all fronts."

But Mr. Bush's speech and his sympathetic, but unforthcoming, hearing of Mr. Izetbegovic's plea this morning were notable for their omission of the sort of tough talk about reversing aggression that framed his response in 1990 to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Senior American officials have said Washington does not have the kind of "national interest" that it had in Kuwait: oil and a desire to maintain a power balance favorable to the United States.

Their Own Words

Excerpts From Clinton's and Gore's Remarks on the Ticket

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., July 9 (Reuters) — Following are excerpts, as transcribed by Reuters, from the news conference today at which Gov. Bill Clinton presented his running mate, Senator Al Gore.

CLINTON'S REMARKS

Several weeks ago, when I named Warren Christopher, Madeleine Kunin and Vernon Jordan to head a team to recommend a Vice-Presidential running mate, I asked them to look for a candidate who met three tests. I said I wanted a Vice President who really understood what had happened to ordinary Americans in the last 12 years, someone who was committed to making government work again for average, hard-working American families.

I said I wanted a Vice President who would complement me and my own experiences and bring other experiences, knowledge and understanding to our common endeavor.

And above all, I said I wanted a Vice President who would be ready, should something happen to me, to immediately assume the office of President of the United States.

The running mate I have chosen is a leader of great strength, integrity and stature, a father who, like me, loves his children and shares my hunger to turn this economy around, to change our country, and to do it so that we don't raise the first generation of children to do worse than their parents.

The man standing beside me today has what it takes to lead this nation from the day we take office — Senator Al Gore of Tennessee.

Throughout his public life, Al Gore has done what I've tried to do here in Arkansas. He's put government back on the side of ordinary men and women. Time and again he's stood up to powerful interests, to put people first. He's fought for health care and consumer protection. He is perhaps America's leading proponent of the development of new technologies like fiber optics and bio-

technology to create the high-wage jobs America needs to move into the 21st century.

Al Gore has spent the last decade working on the global environmental challenges we desperately need to address: global warming, ozone depletion, energy conservation. He has written a magnificent book on his thoughts and recommendations. He has asked me to join in his commitment to preserve not only the environment of America but to preserve the environment of our globe for future generations, and together we will finally give the United States a real environmental Presidency.

Al Gore is a leading expert in foreign policy, national security and arms control. He supported the use of American force to drive Saddam Hussein from Kuwait. And when the gulf war was over, Al Gore did himself even more credit by being the one who took George Bush to task for abandoning the Kurds, and shaming the Republicans for trying to use patriotism as a political issue.

In the end Al Gore and I understand what this election is really all about — the end of years of drift and division and denial, the beginning of an honest attempt to rebuild and reunite, and to renew this great nation, not just for ourselves but for our children and for our children's children.

GORE'S REMARKS

I can tell you truthfully, I didn't seek this. And up until very recently when I began to get an inkling that I would get the call that came late last night, I didn't expect it.

But I'm here for one simple reason: I love my country.

And I believe in my heart that this ticket gives our country the best chance for the change we so desperately need — to move forward again.

I'm proud to stand here with Bill Clinton at

the beginning of a long, hard fight on behalf of the hard-working people of the United States of America. We have watched for 12 long years as the Republican Administration still in power has driven this country into the ditch. The time has come for all Americans to get off the sidelines, to get involved in the process, to be a part of the healing this country needs, to bring us together, not divide us one from another, to get to work on the changes for the average working people of this country.

'They've Run Out of Ideas'

The time has come. Throughout American history, each generation has passed on leadership to the next. That time has come again — the time for a new generation of leadership for the United States of America.

I believe very deeply that this nation simply cannot afford another four years of the

'The time has come for all Americans to get off the sidelines.'

kind of leadership that we have now. They've run out of ideas. They've run out of energy. They've run out of the ability to inspire our people.

One of my greatest hopes as I join this ticket is to help Bill Clinton in his dramatic effort to lift the public dialogue so that we can make this campaign a national conversation about America's future, so that we can present to the American people ideas, choices, a sensible plan for getting our country moving in the right direction again.

Bill Clinton has for his entire career stood for that kind of responsible change, to improve the lives of the average people in

Arkansas and in this country. I want to be a part of that effort.

I know from conversations that the two of us have had, that Bill Clinton is speaking from his heart when he says here, as he did just a few minutes ago, that together we can make all the difference in determining whether or not the United States of America will offer the leadership our world needs to save the earth's environment. We're in a race against time. That leadership is critical and it can't wait four years or eight years. It can't wait any longer than November.

We're going to make that change for the earth's environment and for the people of this country. The Republican Administration has been trying to divide us for too long. They claim to be pro-family, but when we pass legislation for the people of this country which gives mothers and fathers a chance to have a little time off from work when a child is seriously injured, or when a child is first born, the Bush-Quayle Administration vetoes it because they're afraid that it's going to cost money to the wealthy and powerful in this country.

When the Democratic Congress passes an idea that Bill Clinton advanced, to give a tax credit for working families with children, to make it possible for families to stay together, for families to be able to give their children the kind of upbringing that they need, the Bush-Quayle Administration vetoes that legislation and still tries to describe itself as pro-family.

I come from Carthage, Tenn. I've never been to Hope, Ark. But I'm told that it's just like Carthage in one respect: It's a place where people know about it when you're born and care about it when you die.

That's the America Bill Clinton and I grew up in, and when we elect Bill Clinton President, that's the kind of nation we will once again become.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. John B. Ashmun
2119 Troon Road
Houston, Texas 77019



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Brucie,

I'm glad you liked my interview on the morning show.
I enjoyed doing it, too. Thanks for the kind words.
Your support and friendship mean a lot to me.

Bar and I just got back from Munich and Helsinki.
It sounds like you're having a great summer. Please
send John and everyone our love.

Sincere best wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "George".

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)

Jan Burmeister

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Henry O. Dormann
Chairman and Editor-in-Chief
Leaders Magazine
59 East 54th Street
New York, New York 10022



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Henry,

Thanks for sending the July issue of "Leaders" and the special supplements. I hope you had a happy 60th. Wait until you see 68! Actually, it didn't hurt a bit.

I do think it's your incredible "wrinkle-free" ink that did the trick.

Best wishes to you and Alice.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Jan Burmeister".

CC: (incoming ltr
only and outgoing
ltr)
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)

Jan Burmeister

~~Central Files~~
✓ Thanks
performance



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Larry, Steve, and Rudy,

Along with the enclosed photos, Barbara and I send our deep thanks for your super performance at our annual Congressional Barbecue. Once again, we were fortunate that you happened to be in town and we were able to lure you away from Wolf Trap to entertain our guests. It was great fun, and please know how appreciative we are.

Thanks, too, for sending your latest CD.

All the best,

Barbara

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE GATLIN BROTHERS
GATLIN BROTHERS ENTERPRISES, INC.
7003 CHADWICK DRIVE, SUITE 360
BRENTWOOD, TN 37027

ATTENTION: PAT BELEW

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

*Campaign
long - K.*

Mr. Heinz C. Prechter
Chairman and President
ASC Incorporated
Post Office Box 1186
Southgate, Michigan 48195



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Heinz,

Thanks for your letter of July 1. I enjoyed my trip to Michigan and am glad that it was a success. I will keep your advice in mind as the campaign begins to roll faster after the convention.

Just back from Munich and Helsinki, now I'm enjoying a few days in Kennebunkport.

Best wishes to you and Wally.

Sincerely,

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)

Jan Burmeister

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

critique

Mrs. Lilyan Wilder
Apartment #3B
210 East 68th Street
New York, New York 10021-6097



THE PRESIDENT

July 10, 1992

Dear Lilyan,

Thanks for the sage advice. I always appreciate
your critique.

I'll be keeping you in mind as the campaign begins
to roll in full force after the convention -- many
more appearances to come. Thanks for checking in!

With affection,

I agree about
"freeing myself from the written word"
but sometimes I can't do that.

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)

Jan Burmeister