

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2009-0166-S

FOIA Number:
2009-0166-S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

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

OA/ID Number: 90709
Folder ID Number: 90709-006

Folder Title:
Monday, August 24, 1992 [1]

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

daily 8/24
(not in system yet)



August 24, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER III

From: The President

Re: Ethanol

Inasmuch as you tell me you are recused from involvement in any and all energy matters, in the attached sealed envelope are some questions regarding ethanol.

It is imperative that we resolve the dispute between EPA and the corn growers.

Please tell me whom you want to handle this issue here in the White House.

Bob Teeter and Ed Madigan were with me at the Illinois Fair when I discussed this with key corn growers -- most big supporters.

I am giving Boyden a copy of all the documentation. He's been in the middle of this.

cc: Boyden Gray

FROM THE PRESIDENT



August 24, 1992

FOR WHOMEVER JAMES A. BAKER DESIGNATES TO HANDLE THE ETHANOL MATTER:

1. I am told that gas people are not concerned about the one pound waiver for ethanol. The methanol people are concerned about further tax breaks for ethanol; but the ethanol folks say "That's way in the future!"

Please comment on the above paragraph.

2. Do I have the authority to grant the waiver or does this rest only with Reilly?

Boyden says Reilly can grant the waiver, but EPA feels the supporting science does not exist. The corn growers tell me:

a. Such science does exist.

b. EPA refuses to release the science they are relying on to block the waiver. Madigan says he has requested the science and has been refused.

In the attached packet is a paper on vapor pressures scientifically backing the ethanol factors.

What's the story on the science?

3. Ken Lay has written the attached letter on behalf of the methanol (gas) people. He'll need a reply.

How widespread in the oil industry is opposition to the one pound waiver?

4. EPA testified on May 24, 1991, that the waiver would not adversely affect air quality. Why the change?

This is a very sensitive political subject. It requires a lot of thought. Bob Dole and the entire Ag community come in on the ethanol side and Ken Lay on behalf of the natural gas people.

Everywhere I went at the Illinois Fair, the corn growers brought this question up to me. It is a critical issue with my strong supporters. I have long supported Ethanol. We don't know where Clinton will be on this.

FROM THE PRESIDENT

ENRON CORP

Kenneth L. Lay
Chairman and
Chief Executive Officer

P. O. Box 1188
Houston, Texas 77251-1188
(713) 853-6773

August 20, 1992

The Honorable George W. Bush
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

One of the clear victories of your past four years was enactment of the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990. Environmental benefits derived from the reformulated fuels section alone will contribute heavily towards a future of clean air for our children and our grandchildren. In addition, this legislation firmly established the principle that environmental goals can be achieved most efficiently when reliance is placed on competitive market forces.

With this in mind, I was alarmed to learn recently that some parties are recommending that you override the Reg-Neg market forces by imposing a government intruding tax subsidy for ethanol blenders.

During the two years of Congressional debate on the Clean Air Act and the following two years of the Reg-Neg process, all parties (including those representing the ethanol interests) openly came together under your strong leadership to design a positive, market-driven agenda to save our environment. As the "Environmental President," you can stand proud over the pending EPA implementation of the oxygenated fuels program to start in 39 CO nonattainment areas this November.

Enron, among many others, has moved strongly towards meeting the oxygenated fuels demand by entering the methanol and methyl tertiary butyl ether (MTBE) business. We acquired half a billion dollars of existing domestic facilities and are currently completing a new 15,000 barrels per day MTBE unit in Pasadena, Texas, which begins operation in 8-10 weeks.

The Honorable George W. Bush
Page 2
August 20, 1992

Other U.S. companies have moved towards developing the widest possible market of oxygenated fuels with oxygenates such as MTBE, methanol, tertiary amyl methyl ether (TAME), ethanol, ethyl tertiary butyl ether (ETBE), tertiary amyl ethyl ether (TAE) and diethyl isopropyl ether (DIPE), to name a few. Enron supports these developments as clearly mandated by the Act and the Reg-Neg Agreement principles and as a clear indication competitive market forces are working.

Although Saudi Arabia and other countries are getting geared up to produce MTBE, the United States clearly has the lead at this time. Inasmuch as derivatives of natural gas provide all the feedstock for MTBE, this is also creating large new markets for domestically produced natural gas.

I believe that the EPA has, through the Reg-Neg process, met the requirements of the Clean Air Act Amendments and the reformulated fuels requirements which were enacted as a key part of your environmental policy. Ethanol will be part of the reformulated gasoline (RFG) supply in the United States because of an already existing healthy tax credit which makes it competitive with all other oxygenated fuels. It needs no further incentive or advantage.

I believe the EPA Reg-Neg proposal presents sound environmental and economic benefits to the United States without mandating a market which would be contrary to the rules of sound market place principles. Your continued support of the Reg-Neg process is respectfully requested and vital if the goals of the Clean Air Act Amendments are to be achieved.

Sincerely,

Ken

Mr. President-

cc: Jim Baker
Sam Skinner
Boyden Gray
Clayton Yeutter
Henson Moore

I cannot emphasize strongly enough, if The Reg-Neg's are altered to give ethanol a preference or new tax credits, it could seriously damage your chances of carrying Texas and other producing states

EPA ON THE RECORD

Exhibit "A"

"Several phenomena reduce the ozone impact of higher RVP gasohol relative to gasoline . . . (e.g., the lesser tendency of ethanol emissions to produce ozone (reactivity) compared to hydrocarbons, and a reduction in carbon monoxide (CO) emissions and thus a reduction in CO's role in ozone production). As detailed in the Final Regulatory Impact Analysis, recent studies have indicated that the ozone impact of gasohol at 1.0 RVP higher than gasoline is less than we earlier believed."

-55 Fed. Reg. 23658,23658 (June 11, 1990)

"It appears that allowing a one psi RVP allowance for ethanol blends would not contribute to as significant of a change in ozone levels as EPA previously thought."

-U.S. EPA, Office of Air and Radiation, Office of Mobile Sources, (May 1990)

". . . that overall, the 1.0 psi exemption should not adversely affect air quality . . . this action is consistent with EPA's national fuel policy."

-56 Fed. Reg. 23804,23807 (May 24, 1991)

"This decision was based on the conclusion that the 1.0 psi exemption should not adversely affect air quality overall and because of the potential economic harm to the ethanol industry that eliminating the exemption would create."

-57 Fed. Reg. 3978,3979 (Feb. 3, 1992)

* This is totally contrary to the EPA's current actions.



National Corn

Growers Association

1000 Executive Parkway, Suite 105

St. Louis, MO 63141-6397

314/275-9915

FAX 314/275-7061

August 22, 1992

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President:

Over the past several days, Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Bill Reilly has made public and private statements that providing a volatility tolerance for ethanol blends "cannot be supported by science." These representations are incorrect and we fear have led you to reject a proposal which would have assured a role for ethanol in the reformulated gasoline program (RFG) and stimulated tremendous economic growth across rural America.

Mr. President, it is important that you realize that these statements effectively reverse a ten-year-long position of the EPA, based on extensive scientific analysis of the ozone-forming potential of ethanol blends, in which the Agency repeatedly has concluded that the overall emissions benefits of ethanol offset the slight increase in evaporative VOC emissions. The most recent statement to this effect was February 1992 Federal Register Notice rejecting a New Jersey Implementation Plan for ozone which had not included the one-psi volatility tolerance for ethanol;

"This decision was based on the conclusion that the 1.0 psi exemption should not adversely affect air quality overall and because of the potential economic harm to the ethanol industry that elimination of the exemption would create."

It is important to note that EPA's reversal on this issue has been allowed without any scientific analysis to support such action and without the opportunity for any public comment. Moreover, additional air quality studies for Chicago, New York and 14 other cities have been provided to the Agency during the current RFG rulemaking. These studies by Systems Applications International, the nation's leading air quality modeling firm, further confirm the offsetting environmental benefits which justify the continuation of the volatility tolerance for ethanol.

*Mem for
Exhibit A*



In fact, it is particularly disturbing that by summarily dismissing these latest air quality reports, EPA appears to have predetermined the conclusion of an ongoing regulatory proceeding, in direct violation of the Administrative Procedures Act.

Mr. President, while some have suggested that this untimely reversal is a function of competitively motivated oil industry lobbying, we are not, as yet, drawing that conclusion. Simply put, while we believe your conviction to assure a role for ethanol is real, your EPA appears to have set a course that locks ethanol out of this important market. Tremendous opportunities across the Midwest are being squandered as a result. This issue demands your immediate attention.

Sincerely;



Tim Trotter
President

AUG 11 1992

This comment is filed on behalf of the Ad Hoc Ethanol Committee. The Committee is comprised of U.S. ethanol plants producing virtually all of the nation's fuel ethanol; national farm and commodity organizations representing farmers across the country that have worked toward value-added markets for American grain and a safer environment; potential ethanol producers representing economic development opportunities across rural America; equipment manufacturers, technology design engineers, and suppliers to the ethanol industry; consumer and environmental organizations interested in the promotion of renewable energy and competitive fuel markets; and, ethanol education and promotion organizations that have worked to decrease our dependence on imported oil, improve air quality, and create rural economic development opportunities across the country.

The following organizations and companies are members of the Ad Hoc Ethanol Committee submitting these comments:

A.E. Staley Continental
2200 East Eldorado Street
Decatur, Illinois 62521

Agrionics Corporation
3000 Walworth Road
Walworth, NY 14568

Alchem Ltd.
P.O. Box 32
Grafton, ND 58237

AlcoTech Inc.
P.O. Box 154
Ringling, MT 59642

AlcoTech Partnership
2411 Vallecitos Drive
La Jolla, California 92037

Airco Industrial Gases
575 Mountain Avenue
Murray Hill, NJ 07974

American Farm Bureau Federation
600 Maryland Avenue, SW
Suite 800
Washington, DC 20024

Archer Daniels Midland Company
4666 Faries Parkway
Decatur, IL 62526



Belridge Capital
P.O.Box 1893
Hartford, CT 06144

Brimm Energy Inc.
P.O. Box 728
Point Roberts, WA 98281-0728

California Renewable Fuels Council
3304 Yorba Linda Boulevard
Suite 249
Fullerton, California 92631

Coloradans for Clean Air
1985 Grape Street
Denver, Colorado 80220

Corn Coalition
One Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Suite 840
Washington, DC 20001

Corn Refiners Association
1100 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 1120
Washington, DC 20036

Davenport Machine and Foundry Co.
1607 West River Drive
Davenport, Iowa 52808-3339

Dedert Corporation
200000 Governors Drive
Olympia Fields, IL 60461

DFI Group
19 W. Hargett Street., S-512
Raleigh, NC 27601

Downstream Alternatives
P.O. Box 190
Bremen, Indiana 46506

The Ethanol Corporation
P.O. Box 105177
Smyrna, Georgia 30348

Ethanol Producers and Consumers
South Route - Box 206
Nashua, MT 59248

Franch Oil Mill Machinery Co.
P.O. Box 920
Piqua, OH 45356



Global Technologies, Columbus, NE
329 Ericson Road
Memphis, Tennessee 38018

Golden Cheese Company of California
1138 W. Rincon
Corona, California 91720

Graf Feed & Fuel Alcohol
1375 S. 3rd Street
Louisville, KY 40208

Heartland Grain Fuels, L.P.
P.O. Box 1435
Aberdeen, SD 57402

Heartland Corn Products
310 Main Avenue
P.O. Box 238
Gaylord, MN 55334

The Hubinger Company
One Progress Street
Keokuk, Iowa 52632

Institute for Local Self Reliance
2425 18th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20009

International Bio - Synthetics
P.O. Box 241068
Charlotte, North Carolina 28224

Interstates Electric
1520 Industrial Park
Sioux Center, IA 51250

Iowa Corn Millers
1201 Broadway
Denison, Iowa 51442

The Joseph Companies
789 Grain Exchange Building
P.O. Box 15106
Minneapolis, MN 55415

Manildra Inc.
P.O. Box 39
Hamburg, IA 51640

Morris Ag-Energy, Inc.
P.O. Box 111
Morris, MN 56267



Midwest Grain Products
1300 Main Street
Atchinson, Kansas 66002

MILSOLV Companies
Minnesota Corn Processors
109 S. 5th Street
Marshall, Minnesota 56258

Minnesota Corn Processors
109 S. 5th Street
Marshall, Minnesota 56258

Minnesota Ethanol Commission
90 West Plato Blvd.
St. Paul, MN 55107

National Barley Growers Association
1000 16th Street, NW
Suite 702
Washington, DC 20036

National Corn Growers Association
1000 Executive Parkway
#105
St. Louis, MO 63141

National Pork Producers Council
501 School Street, SW
Suite 400
Washington, DC 20024

National Wheat Growers Association
415 Second Street, NE
Suite 300
Washington, DC 20002

North Carolina Ethanol
105 West Main Street
P.O. Box 748
Faison, North Carolina 28341-0748

Northwest Ethanol Fuel Association
1199 Shoreline Lane
Suite 250
Boise, ID 83702

Pekin Energy Company
P.O. Box 10
Pekin, Illinois 61554



Process Systems, Incorporated
1790 Kirby Parkway
Suite 300
Memphis, Tennessee 38138

Regent International
P.O. Box 1400
Brea, CA 92662

Renewable Fuels Association
One Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20001

Small Engine Environmental Consortium
30 Country Fair Lane
St. Louis, MO 63141

Stord, Inc.
309 Regional Road South
Greensboro, NC 27409

The W.A.T.E.R. Foundation
P.O. Box H20
Brainerd, MN 56401

Weatherly, Inc.
1100 Spring Street, N.W.
Suite 800
Atlanta, GA 30309



The following pages list additional organizations which have signed on to the comments submitted by the Ad Hoc Ethanol Committee.



100% 11,000 11,000 100% 11,000 11,000 100% 11,000 11,000

—

1

2

2

;

.

113 South Maple

•

92.01. Bunsen Parkway



Colorado Corn Growers Association
5500 South Quebec Street
Suite 114
Inglewood, CO 80111

Georgia Corn Growers Association
P.O. Box 565
Oglethorpe, GA 31068

Minnesota Corn Growers Association
14198 Commerce Avenue N.E.
Suite 600
Prior Lake, MN 55372

Indiana Corn Growers Association
8839 South 675 East
Cambridge City, IN 47327

New York Corn Growers Association
2719 High Street
Clyde, NY 14433

North Dakota Corn Growers Association
Rural Rte. 1
Box 179
New Rockford, ND 58356

South Carolina Corn Growers Association
Pee Dee Research and Education Center
Rte. 1, Box 531
Florence, SC 29501-9603

Tennessee Corn Growers Association
510 West Black Lane
Obion, TN 38240-9700

Lone Star Corn Growers Association
P.O. Box 1436
Plainville, TX 79073

National Farmers Organization
777 North Capital Street
Suite 915
Washington, DC 20002

Michigan Corn Growers Association
P.O. Box 627
Okemos, MI 48805-0627

Iowa Corn Growers Association
306 West Towers
1200-35th Street
West Des Moines, IA 50265





Renewable Fuels Association

One Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
 Suite 520
 Washington, D.C. 20001
 (202) 299-3835
 TELEFAX: (202) 299-7519

K. Randall Pearson
 General Counsel

June 1, 1992

Richard D. Wilson, Director
 Office of Mobile Sources
 Office of Air and Radiation
 U.S. Environmental Protection Agency
 401 M Street, S.W.
 Washington, D.C. 20460

Dear Dick:

Thank you for attending the meeting today at the Old Executive Office Building at which several important issues were discussed pertaining to ethanol and reformulated gasoline. The expertise, competence, and civility which you bring to these meetings always makes it a pleasure to participate with you present. I believe the meeting was constructive, and I express my appreciation for the cooperation and commitment on behalf of EPA to the successful implementation of the reformulated gasoline program.

To the best of my recollection, and subject, of course, to your clarification, you made a statement at the meeting to the effect that, "All studies we have reviewed have indicated a significant increase in ozone with ethanol blends." The Renewable Fuels Association (RFA) is not in possession of any studies that reach such a conclusion, and, obviously, we are most desirous of obtaining them. At your earliest convenience, please transmit these studies to my attention at the RFA.

As always, if you have any questions regarding my request, please do not hesitate to call me.

Sincerely,

Kim R. Pearson

Kim R. Pearson
 General Counsel

cc: Teresa A. Gorman
 Gary R. Blumenthal

Post-it brand fax transmittal memo 7671 # of pages >

To: <i>Howard Baker</i>	From: <i>KRP</i>
Co.	Co.
Dept.	Phone #
Fax #	Fax #

Ed M. tells me they want you to sign to approve

INVESTIGATING VAPOR PRESSURES AND THEIR MEASUREMENT

THERMO CONCEPTS, INC.
211 S. Prospect Road; P. O. Box 1467
Bloomington, IL 61702-1467
Phone 309-662-5189
FAX 309-663-5852

Work done by Tim Lee, Director of Research and
David Ruppert
August 3, 1992

PURPOSE

Much misinformation has recently been publicized about the effects of blending petroleum products with oxygenates. Investigation was therefore necessary to clarify the actual results and their significance upon our environment.

R.V.P.

R.V.P. is the acronym for Reid Vapor Pressure, or vapor pressure measured by the Reid method. Mr. Reid standardized vapor pressure measurement by prescribing the method of filling a vessel three-quarters full, sealing the vessel and attaching a pressure gauge at the top of the vessel. He would then vary the temperature and note the resulting change in vapor pressure of various liquids. For the purpose of this paper, vapor pressure and R.V.P. are the same unless otherwise specified.

ASTM STANDARD TEST METHOD FOR VAPOR PRESSURE D 323-89

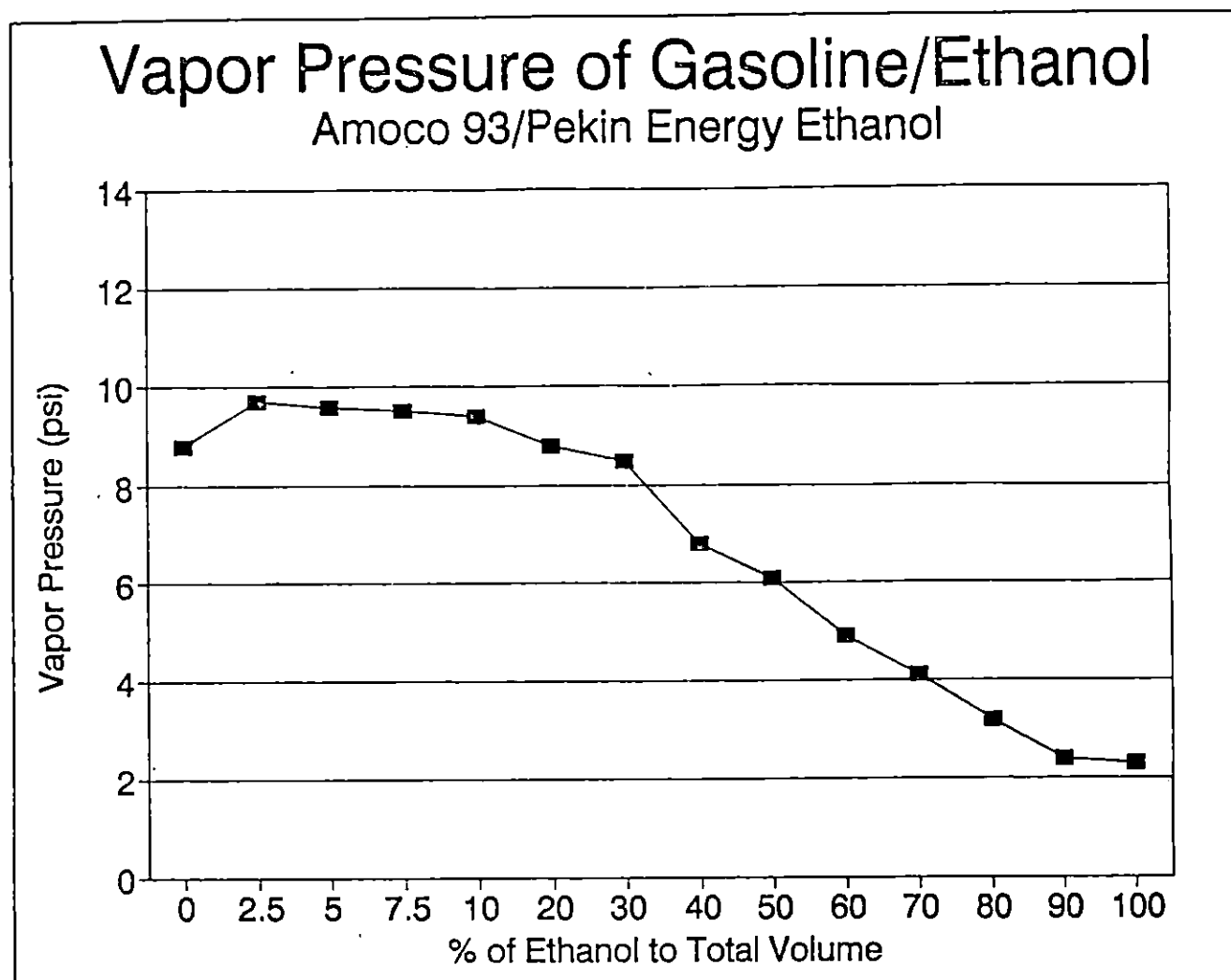
The ASTM Standard Test Method for Vapor Pressure of Petroleum Products (Reid Method), D 323-89, may be summarized as follows; the fuel sample to be used is initially maintained at 32°F (0°); the liquid chamber of the vessel is filled 70-80% full with the chilled fuel sample; the assembled vapor pressure apparatus is shaken vigorously and immersed in a bath at 100°F until a constant pressure is observed. The standard requires simultaneously running two parallel tests using the identical samples.

This Standard, ASTM D 323-89, is recommended by ASTM to determine the vapor pressure of gasoline and other volatile petroleum products. ASTM has approved this method for petroleum products only and specifically not for oxygenated products other than MTBE (Methyl Tertiary Butyl Ether - an ether using Thorium Oxide [a radio-active substance] in some methods of production). Therefore it is not approved by ASTM for oxygenates or their blends with gasolines.

OXYGENATES' AZEOTROPIC REACTION WITH GASOLINE

ASTM approves this vapor pressure test with only petroleum products because oxygenates form an azeotrope (larger combined molecule of fuel) with gasoline. Fuel oxygenates are alcohols such as ethanol and ethers such as MTBE. These oxygenates are composed of hydrogen, carbon and oxygen. When blended with gasoline, the vapor pressures of the blends do not react in a predictable linear fashion. As oxygenate is

added to the gasoline, the vapor pressure of the blend increases to a peak and then declines as the percentage of oxygenate is increased (see graph).



As shown graphically above, decreasing the amount of ethanol below 10% will increase the vapor pressure of the mixture, while further increasing the oxygenate (ethanol) content will in fact decrease vapor pressure.

NO APPROVED TEST FOR VAPOR PRESSURE OF OXYGENATED BLENDS

D 323 is the most commonly referred test method for determining the vapor pressure of gasoline-ethanol blends. Since ASTM does not recommend test D 323 for oxygenated fuel, other approved vapor pressure tests were investigated. The Standard Test Method for Vapor Pressure of Petroleum Products (Micromethod), D 2551-80, was discontinued in 1989. The general vapor pressure test E 1194 is inappropriate for oxygenated blends, because the scope of the test covers only measuring pure liquids or solids. Test method D 1267 is approved only for liquefied petroleum gases. Test method ES 14 Vapor Pressure for Petroleum Automatic Method again targets only petroleum products.

Since no approved ASTM standard test procedure is known for a gasoline-ethanol blend, it is imperative that results reported by gasoline companies, General Motors, Archer

Daniels Midland or any other fuel research facility should be examined closely. If the test method is not discussed thoroughly or if the test results are extrapolated and not determined empirically, the resulting vapor pressure values should be questioned.

CONCEPTUALLY - NOT DEFINITELY - SPEAKING

To further complicate the matter of using a vapor pressure test method, it is necessary to separate what results can be factual and what results can only be discussed in a conceptual manner. ASTM even admits that using the D 323-89 method cannot measure the "true" vapor pressure of petroleum. In the precision and bias section of the test method, the discussion notes that "1 out of 20 tests will differ in determining the vapor pressure of a petroleum sample."

Further, in determining absolute bias, "since there is no accepted reference material suitable for determining the bias for the procedure in Test Method D 323 for measuring the vapor pressure, bias cannot be determined. The amount of bias between this test vapor pressure and true vapor pressure is unknown." In other words, gasoline is too complex and variable to be able to establish a standard vapor pressure value.'

Gasoline is comprised of numerous and varying strings of hydro-carbons. To change the characteristics of the gasoline, blenders add detergents, surfactants and oxygenates to obtain the desired fuel attributes. As different gasolines and varying amounts of benzene, toluene or xylene (BTX Group) are added, the gasoline's characteristics become increasingly complex. Because of gasoline's complexity, it is impossible to generalize its characteristics. It is therefore only possible to talk "conceptually."

ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION

1) Arbitrarily adding a 1 psi boost to the vapor pressure of the base gasoline when adding ethanol as an oxygenate is inappropriate. The vapor pressure depends on the composition of the gasoline as well as the denaturant used in the ethanol. The interaction between the gasoline and ethanol is predictable in concept, but cannot be extrapolated as the 1 psi boost infers.

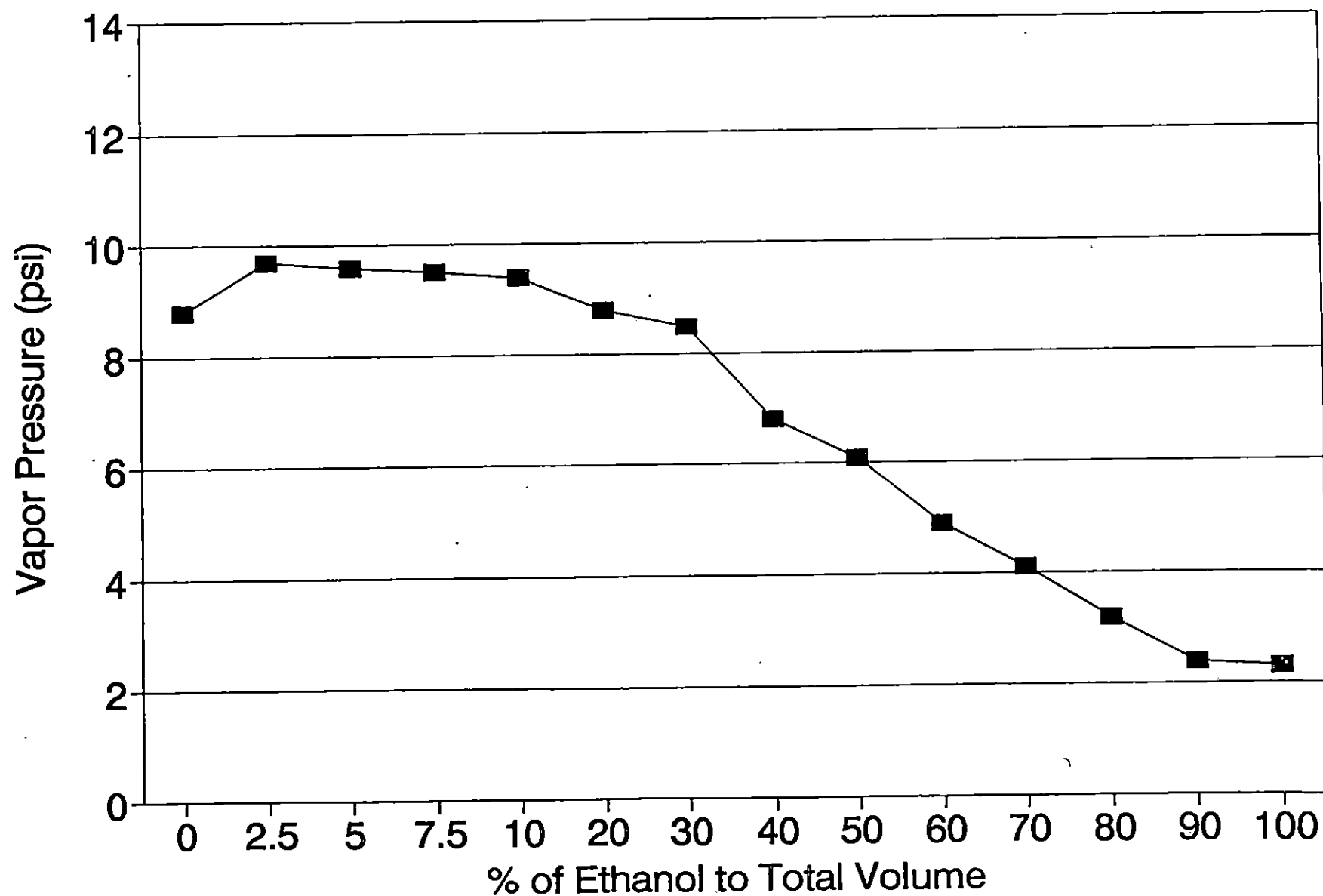
2) Implying that ethanol alone increases VOC's (Volatile Organic Compounds) since it increases the vapor pressure is inappropriate. First, by the time ethanol is blended with gasoline at the terminal, the gasoline has already released more Volatile Petroleum Solvents (or VOC's) into the ectosphere than the blended fuel will in the course of distributing the fuel to the gasoline station. (to be discussed in future paper)

Second the evaporated azeotrope molecules can only contribute to the potential for VOC's. The molecules can be contained within the fuel system of a car and would not be exposed to air. (see earlier paper "Controlling VOC's")

Finally, the substantial benefits in adding ethanol to gasoline to reduce combustion emissions outweigh any potential hazards created.

Vapor Pressure of Gasoline/Ethanol

Amoco 93/Pekin Energy Ethanol



We
~~The National Corn Growers Association~~
request that EPA adopt the ^{*consistence*} ~~same~~ science with
regard to ethanol that they have supported for
the past ten years.



Formerly under the jurisdiction of Committee D-2 on Petroleum Products and Lubricants.
This test method was discontinued in 1989.

- This last
Museum Pro
D02.D
Current ed
ished as D
Discontin
Annual R

Standard Test Method for VAPOR PRESSURE OF PETROLEUM PRODUCTS (MICROMETER METHOD)¹

¹This standard is intended for use under the fixed designation D 2551; the number immediately following the designation indicates the year of original adoption or, in the case of revision, the year of last revision. A number in parentheses indicates the year of reaffirmation if no change has been made.

1. Scope

1.1 This method covers the determination of volatility characteristics of a fuel. Fuels are used in many types of engines with large variations in operating conditions and over a wide range of operating temperatures. These variations impose limitations on the fuel volatility if it is to give satisfactory performance. Fuels having high vapor pressures may vaporize too readily in the fuel-handling systems, resulting in decreased flow to the engine and possible stoppage by vapor lock. Conversely, fuels of low vapor pressure may not vaporize readily enough, resulting in hard starting, and poor warm-up and acceleration.

2. Applicable Documents

- D 270 Sampling Petroleum and Petroleum Products²
- D 223 Test for Vapor Pressure of Petroleum Products (Reid Method)³
- E 1 Specifications for ASTM Thermometers⁴

3. Summary of Method

3.1 A sample of known volume is introduced into an expanded, temperature-controlled bulk chamber to give the desired vapor-to-liquid ratio (1/1). The rise in pressure in the bulb, resulting from the vapor introduction, is equivalent to the sum of the vapor pressure of the sample and the partial pressure of dissolved air, practically all of which comes out of solution. The rise in pressure is measured with a mercury manometer or equivalent pressure-measuring device. Conversion to Reid vapor pressure is made through the use of a correlation.

4. Significance

4.1 Vapor pressure is one measure of the

6.6 shall apply to all samples for vapor pressure determinations. The caloric sensitivity of vapor pressure measurements is low; therefore, care must be taken in handling of samples and the most meticulous care in handling of samples. 6.7 Sampling shall be carried out in accordance with Method D 270. 6.8 Sample Container Size—The size of the sample container from which the vapor pressure sample is taken shall be not less than 1 qt (1 L) nor more than 2 gal (8 L). Note 2—It is possible and practical by this method to measure successfully the vapor pressures of samples in volumes as small as a few milliliters. However, it should be remembered that the powder-like of various vapor has greatly increase as the sample size diminishes.

6.4 Sample-Handling Temperature—In all cases, cool the sample container and its contents in an ice bath to 32 to 40°F (0 to 4.4°C) before the container is opened. Note 3—Solid carbon dioxide is appreciably not able in hydrocarbon and shall at no time be used to cool samples prior to testing. 6.5 Order of Tests on a Single Sample—Determining the vapor pressure as the first test on a sample. One or two repeat determinations on the same sample may be performed without serious loss in vapor pressure provided the sample is kept in the ice bath with a tightly closed cap between runs. The sample shall not be shaken between the repeat runs. 6.6 Care of Samples—Place samples in a cool area as soon as possible after they have been obtained and hold them there until the test has been completed. Samples in leaky containers shall not be considered for test but shall be discarded and new samples obtained.

7. Sample Preparation

7.1 With the sample at a temperature of 32 to 40°F (0 to 4.4°C), take the container from the ice bath, unscrew it, and examine it for its liquid content which shall be between 70 and 80 % of the container capacity. After the correct liquid content has been assured, rescrew the container, shake it vigorously, and return it to the ice bath.

8. Handling of Samples

8.1 The general provisions given in 6.2 to

¹This method is under the jurisdiction of ASTM Committee D-2 on Petroleum Products and Lubricants. Current edition approved Aug. 29, 1980. Published October 1980. Originally published as D 2551-67. Last previous edition 1977. Annual Book of ASTM Standards, Part 23. Annual Book of ASTM Standards, Parts 23 and 44. Annual edition 1977-78 (1978). Annual (Chemical), ANCH, Vol. 29, 1957, pp. 1194-1202. The apparatus of Fig. A1 is currently being manufactured by Standard Steel Ltd., Station Road, Chertsey, Surrey, England. The apparatus of Fig. A2 is currently being manufactured by Kvaerner Engineering and Equipment Corp., Warrington, Pa.

8. Procedure

8.1 When the apparatus is first assembled and at every start-up thereafter, degas the apparatus in accordance with the degassing procedure described in A2.5.1 through A2.5.3 in Annex A2 or A3.2.1.1 through A3.2.1.4 in Annex A3. Continue the degassing procedure until the lowest steady pressure of less than 500 μ m (67 Pa) is obtained. If a steady pressure below 400 μ m cannot be obtained, clean the vacuum system and inspect for leaks.

NOTE 4 Be constantly aware of the possibility of leaks and the importance of detecting them. A small leak can cause gross errors in the determination. Leaks may be indicated by (1) Any sudden increase in the minimum pressure normally obtained in the vacuum system suggests a leak in the system or a vacuum pump that requires service, (2) in the equipment shown in Fig. A1, a leak in the bulb bottom is noticeable as bubbles rising through the mercury. In other equipment, Fig. A1 or A4, such a leak can be caused by a faulty connection to the valve block or leaking O-rings in the valves, (3) a leak in the manometer side arm is noticeable as bubbles rising through the mercury. This type of leak most often occurs as a result of faulty needle valve packing or from a faulty connection to the valve block, and (4) an improperly degassed system will have an occasional bubble rise through the mercury. These bubbles can cause as serious an error in the results as the errors caused by an actual leak.

8.2 While the vacuum system is degassing, adjust the circulating bath until the temperature in the bulb jacket remains with $\pm 0.1^\circ\text{F}$ ($\pm 0.05^\circ\text{C}$) of the specified temperature.

8.3 Proceed as directed in A2.5.3 through A2.5.6 in Annex A2, or A3.2.1.4 through A3.2.2.4 in Annex A3, obtaining initial pressure reading, introducing the sample, and obtaining the final pressure reading.

9. Calculations

9.1 Calculate the "Micromethod" vapor pressure (MVP) by subtracting the initial manometer reading from the final manometer reading. This value represents, in millimeters

of mercury, the sum of the vapor pressure of the sample and the partial pressure of the dissolved air which, for all practical purposes, comes entirely out of solution in the bulb.

$$\text{MVP} = M_2 - M_1$$

where:

MVP = "Micromethod" vapor pressure, mm Hg.

M_1 = initial manometer reading, mm Hg, and

M_2 = final manometer reading, mm Hg.

9.2 Calculate the equivalent Reid vapor pressure by the following equation:

$$\text{RVP} = C_f(\text{MVP}) - a$$

where:

RVP = Reid vapor pressure, psi (kPa).

C_f = correlation factor determined in Annex A1.

MVP = Micromethod vapor pressure, mm Hg, and

a = intercept determined in Annex A1.

10. Precision

10.1 The precision of the method as obtained by statistical examination of interlaboratory test results is as follows:

10.1.1 *Repeatability*—The difference between successive test results obtained by the same operator with the same apparatus under constant operating conditions on identical test material would, in the long run, in the normal and correct operation of the test method exceed the following value only in one case in twenty:

4 mm

10.1.2 *Reproducibility*—The difference between two single and independent results obtained by different operators working in different laboratories on identical test material would, in the long run, in the normal and correct operation of the test method exceed the following value only in one case in twenty:

15 mm

ANNEXES

A1. DETERMINATION OF CORRELATION FACTOR AND INTERCEPT

A1.1 *Summary of Method*—Vapor pressures are determined repetitively by both Methods D 2551 and D 323 on representative samples covering a range of vapor pressures from 0.5 to 17 psi (3.4 to 117 kPa). The averages of each sample by each method are

plotted on rectangular coordinate paper, and the equation which represents the resulting straight line is calculated by the least squares method. The equation obtained applies only to the specific apparatus employed.

NOTE A1—Previously obtained cooperative test data indicate the need of developing a correlation factor for each vapor pressure test and. The correlation factor determined for any one unit will not necessarily be applicable to another unit including additional units of a multionit system such as shown in Fig. A1. Under no circumstances shall correlation factors be interchanged.

A1.2 *Procedure*—Determine the Reid vapor pressure in accordance with Method D 323 and the "Micromethod" vapor pressure in accordance with the procedure described in this method using apparatus conforming to the requirements of and operated in the manner prescribed in Annex A2 or A3. In obtaining data, use at least eight typical motor and aviation fuels. Average the data for each sample by each method and plot the averages on rectangular coordinate paper.

A1.3 *Calculations*:

A1.3.1 Calculate the correlation factor C_f by using the following equation:

$$C_f = (n\sum xy - \sum x \sum y) / (n\sum x^2 - (\sum x)^2)$$

where:

C_f = correlation factor,

n = number of samples,

x = individual sample averages determined by Method D 2551, and

y = individual sample averages determined by Method D 323.

A1.3.2 Calculate the intercept, a , by using the following equation:

$$a = \bar{y} - C_f \bar{x}$$

where:

a = intercept,

$\bar{y}$ = grand average of Reid vapor pressures (RVP),

$\bar{x}$ = grand average of "Micro" vapor pressures (MVP), and

C_f = correlation factor.

A2. STANHOPE-SETA APPARATUS FOR VAPOR PRESSURE BY MICROMETHOD

A2.1 *Schematic Diagram of Apparatus*—The valve block is most conveniently fabricated from metal. The connection between the valve block and the bulb assembly shall be vacuum-tight, and all the valves used shall be designed for service in a vacuum system. Valves V_1 and V_2 shall be needle valves; all the rest may be of a quick-opening variety. The valve block and bulb connections shall be so designed as to reduce to a minimum the amount of mercury required to fill the volumes defined by fiducial marks B and valves V_1 and V_2 or V_3 and V_4 . See Fig. A1.

A2.2 *Vapor Pressure Bulb Assembly*:

A2.2.1 The bulb assembly shall conform to the general design shown in Fig. A1. The bulb, C, shall incorporate a mercury-sealed-orifice sample introduction system F, as described in A2.2.2. It shall have a side arm for connection to the manometer system and a down leg for connection to the vacuum system and drain. Fiducial marks shall be etched or fused on side arm A and on down leg B in such a manner that the volume between these two marks shall be 5 ± 0.03 mL. The bulb and its connections shall be enclosed in a water jacket having a bottom inlet, a top outlet, and a means for inserting a thermometer. The minimum distance between fiducial mark B and the bottom of the water jacket shall be 25 mm. The minimum distance between orifice D and the top of the mercury reservoir shall be 75 mm.

A2.2.2 *Mercury Reservoir, F*, as shown in Fig. A2, having in its bottom a small tapered orifice, D, leading into bulb C. Normally, the mercury is prevented from running into the bulb by a suitable plug E.

A2.2.3 For each bulb a plug, E (Fig. A2) consisting of a weighted rod with a plastic tip capable of preventing mercury from flowing through the orifice when the plug is in position as shown in Fig. A2.

A2.2.4 A vacuum breaker, similar in construction to the plug, but incorporating a capillary tube in place of the rod so that, when placed in the orifice opening, the vacuum in the bulb will be broken by

entry of atmospheric air.

A2.3 *Mercury Displacement Pipet*, is simple in concept but the design is critical. The sample is introduced through the orifice by means of a mercury displacement pipet, Fig. A3, having a tapered tip designed to make ring contact with the conical wall of the orifice. The vacuum of the bulb (Fig. A2) draws the sample from the pipet and pulls mercury from the reservoir, C (Fig. A3) in behind it. Transfer is complete when mercury from C starts to enter the bulb. The pipet shall deliver 1 ± 0.03 mL of sample.

NOTE A2—The external leg, A, must be a little longer than the reservoir leg so that, when filled with mercury and held in the position shown, the tendency will be for the mercury to syphon out of the reservoir. Actual mercury flow is prevented by the capillary repulsion of the small aperture at the tip. Similarly, the bore of capillary D is sufficiently small that its capillary depression is greater than the height of the mercury in the reservoir C. This prevents mercury from entering the pipet unless additional pressure is applied to the side arm and also assures complete filling with the sample.

A2.4 *Auxiliary Equipment*:

A2.4.1 Ice bath for chilling samples.

A2.4.2 Apparatus for cleaning dirty mercury, and

A2.4.3 A supply of clean mercury.

A2.5 *Degassing the Vacuum System*:

A2.5.1 In cases where the apparatus is used con-

* The fabrication of a microvapor pressure bulb with its sample introduction system is an art requiring the services of a highly skilled glass blower. Critical design details are given in Motilow, A. Y., "Rapid Precise Microvapor Pressure Method," *Analytical Chemistry*, Vol. 29, 1957, pp. 1196-1202.

* Alternatively, Fisher special sample pipets may be used. An aspirator bulb or air-pressure hose capable of applying pressure to the side arm of the mercury-displacement pipet is not required if the Fisher sample pipet is used.

continuously, follow this procedure at least every three days. Lower the mercury in the system to the lowest practical level, which in Fig. A1 would be just above valves V_1 and V_2 . Replace the seal plug F with the vacuum breaker (capillary vent plug) and apply vacuum to the system. After 1 or 2 min, replace the vacuum breaker with the seal plug.

A2.5.2 Connecting Manometer System—Adjust the leveling bulb until the mercury level in the manometer is approximately 760 mm below fiducial mark A , Fig. A1. Close needle valves V_2 and V_3 . Open V_1 and V_4 and then gradually open V_2 and V_3 , letting the mercury rise to its equilibrium point. When the bulb on the left is to be used in a determination, close V_3 to isolate the right bulb from the manometer system. When the right bulb is to be used, close V_2 . The remaining procedure will involve only the left-hand side of the system.

A2.5.3 Measuring Initial Bulb Pressure—Measure the initial bulb pressure by performing the following steps in sequence:

A2.5.3.1 Check the jacket temperature. If it deviates from the prescribed value by more than 0.1°F , adjust the temperature until it is within the prescribed limits.

A2.5.3.2 If the pressure in the system is below 500 μm (67 kPa) and essential constant, close V_2 (Fig. A1).

A2.5.3.3 Raise the plug from the orifice momentarily and allow the mercury to fill the bottom leg to between 10 and 20 mm below fiducial mark B . If the leg fills above fiducial mark B draw off the excess mercury above B through V_3 to the pump line and trap.

A2.5.3.4 With V_2 open, adjust the leveling device until mercury in the bulb side arm is level with fiducial mark A . Observe the level of the mercury in the side arm closely. Any air leak into the bulb will cause a drop in the mercury level of the side arm away from fiducial mark A . A leak will be readily observable as bubbles rising into the bulb through one of the mercury layers. Correct any leak into this system before proceeding.

A2.5.3.5 With the level of the mercury in the bulb side arm at fiducial mark A , read and record the level of the mercury in the manometer to the nearest 1 mm.

A2.5.4 Sample Introduction—After the recording of the initial manometer reading, introduce the sample as follows:

A2.5.4.1 Close V_2 , locking the mercury level at approximately mark A .

A2.5.4.2 Choose the sample pipet size that will give the V/L required for the vapor pressure measurement. This quantity is calculated as follows:

$$V/L = \frac{\text{volume of bulb} - \text{volume of pipet}}{\text{volume of pipet}}$$

Fill the pipet bore with mercury by applying pressure to the mercury reservoir side arm. If the pipet is held in a vertical position, the greater length of the external capillary leg will keep the mercury column pressed tightly against the pipet tip. The small opening in the tip prevents the flow of mercury out of the tip; do not tilt the pipet toward the bulb end or the mercury

may siphon back into the reservoir.

A2.5.4.3 Lower the pipet tip well below the surface of the sample in its container. Tilt the pipet momentarily in the direction of its tip to ensure complete filling with mercury, then tilt as far as possible in the other direction to lower the mercury reservoir below the tip. Generally, mercury will flow back into its reservoir spontaneously, pulling the sample into the pipet behind it. If tilting does not start the flow, the momentary application of a slight vacuum to the reservoir will start it. The aspirator bulb or a house vacuum hose may be used for this purpose. When the sample has a high vapor pressure, the application of too high a vacuum to the mercury reservoir will cause the formation of vapor bubbles in the pipet. One or two small bubbles do not affect the results, but their appearance can be minimized by reducing the pressure an amount just sufficient to start the flow. The vacuum hose or aspirator bulb should then be immediately removed. If vaporization in the pipet exceeds a few small bubbles, chill the pipet before transferring the sample to the apparatus. Chill by filling the pipet with mercury to its tip, applying the thumb of one hand to the tip and the index finger of the other hand to the bulb side arm, and immersing the top three quarters of the pipet in an inverted position in the ice bath used to chill the samples. The pipet should then be quickly wiped dry and filled with sample. Never, under any circumstances, allow water to enter the pipet with the sample.

A2.5.4.4 Remove the filled pipet from the sample container and immediately insert the tip into the bulb-orifice mercury reservoir to a point close to the orifice. Then, in one smooth motion, remove the plug from the orifice and gently insert the tip of the pipet in its place (Note A5). Atmospheric pressure will push the sample into the evacuated bulb. Transfer is complete when mercury from the pipet starts to follow the sample into the bulb. At this point, remove the pipet and replace the plug in the orifice. When the vapor pressure of the sample is so high that the bulb vacuum is insufficient to complete the sample transfer, complete the transfer by applying air pressure to the side arm of the pipet either with the aspirator bulb or an air-pressure line.

NOTE A3—Before reuse, rinse the pipet twice with acetone and dry by attaching a vacuum hose to the side arm with the pipet in a hanging position.

NOTE A4—The currently available commercial instrument is supplied with a pipet and pipet filler. As the sample is introduced into the instrument with this pipet, mercury from the orifice reservoir is drawn into the pipet behind it. This pipet may be used in place of the one described in Note A3 for samples of 12-lb Reid vapor pressure (82.7 kPa) or less. Before reuse, the pipet and its filler shall be rinsed with acetone and dried.

NOTE A5—Introduction of the sample requires slow deliberate motions and a relatively gentle touch. Speed is not required; it can only cause damage to the pipet or the bulb orifice. Note that the pipet tip can be introduced into the mercury pool almost all the way down to the orifice before the plug is removed. Thus, the pipet may be substituted for the

plug and the plug for the pipet with easy slow motions and without undue lapse of time. Keep in mind that the excess mercury is readily removed and that excess mercury having been in the bulb will in no way affect the results obtained. If the sample does not transfer properly, do not apply heavy pressure to the pipet in the orifice seat. This may very well break the pipet tip or orifice seat. Failure to transfer is almost invariably caused by a plugged orifice or pipet tip.

A2.5.5 Leveling Mercury After Sample Introduction—It is extremely important when the manometer system is being adjusted to balance the pressure of the sample, that the mercury level in the bulb side arm not be permitted to drop more than 3 mm from mark A , Fig. A1. If the mercury is allowed to drop much below this level, the evaporation of the hydrocarbon mixture may be increased beyond that required for equilibrium at the specified V/L . The consequent recompression to the required V/L will require the system be kept in balance for considerably longer periods to reach final equilibrium.

A2.5.6 Measuring Final Bulb Pressure—Measure the final bulb pressure as follows:

A2.5.6.1 Raise the mercury level in the bottom leg of the bulb exactly to mark B , Fig. A1, by carefully lifting the plug and letting a little mercury drop through the orifice. Again, overfilling above mark B can be corrected by drawing off the excess mercury above B through the slightly cracked valve V_3 into the pumping system trap.

A2.5.6.2 Crack needle valve V_1 until the mercury level just begins to fall slowly away from mark A ; then immediately compensate for this drop by raising the leveling device. Keep the mercury level within 2 to 3 mm of mark A until the balance is reached. Finally, open V_1 until it does not seriously restrict the mercury flow, and adjust the level exactly to mark A .

A2.5.6.3 Check the jacket temperature; the final reading shall not be made unless the jacket temperature is stabilized within the prescribed limits. Allow the stabilized system to remain undisturbed for a minimum of 2 min and again adjust the mercury level to mark A .

A2.5.6.4 Read to the nearest mm and record the mercury level in the manometer.

A2.5.7 Preparing Apparatus for Next Sample—Prepare the apparatus for the next sample as follows:

A2.5.7.1 Close valve V_2 .

A2.5.7.2 Put the vacuum breaker in the orifice in place of the plug.

A2.5.7.3 Open valve V_3 allowing the sample to drain into the beaker.

A2.5.7.4 If the previous sample had a low vapor pressure, such as that of a jet fuel, the bulb shall be

flushed with precipitation naphtha or an equivalent light solvent. Flushing is accomplished by drawing the precipitation naphtha into the bulb using the manometer system as a Topley pump. Where the sample is drawn through the vacuum trap the flushing must be accomplished by introducing the precipitation naphtha through the bulb orifice. Replace the vacuum breaker with the plug and then apply the vacuum hose to the drain line of the bulb. Leave the vacuum hose on the drain line.

A2.5.7.5 Lower the mercury-leveling bulb to about 760 mm below fiducial mark A . Open V_1 slowly, lowering mercury to the top of the expansion bulb in the manometer line. Then close V_1 again. In two-bulb systems, such as shown in Fig. A1 alternate use of the bulb is recommended.

A2.6 Cleaning Techniques:

A2.6.1 Cleaning Micromethod Vapor Pressure (MVP) Bulbs—At least once a day flush the bulb with acetone and dry by applying a vacuum thereto. With long usage, the micromethod vapor pressure bulbs will accumulate deposits in their jackets, in sample chambers and, particularly, in the mercury reservoirs. These last deposits can cause clogging of the orifice. Periodically the micromethod vapor pressure bulbs should be removed from the apparatus and thoroughly cleaned with nitric acid.

NOTE A6—Do not use chromic acid to clean parts that may contain traces of mercury or mercury compounds as dark insoluble deposits will result.

A2.6.2 Suggestions for Minimizing Dirt Problems.

A2.6.2.1 Only the cleanest mercury should be used in the instrument. Even newly purchased mercury from a sealed bottle will quite often be found to have a black scum. It is essential that mercury-cleaning apparatus be available in the laboratory.

A2.6.2.2 Even new micromethod vapor pressure bulbs and pipets should be acid-cleaned and dried before installation. If the pipet has a plastic tip, the tip should be removed during acid wash.

A2.6.2.3 The circulating bath should be filled with distilled water. Vinyl tubing is preferred for water connections.

A2.6.2.4 Dust will accumulate on the surface of the mercury in the bulb reservoirs. Therefore, never let all the mercury in the reservoir pass through the orifice; keep the mercury level high.

A2.6.2.5 Keep the external surfaces of the pipets, plugs, and vacuum breakers clean by wiping periodically with lint-free tissue. If this is not done, they will gradually accumulate a dark scum which can cause plugging of the orifice.

*Tygon has been found satisfactory for this purpose

A3. MEECO APPARATUS FOR VAPOR PRESSURE BY MICROMETHOD

A3.1 Apparatus:

A3.1.1 Vapor Pressure Apparatus—The apparatus shall consist of a water-jacketed vapor pressure bulb (Fig. A3), sample charging tube (Fig. A6), mercury leveling reservoir (Fig. A7), and O-ring adapters (Fig.

A8) for connections at needle metering valve A and valve B . Assemble the apparatus as shown schematically in Fig. A4, connecting the vapor pressure bulb side arm to the mercury leveling reservoir by means of a suitable length of heavy wall rubber tubing

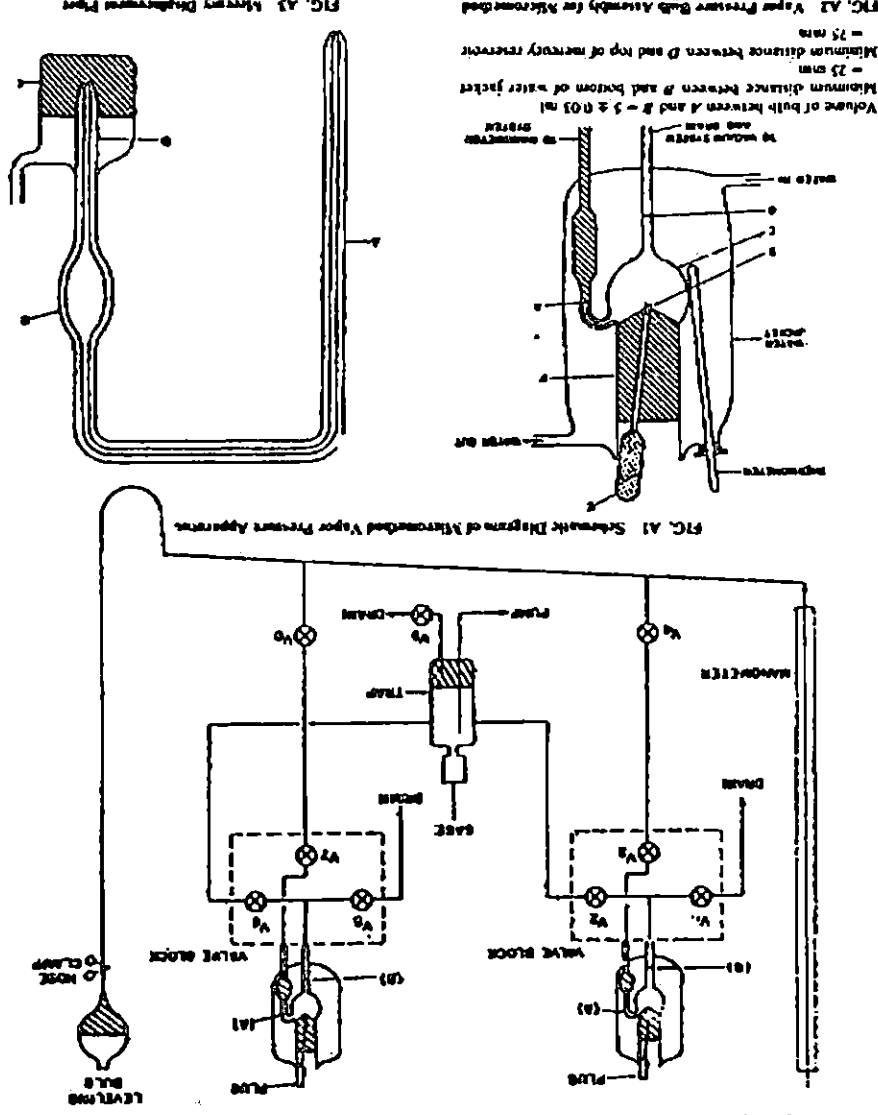


FIG. A2 Vapor Pressure Sub-Assembly for Altitude

NOTE A8--Solvent shall be prepared by mixing equal volumes of acetone and light naphtha.

A3.23 Preparing Apparatus for Next Sample

Clean and order allowing the second portion of sample to be discarded to the drain. (Note: Clean value A .)

A3.23.2 Clean the vapor pressure bulb by washing with two 15-ml portions of solvent (Note A), adding the solvent through the sample charging tube and value A . Dry the sample charging tube, wiring a hexose vacuum, by keeping value A open after introducing

means of a dipole or the above mentioned fit valve. Avoid two additional Hoke valves to conform to the piping arrangement shown in Fig. A4. Make connections from these latter two valves in triplicate to the vacuum pump and to the distillate suitable lengths of heavy wall tubing.

A3.2 Procedure

A3.2.1 Degas the Vacuum System

A3.2.1.1 Turn on the circulating water pump and adjust the water bath temperature such that the temperature in the jacket surrounding the vapor pressure bulb is $\pm 0.1^\circ\text{C}$ ($\pm 0.05^\circ\text{C}$) of the specified temperature.

A3.2.1.2 Open valves A, B, C, D, and E. Raise the mercury level in the reservoir until the mercury leveling reservoir is at the same level as the manometer bulb. Close valve E, and C. Turn the vacuum pump and evacuate the system until a pressure of 0.5 mm (500 μm) or less is indicated on the Zimmerman gage.

A3.2.1.3 Lower the mercury leveling reservoir distance approximately equal to the prevailing barometric pressure. Open valve E and adjust the mercury level to the graduation mark on the manometer side of the meter neck opposite the mercury level mark of the vapor pressure bulb. Position the zero level to the graduation mark on the manometer side of the meter neck opposite the mercury level mark of the vapor pressure bulb. Close valve B.

A3.2.1.4 After a 2-min period the pressure as measured by the manometer does not change more than 0.5 mm (57 Pa) close valves E and D and recover the manometer reading as the initial manometer reading in millimeters of mercury.

A3.2.2 Densifying Vapor Pressure

A3.2.2.1 Chill the sample tubing to a temperature of $30 \pm 5^\circ\text{C}$ ($10 \pm 5^\circ\text{C}$) by circulating a refrigerated coolant through its surrounding jacket.

A3.2.2.2 Remove the chilled sample container from the cooling bath and insert the previously chilled transfer connection and air tube. Fill the cooled sample changing tube to its upper fiducial mark while maintaining the end of the transfer connection within 0.25 in. (6.4 mm) of the bottom of the sample changing tube.

A3.2.2.3 Introduce the volume of sample between the fiducial marks into the vapor pressure bulb with the aid of valve A.

A3.2.2.4 Allow 7 min for the vapor pressure to come to equilibrium. Raise the mercury leveling reservoir to the highest point on the manometer. Open valve E. Lower the mercury leveling reservoir to adjust the mercury level to the graduation mark on the manometer side arm of the vapor pressure bulb. Record the mercury level on the manometer as the final manometer reading in millimeters of mercury.

Valve Type DR32K, Catalog No. 30355 is obtainable from Hoke, Inc., 1 Teasell Park, Cincinnati, N. J.

A stainless steel, mercury resistant type, N. J. Hoke Co., 5130 Ridge Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 19128 has been found satisfactory for this purpose.

Obtainable from Hoke, Inc., 1 Teasell Park, Cincinnati, N. J., Catalog No. 30355, Type R32K.

Obtainable from Fisher Scientific Co., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15223.

[illegible]

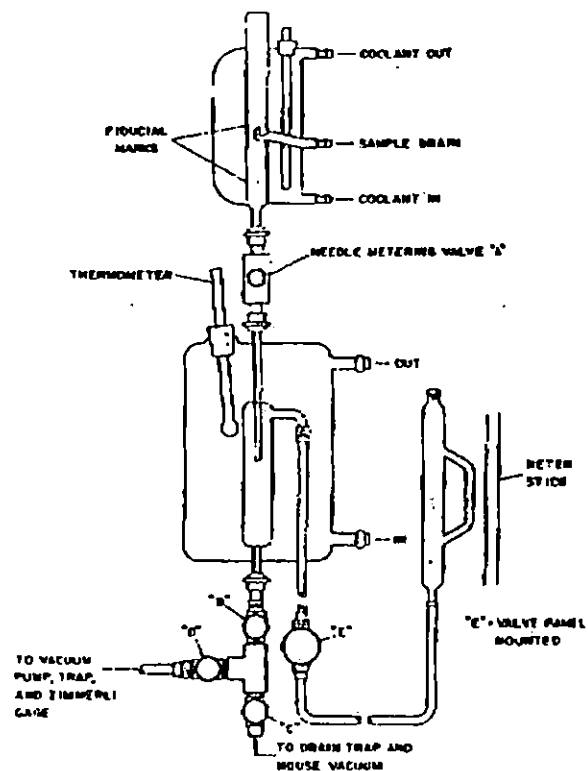


FIG. A4 Assembly of Micro Pressure Apparatus

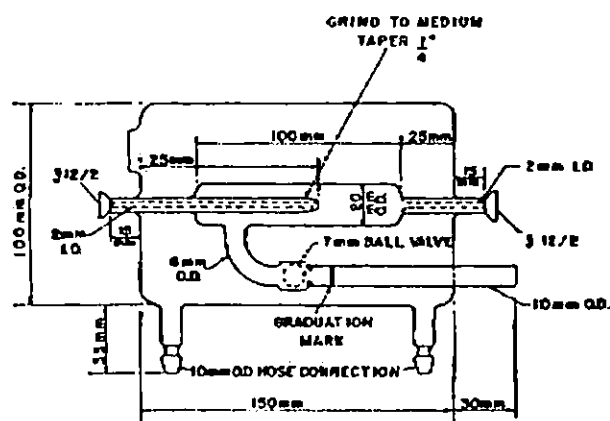
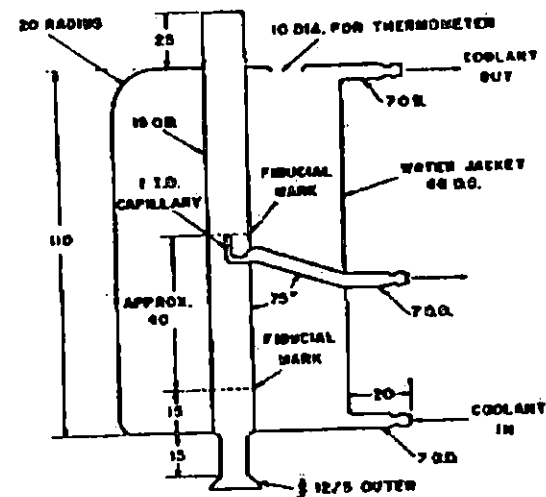
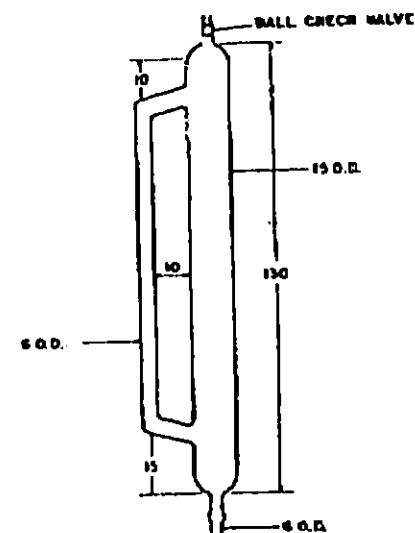


FIG. A5 Water-Jacketed Inner Tube



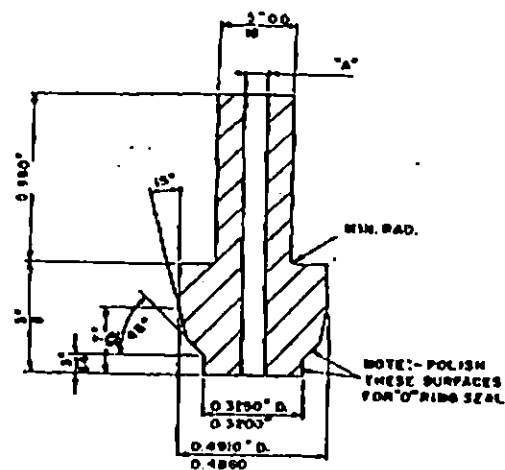
NOTE—All dimensions in millimetres.

FIG. A6 Sample Charging Tube



NOTE—All dimensions in millimetres.

FIG. A7 Mercury Leveling Reservoir



Part A
0.079 in (2.01 mm) ID
0.197 in (5.00 mm) ID

Material
304 Stainless Steel
304 Stainless Steel

No. Req'd
2
1

Metric Equivalents

in.	mm	1.79	5.34	7.64	0.3750	0.3750	0.4800	0.4800	0.500
mm		45.7	136.8	194.0	9.525	9.525	12.19	12.19	12.7

FIG. A8 C-Clamp Adapter

The American Society for Testing and Materials takes no position respecting the validity of any patent rights asserted in connection with any item mentioned in this standard. Users of this standard are expressly advised that determination of the validity of any such patent rights, and the risk of infringement of such rights, are entirely their own responsibility.

This standard is subject to revision at any time by the responsible technical committee and must be reviewed every five years and if not revised, either reapproved or withdrawn. Your comments are invited either for revision of this standard or for additional standards and should be addressed to ASTM Headquarters. Your comments will receive careful consideration in a hearing of the responsible technical committee, which you may attend. If you feel that your comments have not received a fair hearing you should make your views known to the ASTM Committee on Standards, 1916 Race St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19103, which will schedule a further hearing regarding your comments. Failing satisfaction there, you may appeal to the ASTM Board of Directors.



Designation: D 86 - 82¹²



Designation: 123/84

An American National Standard
American Association State
Highway and Transportation Officials Standard
AASHTO No. T 115-801
British Standard 4349

Standard Method for Distillation of Petroleum Products¹

This standard is issued under the fixed designation D 86; the number immediately following the designation indicates the year of original adoption or, in the case of revision, the year of last revision. A number in parentheses indicates the year of last reapproval. A superscript epsilon (ϵ) indicates an editorial change since the last revision or reapproval. This is also a Standard of the Institute of Petroleum issued under the fixed designation IP 123. The final number indicates the year of last revision.

This method was adopted as a joint ASTM-IP standard in 1964.

This method has been adopted for use by government agencies in replace Method 1001 of Federal Test Method Standard No. 791b.

¹ NOTE 1—Editorial correction was made in Table A1.1 in September 1986.

¹² NOTE 2—The position of Fig. 1 was corrected editorially in July 1988.

1. Scope

1.1 This method covers the distillation of motor gasolines, aviation gasolines, aviation turbine fuels, special boiling point spirits, naphthas, white spirit, kerosines, gas oils, distillate fuel oils, and similar petroleum products.

NOTE 1—The values stated in inch-pound units are to be regarded as the standard.

NOTE 2—For the distillation of natural gasoline, see ASTM Method D 216, Distillation of Natural Gasoline (IP Designation: 191).² For the distillation of volatile organic liquids or relatively pure solvents, see ASTM Method D 1078, Distillation Range of Volatile Organic Liquids.³

NOTE 3—For the distillation of aviation turbine fuels and other products of such wide boiling range that the low distillation thermometer specified in Group 3 of Table 1 is inadequate, this method may be applied by substituting the high-distillation thermometer, together with the other test conditions specified in Group 3 (see 10.3).

2. Referenced Documents

2.1 ASTM Standards:

E 1 Specification for ASTM Thermometers⁴

E 77 Method for Inspection and Verification of Liquid-in-Glass Thermometers³

E 133 Specification for Distillation Equipment⁴

3. Summary of Method

3.1 A 100-ml sample is distilled under prescribed conditions which are appropriate to its nature (Table 1). Systematic observations of thermometer readings and volumes of

condensate are made, and from these data, the results of the test are calculated and reported.

4. Significance

4.1 Distillation (volatility) characteristics of petroleum products are indicative of performance in their intended applications. Petroleum product specifications generally include distillation limits to assure products of suitable volatility performance.

4.2 The empirical results obtained by use of this distillation method have been found to correlate with automotive equipment performance factors and with other characteristics of petroleum products related to volatility.

5. Definitions

5.1 *initial boiling point*—the thermometer reading that is observed at the instant that the first drop of condensate falls from the lower end of the condenser tube.

5.2 *end point or final boiling point*—the maximum thermometer reading obtained during the test. This usually occurs after the evaporation of all liquid from the bottom of the flask. The term "maximum temperature" is a frequently used synonym.

5.3 *dry point*—the thermometer reading that is observed at the instant the last drop of liquid evaporates from the lowest point in the flask. Any drops or film of liquid on the side of the flask or on the thermometer are disregarded.

NOTE 4—The end point (final boiling point), rather than the dry point, is intended for general use. The dry point may be reported in connection with special purpose naphthas, such as used in the paint industry. Also, it should be substituted for the end point (final boiling point) whenever the sample is of such a nature that the precision of the end point (final boiling point) cannot consistently meet the requirements given in Section 11.

5.4 *decomposition point*—the thermometer reading that coincides with the first indications of thermal decomposition of the liquid in the flask.

NOTE 5—Characteristic indications of thermal decomposition are an evolution of fumes, and erratic thermometer readings which usually

¹ This method is under the jurisdiction of ASTM Committee D-2 on Petroleum Products and Lubricants.

In the IP, this method is under the jurisdiction of the Standardization Committee.

Current edition approved Aug. 27, 1982. Published October 1982. Originally published as D 86 - 21. Last previous edition D 86 - 78.

² Annual Book of ASTM Standards, Vol 03.01.

³ Annual Book of ASTM Standards, Vol 06.03.

⁴ Annual Book of ASTM Standards, Vols 03.03 and 14.03.

⁵ Annual Book of ASTM Standards, Vol 14.03.

show a decided decrease after any attempt is made to adjust the heat.

5.5 percent recovered—the volume in millilitres of condensate observed in the receiving graduate, in connection with a simultaneous thermometer reading.

5.6 percent recovery—the maximum percent recovered, as observed in accordance with 9.7.

5.7 percent total recovery—the combined percent recovery and residue in the flask, as observed in accordance with 9.8.

5.8 percent loss—100 minus the percent total recovery.

5.9 percent residue—the percent total recovery minus the percent recovery, or the volume of residue in millilitres if measured directly.

5.10 percent evaporated—the sum of the percent recovered and the percent loss.

6. Apparatus

6.1 All of the section and figure reference numbers in 6.1.1 through 6.1.7 refer to Specification E 133, the standard to which all the items listed shall conform.

6.1.1 **Flask**—Flask B, as shown in Fig. 3.

6.1.2 **Condenser and Cooling Bath**—Section 4; Figs. 1 and 2.

6.1.3 **Shield**—Section 5; Figs. 1 and 2.

6.1.4 **Heater**—Section 6; Figs. 1 and 2.

6.1.5 **Flask Support**—Table 2 (Specification E 133), boards B or C.

6.1.6 **Graduated Cylinder**—Section 8; Graduate B, 100 ml, as shown in Fig. 4.

6.1.7 Thermometer—Section 9. ASTM Thermometers 7F (7C) and 8F (8C) or IP Thermometers 5C (low distillation) and 6C (high distillation) conforming to the IP Specifications for Standard Thermometers. Under certain test conditions the bulb of the thermometer may be 50°F (28°C) above the temperature indicated, and at an indicated temperature of 700°F (371°C) the temperature of the bulb is approaching a critical range in the glass. Thermometers that have been exposed to such conditions should not be reused without checking their ice point to verify calibration as prescribed in Specification E 1 and Method E 77.

NOTE 6—Data have been obtained that indicate that the Precision-Shell Automatic Distillation Apparatus is capable of giving test results that correspond in level and precision with those obtained by the manual procedures of this method, when the apparatus has been calibrated according to instructions supplied by the manufacturer. A condensed summary of these supporting data is given in Appendix X1.

7. Sample

7.1 In the case of any product having a Reid vapor pressure of 9.5 psi (65.5 kPa) or higher, cool the sample bottle to the temperature range indicated in Table 1 for measuring the distillation charge. Collect the sample in the previously cooled bottle, preferably by immersing the bottle in the liquid, where possible, and discarding the first sample. Where immersion is not possible, the sample shall be drawn off into the previously cooled bottle in such a manner that agitation is kept at a minimum. Close the bottle immediately with a tight-fitting stopper, and place it in an ice bath or refrigerator capable of maintaining the sample at a tempera-

TABLE 1 Test Conditions

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
Sample characteristics:				
Vapor pressure at 100°F, in (ASTM D 323, ^a IP 69 or IP 171)	9.5 or above	below 9.5	below 9.5	below 9.5
Distillation				
Initial boiling point, °F (°C)	...	...	212 (100) or below	above 212 (100)
End point, °F (°C)	482 (250) or below	482 (250) or below	above 482 (250)	above 482 (250)
Preparation of apparatus:				
ASTM Distillation Thermometer No.	low; 7F (7C)	low; 7F (7C)	low; 7F (7C)	high; 8F (8C)
IP Distillation Thermometer No.	5C	5C	5C	6C
Diameter of hole in flask support, in. (mm) ^c	1.5 (37.5)	1.5 (37.5)	2.0 (50)	2.0 (50)
Temperature at start of test:				
Flask and thermometer, °F (°C)	55 to 65 (13 to 18)	55 to 65 (13 to 18)	55 to 65 (13 to 18)	not above ambient
Flask support and shield	not above ambient	not above ambient	not above ambient	...
Graduate and 100-ml charge, °F (°C)	55 to 65 (13 to 18)	55 to 65 (13 to 18)	55 to 65 (13 to 18)	55 (13) to ambient
Flask (Section 6.1)	B (125 ml)	B (125 ml)	B (125 ml)	B (125 ml)
Conditions during test procedure:				
Temperature of condenser bath, °F (°C)	32 to 34 (0 to 1)	32 to 40 (0 to 4)	32 to 40 (0 to 4)	32 to 140° (0 to 60)
Temperature of bath around graduate, °F (°C)	55 to 65 (13 to 18)	55 to 65 (13 to 18)	55 to 65 (13 to 18)	within ±5 (±3) of temperature of distillation charge
Time from first application of heat to initial boiling point, min	5 to 10	5 to 10	5 to 10	5 to 15
Time from initial boiling point to 5 % recovered, s	60 to 75	60 to 75	...	...
Uniform average rate of condensation from 5 % recovered to 5-ml residue in flask, ml/min	4 to 5	4 to 5	4 to 5	4 to 5
Time from 5-ml residue to end point, min	3 to 5	3 to 5	5 max	5 max

^a ASTM Method D 323, Test for Vapor Pressure of Petroleum Products (Reid Method).²

^b As determined under all test conditions of the group concerned.

^c The Institute of Petroleum specifies a 2-in. opening for the flask support board. Hole diameters are to be reviewed.

^d The proper condenser bath temperature will depend upon the wax content of the sample and of its distillation fractions. The minimum temperature which permits satisfactory operation should be used. In general, a bath temperature in the 32 to 40°F (0 to 4°C) range is suitable for kerosine and products meeting the specifications for Grade No. 1 fuel oil as prescribed in ASTM Specifications D 396, for Fuel Oils,² and those meeting the specifications for Grade No. 1-D diesel fuel oil as prescribed in ASTM Classification D 975, Classification of Diesel Fuel Oils.² In some cases involving Grade No. 2 fuel oil (Specifications D 396), Grade No. 2-D diesel fuel oil (Classification D 975), gas oils and similar distillates, it may be necessary to hold the condenser bath temperature at some point in the 100 to 140°F (38 to 60°C) range, in order to avoid the condensation of solid waxy material in the condenser tube.

ture not to exceed 60°F (15°C).

7.2 Samples of materials that visibly contain water are not suitable for testing. If the sample is not dry, and the initial boiling point is below 150°F (66°C), obtain another sample which is free from suspended water for the test. If the initial boiling point is above 150°F (66°C), shake the sample with anhydrous sodium sulfate or other suitable drying agent and separate it from the drying agent by decanting.

8. Preparation of Apparatus

8.1 Refer to Table 1 and select the flask, flask support, and thermometer, which are required by the sample to be tested. Bring the respective temperatures of the flask, thermometer, graduate, flask support, and shield to their required values for starting the test.

8.2 Fill the condenser box to cover the condenser tube with any nonflammable coolant which is suitable for the temperature required by Table 1, such as chopped ice, water, brine, or ethylene glycol solution. If chopped ice is used, add sufficient water to cover the condenser tube. If necessary, make any suitable provision, such as circulation, stirring, or air blowing, so as to maintain the required condenser bath temperature throughout the test. Similarly, make any necessary provision so that the temperature of the bath around the graduate will remain within the limits required in Table 1.

8.3 Remove any residual liquid in the condenser tube by swabbing with a piece of soft, lint-free cloth attached to a cord or copper wire.

8.4 Bring the temperature of the sample within the range prescribed in Table 1. Measure 100 ml of the sample in the graduated cylinder and transfer it as completely as practicable to the distillation flask, taking care that none of the liquid flows into the vapor tube.

8.5 Fit the thermometer, provided with a snug-fitting, well-rolled cork, tightly into the neck of the flask so that the bulb is centered in the neck and the lower end of the capillary is level with the highest point on the bottom of the inner wall of the vapor tube (see Fig. 1).

8.6 Place the flask containing the charge in its support; and by means of a cork through which the vapor tube has been passed, make a tight connection with the condenser tube. Adjust the flask so that it is in a vertical position, and so that the vapor tube extends into the condenser tube for a distance of 1 to 2 in. (25 to 50 mm).

8.7 Place the graduate that was used to measure the charge, without drying, into its bath under the lower end of the condenser tube so that the end of the condenser tube is centered in the graduate and extends therein for a distance of at least 1 in. (25 mm), but not below the 100-ml mark. Cover the graduate closely with a piece of blotting paper, or similar material, suitably weighted, which has been cut to fit the condenser tube snugly. Maintain the level of the bath around the graduate so that it is at least as high as the 100-ml mark.

8.8 Note and record the prevailing barometric pressure, and proceed at once with the distillation, as given in Section 9.

9. Procedure

9.1 Apply heat to the distillation flask and contents. The heating at this stage must be so regulated that the time interval between the first application of heat and the initial boiling point does not exceed the limit as prescribed in Table 1.

9.2 Immediately after observing the initial boiling point, move the graduate so that the tip of the condenser touches its inner wall. Continue to regulate the heating so that the rate of condensation into the graduate shall be uniform and within the limits prescribed in Table 1. Repeat any distillation which did not meet the foregoing conditions.

9.3 In the interval between the initial boiling point and the end of the distillation, observe and record whatever data are necessary for the calculation and reporting of the results of the test as prescribed in Section 10. These observed data may include thermometer readings at prescribed percentages recovered, or percentages recovered at prescribed thermometer readings, or both. Record all volumes in the graduate to

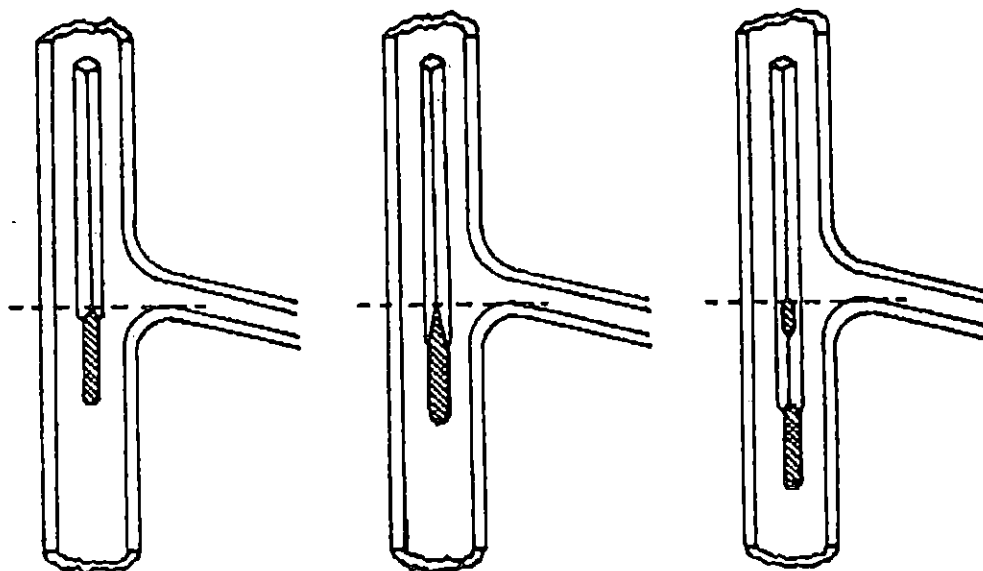


FIG. 1 Position of Thermometer in Distillation Flask

the nearest 0.5 ml and all thermometer readings to the nearest 1.0°F (0.5°C).

NOTE 7—In cases in which no specific data requirements have been indicated, record the initial boiling point, the end point (final boiling point) or dry point, or both, and thermometer readings at 5 % and 95 % recovered and at each multiple of 10 % recovered from 10 to 90, inclusive.

9.4 If a decomposition point is observed, discontinue the heating and resume the procedure as directed in 9.7. Otherwise, proceed as directed in 9.5.

9.5 When the residual liquid in the flask is approximately 5 ml, make a final adjustment of the heat, if necessary, so that the time from the 5 ml of liquid residue in the flask to the end point (final boiling point) shall meet the requirements given in Table 1. If this condition is not satisfied, repeat the test, with appropriate modification of the final heat adjustment.

9.6 Observe and record the end point (final boiling point) or dry point, or both, as required, and discontinue the heating. At the end point (final boiling point), observe if all the liquid has evaporated from the bottom of the flask. If not, include a note of this fact in the report as prescribed in Section 10.

9.7 While the condenser tube continues to drain into the graduate, observe the volume of condensate at 2-min intervals until two successive observations agree. Measure this volume accurately, and record it, to the nearest 0.5 ml, as percent recovery. If the distillation was previously discontinued under the conditions given in 9.4, deduct the percent recovery from 100, report this difference as "Percent Residue and Loss," and omit the procedure given in 9.8 and 9.9.

9.8 After the flask has cooled, pour its contents into the condensate in the graduate and allow to drain until no appreciable increase in the volume of liquid in the graduate is observed. Record this volume, to the nearest 0.5 ml as percent total recovery.

TABLE 2 Approximate Corrected Thermometer Readings

Temperature Range		Correction ^a per 10-mm Difference in Pressure	
°C	°F	°C	°F
10 to 30	50 to 86	0.35	0.63
30 to 50	86 to 122	0.38	0.68
50 to 70	122 to 158	0.40	0.72
70 to 90	158 to 194	0.42	0.76
90 to 110	194 to 230	0.45	0.81
110 to 130	230 to 266	0.47	0.85
130 to 150	266 to 302	0.50	0.89
150 to 170	302 to 338	0.52	0.94
170 to 190	338 to 374	0.54	0.98
190 to 210	374 to 410	0.57	1.02
210 to 230	410 to 446	0.59	1.06
230 to 250	446 to 482	0.62	1.11
250 to 270	482 to 518	0.64	1.15
270 to 290	518 to 554	0.66	1.19
290 to 310	554 to 590	0.69	1.24
310 to 330	590 to 626	0.71	1.28
330 to 350	626 to 662	0.74	1.32
350 to 370	662 to 698	0.76	1.37
370 to 390	698 to 734	0.78	1.41
390 to 410	734 to 770	0.81	1.45

^a To be added in case barometric pressure is below 760 mm Hg; to be subtracted in case barometric pressure is above 760 mm Hg.

TABLE 3 Values of the Constants "A" and "B" Used in Obtaining Corrected Distillation Loss

Observed Barometric Pressure, mm	A	B
560	0.231	0.384
570	0.240	0.380
580	0.250	0.375
590	0.261	0.369
600	0.273	0.363
610	0.286	0.357
620	0.300	0.350
630	0.316	0.342
640	0.333	0.333
650	0.353	0.323
660	0.375	0.312
670	0.400	0.300
680	0.428	0.286
690	0.461	0.269
700	0.500	0.250
710	0.545	0.227
720	0.600	0.200
730	0.667	0.166
740	0.750	0.125
750	0.857	0.071
760	1.000	0.000

9.9 Deduct the percent total recovery from 100 to obtain the percent loss.

10. Calculations and Report

10.1 For each test, calculate and report whatever data are required by the specification involved, or as customarily established for the sample under test, or in accordance with Note 7.

10.2 Report all percentages to the nearest 0.5, all thermometer readings to the nearest 1.0°F (0.5°C), and the barometric pressure to the nearest 1 mm.

10.3 When ASTM Thermometer 8F (8C) or IP Thermometer 6C is used in testing aviation turbine fuels and similar products, pertinent thermometer readings may be obscured by the cork. To provide the desired data, a second distillation according to Group 3 of Table 1 may have been performed. In such cases, readings from ASTM Thermometer 7F (7C) or IP Thermometer 5C may be reported in place of the obscured ASTM Thermometer 8F (8C) or IP Thermometer 6C readings, and the test report shall so indicate. If, by agreement, the obscured readings are waived, the test report shall so indicate.

10.4 When the report is to be based on thermometer readings corrected to 760-mm Hg barometric pressure (Note

TABLE 4 Repeatability and Reproducibility

Evaporated Point	Repeatability, r	Reproducibility, R
IBP	6	10
5 %	$r_0 + 1.2$	$R_0 + 2.0$
10-60 %	r_0	R_0
90 %	r_0	$R_0 - 2.2$
95 %	r_0	$R_0 - 1.7$
FBP	7	13

As an example, suppose we want the repeatability, r , and the reproducibility, R , for the 90 % point when $^{\circ}F/V\%$ = 6. From the graph

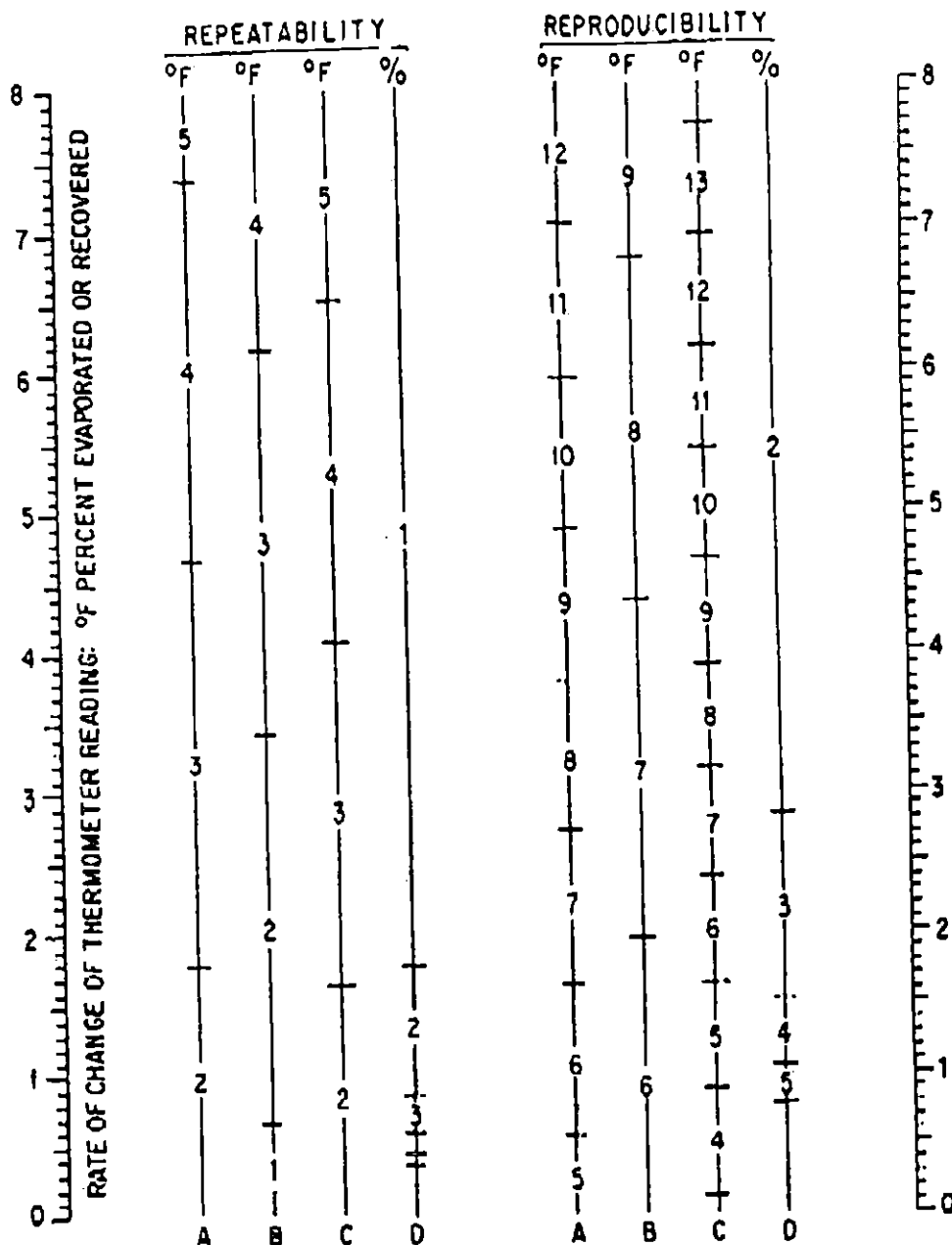
$$r_0 = 7.4$$

$$R_0 = 14.0$$

Using the table, we determine if there is an offset and whether it is added or subtracted.

$$r = r_0 - 7.4 = 7$$

$$R = R_0 - 2.2 = 14.0 - 2.2 = 11.8 \approx 12$$



A—Initial boiling point, °F (see footnote 8)
 B—End point (final boiling point) or dry point, °F (see footnote 8)
 C—Thermometer reading at prescribed percent evaporated or recovered, °F
 D—Percent evaporated or recovered at prescribed thermometer reading

FIG. 2 Precision of Distillation ASTM Method D 86 - IP 123 (Fahrenheit) (See Section 11)

8), obtain the correction to be applied to each thermometer reading by means of the Sydney Young equation as given below, or by the use of Table 2. After applying the corrections and rounding each result to the nearest 1.0°F (0.5°C), use the corrected thermometer readings in all further calculations and reporting.

For Celsius readings:

$$C_i = 0.00012 (760 - P)X273 + t_i$$

For Fahrenheit readings:

$$C_j = 0.00012 (760 - P)X460 + t_j$$

where:

C_i and C_j = corrections to be added algebraically to the observed thermometer readings t_i or t_j respectively. Convenient approximations of these corrections are given in Table 2, and
 P = barometric pressure, mmHg, prevailing at the time of the test.

NOTE 8—Thermometer readings shall be corrected to 760-mm Hg pressure except when product definitions, specifications, or agreements between the purchaser and the seller indicate, specifically, that such correction is not required or that correction shall be made to some other base pressure. The report shall include the observed pressure and shall

state whether corrections have or have not been applied.

10.5 After barometric corrections of the thermometer readings have been made, if required, the following data require no further calculation prior to reporting: initial boiling point, dry point, end point (final boiling point), decomposition point, and all pairs of corresponding values involving percentages recovered and thermometer readings. Percent loss and percent residue are calculated in accordance with their respective definitions as set forth in 5.8 and 5.9.

10.6 It is advisable to base the report on relationships between thermometer readings and percentages evaporated

in any case in which the sample is a gasoline, or any other product classed under Group 1 in Table 1, or in which the percent loss is greater than 2.0. Otherwise, the report may be based on relationships between thermometer readings and percentages evaporated or recovered. Every report must indicate clearly which basis has been used.

10.7 To report percentages evaporated at prescribed thermometer readings, add the percent loss to each of the observed percentages recovered at the prescribed thermometer readings, and report these results as the respective percentages evaporated.

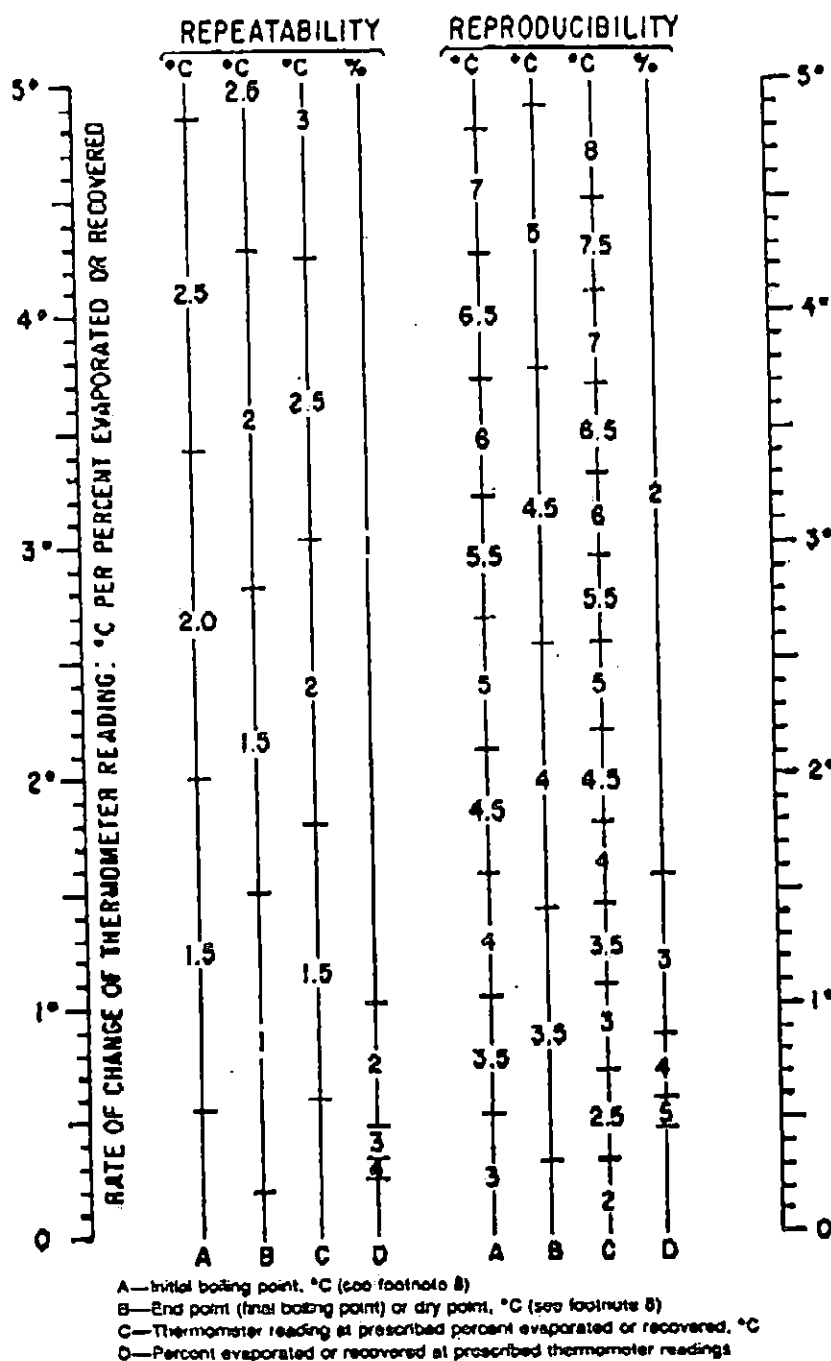


FIG. 3 Precision of Distillation ASTM Method D 86 - IP 123 (Celsius) (See Section 11)

ther
the
be
and
just

ter-
the
om-
tive

10.8 To report thermometer readings at prescribed percentages evaporated, use either of the two following procedures, and indicate on the report whether the graphical procedure or the arithmetical procedure has been used.

10.8.1 *Graphical Procedure*—Using graph paper with uniform subdivisions, plot each thermometer reading (corrected for barometric pressure, if required) against its corresponding percent recovered. Plot the initial boiling point at 0% recovered. Draw a smooth curve connecting the points. For each prescribed percent evaporated, deduct the distillation loss, in order to obtain the corresponding percent recovered, and take from the graph the thermometer reading which this percent recovered indicates (Note 9). Values obtained by graphical interpolation procedures are affected by the care with which the plot is made.

10.8.2 *Arithmetical Procedure*—Deduct the distillation loss from each prescribed percentage evaporated in order to obtain the corresponding percentage recovered. Calculate each required thermometer reading as follows:

$$T = T_L + \frac{(T_H - T_L)(R - R_L)}{(R_H - R_L)}$$

where:

T = thermometer reading at the prescribed percent evaporated.

R = percent recovered corresponding to the prescribed percent evaporated.

R_H = percent recovered adjacent to, and higher than R , at which a thermometer reading " T_H " was noted, and

R_L = percent recovered adjacent to, and lower than R , at which a thermometer reading " T_L " was noted.

NOTE 9—Values obtained by the arithmetical procedure are affected by the extent to which the distillation graph is nonlinear. Intervals between successive data points must, at any stage of the test, be at least as narrow as indicated in Note 7. In no case shall a calculation be made which involves extrapolation.

NOTE 10—See Appendix X2 for numerical examples illustrating the foregoing graphical and arithmetical procedures.

10.9 If thermometer readings are corrected to 760-mm Hg pressure, the actual loss shall be corrected to 760-mm Hg pressure, according to the equation given below. The corre-

sponding corrected percent recovery is computed on the basis that it is greater than the actual recovery by the same amount as the corrected loss is less than the actual loss. When reporting data, state whether the corrections have or have not been applied.

$$\text{Corrected loss} = AL + B$$

where:

L = percent loss as calculated from test data, and
 A and B = numerical constants, the values of which depend upon the prevailing barometric pressure. These constants are listed in Table 3, in connection with the prevailing pressure.

11. Precision⁶

11.1 The following criteria should be used for judging the acceptability of results (95 % probability):

11.1.1 Duplicate results obtained by the same operator and apparatus should not be considered suspect unless they differ by more than the repeatability which, according to Fig. 2 or 3, is appropriate to the test result obtained and to the rate of change in thermometer reading which prevailed at the stage at which the result was obtained.

11.1.2 The results obtained by each of two laboratories should not be considered suspect unless the two results differ by more than the reproducibility which, according to Fig. 2 or 3, is appropriate to the test result obtained and to the rate of change in thermometer reading which prevailed at the stage at which the result was obtained.

11.1.3 To facilitate the use of Figs. 2 and 3, the rate of change in thermometer reading in degrees Fahrenheit or Celsius per the percentage evaporated or recovered, at any point between the initial boiling point and the end point (final boiling point) or dry point, should be assumed to be the same as the average rate between two data points which are equidistant above and below the point in question. The span from the point in question to either of the other data points should not represent more than 10 % evaporated or recovered in any case, nor more than 5 % if the point in question is not included in the 10 to 90 % range. For the initial boiling point, end point (final boiling point), or dry point, the rate of change should be assumed to be the same as the average rate over an interval, not to exceed 5 % evaporated or recovered, between the extreme point and the next data point above or below it.

11.1.4 In Fig. 2 or 3, it will be noted that the left and right marginal scales, representing the rate of change in thermometer reading, are identical. This is to facilitate the establishing of a horizontal line across the chart and at the required level, which may be done in any convenient manner. Wherever this line intersects the appropriate precision scale, the zone in which such intersection falls will indicate the expected repeatability or reproducibility.

11.1.5 For gasoline and oxygenated gasoline, duplicate results obtained by the same operator and apparatus should

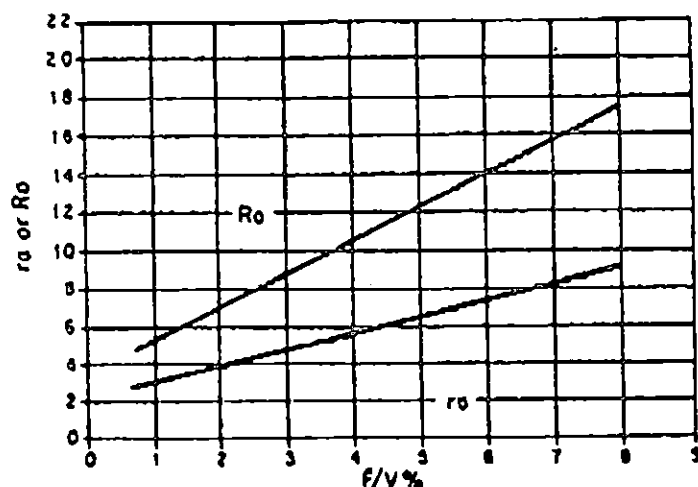


FIG. 4 Repeatability, r and Reproducibility, R . D-85 Manual Method North American and IP Labs

⁶ Precision for this method is under review. Indications are that precision for initial boiling point and end point (final boiling point) or dry point may be indeterminate.

not be considered suspect unless they differ by more than the repeatability which according to Fig. 4 and Table 4 is appropriate to the test result obtained and to the rate of change in thermometer reading which prevailed at the stage at which the result was obtained.

11.1.6 For gasoline and oxygenated gasoline, the results

obtained by each of two laboratories should not be considered suspect unless the two results differ by more than the reproducibility that according to Fig. 4 and Table 4 is appropriate to the test result obtained and to the rate of change in thermometer reading that prevailed at the stage at which the result was obtained.

ANNEXES

(Mandatory Information)

A1. AUTOMATIC DISTILLATION OF PETROLEUM PRODUCTS

A1.1 *Scope*—This test method covers the distillation of motor gasolines, aviation gasolines, aviation turbine fuels, special boiling point spirits, naphthas, white spirit, kerosines, gas oils, distillate fuel oils, and similar petroleum products.

A1.2 *Summary of Method*—A 100-ml sample is distilled in an automatic distillation apparatus under prescribed conditions that are appropriate to its nature (Table A1.1). The automatic apparatus duplicates the distillation conditions that are described in the manual method. The prescribed conditions are selected from the program control offered by the apparatus. A smooth curve of vapor temperature readings versus percent recovered of the condensate are recorded by the apparatus. From this curve corrections must be applied to obtain temperature readings corrected for barometric pressure or on a percent evaporated basis, or both.

A1.3 Definitions:

A1.3.1 *initial boiling point*—the temperature reading recorded at the instant the first drop of condensate falls from the lower end of the condenser tube.

A1.3.2 *end or final boiling point*—the maximum temperature reading recorded at the end of the distillation.

NOTE: A1—An automatic distillation instrument will give either dry point or final boiling point. Should a dry point be required, an optical dry point detector may be fitted and optically clear flasks used. Visual detection in reasonably clear distillation flasks also may be satisfactory.

A1.3.3 *dry point*—the temperature recorded at the instant the last drop of liquid evaporates from the lowest point in the flask.

A1.3.4 *decomposition point*—the temperature recorded which coincides with the first indications of thermal decomposition of the liquid in the flask.

TABLE A1.1 Test Conditions
(These are essentially the same as in Table 1)

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
Sample characteristics:				
Vapor pressure at 100°F, psi (kPa)	9.5 or above (65.5)	below 9.5 (65.5)	below 9.5 (65.5)	below 9.5 (65.5)
ASTM D 323, IP 69-171				
Initial boiling point ^a	...	...	212°F (100°C) or below	above 212°F (100°C)
Distillation				
End (final boiling) point ^c	482°F (250°C) or below	482°F (250°C) or below	above 482°F (250°C)	above 482°F (250°C)
Preparation of apparatus:				
Temperature range selection	32-575°F (0-300°C)	32-575°F (0-300°C)	32-575°F (0-300°C)	32-790°F (0-400°C)
Diameter of hole in flask support, in. (mm)	1.50 (37.5)	1.50 (37.5)	2.0 (50)	2.0 (50)
Temperature at start of test:				
Flask and thermocouple/resistance thermometer	55-65°F (13-18°C)	55-65°F (13-18°C)	55-65°F (13-18°C)	not above ambient
Flask support and shield	not above ambient	not above ambient	not above ambient	...
Receiver and 100-ml charge	55-65°F (13-18°C)	55-65°F (13-18°C)	55-65°F (13-18°C)	55°F (13°C) to ambient
Flask (A1.4.2)	125 ml	125 ml	125 ml	125 ml
Conditions during test procedure:				
Temperature of condenser bath ^a	32-34°F (0-1°C)	32-40°F (0-4°C)	32-40°F (0-4°C)	32-140°F (0-60°C)
Temperature of receiver compartment	55-65°F (13-18°C)	55-65°F (13-18°C)	55-65°F (13-18°C)	within 5°F (3°C) of temperature of distillation charge
Time from first application of heat to initial boiling point (min) ^a	5-10	5-10	5-10	5-15
Time from initial boiling point to 5 % recovered (s) ^a	60-75	60-75	...	...
Uniform average rate of condensation from 5 % recovered to 5 % residue in flask, ml/min ^a	4-5	4-5	4-5	4-5
Time from 5 ml residue to end point, min	3-5	3-5	5 max	5 max

^a These parameters are fixed by setting the program controls.

^b As Table 1.

^c As Table 1



Standard Test Method for Vapor Pressure of Petroleum Products (Reid Method)¹

This standard is issued under the fixed designation D 323; the number immediately following the designation indicates the year of original adoption or, in the case of revision, the year of last revision. A number in parentheses indicates the year of last reapproval. A superscript epsilon (ϵ) indicates an editorial change since the last revision or reapproval.

This standard has been approved for use by agencies of the Department of Defense to replace Method 1201 of Federal Test Method Standard No. 791b. Consult the DuD Index of Specifications and Standards for the specific year of issue which has been adopted by the Department of Defense.

1. Scope

1.1 This test method provides procedures for the determination of vapor pressure (Note 1) of gasoline, volatile crude oil and other volatile petroleum products. Procedure A is applicable to gasoline and other petroleum products with a vapor pressure of less than 180 kPa (26 psi). Procedure B, although it may be applicable to these other materials, has been tested by ASTM only for gasoline. Neither method is applicable to liquefied petroleum gases (Note 2) or fuels containing oxygenated compounds other than MTBE. Procedure C, is for materials with a vapor pressure of greater than 180 kPa (26 psi) and Procedure D, for aviation gasoline with a vapor pressure of approximately 50 kPa (7 psi).

NOTE 1—Because the external atmospheric pressure is counteracted by the atmospheric pressure initially present in the vapor chamber, the Reid vapor pressure is an absolute pressure at 37.8°C (100°F) in kilopascals (pounds-force per square inch). The Reid vapor pressure differs from the true vapor pressure of the sample due to some small sample vaporization and the presence of water vapor and air in the confined space.

NOTE 2—For determination of the vapor pressure of liquefied petroleum gases refer to Test Method D 1267.

1.2 *This standard may involve hazardous materials, operations, and equipment. This standard does not purport to address all of the safety problems associated with its use. It is the responsibility of the user of this standard to establish appropriate safety and health practices and determine the applicability of regulatory limitations prior to use. For specific hazard statements, see Notes 3, 6, 9, and 10.*

1.3 The values stated in acceptable metric units are standard. The values given in parentheses are provided for information purposes only.

2. Referenced Documents

2.1 ASTM Standards:

- D 1267 Test Method for Vapor Pressure of Liquefied Petroleum (LP) Gases (LP-Gas Method)²
- D 4057 Practice for Manual Sampling of Petroleum and Petroleum Products³
- E 1 Specification for ASTM Thermometers⁴

¹ This test method is under the jurisdiction of Committee D-2 on Petroleum Products and Lubricants and is the direct responsibility of Subcommittee D02.08 on Volatility.

Current edition approved Oct. 27, 1989. Published January 1990. Originally published as D 323 - 30. Last previous edition D 323 - 82¹².

² Annual Book of ASTM Standards, Vol 05.01.

³ Annual Book of ASTM Standards, Vol 05.03.

⁴ Annual Book of ASTM Standards, Vols 05.03 and 14.03.

3. Summary of Test Method

3.1 The liquid chamber of the vapor pressure apparatus is filled with the chilled sample and connected to the vapor chamber which has been heated to 37.8°C (100°F) in a bath. The assembled apparatus is immersed in a bath at 37.8°C (100°F) until a constant pressure is observed. The reading, suitably corrected is reported as the Reid vapor pressure.

3.2 All four procedures utilize liquid and vapor chambers of the same internal volume. Procedure B utilizes a semi-automatic apparatus immersed in a horizontal bath and rotated while attaining equilibrium. Either a Bourdon gage or pressure transducer may be used with this procedure. Procedure C utilizes a liquid chamber with two valved openings. Procedure D requires more stringent limits on the ratio of the liquid and vapor chambers.

4. Significance and Use

4.1 Vapor pressure is an important physical property of volatile liquids. This test method is used to determine the vapor pressure at 37.8°C (100°F) of petroleum products and crude oils with initial boiling point above 0°C (32°F).

4.2 Vapor pressure is critically important for both automotive and aviation gasolines, affecting starting, warmup, and tendency to vapor lock with high operating temperatures or high altitudes. Maximum vapor pressure limits for gasoline are legally mandated in some areas as a measure of air pollution control.

4.3 Vapor pressure of crude oils is of importance to the crude producer and the refiner for general handling and initial refinery treatment.

4.4 Vapor pressure is also used as an indirect measure of the evaporation rate of volatile petroleum solvents.

5. Apparatus

5.1 The required apparatus for procedures A, C, and D is described in Annex A1. Apparatus for Procedure B is described in Annex A2.⁵

6. Sampling

6.1 The following sections on sample handling apply to Procedures A, B, and D.

6.2 The extreme sensitivity of vapor pressure measurements to losses through evaporation and the resulting changes in composition is such as to require the utmost

WEATHERING

⁵ Vapor pressure apparatus meeting the requirements of Procedure B are available from UIC Inc., P.O. Box 863, Joliet, IL 60434 or Walter Herrzog GmbH, D-6970 Lauda-Königshofen Postfach 320.

caution and the most meticulous care in the handling of samples. The provisions of this section shall apply to all samples for vapor pressure determinations, except as specifically excluded for samples having vapor pressures above 180 kPa (26 psi); see Section 11.

6.3 Sampling shall be done in accordance with Practice D 4057.

6.4 **Sample Container Size**—The size of the sample container from which the vapor pressure sample is taken shall be 1 L (1 qt). It shall be 70 to 80 % filled with the sample.

6.4.1 The present precision statement has been derived using samples in 1-L (1-qt) containers. However, samples taken in containers of other sizes as prescribed in Practice D 4057 can be used if it is recognized that the precision could be affected. In the case of referee testing, the 1-L (1-qt) sample container shall be mandatory.

6.5 **Hazards**—The Reid vapor pressure determination shall be the first test withdrawn from the sample container. The remaining sample in the container can not be used for a second vapor pressure determination. If necessary, obtain a new sample.

6.5.1 Protect the samples from excessive heat prior to testing.

6.5.2 Do not test the samples in leaky containers. They should be discarded and new samples obtained.

6.6 **Sample Handling Temperature**—In all cases, cool the sample container and contents to 0 to 1°C (32 to 34°F) before the container is opened. Sufficient time to reach this temperature shall be assured by direct measurement of the temperature of a similar liquid in a like container placed in the cooling bath at the same time as the sample.

7. Preparation for Test

7.1 The following sections on Preparation for Test apply to Procedures A, B, and D.

7.2 **Verification of Sample Container Filling**—With the sample at a temperature of 0 to 1°C (32 to 34°F), take the container from the cooling bath, unseal it, and examine its ullage. The sample content, as determined by use of a suitable gage, shall equal 70 to 80 % of the container capacity.

7.2.1 Discard the sample if its volume is less than 70 % of the container capacity.

7.2.2 If the container is more than 80 % full, pour out enough sample to bring the container contents within the 70 to 80 % range. Under no circumstance shall any sample poured out be returned to the container.

7.3 **Air Saturation of Sample in Sample Container**

7.3.1 With the sample again at a temperature of 0 to 1°C (32 to 34°F), take the container from the cooling bath, open it momentarily, reseal it, and shake it vigorously. Return it to the bath for a minimum of 2 min.

7.3.2 Repeat 7.3.1 twice more. Return the sample to the bath until the beginning of the procedure.

7.4 **Preparation of Liquid Chamber**—Completely immerse the open liquid chamber (in an upright position) and the sample transfer connection (Fig. 1) in a bath at 0 to 1°C (32 to 34°F) for at least 10 min.

7.5 **Preparation of Vapor Chamber**—After purging and rinsing the vapor chamber and pressure gage in accordance with 8.5, connect the gage to the vapor chamber. Immerse

the vapor chamber to at least 25.4 mm (1 in.) above its top in the water bath maintained at $37.8 \pm 0.1^\circ\text{C}$ ($100 \pm 0.2^\circ\text{F}$) for not less than 10 min just prior to coupling it to the liquid chamber. Do not remove the vapor chamber from the bath until the liquid chamber has been filled with sample as described in 8.1.

8. Procedure

8.1 **Sample Transfer Procedures A, B, and D**—Remove the sample from the cooling bath, uncap, and insert the chilled transfer tube (see Fig. 1). Remove the liquid chamber from the cooling bath, and place the chamber in an inverted position over the top of the transfer tube. Invert the entire system rapidly so that the liquid chamber is upright with the end of the transfer tube approximately 6.35 mm (0.25 in.) from the bottom of the liquid chamber. Fill the chamber to overflowing. Withdraw the transfer tube from the liquid chamber while allowing the sample to continue flowing up to complete withdrawal.

NOTE 3: Warning—Make provision for suitable containment and disposal of the overflowing sample to avoid a fire hazard.

8.2 **Assembly of Apparatus**—Immediately remove the vapor chamber from the water bath and couple the filled liquid chamber to the vapor chamber as quickly as possible without spillage. When the vapor chamber is removed from the water bath, connect it to the liquid chamber without undue movement which could promote exchange of room temperature air with the 37.8°C (100°F) air in the chamber. Not more than 10 s shall elapse between removing the vapor chamber from the water bath and completion of the coupling of the two chambers. With Procedure B it is necessary to disconnect the spiral tubing at the quick action disconnect; after removing from the water bath and before making the connection to the vapor chamber.

8.3 **Introduction of the Apparatus into Bath**

8.3.1 **Procedure A**—Turn the assembled apparatus upside down and allow all the sample in the liquid chamber to drain into the vapor chamber. With the apparatus still inverted, shake it vigorously eight times up and down. With the gage end up, immerse the assembled apparatus in the bath, maintained at $37.8 \pm 0.1^\circ\text{C}$ ($100 \pm 0.2^\circ\text{F}$), in an inclined position so that the connection of the liquid and vapor chambers is below the water level and carefully examine for leaks (Note 4). If no leaks are observed, further immerse the apparatus to at least 25 mm (1 in.) above the top of the vapor

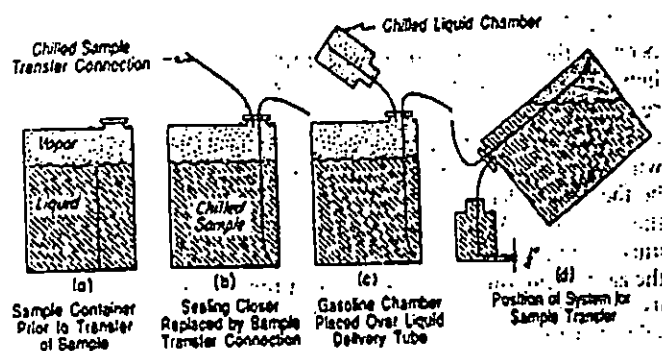


FIG. 1 Simplified Sketches Outlining Method Transferring Sample to Liquid Chamber from Open-Type Containers

chamber. Observe the apparatus for leaks throughout the test and discard the test at anytime a leak is detected.

Note 4—Liquid leaks are more difficult to detect than vapor leaks; and because the coupling between the chambers is normally in the liquid section of the apparatus, give it particular attention.

8.3.2 Procedure B—While holding the apparatus vertical immediately reconnect the spiral tubing at the quick action disconnect. Tilt the apparatus to 20 to 30 degrees downward for four or five seconds to allow the sample to flow into the vapor chamber without getting into the tube extending into the vapor chamber from the gage, or pressure transducer. Place the assembled apparatus into the water bath maintained at $37.8 \pm 0.1^\circ\text{C}$ ($100 \pm 0.2^\circ\text{F}$) in such a way that the bottom of the liquid chamber engages the drive coupling and the other end of the apparatus rests on the support bearing. Turn on the switch to begin the rotation of the assembled liquid-vapor chambers. Observe the apparatus for leakage throughout the test (Note 4). Discard the test at anytime a leak is detected.

8.4 Measurement of Vapor Pressure:

8.4.1 Procedure A—After the assembled apparatus has been in the water bath for at least 5 min, tap the pressure gage lightly and observe the reading. Withdraw the apparatus from the bath and repeat the instructions of 8.3.1. At intervals of not less than 2 min, tap the gage, observe the reading and repeat 8.3.1 until a total of not less than five shakings and gage readings have been made. Continue this procedure, as necessary, until the last two consecutive gage readings are the same indicating that equilibrium has been attained. Read the final gage pressure to the nearest 0.25 kPa (0.05 psi) and record this value as the uncorrected vapor pressure of the sample. Without undue delay remove the pressure gage from the apparatus (Note 5) without attempting to remove any liquid which may be trapped in the gage, check its reading against that of the manometer while both are subjected to a common steady pressure which is not more than 1.0 kPa (0.2 psi) from the recorded uncorrected vapor pressure. If a difference is observed between the manometer and gage readings, the difference is added to the uncorrected vapor pressure when the manometer reading is higher, or subtracted from the uncorrected vapor pressure when the manometer reading is lower, and the resulting value recorded as the Reid vapor pressure of the sample.

Note 5—Cooling the assembly prior to disconnecting the gage will facilitate disassembly and reduce the amount of hydrocarbon vapor released into the room.

8.4.2 Procedure B—After the assembled apparatus has been in the bath for at least 5 min, tap the pressure gage lightly and observe the reading. Repeat the tapping and reading at intervals of not less than 2 min, until two consecutive readings are the same. (Tapping is not necessary with the transducer model but the reading intervals should be the same.) Read the final gage or transducer pressure to the nearest 0.25 kPa (0.05 psi) and record this value as the uncorrected vapor pressure. Without undue delay disconnect the gage or pressure transducer from the apparatus and check its reading against that of the manometer while both are subjected to a common steady pressure which is not more than 1.0 kPa (0.2 psi) different from the recorded uncorrected vapor pressure. If a difference is observed

between the manometer and gage or transducer readings, the difference is added to the uncorrected vapor pressure when the manometer reading is higher, or subtracted from the uncorrected vapor pressure when the manometer reading is lower, and the resulting value recorded as the Reid vapor pressure of the sample.

8.5 Preparation of Apparatus for Next Test:

8.5.1 Thoroughly purge the vapor chamber of residual sample by filling it with warm water above 32°C (90°F) and allowing it to drain. Repeat this purging at least five times. Purge the liquid chamber in the same manner. Rinse both chambers and the transfer tube several times with petroleum naphtha, then several times with acetone, then blow dry using dried air. Place the liquid chamber in the cooling bath or refrigerator in preparation for the next test.

8.5.2 If the purging of the vapor chamber is done in a bath, be sure to avoid small films of floating sample by keeping the bottom and top openings of the chamber closed as they pass through the water surface.

8.5.3 Preparation of Gage Procedure A—Disconnect the gage from its manifold connection with the manometer, and remove trapped liquid in the Bourdon tube of the gage by repeated centrifugal thrusts. This is accomplished in the following manner: hold the gage between the palms of the hands with the right palm on the face of the gage and the threaded connection of the gage forward. Extend the arms forward and upward at an angle of 45° . Swing the arms rapidly downward through an arc of about 135° so that centrifugal force aids gravity in removing trapped liquid. Repeat this operation at least three times or until all liquid has been expelled from the gage. Connect the gage to the vapor chamber with the liquid connection closed and place in the 37.8°C (100°F) bath to condition for the next test.

8.5.4 Preparation of Gage or Transducer Procedure B—In the correct operation of Method B liquid should not reach the gage or transducer. If it is observed or suspected that liquid has reached the gage, purge the gage as described in 8.5.3. The transducer has no cavity to trap liquid. Assume that no liquid is present in the T handle fitting or spiral tubing by forcing a stream of dry air through the tubing. Connect the gage or transducer to the vapor chamber with the liquid connection closed and place in the 37.8°C (100°F) bath to condition for the next test.

Note 6: Caution—Do not leave the vapor chamber with the gage attached in the water bath for a longer period of time than necessary to condition for the next test. Water vapor can condense in the Bourdon tube and lead to erroneous results.

9. Hazards

9.1 Gross errors can be obtained in vapor pressure measurements if the prescribed procedure is not followed carefully. The following list emphasizes the importance of strict adherence to the precautions given in the procedure:

9.1.1 Checking the Pressure Gage—Check all gages against a manometer after each test in order to ensure higher precision of results (8.4). Read the gage while in a vertical position and after tapping it lightly.

9.1.2 Shake the container vigorously to ensure equilibrium of the sample with the air in the container (7.3.1).

9.1.3 Checking for Leaks—Check all apparatus before and during each test for both liquid and vapor leaks (Note 4).

9.1.4
ding of
the atm-
losses t
compos
the Reid
prior to
9.1.5
sure gage
sure the
conveni
9.1.6
quireme
9.1.7
ously as
10. Re
10.1
the gage
any diff
vapor p
without

PROC

11. Ge
11.1
(26 ps
hazards
tions d
determ
specific
and Se

Note
vapor p

12. Ar
12.1
cham
12.2
(A1.7)
(A1.6)
8.4.1
and
dead-

13. S

13.
13.
conta
shall

14. F
14
14
from
char
ploye
displ
14

9.1.4 *Sampling*—Because initial sampling and the handling of samples will greatly affect the final results, employ the utmost precaution and the most meticulous care to avoid losses through evaporation and even slight changes in composition (Sections 6 and 8.1). In no case shall any part of the Reid apparatus itself be used as the sample container prior to actually conducting the test.

9.1.5 *Purging the Apparatus*—Thoroughly purge the pressure gage, the liquid chamber, and the vapor chamber to be sure that they are free of residual sample. (This is most conveniently done at the end of the previous test.) (See 8.5.)

9.1.6 *Coupling the Apparatus*—Carefully observe the requirements of 8.2.

9.1.7 *Shaking the Apparatus*—Shake the apparatus vigorously as directed in 8.3.1 in order to ensure equilibrium.

10. Report

10.1 Report the results to the nearest 0.25 kPa (0.05 psi) the gage result observed in 8.4.1 or 8.4.2, after correcting for any difference between the gage and manometer, as the Reid vapor pressure in kilopascals (pounds-force per square inch) without reference to temperature.

PROCEDURE C—FOR PRODUCTS HAVING REID VAPOR PRESSURES ABOVE 180 kPa (26 psi)

11. General

11.1 With products having vapor pressures over 180 kPa (26 psi), the procedure described in Sections 6 to 9 is hazardous and inaccurate. Consequently, the following sections define changes in apparatus and procedure for the determinations of vapor pressures above 180 kPa. Except as specifically stated, all the requirements of Sections 1 to 10 and Section 17 shall apply.

NOTE 7—Either Procedure A or B can be used to determine if the vapor pressure of a product is above 180 kPa.

12. Apparatus

12.1 *Apparatus*, as described in Annex A1 using the liquid chamber with two openings.

12.2 *Pressure Gage Calibration*—A dead-weight tester (A1.7) can be used in place of the mercury manometer (A1.6) for checking gage readings above 180 kPa (26 psi). In 8.4.1, 8.4.2, 9.1.1 and 10.1 whether the words *manometer* and *manometer reading* appear, include as an alternative *dead-weight tester* and *calibrated gage reading* respectively.

13. Sampling

13.1 Sampling 6.4, 6.4.1, 6.5, and 6.6 shall not apply.

13.2 *Sample Container Size*—The size of the sample container from which the vapor pressure sample is taken shall not be less than 0.5 L (1 pt) liquid capacity.

14. Preparation for Test

14.1 Sampling 7.2 and 7.3 shall not apply.

14.2 Any safe method of displacement of the test sample from the sample container that assures filling the liquid chamber with a chilled, unweathered sample may be employed. The following 14.3 to 14.5, together with 15, describe displacement by self-induced pressure.

14.3 Maintain the sample container at a temperature

sufficiently high to maintain superatmospheric pressure but not substantially over 37.8°C (100°F).

14.4 Completely immerse the liquid chamber, with both valves open, in the water cooling bath for a sufficient length of time to allow it to reach the bath temperature of 0 to 4.5°C (32 to 40°F).

14.5 Connect a suitable ice-cooled coil to the outlet valve of the sample container.

NOTE 8—A suitable ice-cooled coil can be prepared by immersing a spiral of approximately 8 m (25 ft) of 6.35-mm (0.25-in.) copper tubing in a bucket of ice water.

15. Procedure

15.1 Sections 8.1, 8.1.1, and 8.2 shall not apply.

15.2 Connect the 6.35-mm (0.25-in.) valve of the chilled liquid chamber to the ice-cooled coil. With the 12.7-mm (0.5 in.) valve of the liquid chamber closed, open the outlet valve of the sample container and the 6.35-mm (0.25-in.) valve of the liquid chamber. Open the liquid chamber 12.7-mm (0.5-in.) valve slightly and allow the liquid chamber to fill slowly. Allow the sample to overflow until the overflow volume is 200 mL or more. Control this operation so that no appreciable drop in pressure occurs at the liquid chamber 6.35-mm (0.25-in.) valve. In the order named, close the liquid chamber 12.7-mm (0.5-in.) and 6.35-mm (0.25-in.) valves; and then close all other valves in the sample system. Disconnect the liquid chamber and the cooling coil.

NOTE 9: Warning—Combustible. Precautions—Keep away from heat, sparks, and open flame. Keep container closed. Use only with adequate ventilation. Avoid prolonged breathing of vapor or spray mist. Avoid prolonged, repeated contact with skin.

NOTE 10: Warning—Provide a safe means of disposal of liquid and vapor escaping during this whole operation.

15.2.1 To avoid rupture because of the liquid-full condition of the liquid chamber, the liquid chamber must be quickly attached to the vapor chamber and the 12.7-mm (0.5-in.) valve opened.

15.3 Immediately attach the liquid chamber to the vapor chamber and open the liquid chamber 12.7-mm (0.5-in.) valve. Not more than 25 s shall pass in completing the assembly of the apparatus after filling the liquid chamber, using the following sequence of operations:

15.3.1 Remove the vapor chamber from the water bath.

15.3.2 Connect the vapor chamber to the liquid chamber.

15.3.3 Open the liquid chamber 12.7-mm (0.5-in.) valve.

15.4 If a dead-weight tester is used instead of the mercury manometer (12.2), apply the calibration factor in kilopascals (pounds-force per square inch) established for the pressure gage to the uncorrected vapor pressure. Record this value as the calibrated gage reading and use in Section 10 in place of the manometer reading.

16. Precautions

16.1 The precaution 9.1.2 shall not apply.

PROCEDURE D—FOR AVIATION GASOLINES Approximately 50 kPa (7 psi) Reid Vapor Pressure

17. General

17.1 The following paragraphs describe changes in apparatus and procedure for the determination of the vapor pressure of aviation gasoline. Except as specifically stated

D 323

herein, all the requirements set forth in Sections 1 to 10 and 18 shall apply.

17.1.1 *Ratio of Vapor and Liquid Chambers*—The ratio of the volume of the vapor chamber to the volume of the liquid chamber shall be between the limits of 3.95 and 4.05 (see Note A1.1 in Annex A1).

17.1.2 *Checking the Pressure Gage or Pressure Transducer*—The gage shall be checked at 50 kPa (7 psi) against a mercury column before each vapor pressure measurement to ensure that it conforms to the requirements of Section A1.2. This preliminary check shall be made in addition to the final gage comparison specified in 8.4 and 8.4.2.

18. Precision⁶ and Bias

18.1 The following criteria is to be used for judging the acceptability of results (95 % confidence):

18.1.1 *Repeatability*—The difference between successive test results obtained by the same operator with the same apparatus under constant operating conditions on identical test material would, in the long run, in the normal and correct operation of the test method, exceed the following value only in 1 case in 20.

Procedure	Range		Repeatability		Note 11
	kPa	psi	kPa	psi	
A Gasoline	35-100	5-15	3.2	0.46	Note 11

18.1.2 *Reproducibility*—The difference between two, single and independent results, obtained by different operators working in different laboratories on identical test material would, in the long run, in the normal and correct operation of the test method, exceed the following value only in 1 case in 20.

Procedure	Range		Reproducibility		Note 11
	kPa	psi	kPa	psi	
A Gasoline	35-100	5-15	5.2	0.75	Note 11
B Gasoline	35-100	5-15	4.5	0.66	Note 11
A	0-35	0-5	2.4	0.35	Note 12
A	110-140	16-20	2.8	0.4	Note 12
C	>180	>26	4.9	0.7	Note 12
D Aviation gas	50	7	1.0	0.15	Note 12

NOTE 11—These precision values are derived from a 1987 cooperative program⁶ and the current Committee D-2 on Determining Precision Data Method RR:202-1007.

NOTE 12—These precision values were developed in the early 1950's prior to the current statistical evaluation method.

18.2 Bias:

18.2.1 *Absolute Bias*—Since there is no accepted reference material suitable for determining the bias for the procedure in Test Method D 323 for measuring Reid vapor pressure, bias cannot be determined. The amount of bias between this test vapor pressure and true vapor pressure is unknown.

ASTM admits some fault to the method, however, gasoline and other fuel persons use results as the bible.

B. The Increased Volatility of Ethanol Blends Does Not Contribute to Ozone Formation

1. EPA and Congress Have Previously Concluded That the Increased Volatility of Ethanol Blends Does Not Significantly Increase Ozone Formation

EPA has long recognized that ethanol blends do not adversely affect ozone levels. Indeed, it was because of this recognition that EPA provided 10 percent ethanol blends with a one-pound RVP volatility tolerance in summertime ozone nonattainment areas. In August 1987, EPA proposed standards limiting the volatility of gasoline and ethanol blends. EPA's volatility rulemaking was promulgated in two parts. In the Phase I regulations, EPA provided an "interim" one-pound volatility tolerance for ethanol blends. In Phase II regulations, published in June 1990, EPA made the volatility tolerance permanent. EPA cited two reasons for doing so: the logistical impossibility of obtaining sub-RVP blendstocks for blending with ethanol, and the lack of adverse environmental impacts attributable to providing the volatility tolerance. With regard to the latter, EPA stated:

several phenomena reduce the ozone impact of higher RVP gasohol relative to gasoline. . . , (e.g., the lesser tendency of ethanol emissions to produce ozone (reactivity) compared to hydrocarbons, and a reduction in carbon monoxide (CO) emissions and thus a reduction in CO's role in ozone production). As detailed in the Final Regulatory Impact Analysis, recent studies have indicated that the ozone impact of gasohol at 1.0 RVP higher than gasoline is less than we earlier believed (i.e., a range of about zero to 1 percent increase in ozone levels. . .).

...

EPA would require strong evidence of severe environmental consequences in order to support a policy which might

eliminate this industry, evidence which does not currently exist. This 1.0 psi RVP allowance for gasohol adopted in this final rule thus reflects the moderation in EPA's concern about negative air quality impact. . . .

Notice of Final Rulemaking, "Volatility Regulations for Gasoline and Alcohol Blends Sold in Calendar Years 1992 and Beyond," 55 Fed. Reg. 23658, 23665 (June 11, 1990)

EPA's Final Regulatory Impact Analysis ("FRIA"), cited above, examined the results of an Urban Airshed Model ("UAM") study, commissioned by the Agency, which quantified the impact on ozone levels of 100 percent penetration of ethanol blends in New York City and 50 percent penetration of ethanol blends in St. Louis. EPA's analysis of the UAM study contains the following statements:

[T]here is virtually no change in peak ozone levels for any oxygenated blend scenario when the urban airshed model is used. . . . [T]he St. Louis results also predicted no change in peak ozone for 50 percent use of an ethanol/gasoline blend with a 1 psi RVP allowance. . . . [I]t appears that allowing a 1 psi RVP allowance for ethanol blends would not contribute to as significant of a change in ozone levels as EPA previously thought.

Final Regulatory Impact Analysis and Summary and Analysis of Comments, Phase II Gasoline Volatility Regulations, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Office of Air and Radiation, Office of Mobile Sources, May 1990, page 3-40.

EPA has consistently adhered to its technical position regarding the one-pound volatility tolerance. In a May 1991 Federal Register notice disallowing the State of Maryland's request to eliminate the one-pound volatility tolerance from Maryland's proposed gasoline volatility control program, the Agency stated that:

EPA [has] concluded that the potential economic jeopardy to the fuel ethanol industry associated with requiring the same

RVP standard for gasoline and gasoline-ethanol blends is significant, and that overall, the 1.0 psi exemption should not adversely affect air quality. . . . This action is consistent with EPA's national fuel policy.

Final Rule, "Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans; Revision to State of Maryland Implementation Plan for Ozone," 56 Fed. Reg. 23804, 23807 (May 24, 1991).

EPA responded similarly to New Jersey's request:

This decision was based on the conclusion that the 1.0 psi exemption *should not adversely affect air quality overall* and because of the potential economic harm to the ethanol industry that eliminating the exemption would create.

Notice of Proposed Rulemaking, "Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans; Proposed Partial Disapproval of New Jersey Implementation Plan for Ozone," 57 Fed. Reg. 3978, 3979 (Feb. 3, 1992) (emphasis added).

Finally, the recognition of the propriety of an allowance for ethanol in fuel volatility regulations has been embodied in the Clean Air Act itself. Section 211(h) provides that RVP for 10 percent blends of ethanol are to be one-psi higher than otherwise established.

2. Recent Studies Have Reaffirmed the Conclusion that the Increased Volatility of Ethanol Blends Does Not Adversely Affect Ozone Formation

Recent studies performed by Dr. Gary Z. Whitten, of Systems Applications International,^{31/} compared urban ozone generated by an 11 percent MTBE blend that

^{31/} Whitten, Gary Z., Systems Applications International, *Final Report: Comparison of the Air Quality Effects of Ethanol and MTBE in Reformulated Gasoline in the Chicago Region in 1995*, Vol. 1: Modeling (continued...)

met the simple model requirements for reformulated gasoline as containing a minimum 2 percent oxygen by weight and a maximum volatility of 8.1 psi RVP, with the urban ozone generated with a similar 10 percent ethanol blend that has 3.5 percent oxygen but exceeds the simple model's RVP limit by 1 psi (i.e., with 9.1 RVP).^{31/} Dr. Whitten's study used the Urban Airshed Model. Although, as discussed in Section IV.C.2, the relevant comparison is between ethanol blends and baseline gasoline, *not* MTBE blends, the results both reinforce the previous conclusions about the ozone-forming potential of ethanol and highlight the arbitrariness of allowing an 8.1 psi MTBE blend but not a 9.1 psi ethanol blend.

The historical episode used was an ozone episode which occurred on July 21-22, 1987, currently the best meteorological database available for the Chicago area, translated into a preliminary UAM-V run for the Lake Michigan Ozone Study,^{32/} with appropriate meteorological inputs, initial and boundary conditions, and emissions inputs. The use of UAM-V allows for a cost-effective analysis of a region of this size, eliminating uncertainties resulting from the use of smaller regions. The study used

^{31/}(...continued)

Protocol, July 10, 1992 & Vol. 2: Results, July 29, 1992, ("Ethanol-MTBE Comparison Study"). [Attached hereto as Exhibit No. 4.]

^{32/} This ethanol blend does not meet the simple model RVP standard; however, it is arbitrary of EPA to promulgate a rule under the assumption that MTBE is "RVP neutral," as EPA has proposed, in light of existing EPA guidance which suggests that gasoline blends with MTBE produce higher evaporative emissions than conventional gasolines at the same RVP. *Guidance on Estimating Motor Vehicle Emission Reductions from the Use of Alternative Fuels and Fuel Blends*, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Ann Arbor Michigan (EPA-AA-TSS-PA-88-1).

^{33/} Morris, R.E., C.A. Emery, T.C. Myers, R.C. Kessler, B. Shi and M.A. Yocke, *Preliminary Photochemical Modeling of the Lake Michigan Region Using the Nested-Grid Urban Airshed Model*, Systems Applications International, San Rafael, California (SYSAPP-92/055).

EPA's Mobile 4.1 model in determining the effects of oxygenated fuels on mass emissions. Any adjustments for carbon monoxide and ozone forming VOC evaporative and running loss emissions for the oxygenated fuel scenarios were taken from EPA guidance or guidance documents. Species profile data were drawn from the Auto/Oil Air Quality Improvement Research Program ("AQIRP"), the running loss profile from the AQIRP database, or EPA recommendations.^{39/}

The results of this study establish that there is no significant difference between the maximum level of ozone generated through use of an 11 percent MTBE blend and the levels of ozone generated through use of a 10 percent ethanol blend. The maximum difference in ozone production due to ethanol use, of *less than one-third of one part per billion*,^{39/} did not increase peak ozone levels at all. Indeed, the only detectable consequence of ethanol use occurred in relatively low ozone areas. The highest peak that increased due to the use of ethanol still reached only approximately 60 parts per billion, while ozone peaks elsewhere, *using either MTBE or ethanol*, ranged as high as approximately 120 parts per billion, or higher.^{39/}

Thus, the use of a 10 percent ethanol blend does not appreciably increase ozone formation in comparison with an 11 percent MTBE blend. Rather, the 75 percent

^{39/} Ethanol-MTBE Comparison Study, Vol. 1, at 10; Vol. 2, at 3-4.

^{39/} Ethanol-MTBE Comparison Study, Vol. 2, Figure 5, at 9; Figure 6, at 10. So trivial a difference is easily displaced by errors in experimental data or modeling assumptions. Ethanol-MTBE Comparison Study, Vol. 2, at 4, 12 (differential impact of using a 10 percent MTBE blend compared to an 11 percent MTBE blend may be of same magnitude as shift in time of day of emissions, which latter does not change total amount of emissions); *id.* at 23-24 (describing need for better data and further studies to improve methodology of previous studies used by EPA).

^{39/} Ethanol-MTBE Comparison Study, Vol. 2, at 4.

additional oxygen present in the ethanol blend compensates for ozone forming VOC emissions, due primarily to three effects. First, the increased ozone forming VOC emissions from higher volatility can be low in photochemical reactivity, because the increase is from light, mainly paraffinic, vapor and ethanol itself, not from the high boiling fraction, which contains the most reactive aromatics. Second, the oxygen in the fuel reduces the exhaust ozone forming VOC emissions, which are more reactive than the increased evaporative emissions, particularly in older cars. Third, carbon monoxide, which is an ozone precursor, is reduced by the increase in fuel oxygen. Additionally, much of the increased evaporative emissions, particularly running losses, are released later in the day than much of the highly reactive cold start exhaust emissions, which are released during a time of day when the impact of ozone forming VOC emissions on ozone formation is much more significant.^{27/}

3. Ethanol's Lesser Ozone Forming Potential Can Be Acknowledged Through Scientifically Based Credits

EPA precedent and recent scientific analysis demonstrate that ethanol's lesser ozone forming potential can be acknowledged by discounting the nonreactive oxygen in ethanol emissions; crediting ethanol for reductions in carbon monoxide, an ozone forming compound not generally considered a VOC; and by taking into account both the reduced exhaust ozone forming VOCs of ethanol and ethanol's molecular weight.

^{27/} *Id.* at 17-32.



ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

8/21/92

Mr. President -

Mr. Skinner has a
copy of the attached
letter from Ken Lay,
which he wants to
discuss with you.

I'll hold up on not
to Jim Baker

Bob

Someone needs a
purple reply -
yes on - by

Went to 1

Handwritten notes and symbols:

- A large asterisk symbol (*).
- Handwritten text: "How much?"
- Handwritten text: "1/2" (or similar).
- Handwritten text: "1/2" (or similar).

2. " " " " "Whomver" Use "bold" to highlight the question.
3. Get JRB to tell you who will handle the issue.

4. Include in the "To Whomever" name copies of all the attached documentation -

5. include documents in Hayden's cc.

- 6 Pass the Whomster Memo to Tim Baker in a sealed envelope

8-23-92

To JAB^{III}

From G.B.

cc Boyden Gray

Re: Ethanol

Inasmuch as you tell me you
are recused from involvement
in any and all energy matters,

In the attached sealed envelope
are some questions regarding
ethanol.

It is imperative that we
resolve the dispute between
EPA and the Corn Growers

Please tell me who you
want to handle this issue
here in the White House

Bob Teeter, Ed Madigan
were with me at the Illinois
Fair when I discussed this
with the key corn growers, most
big supporters

I am giving Boyden a copy of
all the documentation. He's been in the
middle of this at least.

For whenever TAB designates
to handle the ethanol matter.

I am told that gas people
are not concerned about the

"1 pound waiver for ethanol. They
~~are concerned about~~

Metanol people are concerned
about further tax breaks for
ethanol; but the ethanol folks
say "That's way in the future!"

Please consult on the above
paragraph

Do I have the authority to grant
the waiver or does the rest
only with Reilly

Boyd says Reilly can grant the
waiver, but EPA feels the

supporting science does not
exist. The compromise will not

a. such science does exist

b. EPA refuses to release

the science they are relying on

to block the waiver. Making

says he has requested the science and been returned.

In the attached packet is a

paper on vapor pressure scientifically backing the ethanol factors

What's the story on the science?

Ker Long has written the attached letter on behalf of the Methanol (gas) people.

How widespread is the oil industry's opposition to the 1 Pound Water

EPA testified on May 24 '91 that the water would not adversely affect air quality. Why the change?

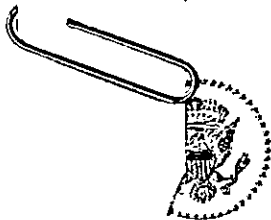
~~to~~ Everywhere I went at the Fair the Congressmen brought this question up to me. It is a

critical issue with my strong supporters I have long supported Ethanol! We don't know how Clinton will be on this

THI



Mr. Richard K. LeBlond II
194 Sunset Hill Road
New Canaan, Connecticut 06840



THE PRESIDENT

8-24-92

Dear Rich,

I just saw your July 27th note; so true - the press are only interested in gloom. They've been ugly to me; but there's a much better feeling "out there" now. Good luck
Cez

Just finished up two
 week-ends at the Grove. Presidents
 Reagan and Nixon were there
 The first week-end and the
 former gave a great talk at
 the Lakeville that was the "talk"
 of the Grove. He also did a Q&A
 of course. That I attended. Before
 that Illinois and Ohio will decide
 the election. Had a good visit with Sam

I thought you'd be in-
 terested in the enclosed article.
 This is the kind of upset
 thing that tells it like it is.
 with this type of news could
 be communicated to the voters

Reed
 8/19

97 Plaza, New York, NY 10112
 L7080

Richard K. LeBlond, II
 Senior Advisor

Monday
 7/27/92

& Elle in New Canaan and look
forward to seeing them in Maine
in August. Hope we can catch
up with you. I'm Ireland plan
to come down on the new boat
and hopefully the Fishes and
Bernice will join
Dolly & I are pulling
figure that there's
for you. I'll show a big rally
in the late summer and you're
the man to do it. All the best
OK.

COMMENT / By H. Erich Heinemann

American Banker
7/23/92

Economy Ripe for Vigorous Expansion

Though growth has been slow and uncertain over the past six months, the U.S. economy is moving to higher ground.

Next week, statisticians at the Commerce Department will release their advance estimate for gross domestic product in the second quarter and revised data for the preceding three years.

Government insiders say growth in the first half of 1992 was at a rate of about 2%, in line my own forecast of six months ago.

The levels are changed, of course, reflecting the benchmark revision. But the growth rate was accurate. The stage is now set for an acceleration in growth.

Delayed Impact on Jobs

Monetary policy continues to be extraordinarily easy. Total bank reserves – the high-powered funds that are raw material for the money supply – rose at a rate of 19% from the third quarter of 1991 through the second quarter of 1992.

Jobs, a good proxy for overall activity, respond to changes in Fed policy with a lag of about a year. By this criterion, more-rapid expansion is just ahead.

The modest acceleration in business volume during the past

six months led to exceptional gains in corporate profits. The rate of increase in pretax profits from current operations in the January-March period was roughly 20 times the rise in gross domestic product.

Business cannot possibly maintain such outlandish spreads between sales growth and profit increases in the long run. Even so, similar gains

**Cash flow from
current operations
will help trigger a
boom in business
investment.**

should be part of the investment landscape through most of 1993.

Setting the Stage

Rigorous, sometimes brutal cost-cutting has reduced the break-even point of American industry. Cash flow from current operations will help trigger a boom in business investment in equipment. New orders for plant and equipment have confirmed the findings of the Commerce Department's survey of capital spending plans.

Real contracts and orders for new plant and equipment (the

best leading indicator of business investment) totaled a near-record \$134 billion in the three months through May. That was a 16.7% annual rate of increase from the level in the six months through November 1991.

Over time, such outlays will help to cut costs further, thus sparking more gains in profitability.

Good News Isn't News

Meanwhile, news organizations and their accomplices in Wall Street continue to bash the economy. Reporters call attention to weak numbers; they often ignore strong data. More than 1.1 million adult workers 20 years old or older found new jobs from November to June.

But private employers added only 715,000 to their payrolls in June. That was less than normal, so, seasonally adjusted, jobs dropped by 117,000. You can guess which item was "news."

The trade deficit has deepened in recent months because of persistent strength in imports. Real imports have gone up at an annual rate of almost 12% since April 1991. This pattern is typical of a period of recovery.

Since 1986, real U.S. exports have risen at a rate of more than 10%. Exclusive of oil – more a matter of geology than economics – U.S. merchandise trade is



close to balance. The modest deficit other than for oil is offset by the surplus in services.

Estimate Reduced

Washington has again revised downward its measure of net foreign investment in the United States – the so-called U.S. foreign debt. The Commerce Department now says the market value of American assets overseas totaled \$2.1 trillion in 1991. Foreign assets here were \$2.5 trillion, resulting in a "debt" of \$400 billion.

On a comparable basis, net investment in the United States in 1989 was \$159 billion. By contrast, the figure given by the government two years ago was \$682 billion in net foreign debt for 1989.

The actual net inflow of foreign capital in 1991 was only \$4.8 billion, down sharply from the peak of \$168 billion in 1987. This indicates basic gains in the nation's international balance sheet. It suggests a basis for strong growth. □

Mr. Heinemann is chief economist of Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co., an investment banking firm based in New York.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 8/24

AUG 4 P7:02

August 4, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GAIL R. WILENSKY *grw*
SUBJECT: Questions and Answers on Health Care Reform

You asked me to share with you some of the questions and answers on health care reform from my briefing of the press on the press plan and conversations with them in the filing room. Attached are the most frequently asked questions and the answers to those questions.

There are some other issues that were raised as well, but they are of a more technical nature or of limited interest. I am happy to discuss these with you further or to provide additional information as needed.

Attachment

Question: Why did it take three plus years for the Bush Administration to come up with a health care plan?

Answer: We have said all along that we would propose a health care reform plan when we were convinced we had a strategy that would preserve what works and reform what doesn't. In my 1990 State of the Union message, I directed Secretary Sullivan to review issues concerning access, cost, and quality. His Department worked vigorously in response to that directive. Last year, a senior level working group from HHS, Treasury, OMB, and the White House worked together for many months to hammer out the details of my health care reform plan, which I announced on February 6 of this year. We now have a comprehensive health care reform plan that will make affordable health care available to all. I have sent four pieces of legislation to the Congress over the last several months that begin to implement these reforms. It is time for the Congress to act now.

Question: We haven't heard much about health care since your February announcement. Was that just a way to respond to the Wofford election in Pennsylvania?

Answer: If you haven't heard me talking about health care, it's because you're not listening. I have spoken about the need to reform health care in numerous speeches since February. I have met with representatives of small businesses, provider groups, and many others to indicate my interest in having something done on health care this year. I traveled to Capitol Hill to address the Republican Conference and met with the press afterward to indicate my support of the House Republicans' health care legislation, Action Now, which is very similar to my legislation. I might add that not one question from reporters at that session had to do with health care reform. I've also addressed the Senate Republican Conference. Maybe the reason the people aren't hearing me talk about health care reform is that the press isn't reporting what I say.

Question: Not everybody is guaranteed insurance coverage under your plan. Is that good enough?

Answer: My plan will make sure that affordable health care is available to every American. All poor people will have access to a full credit, worth \$3,750 for families, to buy an insurance plan. These plans will include insurance made available by the states and by employers or private insurance companies. Our poorest citizens will have the same choices that most of us already have. The self-employed will be able to deduct the full cost of their health insurance premiums like all other workers, a change that will help many farmers and small business owners in this country. Middle-income workers will have access to a new tax deduction worth up to \$3,750 for families. Small business employers will be able to offer more affordable and reliable health insurance because of the reforms we are making in the insurance industry. People won't be able to be excluded from insurance just because they've been sick. When taken together, these changes will mean 29 million of the currently 34 million uninsured will have new insurance coverage, and some 95 million individuals will benefit. And we can do this without new mandates and new taxes.

Question: Your plan calls for tax credits and deductions for the poor and middle class for the purchase of health insurance. How are you going to pay for this?

Answer: Over the next five years, State and Federal governments will provide almost \$135 billion to hospitals to compensate them for caring for uninsured people. In addition, there are other payments in Medicare and Medicaid that indirectly subsidize indigent health care. Virtually all health care analysts have argued that providing appropriate preventive care before people get sick is better health and social policy and is less expensive than subsidizing payment for sick people to go to emergency rooms.

①

②

③

The President's health care plan provides access to affordable health care for all Americans. The estimated cost of funding the President's program is \$100 billion over five years. There is more than adequate funds for us to shift some payments currently going for indigent care to the purchase of private health care plans. The cost would be less and the quality of care -- including preventive and primary care -- would be far superior.

→

→

Question: The Democrats propose using spending boards to establish target rates of spending on health care for this country. Reimbursement rates for providers would also be established by the spending boards. This is "real cost containment." How do you propose to moderate spending?

Answer: The Democrats are doing what they always do: trying to fix problems by more government bureaucracy and more government control. It hasn't worked in the past, and it won't work now. My plan tackles the root causes of

- 11 too much spending, not just the symptoms. We'll drive
- 1 down costs by making everyone a better health care consumer -- giving consumers and purchasers the
- 2 information they need about health care costs, quality, and outcomes. We will reform medical malpractice so
- 3 that doctors and hospitals aren't pushed to do more and more out of fear of getting sued. We all know that high malpractice premiums mean high doctor bills, high hospital costs -- resulting in higher costs not only
- 4 for the patient but for taxpayers as well. We need to help small companies pool together so that they can get lower costs and make use of the marketing advantages large numbers of people provide. And we need to lower
- 5 administrative costs. Cutting red tape, sharing common forms, using electronic billings so that claims can be

processed quickly and correctly. We also need to keep States from adding on more and more mandated benefits.

There are almost 1,000 mandated benefits now across the various states.

This is how you moderate spending -- not by administratively imposed limits and government price controls.

Question: Aren't you just tinkering around the edges when our current health care system needs to be completely revamped?

Answer: The Democrats think we should throw away what we have and move either to nationalize our health care system, putting government in control of prices, expenditures and ultimately how much, what kind, when and where we use health care or introducing something that might sound good but is ultimately just as harmful -- "play or pay." That's just a back door way to nationalized health care and in the short run will either mean lower wages, lost jobs, or higher costs. What I want to do is preserve what works and reform what doesn't. We know we have first-rate, high quality health care. People come here. They don't go to other countries when they want the best health care in the world. We need to make sure we fix our problems without destroying what has led us to have such high quality health care. It's not by turning it all over to the government.

8:05 AM 8/24

Sir,

Congressman Clay Shaw called for you this morning and would like a return call. The White House Operator has the number.

8/24/92
passed on to
Bill Garrett
RSG

8/24/92

Mr. President:

Milt Pappas would like to meet you when you visit
Chicago tomorrow.

INTERESTED IN SEEING HIM?

YES ☒

NO ☐

*but only if it
fits - no
meeting
just hand shake*

RZ

*passed this on to
Ozzie Hazenrigg -
RZ*

NAME Mr. Milt Pappas
SPOUSE Mrs. Judi
SAL OUT Milt & Judi
NOTE ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO ROOM 19.
DESCR Former Baseball Player.
CODES CC5 USVCPR PLITCL WACHIT
ISSUES SPBSBL
FFNAME "Barbara" in. "George B" & "George" out.
HOME1 Rural Route 1, Box 154 Ashland
28520 South Ashland
Beecher, IL 60401
(708) 946-3208
Or 1-800-597-4864.
BUSINESS1 C. Itoh Building Products Co., Inc.
333 West Taft Drive
South Holland, IL 60473
(708) 596-1744
(800) 323-5302
FACS: (708) 596-1754
LUPDATE 920806

Rose-- Per our
conversation on
Fri. Milt Pappas
(info attached) is
interested in
meeting POTUS when
he goes to Chicago
on 8/25. ME

UPDATE BY CT02
PRIV COMM

. Daughter: Alexandria.

CONTACT

. 4/19/91 Visited GB in Oval.

CORSPNDNC

. 1/25/91 GB thanks for support during the Gulf War.
. 7/3/91 GB thanks for autographed baseballs from their 1984
game and regrets for this years reunion game in Denver.
. 7/91 Asks if he can go on the Greece trip.
. 7/22/91 He writes GB a short note.
. 9/20/91 He writes asking GB if he can be on the President's
Physical Fitness Council. (Reading File)
. 10/4/91 GB answered letter and added that he did not think
there was an opening on the Fitness council.
. ChrisCard: 1991.
. 2/5/92 GB thanked for State of the Union congrats.
. 3/92 GB sent signed photo of them in Chicago.
. 4/7/92 He writes GB about Fitness Council again and mentions
GB's pitch at Orioles game.

. 7/31/92 GB handwrote thanks for his 7/1 letter and: "Jan's
reply. Hang in there. I feel fine, ready to start kicking."

I0601 * End of documents in list. Press ENTER or enter another command.



News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992
6:00 A.M. EDT EDITION

TRIP NEWS

BUSH BASHES CONGRESS -- President Bush took his "clean the House" campaign against a Democratic Congress to the Illinois State Fair Sunday, telling an enthusiastic crowd that he wants to cut taxes with the help of Republican lawmakers.

(Springfield State Journal-Register, AP, Washington Post,
Washington Times, UPI, New York Times)

NATIONAL NEWS

BUSH GAIN MAY MEAN 'FIREFIGHT' -- The Republican convention "bounce" has President Bush back in the race but still trailing Bill Clinton 10 weeks before the election. (USA Today)

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

BUSH EXPECTED TO ANNOUNCE 'NO-FLY ZONE' IN IRAQ -- President Bush, preparing to draw a new line in the air over Iraq, soon will create a "no-fly zone" in which the U.S. and its allies would shoot down any intruding Iraqi plane or helicopter. (Chicago Tribune)

NETWORK NEWS (Sunday evening)

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN/GOP -- President Bush took his re-election campaign to Illinois, making a pitch for the farm vote.

IRAQ/NO-FLY ZONE -- President Bush could announce a new allied no-fly zone for southern Iraq early Tuesday.

SOMALIA -- Food airlifted by U.S. cargo planes began to reach Somalian victims of mass famine.

TRIP NEWS.....A-1
NATIONAL NEWS.....A-4
INTERNATIONAL NEWS...A-11
NETWORK NEWS.....B-1
TALK SHOWS.....C-1

TRIP NEWS

BUSH BASHES CONGRESS

President Bush took his "clean the House" campaign against a Democratic Congress to the Illinois State Fair Sunday, telling an enthusiastic crowd that he wants to cut taxes with the help of Republican lawmakers.

Speaking for about 11 minutes to an estimated 7,000 people filling the seats and standing on the sawdust turf of the sweltering Coliseum, Bush linked the Democratic ticket of Bill Clinton and Al Gore with Congress.

Wearing a blue golf shirt and tan pants, Bush appeared relaxed before the speech as he and his wife Barbara posed for pictures and greeted people inside a large circle of farm machinery at the Expo area, and ate pork sandwiches at the Pork Avenue Cafe.

Bush singled out for support two candidates who joined him on the podium -- Rich Williamson for U.S. Senate and John Shimkus for the 20th Congressional District House seat. Williamson said he wished Bush had announced a decision granting a waiver from the Clean Air Act for ethanol, and Shimkus issued a statement calling for the waiver. Both candidates said they expressed their thoughts to the President.

"He is just super on family," said Shelby Alkire, 53, of St. Louis, following the speech. "We've got to get the family together and I do trust him."

"I still would like to see more concrete plans on the economy," said a still-undecided Jack Franklin, 39, of Paris, who brought his family because his son, Erich, was in the Paris High School band that played. "The family values part I buy into."

(Bernard Schoenburg, Springfield State Journal-Register, 1)

Bush Worries About Clinton And A Democratic Congress

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. -- President Bush, opening his campaign in the Midwest, told a cheering Illinois State Fair audience Sunday that Bill Clinton would be a "rubber stamp president that will rubber stamp this spendthrift Congress."

He lashed out at Clinton for saying Bush was distorting his record and was a fearmonger. "Nine months of hammering me -- he takes a little, gentle broadside and he starts to whine and complain all the time," the President told reporters. "People don't want that. Compare the ideas: tax and spend versus less taxes and less spending."

(Terence Hunt, AP)

Bush Hits Trail With Gusto

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. -- Breaking free of his self-imposed shackles, President Bush became a full-fledged presidential candidate this weekend, pressing familiar themes with punched-up, sometimes slashing rhetoric.

As he told a rain-soaked rally in Woodstock, Ga., Saturday, whipping off his tie and throwing it into the crowd in the manner of a rock star: "It's great to be out of that D.C. mode and out on the campaign trail." Before leaving Houston Friday morning he promised a meeting of the RNC, "No longer will we tell Rich (Bond) to cool his jets."

Bush referred to the abortion issue for the only time all weekend before an evangelical group in Dallas Saturday night, tossing out the line like a trainer throwing fish to clamoring seals. He said, "I happen to believe that all human life is precious, born or unborn." Barbara Bush refrained from joining in the thunderous applause that greeted that line, placing her hands securely behind her back.

Bush sounded defiant and almost angry at the notion that anyone could have counted him out. Arms waving, fist punching, voice raised, he shouted in Gulfport, Miss.: "Two weeks ago, they were totally writing off the Bush-Quayle ticket -- all those smart talking heads on television. We are going to take it to the American people." (Ruth Marcus, Washington Post, A1)

President States Case On Stump, Over And Over

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. -- President Bush said he felt skewered like a corn dog after wrestling "the Clinton-Gore gridlock Congress," but except for referring to that state fair delicacy on a stick he repeated himself a lot again Sunday.

One line abandoned under staff pressure this weekend was Bush's vehement assertion that he is healthy to counter anonymous rumors and Clinton's throwaway line that "every time (the President) gets sick he gets government health care."

(Frank Murray, Washington Times, 1A)

Bush Speech Leaves Farmers Cold

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. -- The atmosphere was sweltering as President Bush brought his post-convention show to a cheering partisan crowd at the Illinois State Fair, but many farmers left the coliseum feeling cold.

They said the President missed a made-for-TV opportunity to win support of farmers across the Midwest Sunday by taking a strong stand in support of ethanol.

The crowd heard the President laud family values, stress his role in winning the Cold War and urge them to throw out the Democrat-controlled Congress. But except for a brief reference to free trade, the crowd heard nothing about the issues that could determine whether Bush wins or loses this November in the Corn Belt.

"I don't think he made any friends among the farmers today," said Robert Dahman of Winchester. "He didn't say anything about supporting farmers and ethanol, and ethanol's going to be one of the biggest things coming to this country." (Donald Ayers, UPI)

'Plain George' Plainly Tries To Be Likable

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. -- President George Herbert Walker Bush tried so hard this weekend to be just plain George, the neighbor in the tract house next door -- a paneled-station-wagon, kids-in-the-back-seat, burgers-on-the-grill, Little League, God-loving kind of guy.

This President has no use for a jacket and tie. As he toured the Illinois State Fair Sunday, he alternated between a yellow "Illinois Corn" cap and a black one that said, "Pork, the other white meat." This President had no use for Washington, speaking derisively of the city that is his home.

Yet no matter how much he casts himself as the President who is just as disgusted with politics as the next guy, a symbol of political power lurks behind him everywhere: a mammoth 747 called Air Force One.

(Richard Berke, New York Times, A13)

**BUSH SPEECH OFFERS NO
REASSURANCE ON ETHANOL**

The handful of farmers who got a chance to meet with President Bush Sunday and explain the importance of ethanol to their livelihood came away feeling they had gotten through to the President.

But those who happened to catch his speech in the Coliseum a few minutes later weren't convinced. Neither Bush, nor Secretary Madigan, even mentioned the word ethanol to the sweating crowd. Maybe it was just too hot.

"With the acoustics and heat, it was not a time to get into an explanation of the IRS code," said Gov. Edgar. "I saw him take half his speech and tear it up; maybe it was the half with ethanol." But Edgar's advice to the President had been to keep quiet unless he had something new to say.

Many observers say Bush missed his best chance to win farm votes in the Midwest by not making a favorable announcement on ethanol. "The farmers need ethanol," said Robert Dahman of Winchester, a farmer for 40 years. "He should have mentioned something to help the farmer. I won't be voting for him."

Rep. Durbin, who heard Bush's speech, thinks the lack of any mention of ethanol is a bad sign. "I'm not the least bit encouraged by what he did or said today," said Durbin. "He needs to make that phone call to (William) Reilly. He was trying to appear interested but he had every chance to make an announcement and didn't. I frankly think he shouldn't have come if he didn't have the kind of news we need to get our economy moving again."

(Charlyn Fargo, Springfield State Journal-Register)

NATIONAL NEWS

BUSH GAIN MAY MEAN 'FIREFIGHT'

The Republican convention "bounce" has President Bush back in the race but still trailing Bill Clinton 10 weeks before the election.

A USA Today/CNN/Gallup Poll taken Friday and Saturday after the GOP convention shows Clinton leading Bush, 52% to 42%. That's a 9-point gain from the pre-convention poll, which Clinton led 56%-37%.

GOP pollster Neil Newhouse says Bush has an uphill fight, "but the slope is not nearly as steep as it was two weeks ago." Democratic pollster Alan Secrest says a competitive race will become "a firefight on the issues. That's good for voters."

(Richard Benedetto, USA Today, 1A)

GOP INROADS SEEN AMONG KEY VOTER BLOCS

President Bush used the Republican convention to shave Bill Clinton's lead and gain support among key voter blocs he'll need to mount a come-from-behind win.

A USA Today/CNN/Gallup Poll taken Friday and Saturday, after the convention, showed Bush on the upswing among independents, suburbanites, Westerners, Southerners and conservatives.

But Bush is still the underdog because he's been unable to hold onto enough of those who voted for him in 1988 -- Democrats, Republicans and independents. He lags behind his 1988 vote among all three. Also, Bush is finding it difficult to tear conservative Democrats away from Clinton.

By region, Bush made convention gains among Westerners and Southerners. But in the Midwest and East, where loss of manufacturing jobs is a major concern, the gains were minimal.

(Richard Benedetto, USA Today, 5A)

BUSH GETS GOOD RESPONSE ON PITCH FOR FAMILY VALUES

President Bush still faces a rough road convincing voters he has the right stuff to put the economy back on track.

A USA Today/CNN/Gallup Poll taken after the GOP convention shows only slightly more than a third of voters saying he's better able to handle the economy than Bill Clinton. More than half say Clinton would do a better job.

If Clinton has a weakness, it's taxes: 50% say he's more likely than Bush to raise them. Only 34% say Bush is more likely than Clinton to raise taxes. But voters still remember Bush's reversal of his no-new-taxes pledge of 1988; six of ten say he'll raise taxes again no matter what he says now.

Bush made a strong pitch for family values in Houston, and it may have worked. Afterward, voters favored Bush over Clinton on family values, and they said Bush more than Clinton shared their views on religion in politics.

(USA Today, 5A)

**BUSH RECLAIMS LEAD IN
POLLS IN REPUBLICAN STRONGHOLD**

SANTA ANA, Calif. -- President Bush has reclaimed his lead over Bill Clinton in the traditional Republican stronghold of Orange County -- considered essential if he is to win California -- according to a poll published Sunday.

The latest poll showed Bush ahead by 48% to 38% for Clinton among voters in Orange County, which has voted Republican in every presidential election since 1944.

But the poll was not all good news for Bush. His lead is just within the survey's margin for error of plus or minus five percentage points.

The two-day telephone poll by the Orange County Register of 402 registered voters began as Bush was delivering his acceptance speech Thursday. (Reuter)

**CLINTON ACCUSES BUSH
OF PROMOTING INTOLERANCE**

CHAUTAUQUA, N.Y. -- The presidential campaign turned Sunday to the new odd couple of American politics: God and Woody Allen.

That unlikely political coupling was first thrust into the election contest in the South on Saturday when President Bush criticized the Democrats for not mentioning God in their platform and Rep. Gingrich tried to link the Democrats' attitude toward families to Allen.

Standing outside the First United Methodist Church in Erie, Pa., where he and Sen. Gore attended services Sunday morning, Bill Clinton called Bush's remarks "deeply offensive" and accused his opponent of "promoting an atmosphere of intolerance" and of injecting religion into the race for cynical political purposes. As for Gingrich, Clinton said the Georgia Republican's description of the Democratic platform's section on families as "the Woody Allen plank" was "off the wall and out of line."

"I think that (Bush) is promoting an atmosphere of intolerance in this country that is inconsistent with the spirit of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln," Clinton told reporters outside the church. "He has basically said that unless you believe in the Republican platform you don't believe in God and you're not an American.... I don't agree with that, and I don't think that's what America is all about."

Hillary Clinton said, "The argument that seems to have consumed the other political party about families is presenting a false choice to America." (Edward Walsh, Washington Post, A8)

Clinton Slams Back At Bush On God Comments, Woody Allen Link

CHAUTAUQUA, N.Y. -- Bill Clinton said Sunday that President Bush invoked a "deeply offensive" political ploy in questioning Democrats' commitment to God and said Republicans should be ashamed of their "off the wall" attack linking his values to Woody Allen's.

Clinton, arriving in Erie, Pa., early Sunday, defended his wife Hillary in the wake of a number of attacks on her by speakers at the Republican National Convention. If Bush "wants to run against my wife, it's OK with me if he wants to be first lady, but I don't want to live with him," Clinton told a crowd.

In Chautauqua, Clinton returned Bush's fire on the "family values" issue. The GOP, Clinton said, has a "great gap between talk and action" on this issue. He said that Republicans liked to scold the nation about values but don't back up the rhetoric with action in terms of helping pre-schoolers, bringing down infant mortality, improving health care or reducing the poverty rate.

He said the GOP's tone is "too polarized for short-term political purposes" and blocks meaningful debate about finding new ways to help families struggling in the changing world.

"We are not going to get anywhere... if we try to turn people who disagree with us politically into cultural aliens by distorting their words, misrepresenting their values and dividing the American people," Clinton said. (Karen Ball, AP)

Clinton: GOP Ignores 'Real' Families

CHATAUQUA, N.Y. -- The Democratic ticket concluded its Lake Erie bus tour Sunday with a coordinated counterattack on Republican assaults over religion and family values.

In remarks to reporters after church in Erie, Pa., Sunday, Bill Clinton said, "I think there are a lot of people who think that there ought to be a religious test for voting. But I don't think most Americans feel that way.

"I think that George Bush, raised in a very different religious tradition, is doing this for political purposes."

Hillary Clinton also fired back at GOP criticism. "What I find day after day and month after month is that so many families are coming to terms with the stresses of family life," Mrs. Clinton said in Chatauqua. "It is a difficult journey we are on, but let's help one another.

"This argument that seems to have consumed the other political party is presenting a false choice for America. There are families and parents trying to fulfill that sacred trust against unbelievable odds.... They have no health care, they have no jobs, and in too many cases they have no hope."

Clinton fired back at former President Reagan's efforts to compare him unfavorably with Thomas Jefferson. "I would never do that," Clinton said. (Ronald Taylor, Washington Times, A4)

**KEMP WARNS AGAINST
ATTACKING HILLARY CLINTON**

Republican attacks against Hillary Clinton are unnecessary and could alienate working women who identify with Mrs. Clinton, Secretary Kemp said Sunday.

"If she says something that bashes the President or Barbara Bush she should be taken on but so far as I can tell she has not....," Kemp said on NBC's "Meet the Press."

"I don't like to see bashing of anybody's wife," Kemp said, adding there were enough political differences between the Democrats and Republicans that attacks on Bill Clinton's wife were unnecessary.

Kemp said critical comments about Hillary Clinton at the Republican convention last week, where she was painted as a radical feminist and a dangerous liberal, were excessive. "I think they went too far," Kemp said, adding he cautioned against the tactic at Republican caucus sessions during the convention.

"We should be emphasizing our political differences, our economic ideas, our foreign policy differences, our trade differences and telling people what we're for as opposed to bashing and getting, ad hominem, personal and turning it into a holy war," Kemp said. (Reuter)

**END TO PERSONAL
BASHING IN CAMPAIGN URGED**

Democrats and Republicans called Sunday for more civility in the 1992 presidential campaign while peddling their respective candidates' superiority in fixing the country's economic problems.

"You cannot fix the budget until we fix the economy," Secretary Kemp said Sunday on NBC's "Meet the Press." "The President has pledged to fix the economy, get America moving again, create more jobs by using the entrepreneurial sector, not government spending and redistribution of wealth."

Gov. Cuomo said the Republican emphasis on family values, as well as personal attacks against Clinton and his wife Hillary, was an effort to divert attention from the more important issue of the nation's economy.

Bush has in the past referred to making the country a kinder and gentler nation, Cuomo said. But "then we heard Republicans tearing this country apart, cursing people, dividing us saints and sinners, condemning the people they thought were sinners because they don't live the way these Republicans want them to live. Hateful insults of all kinds," Cuomo said on CBS's "Face the Nation."

Cuomo accused Pat Buchanan of "spitting venom" in the face of the American people and accused Rep. Gingrich of invoking Woody Allen's name in reference to the Democratic platform as an effort to run from "the truth" about the nation's economic problems.

But Robert Teeter defended the Republican convention as more inclusive than the Democratic convention. On ABC's "This Week with David Brinkley," Teeter said he believed one role of a presidential campaign was to "sharpen the contrast between the choices." (UPI)

Kemp, Cuomo Agree GOP's Divisive Rhetoric Is Ill-Advised

Gov. Cuomo and Secretary Kemp, in separate post-mortems of last week's GOP convention, said Sunday that some Republican leaders' speeches threatened to divide the nation over family values.

On CBS's "Face the Nation," Cuomo said many voters are probably "scared to death" of the Republican campaign as presented during the GOP convention. "I would suspect that sensible, sensitive Americans are scared to death at this version of values - people getting up there and telling you 'This is a war over religion, culture,'" he said.

"My God, what are you saying? That if people don't believe in God the way you do, they're somehow inferior? That's a word they used in Nazi Germany!" Cuomo added.

Secretary Kemp said "I do not want to see a religious war, a jihad, or some type of battle that splits America. You can win an election, but you cannot govern the country by dividing the American people."

But Pat Buchanan repeated his call for a cultural war Sunday, saying that Bill Clinton wants to institute a "radical social agenda."

"And on this issue, I think the Republicans are in the mainstream, and Mr. Clinton far outside of it," he said on ABC's "This Week with David Brinkley, noting Clinton's support of homosexual rights. (Carleton Bryant, Washington Times, A4)

**LEGAL SCHOLARS SEE DISTORTION
IN ATTACKS ON HILLARY CLINTON**

Hillary Clinton, whose aggressive campaign style and dedication to children's causes seemed a political asset for Democrats at the beginning of the campaign season, now finds those qualities under full-scale attack as the Republicans try to turn her into a symbol of anti-family values.

The overall strategy appears to be to paint Mrs. Clinton as a radical feminist, in contrast with her Republican counterparts: Barbara Bush, the quintessential grandmother, and Marilyn Quayle who, like Mrs. Clinton, is a lawyer but has put aside her own career to support her husband's. And the focus of the attack is on two passages from Mrs. Clinton's legal writings, in law review articles from the 1970s.

Legal scholars familiar with Mrs. Clinton's work say the Republican critics are grossly distorting her positions. When the phrases in question are read in context, these scholars said, Mrs. Clinton's articles raise few eyebrows. But the attention to the two articles is a striking indication of just how hot a political issue the debate over women's roles has become in this presidential election. (Tamar Lewin, New York Times, A1)

**BUSH SHOWING FIRE IN
BELLY AFTER ALL**

DALLAS -- A sigh of relief is whistling through the forward cabin of Air Force One now that President Bush has shown he has fire in his belly after all.

In a span of five days, Bush has closed to within striking distance of Bill Clinton in public opinion polls. After months of avoiding hand-to-hand combat, Bush is on the attack and for once has Clinton on the defensive.

Senior officials who witnessed Bush's dog days of summer and felt a knot of worry in their stomachs are now saying they wished they had trusted the President all along. Said Ron Kaufman to reporters: "You guys don't listen to him. He said he'd start campaigning in earnest at the convention, and now he's keeping his word."

Others say Bush remained confident when some were trying to write his political obituary. To his family he has been a tower of strength. "He's not the kind of person to sit and be mournful," said Dorothy Bush Koch. "He's the one who encourages people like me who do get down. I'll admit it, sometimes it's overwhelming, the negative press that he's been getting."

"He's a person who, when he's 30 points behind, or 20 points, or 10, he sees it as a tremendous challenge. He gets kind of fired up," she said in an interview. (Steve Holland, Reuter)

**QUAYLE TAUNTED ON AIDS
DURING FLORIDA BUS TRIP**

LEESBURG, Fla. -- Vice President Quayle and his wife, Marilyn, journeyed into the steamy heart of conservative central Florida Sunday, waving at crowds from the open window of their bus as they rolled past such local monuments as the House of Presidents Wax Museum in Minneola.

Quayle spent the day speaking of "family values," but he could not escape taunts by AIDS activists who shouted at him outside of the First Baptist Church in Lakeland, which is about 30 miles east of Tampa.

Inside the church, Josie Parker stood up in an aisle amid the congregation of Southern Baptists and declared: "I'm dying of AIDS and God loves me." He shouted that Quayle and the Bush Administration have done nothing to fight the disease.

Protesters outside the church held up signs that read: "Jesus Loves Autum Aquino, Too!" Autum Aquino is a 7-year-old girl who has AIDS and whose family has received death threats because she wants to go to public school in Lakeland.

Inside the church, Quayle responded to Parker, who was led away by Secret Service agents, by saying that the Bush Administration spends more on AIDS research than it does on fighting cancer or heart disease.

(William Booth, Washington Post, A8)

**BAKER TAKES OVER AS
BUSH'S STAFF CHIEF**

James Baker left his diplomatic post on Sunday to take over as White House chief of staff. At the same time, Lawrence Eagleburger took charge as acting secretary of state.

Baker was widely suspected of encouraging President Bush to insert the tax-cut proposal in his nomination acceptance speech last Thursday. Already, Baker has acquired the final word on Bush's speeches and travel schedule, and some see his signature in a "message of the day" emanating from the campaign and the White House.

(Johanna Neuman & Judy Keen, USA Today, 4A)

Baker Returns, Bringing Tried-And-True Tactics

With but 10 weeks to election day, James Baker took over as White House chief of staff this Sunday evening amid expectations that he plans to reorder the top of the Republican re-election apparatus.

Under Baker's direction, aides said, the campaign will shun major policy initiatives in the remaining 73 days before the election, concentrating on a relentless effort to cast Bush as a better prepared, more capable and more trustworthy leader than Bill Clinton.

Baker is expected to put his stamp on the White House and the campaign rapidly. A senior White House official said in a recent interview that the President has given his old friend the authority to hire and fire both White House and re-election staff members.

Officials called it unlikely that Baker would risk further turmoil in Bush's re-election bid by dismissing top officials outright. But they also agreed that the locus of decision-making will shift from the campaign offices to the White House, and that the authority of some of the top three will diminish dramatically in fact, if not in title.

(Michael Wines, New York Times, A1)

**U.S. WILL TIGHTEN
HEALTH-LAB GOALS**

The Bush Administration has drafted a broad strategic plan that sets new priorities for the government's vast biomedical research efforts, which until now have proceeded along largely disparate paths chosen by individual scientists and research institutions.

The government plan is intended to channel \$9 billion in federal money to areas Washington deems critical to the nation's health, while for the first time also trying to insure that American medical researchers proceed along lines that keep the U.S. economically competitive.

The plan has alarmed many scientists, who say it gives the government too big a role in defining priorities and places too much emphasis on the commercial exploitation of their work. They say Washington is trying to set a national industrial policy.

But in an interview, Dr. Bernadine Healy, director of NIH and the principal architect of the new plan, said, "I don't understand why industrial policy is such a bad word." If scientists and NIH do not set clear priorities, she added, Congress and other outsiders will do so.

(Robert Pear, New York Times, A1)

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

BUSH EXPECTED TO ANNOUNCE 'NO-FLY ZONE' IN IRAQ

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. -- President Bush, preparing to draw a new line in the air over Iraq, soon will create a "no-fly zone" in which the U.S. and its allies would shoot down any intruding Iraqi plane or helicopter. Bush may announce the new restrictions as early as Tuesday, the same day he and Bill Clinton are making separate speeches to the American Legion convention in Chicago.

Preparations for confronting Iraq seem to be on the minds of White House officials, and the issue goes right to Bush's incumbent role as commander in chief and to his strength in foreign policy, an area in which Clinton has little experience.

There were reports in Washington and London this weekend that U.S. and British military units in the Persian Gulf region have been reinforced in preparation for the move.

(Timothy McNulty, Chicago Tribune)

EXPECTED 'NO-FLY' ZONE WOULD BE NEW U.S. PLAN TO OUST SADDAM

With the expected move to set up a "no-fly zone" over southern Iraq, the U.S. and its key Desert Storm allies are stepping up their yet-unfinished war against Saddam Hussein.

The effort marks an important shift in allied strategy born of frustration after waiting in vain for those closest to the Iraqi dictator to oust him in a military coup. It is a dramatic move to foster opposition by emphasizing Saddam's eroding control over his country, but also a potentially dangerous one that easily could draw U.S. forces into renewed clashes with Iraq.

Against the backdrop of the U.S. presidential campaign, the planned air patrols over southern Iraq would enable President Bush to deflect Democratic criticism that he ended the Persian Gulf War too soon by declaring -- as he did Thursday night at the Republican National Convention -- that the U.S. has "locked a tyrant in the prison of his own country."

Saddam's troops and secret police remain in place in the south. They have been shelling civilian areas and abducting young men in a declared effort to quash a low-level Shiite insurgency.

"Our speculation is that if the allies challenge Saddam Hussein and control the air, he will respond on the ground to reassert his authority," said Laith Kubba, an Iraqi Shiite who was among opposition leaders appealing for support in a recent meeting in Washington with Secretary Baker. "He will pour more arms and security men and military units into the area, and he might terrorize the people in order to assure their obedience."

(Terry Atlas, Chicago Tribune)

**RABIN ANNOUNCES FREEING OF
800 PALESTINIANS ON EVE OF TALKS**

JERUSALEM -- Prime Minister Rabin announced the early release of 800 prisoners Sunday in a gesture to Palestinians on the eve of resumption of negotiations in Washington that could test whether Rabin's election has changed the outlook for Middle East peace.

Rabin said Israel would release 800 prisoners who have completed two-thirds of their sentences, but he excluded any sentenced for "violent attacks with a toll of victims." He also pledged a "gradual" reopening of streets and alleys in commercial and residential areas, and he said homes that were sealed five years ago or earlier -- before the beginning of the Palestinian insurrection -- would be reopened on a case-by-case basis. He said Israel would now permit Arab laborers over age 50 to enter the country without a permit, a reduction from the previous threshold of 60.

On Friday, the Palestinian delegation returned to Jerusalem and delayed its departure for the talks to protest Israeli permit procedures for crossing the Allenby Bridge into Jordan. Sunday, after consultations with the U.S., the delegation departed for Washington. Spokeswoman Hanan Ashrawi said they had been given assurances that the delegation could depart unimpeded, without obtaining permits for five staff members as Israel was demanding.

Palestinian negotiators say they will resist being pushed into agreements in Washington to satisfy the political needs of the Bush Administration. The negotiators are expected to demand more power for the governing authority than Israel has suggested, as well as a wider scope for autonomy. (David Hoffman, Washington Post, A12)

**U.S. TOOK SLOW APPROACH
TO SOMALI CRISIS**

For more than six months, the U.S. has been officially describing the man-made famine in Somalia as "the most acute humanitarian tragedy in the world today." For more than three months, U.S. documents have been reporting that millions of Somalis face the threat of starvation.

Yet it was only 10 days ago that the White House ordered its first dramatic action to deal with the crisis, an emergency airlift of food.

According to interviews with officials involved and close observers outside of government, the Bush Administration's slow-motion reaction to the Somalian tragedy was caused by a complex and intractable civil war on the ground, the relatively low priority given to the crisis by the news media until recently, and a policymaking apparatus consumed by a proliferation of other humanitarian problems, from Yugoslavia to Iraq.

"It bothers me a lot that these things happen, and I am ultimately responsible for this and I sit a lot and say, 'What could I have done differently over the last year,' because it weighs on me a lot," said Andrew Natsios, the overseas relief chief for AID and recently named by President Bush to be special coordinator for Somalian relief. Natsios concluded, "I don't know what else we could have tried."

(Don Oberdorfer, Washington Post, A13)

**U.S. NOT IN STEP WITH E.C.
IN TALKS ON YUGOSLAVIA**

Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger flies to London Monday, hoping to succeed where the EC has failed in ending the bloody conflict in Yugoslavia. He will be attending a European security conference in London called to grapple with the Yugoslav conflict.

Eagleburger has already forcefully spelled out what U.S. aims at the conference will be: to end the killing as soon as possible and limit the conflict from spreading elsewhere in the Balkans. Most of all, the new secretary has been insistent that Serbia not be allowed to hold on to the territory it has conquered in the conflict from both Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

Leading EC governments, especially Britain, are much more ready than Washington to accept the new status quo, giving the Serbs de facto control over the two-thirds of Bosnia they have conquered this year.

The British, mindful that World War I broke out over an assassination in Sarajevo, do not want to see the great powers sucked into another Balkan quagmire. The Europeans also believe that U.S. insistence on the reconstruction of Bosnia is unrealistic. They point out that Bosnia has never been an independent state in the 115 years since it was freed from half a millennium under the Turkish Ottoman Empire.

(News Analysis, Martin Sieff, Washington Times, A8)

**CHINA, S. KOREA
ESTABLISH FULL RELATIONS**

BEIJING -- China and South Korea established diplomatic relations Monday after more than 40 years of official hostility.

South Korean Foreign Minister Lee Sang Ock, who arrived in Beijing Sunday for final talks, and his Chinese counterpart, Qian Qichen, signed the agreement creating full diplomatic ties in a ceremony carried live by Chinese state television. Strengthened trade relations led the way to the diplomatic move.

The New China News Agency said South Korean President Roh Tae Woo will visit China "in the near future."

South Korean ties with China will further isolate the Pyongyang regime to the north, already reeling from the loss of Soviet aid following the collapse of communist rule in Moscow. At the same time, South Korean diplomats hope the new association with China will bring pressure on the north to improve ties with Seoul.

(Lena Sun, Washington Post, A10)

**CHINA REBUFFS U.S.
IN TRADE DISPUTE**

BEIJING -- China criticized the U.S. for drawing up a hit list of Chinese exports targeted for punitive tariffs in a bilateral dispute, threatening retaliation if the measures are imposed.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade was quoted by the official Xinhua news agency as saying Sunday China "regrets" the lack of substantial progress in the latest talks on the "market access" dispute.

(UPI)

NETWORK NEWS

(Sunday Evening, August 23)

HURRICANE ANDREW

CBS's Edie Magnus: It may just be the worst hurricane to ever hit a metropolitan area in the U.S. Hurricane Andrew is bearing down on Florida. It is packing winds clocked at 150 mph. More than 1 million have been ordered to evacuate, and the National Guard has been placed on alert. A hurricane warning now extends from Vero Beach to Key West along the Atlantic coast and from Venice to Flamingo along Florida's west coast. (ALL NETS LEAD)

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN/REPUBLICANS

Magnus: President Bush took his re-election campaign to Illinois, making a pitch for the farm vote. He was blasting away again at Bill Clinton and the Democrats in Congress.

CBS's Randall Pinkston: Full of fight, President Bush marched into the state fair in southern Illinois, a traditional Republican stronghold in America's heartland.

(**TV Coverage** of the President and Mrs. Bush walking, waving to crowd.)

President Bush: "I am going to do what Harry Truman did. In this campaign, no, it's not give-em-hell, but they're going to think it's hell when I get through with them." [Cheering.] "But here's what it is.")

Mr. Bush promised at last week's convention to go after congressmen who had opposed his policies. Today, Illinois Democratic Congressman Richard Durbin was the first target.

(**President:** "The congressman from this district voted against us on Desert Storm. He tried to bring legal papers against me." [Crowd boos.] "He is against a balanced budget amendment. And I want John Chimkus [phonetic] to replace him in the United States Congress." [Cheering.]

The audience of farmers heard precious little about their concerns. Nor did they hear any details about the President's proposed across-the-board tax cuts, dubbed by Democrat Clinton as campaign fantasies.

(**President:** "I have a message for Gov. Clinton. Americans aren't afraid of cutting spending and lowering taxes; they fear most of all a rubber-stamp president that will rubber-stamp this spendthrift Congress." [Cheering.]

But Mr. Bush's own team admitted there are some gaps in the President's loosely-defined proposal to cut taxes and spending.

(**Rep. Kemp:** "Clearly, the presidential debates between Bill Clinton and George Bush will get down to specifics.")

But Democrats claim the Republicans and George Bush have already had 12 years to prove their tax theories.

(**Gov. Cuomo on Face the Nation:** "He says all we have to do is give the wealthy people back a lot of their wealth and they will invest it in the free enterprise system and they'll make all the right judgments. We tried that; it didn't work.")

-more-

Pinkston continues: There were plans to swear in James Baker as the President's new chief of staff in a private ceremony. But he will be very much under the spotlight as he tries to drive Mr. Bush to victory in a hard-fought campaign. (CBS-2)

ABC's Forrest Sawyer: The presidential race is churning up some high winds, with President Bush telling crowds he will not let the nightmare of a Clinton presidency take place. Gov. Clinton has countered by saying he found some of the President's remarks offensive -- in their opening jabs in what promises to be a bare-knuckled campaign fight.

ABC's Kathleen DeLaski: The President came to the Illinois State Fair to begin wooing industrial states, where his support, like the economy, is weak.

(TV Coverage of the President and First Lady walking, holding hands, waving to crowd.)

But today's speech, like others since the convention, was also weak -- on tax cut details.

(President Bush: "I have a message for Gov. Clinton: Americans aren't afraid of cutting spending and lowering taxes. They fear most of all a rubber-stamp president that will rubber-stamp this spendthrift Congress.")

As he toured a tractor exhibit, the President ridiculed Clinton for charging that Bush is misrepresenting the Democrats' tax plans.

(President to reporters: "I've never heard him quite like this. Nine months of hammering me, takes a little, gentle broadside, and he starts to whine and complain.")

The Bush campaign denies any negative campaigning. Advisers conclude from polls that they are closing the gap to 10 points by defining the issues. But these protesters outside the Dallas convention hall, where Bush spoke last night, charged that the President is glossing over real issues by focusing on vague family values.

(TV Coverage of a several placard-waving demonstrators.)

Inside, the President told an evangelical group in effect that the Democrats had turned their backs on God by leaving the word "God" out of their party platform.

(President: "Our party's platform is different. We are proud to celebrate our country's Judeo-Christian heritage, unrivalled in the world.")

The Bush campaign denies it, but it appears since the convention that advisers have developed a two-track attack: to go after Congress and Clinton on the record, and to go after their party on morals. (ABC-2)

NBC's Michelle Gillen: In Illinois, President Bush said Clinton would be a rubber-stamp president for a spendthrift Congress. He dismissed the governor's record as -- quote -- a joke.

NBC's Jim Miklaszewski: It was family day at the Illinois State Fair, but Bush was sounding anything but brotherly toward Congress.

(President: "In this campaign, it's not give-em hell, but they're going to think it's hell when I get through with them.")

And standing in front of a hay-bailer, Bush responded to Clinton's charge that he was distorting Clinton's record.

Miklaszewski continues:

(President: "For nine months, Bill Clinton has been hitting me. He gets hit back mildly; haven't begun to fight yet, I haven't; and he starts to whine and complain. The American people don't want that. We've got big differences on our ideas and that's what we're talking about.")

In a three-day campaign swing, Bush has been touting his acceptance speech proposal to cut taxes.

(TV Coverage of the President and First Lady walking, shaking hands with people, waving. Placard-waving crowd watches the President speak.)

But he offers no specifics on how to pay for it. Campaign officials say Americans only need to know that Bush is in favor of cutting taxes; specifics can wait. Conservatives like Secretary Kemp think it's good politics.

(Secretary Kemp: "I think it's not only good politics, it's very good economics.")

Foreign policy has been Bush's strong point, and White House officials say he'll announce as early as Tuesday that the U.S. and its allies will impose a no-fly zone in southern Iraq and warn Saddam Hussein that his warplanes will be shot down if they fly attacks against the Shiites in the south. President Bush strongly denies that any action taken against Iraq would be politically motivated, but one senior Administration official admits that may be hard to prove. The official said Bush must convince Americans that any action taken against Iraq is to enforce U.N. resolutions and not win re-election. (NBC-4)

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN/DEMOCRATS

Gillen: Bill Clinton's latest bus tour is coming to an end tonight here in New York state.

NBC's John Dancy: Campaigns live and die by manipulating symbols. George Bush learned that four years ago when he took the Pledge of Allegiance as an issue. Now he's trying to make the family an issue, and today Clinton fought back.

(TV Coverage of singing, cheering crowd at Clinton rally.) Clinton fought back using the gorgeous Victorian backdrop of Chautauqua, New York, the small town whose summer lecture series has been world-famous since the 19th Century as a place to exchange ideas and argue philosophies. Hammered by the GOP convention on so-called family values, the Clinton-Gore campaign today prominently featured the candidates' wives.

(Tipper Gore: "This is a woman who is a friend to children, a friend to families.")

Hillary Clinton emphasized her work for the Children's Defense Fund.

(Hillary Clinton: "We have to move now. We have to care now. Because there are too many American children waiting, waiting, waiting.")

President Bush is manipulating symbols, too, trying to portray Clinton as slick while members of his campaign are trying to paint Clinton as a womanizer. Speaking to a group of evangelical leaders last night, Bush accused the Democrats of leaving God out of their platform.

(President: "I was struck by the fact that the other party took words to put together their platform but left out three simple letters: G-o-d.")

-more-

Dancy continues: That prompted a sharp reaction from Clinton.

(Clinton to reporters: "You know, he is promoting an atmosphere of intolerance in this country. The implications that he has made that somehow Democrats are Godless is deeply offensive to me.") So Clinton today used the icons of Americana, religious and intellectual freedom and the family. Clearly this is a campaign that is not going to be out-symboled. (NBC-3)

Magnus: Meanwhile, Bill Clinton was rolling through the Rust Belt again today, firing back at President Bush.

CBS's Richard Threlkeld: The Clinton campaign used today's bus stop at the summer discussion forum in Chautauqua, New York to take on George Bush on the question of family values.

(TV Coverage of Clinton being applauded by crowd.)

Clinton challenged the Republicans to stop name-calling and start a contest of ideas about how to save the American family.

(Gov. Clinton: "The thing that bothers me is that the tone of the family values debate today is too polarized for short-term political purposes and too little imbued with a deep, profound concern for the welfare of the real people whose real lives will be affected by the real decisions of America in this election.") Earlier, in Erie, Pa., Clinton responded to Bush's remarks this weekend that the word "God" got short-shrift in the Democratic Party's platform.

(Gov. Clinton outside church: "He has basically said that unless you agree with the Republican platform, you don't believe in God and you're not an American.")

This bus tour has been accenting both the positive and the negative.

(TV Coverage: Various shots of the bus caravan.)

The stops at places like last night's Lawrence County Fair designed the play up the ticket's commitment to middle America, combined with Clinton's often-harsh rejoinders to the President's attacks on him.

(Gov. Clinton: "Old Mr. Bush says Bill Clinton wants to let the government strangle the health care system; it'll have the compassion of the KGB and the competence of the House post office. There he is goin' out to Walter Reed Hospital all the time gettin' his government health care, cussin' me because I want you to have the same health care he does." [Cheering.]

The Clinton caravan winds up tonight in Buffalo but resumes later this week in Texas. That's George Bush's home state. Even so, the Democrats think they've got a shot at taking Texas in November.

(CBS-3)

ABC's Chris Bury: After attending church this morning in Pennsylvania, Gov. Clinton -- a Baptist known to quote scripture -- accused the President of promoting an atmosphere of intolerance.

(TV Coverage of Clinton appearing before crowd. Scattered applause.)

(Gov. Clinton, to reporters: "The implications that he has made that somehow Democrats are Godless are deeply offensive to me, to Sen. Gore, and to a lot of us who cherish our religious convictions.")

Religion was just one point of contention as the Democrats, back on the bus, took on issues Republicans raised in their convention.

-more-

Bury continues: Today in upstate New York, it was family values. Tipper Gore defended her crusade for voluntary rating on pop music, and Clinton blasted Bush again for vetoing the Family Leave Act. (Gov. Clinton at rally: "If 72 other countries can figure out how to let parents get off of work without pay when kids are born or parents are sick, then we ought to be able to do it, too.")

Wherever they went, the Democrats skewered the President as an uncaring ally of the rich and counterattacked Bush on trust.

(Sen. Gore at rally: "Wasn't Bush the one who said, 'Read my lips. No new taxes, '? Was he trustworthy when he made that pledge?")

In spite of last week's Congress-bashing, Clinton campaigned all weekend with members of Congress. Today on "This Week with David Brinkley," Speaker Foley joined that debate.

(Speaker Foley: "The President's recent position is a position of no cooperation, of just turning around blasting the Congress and taking this totally negative attitude. It doesn't reflect reality, it doesn't reflect what the American people want to see a president do.")

The Clinton camp has launched a double-barreled offensive, counterattacking the President on issues like family values and religion, and just plain attacking on the economy. (ABC-3)

V.P. TRIP

Sawyer reports Vice President Quayle took a trip of his own, traveling through central Florida. His mission: to make sure Reagan Democrats stay in the Republican camp this fall. At a rally in Leesburg, Quayle told the crowd President Bush and Bill Clinton are "miles apart on the major issues."

(TV Coverage of Vice President and Mrs. Quayle waving from inside bus.) (ABC-4)

ORANGE COUNTY

Sawyer reports Orange County, California has apparently returned to its conservative roots. The latest poll in the Orange County Register shows President Bush has come from behind to lead Clinton by 10 points (48-38). (ABC-5)

IRAQ/NO-FLY ZONE

Magnus reports the White House says President Bush could announce a new allied no-fly zone for southern Iraq early Tuesday. The allies would shoot down any Iraqi warplanes trying to attack Shiite dissidents in the area.

CBS's Tom Fenton reports on carefully-orchestrated pro-Saddam demonstrations in southern Iraq. The picture the regime wants to show is happy Arabs 100% behind their leader. The reality of southern Iraq is somewhat different. Reporters could hear the distant sound of arms fire deep inside the marshes. These are the people the West abandoned after the war. When the Shiites rebelled against Saddam Hussein, the U.S. allowed the Iraqi army to crush the revolt. Now the West seems to have had a change of mind.

(ABC-7, NBC-5, CBS-7)

CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS/FINANCING

Magnus reports on what lawyers call "estate planning for Medicaid." They advise their clients to pour cash into their homes, give money to their children, or put it in irrevocable trusts. All this spending down makes middle class people technically poor enough on paper to qualify for welfare payments, although they lose control over their assets. This angers critics who say welfare should be reserved for those who truly need it. Legislators in Ohio have introduced legislation to take away the license of any lawyer or accountant who gives that advice. (CBS-4)

SARAJEVO

CBS's Martha Teichner reports from Belgrade that for the last three days, Sarajevo has suffered its worst bombardment in weeks, a deadly effort by all sides to gain ground before negotiations begin. The Serbs believe that by helping the Muslims the West is only prolonging the war. (NBC-8, CBS-5)

Gillen interviews Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Niles, who says the peace conference will be designed to come up with a process within which new solutions can be sought.

SOMALIA

Magnus reports food airlifted by U.S. cargo planes began to reach Somalian victims of mass famine. (ABC-8, CBS-6)

MIDEAST TALKS

Sawyer reports Israeli negotiators arrived in Washington on the eve of the latest round of Mideast peace talks. The Palestinian delegation was just getting on its way after resolving a two-day dispute with Israel over travel restrictions. The Israeli government is offering an olive branch on other issues: Israel says it will loosen restrictions on Palestinians entering Israel, release hundreds of Palestinian prisoners and reopen some roads in the occupied territories. Those gestures and other concessions by the new government are fueling hopes that this time the peace talks might make some headway. (NBC-7, ABC-9)

-end of B-Section-

ABC -- THIS WEEK WITH DAVID BRINKLEY

Moderator: Sam Donaldson. **Panel:** George Will, Cokie Roberts.
Guests: Speaker Foley, Pat Buchanan, Robert Teeter.

Guest: Robert Teeter.

Donaldson: Do you accept the characterization of the Bush campaign as being one in which you emphasize the negatives more than the positives of the President's past 3 1/2 years?

Teeter: No, absolutely not. We think coming out of the convention...we've got a good start to outline this campaign to the voters as really a choice between two very fundamentally different directions for the country's future, particularly with regard to economic policy.

Will: [Are you] vexed, troubled and surprised at the role [Hillary Clinton] played in the Republican rhetoric in Houston?

Teeter: I don't know that I was vexed or troubled. I think we had a wide array of speakers...and they all spoke on their own. We didn't try to control or limit what any of them had to say.

Roberts: Some people did come away from that convention feeling excluded.... For instance, gays certainly feel that way. Working women say they have felt that this convention said they were making the wrong choice, and the polling data is showing that once again there is a large gender gap between Bush and Clinton. Are you able to win by excluding all these people from the party?

Teeter: No, certainly not. In every effort, I think if you compare the Republican convention with the Democratic convention, it was far less exclusive in the Republican Convention.... We had a much wider array of speakers. Our platform hearings listened to every opinion on every issue that people wanted to come and visit with us about and testify to, and so, I think frankly that we did a much better job of being inclusive than the Democrats did.

Roberts: Your platform hearings included some interesting debates. For instance, the new world order -- a phrase that the President has been using -- was taken out...because there were some Robertson supporters who considered the new world order an international conspiracy.... Is this a mainstream platform?

Teeter: I think that the platform reflects a process that the party went through and, frankly, the President is going to continue to use the terms and the words he has in the past....

Donaldson: The President says there will be some sort of tax cut if he is re-elected after the first of the year, together with spending cuts, but he's not specific. Now isn't that somewhat reminiscent of the 1968 campaign in which Richard Nixon promised a secret plan to end the Vietnam War but couldn't say what it was? Do you think the American people will buy that?

Teeter: I think they'll by what the President is saying very well. What the President is really saying is that there are two very fundamentally different choices in the direction of economic policy for this country's future.... He believes we ought to have a market economy, free trade, lower taxes, less government spending....

Will: Clearly at the convention there was an undercurrent of concern, interest and worry about homosexuality and homosexual rights. Can you tell us one or two ways in which the President differs from Mr. Clinton on public policy toward homosexuals?

Teeter: I'm not sure what Gov. Clinton's position is, but I know the President's position. The President has said many times that he does not personally approve of that lifestyle. He has also said that he does not believe that any group should be discriminated against or treated unfairly in the United States. He is strongly opposed to any kind of bashing, whether it's gays or anyone else, treating them unfairly. But he does not believe that we need any additional laws in that area.

Roberts: the other thing that we've heard from people since the convention is that the President didn't seem to show any empathy for people who are hurting and for what is going on out there, and again the polls are showing that he favors the rich more than the middle income. Is the President going to do anything about that?

Teeter: I think the President will do something about that every day he is out campaigning. I've watched him -- he has campaigned across the South the last two days, and he has talked about it at almost every stop. He does understand that there are a lot of people in this country who are not doing well and are hurting economically.

Will: You've no doubt seen Michael Kinsley's column and other analysis saying that the President's claim that Bill Clinton raised taxes 128 times in 11 years is fraudulent, that if you applied the same lax and peculiar standards to the President's record, he has raised taxes 133 times in just 4 years. Do you think Mr. Kinsley and the other analysts are wrong and if so, are you going to quit saying that about Mr. Clinton?

Teeter: We think Mr. Kinsley's analysis is wrong.... This again is pointing out the fundamental difference between these two candidates. You've got someone who's basically opposed to more taxes and spending and wants to lower them running against someone who is in favor of more taxes and spending, and that is what he has proposed....

Guest: Pat Buchanan.

Donaldson: ...So what's the case for re-electing George Bush?

Buchanan: It's this: There's no doubt the economy has been in tough shape. The President conceded he made a mistake in raising taxes, and I think we won the argument. And what the election is about, however, is the future of America on the economic issue. Bill Clinton is going to raise taxes.

-more-

Buchanan continues: He's going to increase spending. He's going to raise payroll taxes. And George Bush says he will try to control spending and try to cut taxes. If the voters vote on the future, the economic agenda for the future of George Bush vs. Bill Clinton, I think we win it.

Will: I wanted to ask you a question that maybe you'll answer that Mr. Teeter said he couldn't answer and that is where, with some precision, do Clinton and Bush differ on the question of...public policy regarding homosexuals?

Buchanan: Bill Clinton wants to include sexual orientation in the Civil Rights Act of the United States. In my judgement that legalizes homosexual marriages and homosexual adoptions and puts them on the same plane as traditional marriage....

Will: But he hasn't taken a position, has he?

Buchanan: Well, he has included this, as I understand it, in the Civil Rights Law of 1964. He went out to the gay rights group in California, and I think he did it because he thought he was going to be in a 3-way race and if he puts together McGovern's coalition he wins. He is now in a 2-way race and he has taken a radical position where, I think, [he favors] abortion on demand. He is in favor, as I understand it, of 15-year-old girls getting abortions without telling their parents. Now that is not in the mainstream....

Will: ...Mr. Bush, you're saying, would disapprove of homosexual marriages.

Buchanan: Yes.

Guest: Speaker Foley.

Donaldson: George Bush says he's really Harry Truman and he's going to run against Congress....

Foley: He doesn't have any relation to Harry Truman. You know, the story is that Harry Truman's "The Buck Stops Here" sign was taken off his desk by President Bush and put into storage. And as a matter of fact I think it's symbolic of what's happened in the Administration. We don't have a do-nothing Congress; we have a do-nothing President on domestic policy.... Where the President's cooperated, we've succeeded. Where he hasn't, where he's used the veto and obstructed, we have gridlock....

Will: The President says he held out his hand to you on Inauguration Day, and you bit it.

Foley: On the contrary, we passed legislation that the President's been boasting about in the first two years of his Administration. In fact, John Sununu's statement, after the last congressional election, was to recite all the important things we did: child care, clean air, and so on and so on -- which the President was taking credit for but passed by the Congress with the President.

Foley continues: In his Administration we passed higher education, we passed secondary education, we passed legislation that will provide for cable deregulation, we passed low-income tax cuts, or middle-income tax cuts, and campaign reform. Many of them have been vetoed by the President. Family and medical leave. They talk about family values.

Will: ...There's a strong feeling in a segment of society that the family is in jeopardy. What's causing that?

Foley: ...It's not the result of some kind of political program or agenda. That's absolute nonsense. The interesting thing about the President's speech in Houston was that...Buchanan lost the primaries but he won the rhetorical argument. The President has virtually turned over to Pat Buchanan, to Jerry Falwell and to Pat Robertson the intellectual and rhetorical Republican Party. And to do that I think is to risk not only what the country wants to see and what the country believes, but what many Republicans accept and believe. It's an unfortunate move away from the mainstream in a dramatic and radical way.

Donaldson: What do you think is going to happen when President Bush makes good on his promise to go into Democratic districts and specifically run against the incumbent congressperson by saying: You might think he's a nice guy, but let me tell you, he's a radical?

Foley: I will welcome President Bush in my district, as I have before.... But let me return you to the record: 144 Democrats in the House of Representatives were elected in districts carried by George Bush in 1988. This year those Democrats I think are going to be elected in fewer districts as Bill Clinton and Al Gore are going to win many of those districts.

###

CBS -- FACE THE NATION

Moderator: Bob Schieffer.

Panel: Tom Oliphant, Michel McQueen of The Wall Street Journal.

Guest: Gov. Mario Cuomo.

Schieffer: Let me start by saying that your man says that he's going to raise taxes on the rich. President Bush says he's going to cut everybody's taxes. That's a very popular ploy. How are you going to beat it?

Cuomo: Not with fancy footwork, I hope.... I think if you're reasonable, there's one grand issue: We're on our knees because there are 17 million people underemployed or unemployed. How do you put them back to work? What President Bush is saying, no matter how they dress it up and no matter how hateful they make it sound at moments, is: "I want to give you back a technicolor version of the old Reagan movie 'Supply Side.' Remember how well that worked? I want to do it again, only this time in technicolor! Big tax cuts, spending decreases." How do you do that, Mr. President? "Well, I'll tell you that later, but it's going to be great, just like the last time." Well, the last time nearly killed us as a nation, and I think Bill Clinton has to remind people it didn't work. President Reagan is a wonderful, lovable man, but it didn't work. The Japanese are beating us, the Germans are beating us, we're \$4 trillion in debt, the worst growth since Hoover. So what Bill Clinton has to do: just keep telling the truth....

Schieffer: ...The President says he won't cut any taxes he can't pay for, but I wonder, how would you pay for a tax cut...?

Cuomo: You should wonder. He won't tell you because he can't.... Where are you going to get it? He's already told us he's going to cut \$294 billion, you know, it's a cap on entitlements. You want entitlements out? That's health care for sick people. That's people who...are not taken care of by the free enterprise system....

You know who's not laughing? The international money markets.... Our dollar -- lowest-every value against the Deutchmark. Why? Well, the rest of the world isn't getting conned by balloons at conventions. What they are saying is, you guys don't know what you're doing if you're talking now with this huge debt, you need money for everything. You're broke. And you're saying you're going to give people back maybe a billion dollars?...

Schieffer: The theme of this convention was family values.... What do you make of all this, and are Republicans right in suggesting that they sort of have the edge in family values?

Cuomo: I really don't know how America reacts to this one.... I'm frightened. You know, President Bush used a magnificent line some time ago. He said, "I'm going to make the country kinder and gentler." And then we heard Republicans tearing this country apart, cursing people, dividing us saints and sinners, you know, condemning the people they thought were sinners because they don't live the way these Republicans want to live -- hateful insults of all kinds.

-more-

Cuomo continues: I'll tell you, I would suspect that sensible, sensitive Americans are scared to death at this version of values - people getting up there and telling you this is a war over religion, culture. My God, what are you saying? That if people don't believe in God the way you do, they're somehow inferior? What do you mean by culture? That's a word they used in Nazi Germany....

...Why do they attack New York all the time? ...Why did they send George Bush to attack us so badly as vice president that George Will called him a lapdog? ...Because when you see New York City, you see all those different colors, all those ethnicities, all those poor people. What they're telling you is, "That's them.... That's not us. It's us against them."

Schieffer: Are you saying that this was some sort of code word, that what the Republicans were trying to say what that they're normal and the Democrats are the other --

Cuomo: The "nice people".... And look, they did this [with] a fascinating approach, too, which I was unhappy with. President Bush and Barbara Bush -- Barbara Bush certainly one of the most popular Americans in many decades, and she deserves to be -- President and Barbara Bush [saying], "Oh, we would never call anybody a skirt-chaser. Oh, we never say those harsh things about this or that." Meanwhile, all over the convention they're showing t-shirts of Italians as Mafia, they're calling one another names. Buchanan's up there spitting venom in the face of the American people and President Bush and Barbara Bush are saying: We can't control it.

Wait a minute, President Bush. I thought you were Harry Truman. I thought you told Saddam to go to heck. I thought you were a tough guy. You were going to go after the congresspeople. But you can't tell your national convention chairman how to avoid insults? You want me to believe that, Mr. President? I think you're pulling my leg.

McQueen: ...When you ran into a fiscal crunch [in New York], you refused to raise taxes on corporate profits. It sounds like supply side to me. If it's good for New York State, why isn't it good for the United States?

Cuomo: ...Because there's a tremendous difference between the United States and the states. The United States is one of the most undertaxed nations in the industrial world.... If I would have raised it, I lose business to New Jersey; I lost business to Pennsylvania, I lost business to Connecticut. I can't afford to do it. That's why the federal government has to do it and give money to the states....

McQueen: So President Bush is right: Bill Clinton is going to raise taxes?

Cuomo: No, I didn't say that.... Bill Clinton is only going to raise taxes about \$20 billion a year and then only on the people above \$200,000.... You've got to cut entitlements. That's the biggest part of the budget. Bill Clinton says he will cut entitlements....

NBC -- MEET THE PRESS

Moderator: Tim Russert. **Panel:** Elizabeth Drew, Johnny Apple.

Guest: Secretary Kemp.

Russert: A few weeks ago, you wrote a memo to the Bush campaign and said Americans are tired of old cliches; if Bush simply resorts to calling for a balanced-budget amendment and a line-item veto, the American people will surely lose interest. Isn't that exactly what he did?

Kemp: Not really. The headline in the New York Times -- Bush Promises Across-the-Board Tax Cut; Vows Economic Revival in Second Term -- that's a powerful headline.... I think that grabbed a lot of the feeling that the American people feel.

Russert: ...The President said he will not cut defense, not cut Social Security, and you can't default on the debt. By my calculation, in order to balance the budget, you would have to cut every other program in government...by at least 40%.

Kemp: The premise upon which your question is based, in my view, is faulty in that you cannot fix a budget until you fix the economy. The President has pledged to get this economy growing again, to expand. And as I tried to point out in my speech Tuesday night, if we double the economy in the next 12 years, we'd have another \$300 billion of revenue.... That's all you have to do, is restrain the growth of spending at a rate lower than the rate of increase in the economy.... With a lid on spending, you can grow out from underneath a \$300 billion deficit.

Russert: What programs would you cap?

Kemp: All discretionary spending should be frozen. All entitlements other than Social Security should grow at the rate of inflation....

Drew: Do you know what size across-the-board tax cuts the President is planning to propose?

Kemp: He was not specific any more than it was specific when Bill Clinton -- He was no more specific than John Kennedy in 1960 saying, "I pledge to get America moving again."

Drew: ...Another thing he said was that individuals could check off [a box] to dedicate 10% of their taxes to deficit reduction, and that would mean there would have to be equivalent program cuts. He's not talking about first you do your supply side or your incentives or your capital gains and then we'll have a growing economy. Basically, do you differ from him in your philosophy on this?

-more-

Kemp: No, I'm sure he said...he's going to press again for across-the-board cuts in the capital gains tax, eliminate it in the inner city, lower the tax on the first-time homebuyer and on the family, and an across-the-board tax cut for the American people if we can get a Congress that will work with him and if we can get a restraint on the rise in spending. This is not a cut in spending so much as it's a cut in the growth of spending and that's a legitimate position for the President to take....

Apple: (following further discussion of cutting taxes): Sitting here listening to you it sounds to me as if you're talking about the Jack Kemp economic program instead of about the George Bush economic program. You wanted to cut taxes across the board...as a means of stimulating the economy which would increase the overall tax take. George Bush isn't advocating that. He's advocating an across-the-board tax cut if there is an equivalent cut in spending. Doesn't that have a very different impact on the economy?

Kemp: I admit we see it differently, but the Weber-Kemp memo clearly called for a freeze on discretionary spending.... Now the President has suggested that the reason the economy is not growing fast enough is that government spends too much and it over-taxes...and the fact that he doesn't say it the way I say it does not deny the fact that we both believe in getting America growing again.... He has said that the spending cut would come in conjunction and is correlative to the tax cut, but he is still calling for an across-the-board cut in the capital gains rate, that tax should be lower on the first time homebuyer --

Russert: Do you support the [Republican] platform?

Kemp: I support the platform. I support the President's theme, his tone, and his tenor, and that which is far more inclusive than some of the speakers at our convention.... I don't want a holy war or a religious war. I want to protect the First Amendment. I want more civility to the debate, and I want our party to be a big tent. But I do believe that our party should run on the platform upon which Ronald Reagan and George Bush were both elected.

POLITICAL DISCUSSION

On the economy as an issue:

Apple: ...I think they [Republicans] are going to keep at this negative stuff. I think in the long run it may hurt them. There is every evidence this year that people want specific answers. In particular I think it could hurt them with women, because if women get the idea that Hillary Clinton's lifestyle under attack means that they're under attack for having jobs, a lot of them are going to say, "I don't have any choice but to have a job and I don't like being attacked for it."

Drew: I think they have reframed [the election] into two issues. One is that "Democrats are taxers and spenders and we're not," and the other is "Whom do you trust to sit in the Oval Office," the character question.... I would like to agree with Johnny that the negative business will put people off and it will be shown not to work. But that would be a first.

###

THE McLAUGHLIN GROUP

Moderator: John McLaughlin. **Panel:** Fred Barnes, Eleanor Clift, Jack Germond, Mort Kondracke.

The Convention: Did George Bush and the Republican Convention do what was needed to be done?

Barnes: George Bush's speech was adequate, and in fact it was longer...than Bill Clinton's.... We also know where all those Henny Youngman rejected jokes went; they went into Bush's speech. Some of those were terrible jokes.... But in any case, Bush did what he needed to do: One, he solidified the base, and two, he framed the campaign debate the way he wanted to frame it, for now anyway: low taxes vs. a tax increase, less government vs. more government, assurance in foreign policy vs. inexperience, family values vs. Woody Allen values.

Clift: I think if we want to make this a contest between Carter II and Reagan III, I think Carter can win. George Bush is going to get his bounce out of this, but he's done it in a really cheap way; he's gone back to the old voodoo economics. He's promising blue-sky tax cuts he can't deliver and shouldn't deliver, and he's labeled Bill Clinton's tax plan, misrepresented it in a totally irresponsible way. That's going to come back to hurt George Bush because Bill Clinton and the Democrats actually have the edge on the tax issue this time and they're going to fight it out. This is a tax increase on the wealthy, people with incomes over \$200,000; this is a battle that the Democrats can win.

Germond: I thought Bush gave a very workmanlike, decent acceptance speech. Nothing unusual.... But the problem is it was a speech he could better have given as a newcomer. He didn't really lay out a concept or an understanding of the concern with the economy in this country and that is going to come back to haunt him. That is still the major issue other than what they can do to trash Bill Clinton.

Kondracke: ...It was mundane, it was not imaginative. You know, Don Devine, a former Reagan official, had an idea in The Washington Times that could have transformed Bush's speech: a global free trade pact with Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, Asia. This would have been like the Marshall Plan which the E.C. could have accepted or rejected at its peril and it would have completely non-plussed the Democrats. And it was right in James Baker's valedictory speech at the State Department. It was there for Bush to pull out and transform the whole debate -- and he blew it.

McLaughlin: Speaking about transformation, don't you think George Bush looked transformed in that presentation on Thursday night? He looked like he was in charge, he projected strength, he projected determination, he did not appear beleaguered, contrary to the way he had looked in the preceding few weeks.

Germond: He has three constituencies he has to have to win the election. One is the religious right, who won everything here.... The second group is the moderately conservative Republicans, who have always been his base, who some of them I know were in tears listening to some of his rhetoric and looking at the platform. He left them very disturbed, particularly on the abortion issue.... And third and most important are the Reagan Democrats, and they got nothing from this convention.

McLaughlin: Don't you think they got from him the assurance that he would not raise taxes, in fact he would cut taxes next term?

Germond: They don't believe that. They're worried about their jobs. It's jobs, jobs, jobs.

Clift: The President has no credibility on taxes. I mean, he went out there with the read-my-lips pledge, which he then broke. And he patronized the working people of this country by just a passing reference to some anxiety at the kitchen table....

Barnes: ...I think there is a lot in what George Bush was saying that appeals to Reagan Democrats. They are not attracted by George Bush's economic program. But family values, the issue of abortion, and all those social issues are very attractive to Reagan Democrats; that's what got them in the first place.

Kondracke: Clinton beat Bush slightly because he cast a broader appeal, he was dealing with longer-term trends in history.... Both of them delivered State of the Union messages.... On this Reagan Democrats point, what Bush tried to do was make Bill and Hillary Clinton out to be Woody Allen and Mia Farrow. Now I think that's exaggerated and it's overdone....

On change: do you think the Republican message that Clinton is "too far out" is working?

Kondracke: I think that it's going to make people think and focus on [Clinton's] promises, see whether it costs too much...and then compare it to whether Bush can deliver anything new from what he's done in the last four years.

Clift: It won't work because with the Cold War over you have the great scare from overseas gone. People are going to be more willing to take a risk.

Germond: ...There was a CNN poll that showed, they asked a question about the bashing of Hillary Clinton, and by more than 2-to-1 the respondents said it went too far.

Rating the convention on a scale of A-to-F, comparing it to the Democratic convention:

Barnes: I give the Democratic Convention an "A"; I'd give this convention an "A" too. And in fact, this convention -- despite some apprehension on the part of moderate Republicans -- was more unified than the Democratic Convention.

Clift: This convention gets a "B-minus." It was way too far to the right and it is a false unity because the issue of abortion rights still divides the party. Democrats: A solid "A."

Germond: ...It was a well-run convention. There are a lot of haters out there; they'll like that. I give them a "B-plus."

Kondracke: I think I'd give the Democrats an "A" and this one a "B." I think this was not inclusive the way the Democratic convention was.

McLaughlin: I gave the Democrats an "A-plus" and I give the Republicans an "A-plus."

Grading the performances of the headliners:

Clift: Barbara Bush gets an "A-minus" because she did offer a message of hope to families who are non-traditional that they have a home in the Republican Party, but she did it in a very calculating way. Marilyn Quayle gets an "F" because she is pitting women against women and hiding behind her law degree to do it. She's the Phyllis Schlafly of the baby-boomer generation....

Barnes: What I don't understand is why you find Marilyn Quayle's defense of women who gave up their career and decided to stay home and raise children offensive.... It was one of the most cogent speeches there and actually came to the defense of a group of women who are very underappreciated in our society.

On family values:

Clift: ...The ugly side of family values, and we should bring up the ugly side -- the whole tone of anti-gay rights in this convention was really sickening....

Kondracke: Eleanor is right in this: There was the undertone that all Democrats are somehow in favor of abortion, divorce, adultery, child abuse, you know, all those nasty things. And it's not so....

Dan Quayle was actually very good. He did in a nicer way what Pat Buchanan did. He still talked about the cultural divide, there is a cultural divide, but he attacked Hollywood -- good target -- and he attacked lawyers, an even better target.

Germond: How can you accept the notion of taking advice on how you live your life from Dan Quayle, who grew up in privilege and has never gotten a line on his face? And he is going to lecture, be a moral arbiter for me?

McLaughlin: Not so. I thought Dan Quayle corrected his entire biography here by describing the circumstances under which he lived. He wasn't born into wealth....

###

INSIDE WASHINGTON

Moderator: Gordon Peterson. **Panel:** Nina Totenberg, Carl Rowan, Evan Thomas and Thomas Oliphant.

On the convention:

Totenberg: For the party, I don't think [the convention] was a great success. For George Bush, he got the bounce he needed out of the convention, so I suppose it was at least a "B-plus," probably an "A-minus."

Rowan: It was a scary week for a lot of Americans, including moderate Republicans. But it was a great victory for the right wing of the Republican Party.

Thomas: They got a good bounce out of it. It was a speech that said vote your fears and not your hopes, but it worked.

Oliphant: Minimal success. I think it got Bush to where he should have been two months ago, and I think the trouble is everything that put this base together makes it harder for him to communicate to the independents and conservative Democrats who will decide this election. [With regard to the President's acceptance speech], there was some stuff in the values area where I think there was some communication for Democrats who are conservative, but in terms of what I think has to be the most important factor this year, the economy, I thought Bush was surprisingly silent. He went down the street of tax gimmicks, maybe some half-way decent political points about Congress and about taxes. But in terms of how to take a slow-growing, essentially stagnant economy and revive it, zippo.

On the President's speech:

Thomas: It's essentially a negative message. He's saying that Clinton is going to make things worse than I am, that Congress -- the government screws up the economy, always....

Rowan: That was an apology that said 'I'm sorry I let those guys, those Democrats, sucker me into doing the wrong thing.' Then he allows us how he's only made that kind of mistake once, which is one of the great frauds of all time. And the Wall Street Journal pointed that out Friday morning that this was a fraud. So is his across-the-board tax cut....

Thomas: It's a gimmick, but they were desperate. They literally had nothing to offer. They knew the tax cut would be regarded as a fraud....

Oliphant: ...There is a conservative approach to reviving economic growth. It is tax-based.... What is interesting to me was that in this moment of truth he essentially stuck his thumb in the eye of the Jack Kemps and the Vin Webbers.

Thomas: Because he doesn't believe them. George Bush doesn't believe that government can make the economy better....

-more-

Peterson: Were there any lies in the speech?

Oliphant: ...The "apology" was false because...he and the Democratic leadership of Congress negotiated the details of that tax increase. It's his as much as theirs.

Totenberg: People have done analyses of the Clinton tax increases and apparently the 128 tax increases, among other things they include just numerical line-by-line and you just count every line so that number 126 might just be another line on the page. I listened to that speech, and frankly I listened to Bill Clinton's speech...and I thought to myself, is there any political speech that isn't a lie?

Rowan: ...If you apply the same standards [for what constitutes a tax increase] to Reagan and Bush, you get to 340 real fast, not that "one" that Bush was talking about.

On Marilyn Quayle's speech and values:

Thomas: She [said] if you've been divorced or your momma works, you're not one of us and they're going to exclude that 70% of the American voters going down that road. Now they corrected it a little bit with Bar coming on and saying, well it's okay, there are lots of different families.

Peterson: You know the Mutt and Jeff routine, good cop/bad cop. Did you get that feeling?

Oliphant: The problem that these people are wrestling with is that there are really several Republican parties right now and they are at odds with each other. They came together easily and naturally for economic and some social reasons under Reagan, but they really have been disparate forces ever since. And I think what we saw last week was this full tableau of, you know, left, right, middle - - opposites under the same roof, and it was a jarring picture because you couldn't get a sense of what is this party.

Thomas: Gay-bashing is something to watch. The right-wing groups, the fundamentalist leaders, said gay-bashing is about to replace abortion as the big hot-ticket issue. Partly it's just a question of raising money. They're always looking for new, hot-button issues to raise money on.... And we're going to see a lot more of this, I think, and it's going to get scary.

On the President's character:

Rowan: This says something about Bush's character because these young people [who disrupted the Democrats' conference in Houston] weren't out there on their own. George Bush has looked and he sees the Congress is unpopular, the media is unpopular as you read the polls, and he is bashing not just the Congress but the press. They are taking their cue from George Bush, who knows in his heart that it's wrong and that's a character flaw on the part of George Bush.

Totenberg: But there was this tactic at this convention which is attack and the President apologizes or someone else apologizes...but this kind of ugliness on the floor...people in glass houses shouldn't throw stones.... -more-

Peterson: Let's talk a little bit more about the character of George Bush. There's a line in the speech that I thought was very impressive: "I've always believed that patriotism is not just another point of view." That's deeply felt, isn't it? I mean, George Bush believes he was born to serve, does he not?

Rowan: Yes, but you know, that is also saying I am a patriot and the implication is that someone else is not. And that becomes as sleazy as everything else that's happened.

Oliphant: [to Rowan] That's too much to me. The reason that I feel so comfortable banging him for some of this other stuff is that I know he knows better even though his history is behaving this way in the political arena.

Thomas: He gets away with it. He always stoops to conquer and he's been forgiven. Some people are willing to cut him a double standard because, maybe it's just sort of deference --

Peterson: Who is the core human being here...?

Thomas: You have to be an egotistical nut to run for president. You have to operate on about 20 different levels and he does too. There is no core.

Totenberg: There's the George Bush who was well brought up...and the kind of person he envisions himself to be. There's the George Bush who's the gut fighter, and will, in his own words, do anything to be president and who will cozy up to anyone to get what he wants. And that's not particularly attractive.

Oliphant: The other picture...is of George Bush sitting over in that hotel suite almost up to the last minute, the object of intense lobbying by various advisors as to how he should define himself and what he should be for in a critical speech 3 1/2 years into his presidency, 30 years into public life. And he ends up, I think, the reason it was so long is that he had to just keep clipping things -- it went like the yellow pages at the end because he couldn't fix on what it is that he's about.

Oliphant: It's the person vs. the public figure. And obviously the person is somebody anybody would like. The public figure, I think, is a consistently disappointing person.

Rowan: ...If you ask me what he believes, I can't tell you anything with certainty. He sends his wife out to say that this antiabortion plank does not belong in the platform and to make a pro-choice statement. Yet to the bitter end, including his acceptance speech, he's still against abortion and wants laws to say no woman can have one.

Thomas: What he believes in is himself. He has no ideology. His ideology is a standard of service that his father gave him. And he's this New England WASP who was born to serve.... That's his ideology. That's what he believes. He doesn't have any other vision. And he knows you gotta play dirty to get to the point where you can serve. -end of C-Section-

1:30 P.M. NEWS UPDATE

HURRICANE ANDREW (Miami/AP) -- Hurricane Andrew swept across the Florida peninsula, with walls of water and the howling terror of 160-mph-plus. At least two people were killed. The storm hit land south of Miami before dawn swept west across the peninsula without losing much strength and moved into the Gulf of Mexico, heading for the Gulf Coast. It was expected hit land again by early Thursday, possibly near New Orleans. In Florida, the National Guard was called in to quell looting.

(AP) -- ...The National Weather Service issued a hurricane watch for a coastal area between Mobile, Ala., and Sabine Pass, Texas, sometime between 8 a.m. Tuesday to 8 a.m. Thursday.

(Naples, Fla./AP) -- Hurricane Andrew's westward race across Florida uprooted trees and downed power lines along the southwest Gulf Coast, but as the storm headed offshore officials said it could have been worse. "This was not the big one," said Gary Arnold, emergency operations manager for Collier County. Winds gusting up to 100 mph caused considerable, but not devastating, damage at Everglades City, Marco Island and Naples beachfront, Arnold said.

HURRICANE ANDREW/PRESIDENT (UPI) -- President Bush, expressing his "heartfelt concern" for the people of Florida, who have suffered from a "very devastating storm," said he would declare the state a disaster area. Bush, speaking briefly with reporters as he headed for his helicopter on the South Lawn to leave on a campaign trip to New Jersey and Connecticut, expressed his "heartfelt concern for the people of Florida on this devastating storm."

(Reuter) -- President Bush declared Florida a federal disaster area, making residents and businesses eligible for low-interest loans and federal aid to clean up damage caused by Hurricane Andrew. "Apparently it is a very bad storm. The storm has kept the evaluation teams from sizing it up till now, but I expect that'll change during the day," Bush said as he left the White House for a campaign trip to New Jersey. "I will be in touch during the day to see that everyone runs smoothly and that we do everything we can to help the people down there," he said.

JOB TRAINING (Union, N.J./Laurence McQuillan, Reuter) -- President Bush, countering charges he has ignored the nation's economic woes, proposed a multi-billion-dollar job training program for Americans needing better work skills. The plan would provide \$2 billion annually over five years for retraining adults, and \$1 billion annually over five years for youth programs. Bush continued to press his case for re-election with campaign stops in New Jersey and Connecticut -- states hard hit by the faltering economy. The proposal, which would be paid for by cuts in other domestic programs, would be submitted to Congress next year if Bush wins the election, Administration officials said. Bush hailed it as "a program that is bold, it is innovative, and it is loyal only to the future and to the needs of the American worker."

(Union/UPI) -- President Bush, reversing previous policy, announced an election-year job training package that he said would not require raising taxes. But Bush, who said he would not formally propose legislation for the changes unless he is re-elected, was unable to specify how he would finance the \$1.4 billion annual increase in government-sponsored job training. Nonetheless, he used the occasion at the Lincoln Technical Institute to accuse Gov. Clinton of requiring workers to pay for their own job training. "My opponent is different," Bush said. "He sees job training as a tax raiser. And he wants to tax workers to pay for their own training." However, Clinton has proposed that 5 percent of the nation's largest employers set aside the equivalent of 1.5 percent of their earnings for job training. "Let me say this to my opponent -- there's no point in training people for jobs if your plan is going to be in the process of destroying jobs," Bush said. Clinton's campaign said Bush's job training expansion, which would raise the cost of worker training to \$2 billion a year, is a hollow gesture. "Where he fails is how he's going to pay for it," said George Stephanopolous, Clinton's communications director.

(Union/Robert Burns, AP) -- President Bush proposed about \$10 billion in new federal spending for job-training programs for laid-off workers, people in danger of losing their jobs and young Americans. Officials said money for the training, which would begin in fiscal 1994, would come from cuts in other, unspecified programs. "It is bold, innovative and it is loyal only to the future and to the American worker," Bush said in announcing the proposal. Speaking to about 700 students and faculty members inside a cinderblock mechanics shop at the Lincoln Technical Institute, Bush said his plan was designed to make American workers more capable of adapting to shifting job markets. "We know the global economy is changing, and we must change with it," he said.

GOP REVIVAL/CLINTON (Little Rock/AP) -- Bill Clinton conceded the Republicans appear to be retrieving their base while President Bush campaigned in New Jersey to spotlight a \$10 billion proposal for job training. Clinton said Bush's bounce from last week's convention appeared to be real, but predicted that the tone of the Houston gala and a lack of substance in Bush's economic proposal would allow the Democrats to maintain a decent lead. "The President's proposals were so shallow.... I just don't think it's going to be that well received," Clinton said on ABC's "Good Morning, America" in an interview taped Sunday.

DEATH PENALTY/CLINTON/VICE PRESIDENT (Knoxville/AP) -- Vice President Quayle assailed Bill Clinton's record on fighting crime and accused the Arkansas governor of trying to "have it both ways" on the death penalty. Clinton has signed numerous death warrants during his 12 years as governor, and Arkansas has executed four people during that time. But Quayle said Clinton has also suggested he might nominate Gov. Cuomo to the Supreme Court. "He never wants to take a clear-cut position because his party is divided on this issue," Quayle said of Clinton, standing outside the Knoxville Police Department Training Academy before a phalanx of 30 officers.

--- Monday --- August 24, 1992 ---

```

      ##  ## ##### ##### ##      ##  ##      ## #####
### # # ### ##  ## ##  ##  ##  ##  ##
#  ### ## ##### ##  ##  ##  ##  ##  ##
#  # # ### ##  ## ##  ##  ##  ##  ##
      ##  ## ##### ##  ##### ##  ##  #####

```

--- THE DAILY BRIEFING ON AMERICAN POLITICS ---

Updated Each Morning At 11:50

(c) The American Political Network, Inc.

282 North Washington Street, Falls Church, VA (703) 237-5130

POCKETBOOK POOL

Bush hopes for good break on post-election tax-cut, deficit check-off plan. Tax cut hit for lack of specifics. Dems cry gimmick, compare to Nixon "secret plan." (#10)

GET OUT YOUR TRIP-TIKS

Clinton, Bush weekend travel speaks to electoral strategy:

MORE RUST UNDER HIS BELT:

Clinton logs OH, PA, MI in latest bid for midwest battleground. Bush print ad offers taste of MI strategy. (#3, #8)

SHOWIN' DOWN SOUTH: Bush moves to shore up support, works crowds at high pitch.

(#7) 12-state poll shows Clinton lead pre-speech, GOP issue erosion as concerns on economy, health dominate. (#6)

CALIFORNIA: Bush regains lead in Orange Co. poll -- even as Clinton camp stages high-profile GOP defections. (#1)

THE WAY TO SAN JOSE

Perot diehards planning CA "unconvention." (#14)

W. ALLEN, "SLEEPER" ISSUE (#17)

SPOTLIGHT

BEYOND ASTRODOME

POLL	DATES	CLIN	BUSH
USA/CNN	8/22-23	52%	42%
W. POST	8/20-21	49	40
LA TIMES	8/20-21	49	41
NEWSWEEK	8/21	53	39
CBS/NYT	8/20	48	46
TIME/CNN	8/19-20	47	36

The polls also offer clues to resonance of GOP convention themes. (#10-12)

FAMILY VALUES: TIME/CNN finds them defined along lines of Dem issues: Day care, education, health, family leave. Fewer see effects of gay adoption, single mothers. (#19)

GAYS: CBS/NYT finds 45% in each party say no to legal relations; 79% back job rights. (#24) TIME/CNN: Marriage, adoption out; civil rights OK. (#19)

BLAME GAME: Bush or Dems? W. POST: 44% say Congress; 35% Bush. (#21) L.A. TIMES finds even split. (#20)

===== QUOTE OF THE DAY =====

"A convention dominated by hatemongering and fearmongering, all done for political purposes. ...

It was what the convention was all about."

-- Columnist Molly Ivins, NEWSWEEK, 8/31 issue.

THE APN BULLETIN BOARD

FROM TODAY'S GREENWIRE: Western wildfires are being fueled by drought and "collapsing ecosystems."
FROM TODAY'S DAILY REPORT CARD: Marietta GA schools consider abandoning traditional A-B-C-D-F letter grades.
FROM TODAY'S ABORTION REPORT: FCC refuses to ban "graphic" pro-life political ads, but says stations can run warnings.
FROM TODAY'S AMERICAN HEALTH LINE: Clinton asks advice on how to address health reform without political name-calling.

HOTLINE/DATABASE INDEX

WHITE HOUSE '92

CALIFORNIA (54): Bush moves ahead in Orange County poll. (#1)
ILLINOIS (22): GOP impatient for Bush action. (#2)
MICHIGAN (18): Bush autoworker ad welcomes Clinton. (#3)
TEXAS (32): Homeboy Perot won't get off ballot. (#4)
STATE REPORTS: AZ, CT, KY, NC, TN; Electoral maps. (#5)
SOUTH: Clinton holds lead in pre-Bush speech 12-state poll. (#6)
ON THE ROAD: The Bush road trip. (#7)
ON THE ROAD: Clinton-Gore finish Bus Trip III. (#8)
BUSH SPEECH: Weekend talk. (#9)
BUSH: Tax cut, check-off plan on the burner. (#10)
BUSH: Iraq in the wings. (#11)
QUAYLE: Hurricane Dan hits Florida. (#12)
CLINTON: "Nobody is taking [Bush] very seriously." (#13)
PEROT: CA backers hope for "unconvention." (#14)
CANDIDATE SCHEDULES (#15)

ISSUES '92

BEYOND HOUSTON: Message-makers deaf to silent majority? (#16)
"SLEEPER" ISSUE: The Woody Allen debate. (#17)

SENATE WATCH

SC: Not-so-prime time Tommy "blasts" Hollings. (#18)

POLL UPDATE

TIME/CNN: Clinton up 11 pts; family values focus. (#19)
L.A. TIMES: Clinton up 8 pts; Bush regains net approval. (#20)
WASH. POST: Clinton up 9 pts; Congress losing blame game. (#21)
USA TODAY/CNN/GALLUP: Clinton up 10 pts; no gender gap. (#22)
NEWSWEEK: Clinton up 12; Bush proposals "just politics." (#23)
CBS/N.Y. TIMES: Clinton up 2 pts; gender gap city. (#24)

TV MONITOR (#25)

???? OVERLOOKED ???? ?

As Andrew approached, South Florida authorities told the politicians to take down their 9/1 primary campaign yard signs. Flying pointed sticks at 150 mph are too much for even Dade County politics.

*1 CALIFORNIA (54): BUSH MOVES AHEAD IN ORANGE COUNTY POLL
An ORANGE COUNTY REGISTER poll, conducted 8/20-21 by Richard Hertz, surveyed 402 Orange Co. registered voters; margin of error +/- 5% (ORANGE CO. REGISTER, 8/23). 7/92 conducted post-Perot.

	PEROT SUPPORTERS			NOW		7/92	
	NOW	7/92	6/92	NOW	7/92	FAV/UNFAV	FAV/UNFAV
Bush	48%	35%	25%	42%	25%	54%/ 44%	40%/ 59%
Clinton	38	42	15	39	46	45 / 51	52 / 38
Perot	0	4	43				

8 "prominent" Orange Co. GOPers endorsed Clinton, calling themselves, "Independent Americans for New Leadership" (L.A. TIMES, 8/21). "Within hours of the President's speech [they] would confirm their rumored disaffection -- the timing of their crossovers having been quietly coordinated by the Clinton campaign" (Kramer, TIME, 8/31 issue). "Unhappiness and unease" are "flowing through blue-collar [Dem] precincts" in northern Orange Co. as well. "If Republicans had hoped that their stands against abortion and 'family values' would help keep" these Reagan Dems "there was little sign of that" in interviews on the afternoon before Bush's speech (Reinhold, N.Y. TIMES, 8/22).

*2 ILLINOIS (22): GOP IMPATIENT FOR BUSH ACTION
Prior to Bush's visit to Springfield 8/23, the IL delegation to the GOP convention has been a metaphor for "what has so far been a confused national election strategy." Sec/State George Ryan (R) "urged delegates to keep from self-destructing" over abortion and "readily admits that turnout is a major problem facing [GOP] leaders in the state, a problem exacerbated by the importance of local legislative races that will decide the makeup of a redistricted General Assembly that has been controlled by [Dems] for the last decade." Some GOP leaders "say privately that they cannot wait long for Bush to define his presidential campaign; they may be forced to distance their own efforts from those of the president." The "quiet demeanor of the departing [GOP] delegation reflected relief that the convention squabbles over abortion and the [platform] did not escalate into a highly visible battle. But quiet, passionless unity does not win elections" (Pearson, CHICAGO TRIBUNE, 8/23).

*3 MICHIGAN (18): MORE ON THOSE REAGAN DEMS
A Bush ad ran 8/21 in the DETROIT NEWS and the DETROIT FREE PRESS, the same day Clinton spoke in Detroit. It cited MI jobs "at risk" under a Clinton administration: "IF BILL CLINTON HAS HIS WAY, 40,000 MICHIGAN AUTOWORKERS WILL GO FROM THE ASSEMBLY LINE TO THE UNEMPLOYMENT LINE." The ad stresses impact of the CAFE (Corporate Avg. Fuel Economy) bill to raise the fuel economy on autos, claiming the regulation would "prompt more American auto manufacturers to shift large car production overseas" and put "300,000 autoworker jobs at risk nationwide" (8/21). MI Research Assoc. surveyed 800 voters in the Detroit suburban counties of Macomb, western Wayne, Oakland and Kent. Clinton has a "solid" 20-pt lead in Macomb, is ahead by 16% in west Wayne, and is "running even" in "heavily" GOP Kent. Bush leads in Oakland by 2 pts. Among Reagan Dems in Macomb Co., Clinton leads 72-15%. Bush beats Clinton 68%-22 among Macomb Co. GOPers (MRA

release, 8/20). NEWSWEEK's Fineman & McDaniel note in "must-win" MI, GOPers will aim at Gore, "who wants tougher clean-air regulations on autos and a higher gasoline tax" (8/31 issue).

*4 TEXAS (32): HOMEBY WON'T GET OFF BALLOT

Perot "opted to remain" on the TX ballot (Lenz, HOUSTON POST, 8/22). HOUSTON POST editorial with header "Please Go, Perot": "We don't need useless protest votes muddying up the presidential election, which is all you'd get if you got back in. ... You promised not to be disruptive, so don't be" (8/22).

*5 STATE REPORTS:

ARIZONA (8): The "apprehensive" AZ GOP was "shot with adrenaline" in Houston (ARIZONA REPUBLIC, 8/22). Perot backers will meet 8/25 with Sec/State Mahoney (D) to make sure their effort to get Perot on the ballots "doesn't hit any obstacles." AZ Perot head Walt Peters: "We're lacking three states, [NY, HI and AZ]." AZ backers need to submit 10,555 reg. voters' signatures in the 10 days after the 9/8 primary (REPUBLIC, 8/23).

CONNECTICUT (8): With Bush campaigning in CT today, a HARTFORD COURANT editorial states to Bush: "You will not be preaching only to the choir, as you did in Houston. You'll be talking to a lot of skeptical people ... Most people are concerned about the future. They want you to look ahead. ... It's not enough, moreover to blame the [Dem] Congress for blocking all your proposals. Voters aren't dumb. They know that resourceful [GOP] presidents can work with a Congress of the other party ... It's a test of leadership" (8/24). N.Y. TIMES' Hays looks at Milford, CT, "the kind of town that looms large in the [GOP] vision of America." Bush's speeches and promises "have done little to dispel" the uncertainty about the future and "about who would best lead the nation toward it" (8/22).

KENTUCKY (8): Louisville COURIER-JOURNAL's Garrett writes KY will be "as good a spot as any to watch the fall contest. ... Our state blends the auto factories and farms that characterize" the PA-WI battleground. KY will be a "fascinating test" for the Bush camp's "high-profile attempt to woo Catholics and evangelicals with a new wedge issue" -- school choice. "My guess is that Bush wins back some of the disaffected Reagan Democrats with tuition vouchers, without losing a single vote he hasn't already lost. ... Bush is again alive, but oh-so-beatable" (8/23). KY GOP delegates returned home "with new purpose, direction and optimism, while acknowledging they still face a fight" for Bush to carry the state (Cross, COURIER-JOURNAL, 8/23). Perot told KY backers he will stay on the ballot (Ellers, COURIER-JOURNAL, 8/22).

NORTH CAROLINA (14): Greensboro NEWS & RECORD's Effron writes the state is "up for grabs." UNC-Charlotte's Tad Arrington said the block of voters who led the way toward GOP strength in the South, "small business white collar workers and owners," may be moving to the Dems: "This is one state either of the two candidates can win" (8/24). NC Bush-Quayle exec. dir. Earl Cox said Bush's speech has "already generated support" for the ticket and called it a "good starting point": "In all my 29 years in politics, I can not remember such an immediate swell of enthusiasm" (Boyce, NEWS & RECORD, 8/21). NEWSWEEK's Fineman & McDaniel note in "Bible Belt states," such as NC, GOPers "will play an MTV video of Clinton telling teens that if he had to do it all over again, he'd inhale" (8/31 issue).

TENNESSEE (11): When Clinton goes to Memphis 8/25, he will

be greeted by "controversial" Rep. Harold Ford (D-09), who wrote 338 bad checks at the House bank. "Clinton wants the Ford machine" and Clinton manager David Wilhelm said "he's detected no hesitancy" in Clinton joining forces with Shelby Co.'s "biggest vote-getter." Quayle and Sec/Educ. Lamar Alexander visit TN today (Brosnan, Memphis COMMERCIAL APPEAL, 8/24).

ELECTORAL MAPPING: BOSTON GLOBE analysis -- Likely Bush: AK, ID, NV, UT, AZ, WY, ND, NE, KS, TX, MS, AL, FL, SC, VA, IN, NH, ME. Likely Clinton: WA, OR, CA, MT, CO, NM, OK, MN, IA, WI, MO, AR, TN, WV, MD, DC, CT, RI, MA, NY, VT, HI. Strong contests: SD, LA, IL, KY, OH, MI, PA, NC, GA. GLOBE's Robinson reports GOP strategists say Bush "will like his chances" only in OH and NJ: "If everything else is equal, and Bush takes only two of those five battleground states [OH, NJ, PA, IL, MI], he will come up short" (8/23). PHILA. INQUIRER projection: For a Clinton win (279) -- CA, NY, PA, IL, MI, MA, WI, WA, TN, MO, MN, MD, CO, OR, IA, AR, WV, RI, HI, VT, SD, MT, DC. For a Bush win (277): TX, FL, OH, NJ, NC, VA, GA, IN, MO, AL, LA, SC, OK, KY, CT, CO, AZ, MS, KS, NE, NM, UT, ME, NV, ID, WY, VT, ND, MT, AK (8/23). ORLANDO SENTINEL's highlights both campaigns' plans for IL, OH, and MI, and notes a re-entered Perot could take TX from Bush and CA from Clinton (8/23). ABC's Claiborne: "Clinton and Bush are each believed to have a base of around 100 electoral votes. ... critical states for both sides": TX, PA, MI, OH, IL with a total of 116 votes. "To win these states, Clinton has to draw large numbers of Reagan Democrats. He's trying to do this by focusing on the economy where Bush is most vulnerable and by trying to convince these voters that the George Bush who broke his 'No New Taxes' vow 1988 can't be trusted again in 1992" (8/22).

*6 SOUTH: CLINTON HOLDS LEAD IN PRE-BUSH SPEECH 12-STATE POLL
An ATLANTA CONSTITUTION/WSB-TV poll, conducted 8/15-19, surveyed 1,317 likely voters in 12 states -- AL, AR, GA, FL, KY, LA, MS, NC, SC, TN, TX, VA; margin of error +/- 3% (8/22-24).

	ALL	WHT	BLK	MEN	WOM
Clinton	57%	52%	82%	53%	60%
Bush	36	43	13	43	33

KEY ISSUES IN PICKING PRES.

Improving economy	91%	Holding down taxes	72%
Health care	84	Environment	71
Child care/educ.	81	Balanced budget	69
Family values	81	Strong military	66
		Abortion	52

Univ. of SC's Earl Black: "The Republicans are in a stall. The recession has probably had a tremendous impact on [GOP] development in the South. It calls into question the idea that the [GOP] is the agent of economic prosperity for the growing middle class in the South" (CONSTITUTION, 8/24). BUSINESS WEEK's Dunham & Thurston report "white, male Southerners who voted overwhelmingly for Bush in 1988 are peeling away. ... Suddenly the President is finding in the South the same tough slog that awaits him elsewhere." While "most Southern voters agree" with Bush on issues like a balanced-budget amendment, "they're far closer to Clinton on the issues most important to them: the economy and health care." Pro-choice GOP women and independent suburbanites are "among the biggest breachers. ... Bush's Hooveresque admonitions to Americans to pull up their socks and weather the economic storm have revived the specter of the

country club GOP" (8/31 issue).

*7 ON THE ROAD: THE BUSH ROAD TRIP

Appearing at the IL State Fair, Bush "made good on his vow" to go after congressional Dems in their own CDs by "targeting" Rep. Richard Durbin (D-IL), and campaigning for his opponent John Shimkus. Bush: "The congressman from this district voted against us on Desert Storm. He is against the balanced budget amendment. And I want John Shimkus to replace him" (Keen, USA TODAY, 8/24). In his speech, Bush added, "I felt like one of those corn dogs at the fair, skewered by the Democratic opposition for nine months. And that's changing" (NEWSDAY, 8/24). ABC's DeLaski: "[Bush] came ... to begin wooing industrial states where his support, like the economy, is weak. But today's speech, like others since the convention, was also weak on tax-cut details. ... [Bush also] ridiculed Clinton for charging that Bush is misrepresenting the Democrats tax plan." Bush: "I've never heard him quite like this. Nine months of hammering me -- takes a little, gentle broadside and he starts to whine and complain" (8/23).

SOUTHERN SWING: Bush "came to the [GOP] Convention an underdog but left it a junkyard dog" (Groer, ORLANDO SENTINEL, 8/22). "Much of the first day out ... was devoted to reprising highlights" from Bush's 8/20 speech "with plenty of flags and homespun imagery" (Barabak, COPLEY/S.D. UNION-TRIBUNE, 8/22). To a "cheering crowd of 15,000" in Gulfport, MS, Bush and Quayle "mocked pundits [who] had prematurely 'written off'" their reelection and "gave a throaty welcome to new polls showing a sharp narrowing" of Clinton's lead (Jehl, L.A. TIMES, 8/23). Clinton-Gore signs could be seen "sprinkled among the much more numerous" Bush-Quayle signs in MS. MS Assn of Educators' Bill Howell said Clinton supporters were "pushed around," "harassed" and told by police they had to leave (Bar, Memphis COMMERCIAL APPEAL, 8/22). Bush "skewered Congress at every turn" and led an "exuberant" Branson, MO crowd of 10,000 in chants of "Clean the House" (Lambrech, ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, 8/22). He spoke "in a thickening Texas twang" and appeared with stars like Loretta Lynn. He "didn't even mention" the tax-cut proposal he promoted in his speech and instead talked about Clinton's "Elvis economics" that would send Americans to the "Heartbreak Hotel" (McNulty, CHICAGO TRIBUNE, 8/22). Bush "sounded more southern each day" (Marcus, W. POST, 8/24). In Dallas, Bush received "a boisterous welcome" from supporters while gay and abortion demonstrators "shouted outside" (Lewis, DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 8/23). Bush "tried so hard this weekend to be just plain George, the neighbor in the tract house next door -- a paneled station wagon kids-in-the-back-seat, burgers-on-the-grill, Little League, God-loving kind of guy." But "the fact is, he cannot escape being President" (Berke, N.Y. TIMES, 8/24). In AL, Bush "challenged the religious credentials" of Clinton and Gore (Broder/Marcus, W. POST, 8/23). NBC's Cochran: "Here in the Bible Belt, the Bush campaign is trying to divert attention away from a weak economy with constant attacks on [Clinton's] character. ... Bush would dearly love to lock up the Deep South early in the campaign so he can devote more time and money to swing states in the north. But Bush faces three problems in the South; a faltering economy and two Southern Baptists on the other ticket" (8/22). CNN Mary Tillotson: "The balloons came down, the polls went up, and the president headed out on a campaign that promises to be harder and nastier than any in recent history. ... Kicking off his campaign here, with Vice President Quayle, is a

sign of how badly the Republicans he needs to shore up his Southern base" (8/21). ABC's Hume: "The George Bush who showed up ... was the same man who beat Michael Dukakis four years ago by attacking him two ways -- hard and harder. ... This is not the campaign that George Bush, incumbent President and world diplomat had hoped to wage, but he's in trouble, so its back to basics" (8/21). Bob Novak: "The bashing of Clinton is going to be the basic campaign." Bush dep. manager Mary Matalin: "We're not bashing Clinton, although I agree he's been quite the whiner. ... We've barely suited up and the guy's hyperventilating. Wait 'till we're on the field with him, the guy's knees are going to buckle" ("Gang," CNN, 8/22). ABC's DeLaski on Bush's Dallas appearance: "Bush told an evangelical group, in effect, that the Democrats had turned their backs on God by leaving the word God out of their party platform. ... The Bush campaign denies it, but it appears since the convention that advisers have developed a two-track attack; to go after Congress and Clinton on the record and to go after their party on morals" (8/23).

*8 ON THE ROAD: CLINTON-GORE FINISH OFF BUS TRIP #3

"The so-called Lake Erie Tour to 'change America'" pulled into Erie, PA, two hours late, and "a few thousand people were still there." Many were there to say "what Bill Clinton likes to hear, that they plan to vote for him in November" (Rodricks, Balto. SUN, 8/24). Clinton-Gore's third bus trip "has been blessed with large and enthusiastic crowds." On 8/22, "a crowd of nearly 1,000 people waited until after midnight at a highway rest stop for a brief glimpse" of them. "The nearest town was miles away -- and it is solidly Republican" (Leshner, L.A. TIMES, 8/24). Clinton, in Chataqua NY, "responded" to Bush's weekend remark that Dems had left the word "God" out of their platform. Clinton: "He has basically said that if you don't believe in the Republican platform, you don't believe in God" (Taylor, W. TIMES, 8/24). "The crossfire comes amid a sharp campaign debate on family and religion, and exchange that increased in pitch" at the GOP convention" (Feeney, DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 8/24). "If the Republican Party had any lingering doubts that 1992 was going to be a re-run of 1988, Bill Clinton put them to rest this weekend once and for all" (Nichols, USA TODAY, 8/24). Clinton "wheeled his third bus tour through the Rust Belt ... and into the inner city -- a place critics have accused him of sometimes skirting." At Cleveland's Olivet Institutional Baptist Church, Clinton told the "mostly black audience": "It's kind of funny to be told you don't have family values unless you are a right-wing Republican. ... [As a boy] I can still remember people standing up, pious as could be, telling me I couldn't be a good Christian unless I wanted to keep blacks out of the schools." America needs to come together "and we have never done it by saying God belongs to a political party" (Feeney, MORNING NEWS, 8/22). "At stop after stop" Clinton portrayed Bush and Quayle "as elitists who neither care about nor understand the concerns of ordinary Americans" (Pertman, BOSTON GLOBE, 8/23).

OHIO: The bus stopped in Parma, OH, "a onetime symbol of the Reagan Democrat heartland" (Clifford, N.Y. NEWSDAY, 8/22). Clinton told a blue-collar crowd there about his visit to the church and said "race was never mentioned": "You know what they asked me for? Jobs, education, health care. ... We've got to join hands again" (W. POST, 8/23). In New Castle, PA, Clinton and Gore "bounded from their bus to plunge into outstretched hands ... wherever campaign organizers had gathered even small

groups of people" (McCarthy, BUFFALO NEWS, 8/23).

DETROIT: "Showing no shyness in matching his rival's biting rhetoric," Clinton, in Detroit, called Bush "a great fearmonger" who is "trying to dupe the voters with false accusations and empty political promises" (Clifford, N.Y. NEWSDAY, 8/22). Speaking to reporters shortly after addressing the Economic Club of Detroit, Clinton "blasted Bush in unusually harsh language": "A man who has the presidency ... is so desperate to hold onto his job that he absolutely flew in the face of the plain truth" (Lauter, L.A. TIMES, 8/23). "By careful advance planning," the Clinton camp planned to be in Detroit -- "the symbolic heart of the industrial Midwest [and] the key battleground of this election" -- to respond to Bush's 8/20 speech (Karaim/Boyd, MIAMI HERALD, 8/22). "Pouncing on Bush's assertion" that "Who do you trust?" will be a major theme, Clinton "sought to turn the tables by accusing Bush of misrepresenting his record" (Walsh/Maraniss, W. POST, 8/22). "Relying on a tactic that the Republicans used during their convention," the Dems are blending fierce attacks on the opponent with softer themes and images intended to make the candidate personally attractive." Clinton "came close to calling Mr. Bush a liar" in the morning and "then embarked on a telegenically warm and fuzzy bus tour with [Gore] and their wives that afternoon" (Ifill, N.Y. TIMES, 8/23).

*9 BUSH SPEECH: WEEKEND TALK

"Even though pundits and politicians asserted that Bush had to deliver 'the speech of his life' in order to win the election, and even though he did nothing of the kind, Bush still might win" (Kondracke, ROLL CALL, 8/24). Ex-Reagan/Bush speechwriter Peggy Noonan: "If it didn't always sing ... it still hit the right notes, and the president appeared relaxed and fun" (W. POST, 8/23). NEWSWEEK's CW gives Bush a sideways arrow: "Hits a triple! Er, a double. Maybe he bunted ... Read our lips: no new promises" (8/31 issue). "Thanks to an acceptance speech that promised he would be a different type of leader in a second term, President Bush is back in the ball game" (Condon, COPLEY/S.D. UNION-TRIBUNE, 8/21). W. TIMES subhead: "Middle America liked Bush speech" (8/22). "Students of Classical rhetoric" who compared Bush's speech with Clinton's, said Bush, like Clinton, deserved "no more than a grade of C" (Honan, N.Y. TIMES, 8/22). George Will: "His speech was (in T.S. Elliot's phrase) 'dry sterile thunder without rain.' ... But by the verve of his delivery here he proved, again, that practice makes adequate" (W. POST, 8/23). "The sense that the Bush administration was short on new ideas was evident not just from its proposals, but also from its jokes. If some of the President and [VP's] one-liners seemed familiar to convention viewers, it was because they were. Some, in fact, had been borrowed from" the Dem convention (Kolbert, N.Y. TIMES, 8/22). David Broder: "Blew the cobwebs off a slumbering reelection effort. As a piece of rhetoric, it outdistanced Bill Clinton's unfocused and rambling address" (W. POST, 8/23). "The tone was notably presidential, as opposed to the personal splat committed by Bill Clinton in [NY]. ... Bush kept his dignity. He kept his pandering to a minimum. He made the obligatory bows, but they were not too low" (McGrory, W. POST, 8/23). "Florida GOP delegates praise 'magnificent' Bush speech" (MIAMI HERALD, 8/22). "It was a good speech, not a great speech, but it seems to have done the job for now" (Jacobs, S.F. EXAMINER, 8/22). House Speaker Tom Foley: "On the one hand, the

President decries the gridlock in [DC] and on the other hand, he takes credit for a variety of legislative accomplishments which were done hand-in-hand with the Democrats in Congress" (Foley release, 8/21). Meg Greenfield criticizes Bush for taking partial credit for the demise of Communism without mentioning other world leaders (NEWSWEEK, 8/31 issue). NEWSWEEK's Alter: "The president's basic claim -- 'Our polices haven't failed; they haven't been tried' -- is false. Beyond pushing hard for campaign gains tax cuts, it's George Bush who hasn't tried. All up and down Bush's tepid agenda, the story is the same" (8/31 issue). Molly Ivins: "Fifteen minutes on foreign affairs, his forte, in which he took sole credit for everything good that's happened during his watch except the birth of a couple of long-awaited babies in Bolivia" (NEWSWEEK, 8/31 issue). "They didn't like the harshness, they thought much of the family-values speechifying was beside the point, and they are long past being taken by easy promises. But among Americans around the country, ... Bush apparently did what he needed to do" (Blonston, KNIGHT-RIDDER, 8/21). James Kilpatrick: "George Bush did very well, Dan Quayle did very well, and the Republican's convention in Houston gave the candidates and the party a big lift. The president is going to win" (W. POST, 8/23). N.Y. TIMES' Wm Safire: "Those of us who were rooting for him to deliver a thematic, inspirational address that set forth realistic ... policies were disappointed" (8/24).

***10 BUSH: TAX CUT, CHECK-OFF PLAN ON THE BURNER**

Bush is expected to announce "a package of about \$3 billion in new or expanded job training programs" today, according to admin. officials. Bush will announce the plan at a vocational-training school in Union, NJ. "It is the first of several initiatives planned by the White House to carry out promises made by Mr. Bush in his acceptance speech" (Karr, W.S. JOURNAL, 8/24). "Some economists and budget experts warned that spending cuts at the level proposed by Bush would slash too deeply into popular programs to be politically acceptable to most Americans" (Frantz, L.A. TIMES, 8/23). A spokesperson said Bush's tax cut plan "may not be revealed until after the campaign is over." Since leaving Houston, Bush "has mentioned the plan mostly in passing, if at all, as a means of highlighting what he called the 'clear, sharp choice' between himself" and Clinton (Barabak, COPLEY/S.D. UNION-TRIBUNE, 8/22). "For all the talk in Madison Square Garden last month and in the Astrodome this week about abortions and welfare and family values and foreign affairs, the division over the economy many well be what decides the election of 1992" (Rosenbaum, N.Y. TIMES, 8/23).

REAX: "The income-tax and spending-cut proposals in his acceptance speech were nothing more than righteous talk" (Fineman/McDaniel, NEWSWEEK, 8/31 issue). "Bush rejected those who argued for a striking new program, not simply to build a mandate but because it would be good politics" (Baer, U.S. NEWS, 8/31-9/7 issue). HUD Sec. Jack Kemp: "Now there is a clear comparison with the Clinton campaign that wants to raise income tax rates and put a surtax on the American people" ("Meet the Press," NBC, 8/23). Clinton comm. dir. George Stephanopoulos: "This proposal is one of the most cynical ploys ever attempted by a presidential candidate -- it's nothing but a blatant attempt to buy this election" (Clinton release, 8/21). Under header "Memo To Jim Baker: Keep One Eye On Wall Street," BUSINESS WEEK's Madigan writes, "As Bush's [CoS], Baker knows that talk of

lowering taxes and safe-guarding Social Security plays well with voters. But he must bear in mind that anything smacking of bigger deficits will be panned by investors. And while Wall Street may account for only a few thousand votes, it's power over interest rates -- and thus the economy -- could make Baker's job of getting his boss reelected far harder than it already is" (8/31 issue).

MORE: Bush's "full embrace of across-the-board tax cuts ... a dozen years after he condemned them as 'voodoo economics,' ratified the triumph of supply-side economics as the reigning doctrine of Republicanism" (Evans/Novak, N.Y. POST, 8/24). BOSTON GLOBE's Oliphant: "Instead of an intellectually honest, conservative growth agenda, he opted for the blame game, sophomoric gimmicks, and avoidance of the elemental topic of how the economy is to resume solid growth" (8/23). CBS' Spencer: "He provides no specifics but still claims his plan has it all, over what he jeeringly calls 'Elvis economics'" (8/21). PHILA. INQUIRER header: "Bush tax pledge rattles markets." Subhead: "After the President pledged to reduce taxes, the dollar plunged. Stock and bond markets followed. Europeans called Bush's plan 'Yankee madness'" (8/22). Balto. SUN header: "Bush's tax plan stumps economists" (8/23).

CHANGE OF TUNE? "Bush may propose some form of consumption tax -- which, in a phrase, would tax the money you spend but not the money you save" (Flanigan, L.A. TIMES, 8/24). Heritage Foundation's Daniel Mitchell, in a W.S. JOURNAL op-ed, writes although Bush' proposal to allow tax-payers to dedicate up to 10% of their income taxes to reduce the national debt "sounds like a gimmick ... Closer examination, though, reveals that this approach really could curtail the growth of federal spending." Adoption of such legislation "next year could reduce fiscal 1994 spending by as much as \$50 billion, or 3.27% below levels currently projected" for '94 (8/24). Bush won applause for proposing that "tax payers be allowed to help cut the national debt by checking off a box on their tax returns" (Mitchell, ORLANDO SENTINEL, 8/22). The admin. has "rejected similar checkoff proposals, including ones for reducing the debt" (Frantz, L.A. TIMES, 8/23). "It is far from clear how many people would be inclined to go along with his [check-off] plan" (Wartzman, W.S. JOURNAL, 8/24). "Bush failed to answer the big question about" the checkoff proposal: "Where does the money come from?" The plan to mark up to 10% of taxpayers income taxes for debt reduction "would divert as much as \$50-billion a year from other government program" (Tash, ST. PETERSBURG TIMES, 8/22). DNC chair Ron Brown: "It's a silly gimmick. ... what we need ... is a vision for getting the economy back on track instead of some checkoff scheme" ("Crossfire," CNN, 8/21).

LET THE ECON. BATTLE BEGIN: A national survey of business-leaders by the W.S. JOURNAL "found that many executives agree on one thing -- both camps have to spell out their programs more fully" (8/24). Bush and Clinton "engaged in a furious exchange over each other's economic proposals" this weekend (Toner, N.Y. TIMES, 8/23). Describing Bush as a "desperate candidate," Clinton told the Economic Club of Detroit that Bush proposals were "the fools gold of an across-the-board tax cut" and a capital gains reduction "for the rich" (Lewis, COPLEY, 8/21). Clinton said Bush "knowingly distorted" his economic plan by "failing to note that proposed tax increases would affect only the wealthy. He also said Bush exaggerated the number of times" he has raised taxes in AR (Jackson, DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 8/23).

***11 BUSH: SHOWDOWN WITH SADDAM II; DARMAN STAYS IN THE MIX?**

IRAQ: "Bush's second armed showdown with Saddam Hussein is scheduled to begin this week" when the US, Britain and France notify Hussein "that his war planes may be shot down if they fly south of the 32nd parallel, over Iraqi territory inhabited by rebellious Shiite Muslims. ... The campaign to defend the Shiites entails steep political and military risks," both for Bush and Hussein (Waller, NEWSWEEK, 8/31 issue). "If Saddam dares to field his airforce," NSA Brent Scowcroft said "then we will take appropriate countermeasures" (TIME, 8/31 issue). With the election just 10 weeks away a military confrontation between the US and Iraq "threatens to transform the presidential political landscape." Brookings Inst. Defense Analyst Lawrence Korb: "I have no doubt that we will attack Iraq before Election day" (RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, 8/23). ABC's Sawyer: "The U.S. and its Gulf War allies plan to draw another line in the sand this week for Saddam Hussein" (8/23). All nets reported the announcement could come as early as 8/25. Hoping "to raise public awareness of the president's role as commander in chief," WH CoS James Baker "has told intimates President Bush will move far more aggressively to stop the massacres in Bosnia" (Evans & Novak, N.Y. POST/W. POST, 8/22).

UNEARNED CREDIT? In his speech Bush said cocaine use had fallen by 60% among young people. "But a number of specialists disputed Bush's figure [8/21] as a measure of progress in the war on drugs," noting the decline occurred in 12-17 year olds, a population that is "not historically one of the heavy using populations" (Tolbert, BOSTON GLOBE, 8/22). "Supporters and drafters of the bills Bush alluded" to in his speech as his successes, "were a little surprised. They recall that the Bush administration lobbied hard to weaken the legislation": child-care bill, Civil Rights Act, and the Clean Air Act (N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 8/22).

STAFF: Budget Dir. Dick Darman "has quietly assumed control of preparing President Bush for his potentially vital debates" against Clinton. One senior campaign official: "Nobody assigned the job to Dick. He just started preparing the [debate] briefing book" (Evans/Novak, W. POST, 8/22). Key GOPers suggest Baker "will now act as a sort of deputy President, managing the campaign, then leading a sweeping domestic agenda during a second Bush term. But ... if Bush wins re-election, Baker has told friends that he will help tool up a domestic strategy and hire the right folks to run it. Then he'll scoot right back to State" (TIME, 8/31 issue). According to WH sources, "because of mixed signals" ex-WH CoS Sam Skinner "though Baker would leave the State Department to serve only as a presidential counselor." So the announcement came as a "shock" (U.S. NEWS, 8/31 issue).

MATCHING FUNDS: The FEC approved \$55.24 million in federal matching funds for the Bush-Quayle campaign (FEC release, 8/21).

***12 QUAYLE: HURRICANE DAN HITS FLORIDA**

"Enthusiastic crowds cheered ... Quayle's tour through a conservative slice of rural Central Florida ... fueling hopes the [GOP] ticket can shore up an important chunk of its Florida base -- Reagan Democrats" (Mitchell, ORLANDO SENTINEL). Quayle's FL swing "traversed an area in which [GOP] polls showed Bush trailing Clinton after the [Dem] convention." Along the bus caravan's route along Highway 27, "hand-lettered signs -- some blasting Clinton's wife, others opposing abortion -- mixed with

the usual GOP fanfare." Throughout the trip, however, "concern about Hurricane Andrew lingered": Bush FL chair Jeb Bush was a no-show, having stayed home to board up his house (8/24). L.A. TIMES' Richter & Clary also highlight Quayle's search for Reagan Dems, quoting Quayle: "This is the heartland of the Reagan Democrats ... They've got to come home and stay home in 1992." Both the TIMES and SENTINEL reports also note an outburst by one ACT-UP protester in a FL church, and a few others outside. The activist jumped up while Quayle was speaking and shouted: "I want to thank you for 150,000 AIDS deaths. I'm dying of AIDS and God loves me" (8/24). W. POST makes it the header: "Quayle Taunted on AIDS During Florida Bus Trip." POST's Booth notes the outdoor protesters carried signs supporting a local child with AIDS whose school attendance has become a local concern (8/24).

HUNTINGTON '92 -- KINDER, GENTLER: "Despite a smaller crowd" than four years ago -- 8,000 attended Quayle's 8/22 IN hometown rally (15,000 in '88) -- "all the other integral parts of a political rally were present: bands and singers, skydivers, flagwaving, banners, red, white and blue balloons and the incessant cheerleading" of the master of ceremonies (Haberland/Vagelatos, FT. WAYNE JOURNAL-GAZETTE, 8/23). Quayle: "There is no better place than Huntington," recalling "school, Little League, friday night football, Saturday night basketball, listening to the Viking Marching Band ... church on Sunday. And of course, at age 16, being allowed to cruise the A&W root beer stand." Quayle spokesperson David Beckwith said rather than defending his military record as he did in '88 Quayle is talking about legal reform, family values, deregulation and school choice -- "all values he brought up himself" (Howey, FT. WAYNE JOURNAL-GAZETTE, 8/23). ABC's Ann Compton on Quayle's hometown campaign: "At the very least, [Quayle] hopes to turn the last four, bruising years to his advantage, showing voters that he was tested by fire and survived" (8/22). Most reports mentioned the troubled '88 "feeding frenzy" in Huntington (8/24).

SPEECH! SPEECH! U.S. NEWS' Gergen writes, "Quayle never gets much credit for canniness, but among [GOP] leaders in Houston he was one of the few who had figured things out" (8/31 issue). Peggy Noonan: "I was among those who weeks ago advised the president to remove Quayle and start over. ... Maybe I was wrong. ... This man who never should have been chosen may turn out to be the grittiest one in the fight" (W. POST, 8/23). PHILA. INQUIRER editorial under header "Quayle strikes back; no longer a deer trapped in the headlights": "Like it or not, he has a series of policy initiatives for which he has crusaded. ... [He] has a domestic agenda. That's more than you can say about [VP] Bush in the 1980s. Heck, it may be more than you can say about President Bush even now" (8/23). NBC's John Cochran on his joint MS appearance with Bush: "[Quayle] was still beaming after glowing reviews for his acceptance speech, which came dangerously close to upstaging his boss' big night. Today, nobody talked about dumping Quayle" (8/21).

*13 CLINTON: TELLS ABC, "NOBODY IS TAKING BUSH VERY SERIOUSLY" Clinton on "Good Morning America": "Their convention was so negative, the most negative in my lifetime. And the president's proposals were so shallow ... I just don't think it's going to be very well received, nobody is taking him very seriously." On Hillary attacks: "What they did was unprecedented. Never ever to the best of my knowledge has a political party attacked the spouse of a candidate the way my wife was attacked at the

Republican convention. ... Pat Buchanan up there attacking my wife. She's done more for children in the last twenty years. He's never even thought about it, families and children." On whether "campaign was going to be down in the gutter": "Theirs will be and I will have to respond to things they say which will hurt our campaign if I didn't respond. I am not going to do what too many of the candidates have done in the face of this mudslinging and negativism and not respond" (ABC, 8/24).

MEET ME IN THE WINDY CITY: W.S. JOURNAL's Shribman & Harwood write "there are risks ahead" for Clinton. He and Bush both address the American Legion convention in Chicago tomorrow. "In that setting, where the president's foreign-policy expertise will be on broad display in front of a sympathetic audience, Mr. Clinton will once again face questions about why he didn't serve in Vietnam." There is "worry" inside the Clinton camp that he "still may not be ideally positioned to prevail in a contest over issues of trust" (8/24).

BLACK VOTE: "The enthusiasm of black voters could prove a critical factor" for the Dems "with polls showing the presidential race tightening." Although Clinton "won the largest share of black votes" in the primaries and "enjoys enthusiastic support from many African-American leaders," his visit to an all-white country club, a "strained" relationship with Jesse Jackson and the Sister Souljah flap "have left many blacks uneasy" (Karaim, KNIGHT-RIDDER, 8/23). Although "agonising about the moral fibre of the poor has traditionally been a hobby of the political right," Clinton has been "joining the paternalistic chorus." His "conversion is more of than a calculated political appeal to the contented suburban classes. It represents a shift that has been quietly taking place in liberal academia" (ECONOMIST, 8/31 issue). Clinton addressed the Nat'l Assn of Black Journalists in Detroit and although he "broke no new ground

... he will probably win some points by showing up. ... Clinton hasn't exactly convinced the masses of black people that he has their best interest at heart and the fact that he gets so defensive when asked about the subject suggests he is a little insecure about the issue" (Greene, BOSTON HERALD, 8/22). Hispanic GOPers "lashed out" at Clinton "for his failure ... to appoint Hispanics" to his admin. in AR. Dallas Nat'l Hispanic Chamber of Commerce chair Delta Reyes: "Clinton has no record on Hispanics except exclusion" (Scott, S.A. EXPRESS-NEWS, 8/20).

THE BUCKS STOP HERE: NEWSWEEK reports a Clinton victory could "kill off some liberal interest groups" as donations typically sent to them have been going directly to the campaign. People for the American Way suspended solicitations this summer and NARAL has "scaled back media buys as money dries up" (8/31 issue).

*14 PEROT: STILL GOING

"The unusual and undefinable political campaign" of Perot is planning an "unconvention" in San Jose, CA, next month. United We Stand America, the former Perot Petition Cmte, has "tentatively booked 100,000 square feet of exhibition space at the San Jose Convention Center for 9/12-13 "to hold a 'forum' -- not a convention -- to discuss the future of the organization" and hear some speeches. Besides Perot, speakers "they're talking about approaching" include: Bush, Clinton, Jesse Jackson, retiring Sen. Warren Rudman (R-NH), Paul Tsongas, Sec/HUD Jack Kemp and candidates from CA's Senate races. Perot has until 8/27

to submit a letter to CA Sec/State March Fong Eu "declaring he really is a candidate" to be officially added to the ballot. Supporters "expect him to do so" (Witt, S.J. MERCURY NEWS, 8/22).

HE KEEPS GOING AND GOING: NEWSWEEK's Turque & Carroll look at the "headquarters for the headless campaign" -- now with only 12 phone lines. Perot is currently on ballots in 36 states although "by fall the total could be close to 50." He could "still be a significant force" as some analysts say he could "pull double digits" in CA and TX. Perot's ex-pollster Frank Luntz said Perot will get "at least 5% nationally" (8/31 issue). Perot's book "United We Stand" hit stores 8/21. Perot spokesperson Sharon Holman said Perot "feels that he can effectively influence the debate." In NY "Perot is having difficulty finding volunteers to get the job done" and secure his place on the ballot so he is paying them \$10/hour. In addition to the 36 states where he is on the ballot, 6 states and DC are awaiting certification, leaving AZ, HI, LA, MS, NM, NY, VT and WI still collecting signatures (Holmes, N.Y. TIMES, 8/22). Balto. SUN's Baer reports strategists, including Ed Rollins, "believe [Perot] will somehow reinvigorate his presidential bid" (8/22). U.S. NEWS "Washington Whispers" reports "one insider who knows [Perot] well bets" he re-enters the race and estimates he could get as much as 12% of the vote (8/31 issue).

ONE FOR THE BOOKS: As reported in the W. POST MAGAZINE, all Perot books at a DC bookstore are marked 30% off and designated as "non-returnable" (8/23).

TV: CBS' Paula Zahn: "On the political landscape Ross Perot may still be hoping to play the role of powerbroker in the presidential race ... but it's not clear how much power he can wield." CBS' Bill Lagatutta: "Ross Perot still thinks he can be the deciding factor in November -- that if he endorses either Bush or Clinton his fans would vote that way too. ... That presumes that Perot still commands a huge army of supporters and the millions of hearts he broke are still listening to him ... The best chance he has of being a spoiler is if the Bush-Clinton race is razor close -- then what's left of the Perot Army could make a difference" (8/21). U.S. NEWS' Gloria Borger on Perot joining the race: "There's a real possibility with Ross Perot, he's very unpredictable ... If he feels these guys aren't catching fire you never know what this guy's going to do" (Inside Politics, CNN, 8/21).

*15 CANDIDATE SCHEDULES

	8/24	8/25	8/26	8/27	8/28
CLINTON 501/399-3840 D. Seldin	Little Rock	ChicagoIL Dallas TX	Memphis Nashville TN	San Anton Austin TX	Coricana Kilgor Marshall TX
GORE 501/399-3840 K. McKiernan	DC	Columbus Cleveland OH	Memphis Nashville TN	San Anton Austin TX	Coricana Kilgor Marshall TX
BUSH 202/336-7080 T. Clarke	Union NJ Ansonia CT	ChicagoIL Cantor MI	DC		

QUAYLE 202/456-7034 D. Beckwith	Maryville TN NorfolkVA	Charlotte NC Colum- bia SC	DC	DC	GrandRapids MI
---------------------------------------	------------------------------	----------------------------------	----	----	-------------------

(c) 1992 by the American Political Network, Inc. Any reproduction -- by photocopy, FAX, or other form -- in whole or in part, is a violation of federal law and is strictly prohibited without the consent of APN. All rights reserved.

Phone: 703/237-5130 FAX: 703/237-5149

Publishers: Doug Bailey, Roger Craver

Editor-in-Chief: Robert Balkin

Editorial Assts.:

Managing Editor: Stephen Bilafer

Max Gale

Dep. Managing Editor: Melodie Jackson

Charles Todd

Associate Editor: Ned Lilly

John Wood

TV Editor: Vincent Fusco

Staff Writers: Amy Silver, Vaughn Ververs, Jason Jarvis

*16 BEYOND HOUSTON: MESSAGE-MAKERS DEAF TO SILENT MAJORITY?

"The most important message of the revived Republicans is that the essential fight of this campaign -- the battle to define the battleground of 1992 -- has begun. ... For Republicans, the election is a cross between play-it-safe economics and a culture war, fought on their turf of 'family values' ... For Democrats, it is a fight over reshaping the economy -- and reconnecting the party's ties to a frustrated middle class" (Baer, U.S. NEWS, 8/31-9/7 issue). HOUSTON CHRONICLE's Hines writes the convention "solidified Bush's conservative base," but adds: "If there was an area that was not covered, or at least not sufficiently, it was the outreach to independents ... also missing was the single message, the magic words, that can sometimes instantly focus a campaign" (8/22). N.O. TIMES-PICAYUNE's McQuaid: GOPers "could end up appealing to a narrow group of conservatives who have turned out for them anyway, and alienating a much larger group of voters who might view the rhetorical fireworks as a distraction from pocketbook issues" (8/21). NEWSDAY's Page: The convention "failed to do much to appeal to the key groups of swing voters who helped send Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan and George Bush to the White House" (8/23). Bush/Reagan speechwriter Peggy Noonan: "This is going to be one of the great campaigns. ... When politics gets this tough and this tight, a wonderful thing happens, as if by accident. The talk turns to serious questions" (W. POST, 8/23). EYES RIGHT: Speaker Tom Foley said Buchanan "lost the primaries, but he won the rhetorical argument. The president has virtually turned over to Pat Buchanan, to Jerry Falwell and to Pat Robertson the intellectual and rhetorical Republican Party. And to do that ... is to risk not only what the country wants to see and what the country believes, but what many Republicans accept and believe" ("Brinkley," ABC, 8/23). ECONOMIST's "Lexington": "Four years ago few would have predicted that a Republican Party led by George Bush, an Episcopalian, would fall so heavily under the influence of the religious right" (8/22 issue). DALLAS MORNING NEWS' Leubsdorf reports some GOPers "expressed concern about the aggressively conservative tone of the convention" (8/22). S.F. EXAMINER's Irving: "George Bush's party has moved farther away from center stage" (8/23). TIME's Barrett examines both sides' claims to the evangelical vote: "The stakes in this religious tug-of-war are high: the Southern Baptist Convention alone boasts 15 million members. Four years ago, the white evangelical vote was nearly 20% of the electorate" (8/31 issue). Rep. Bill Green (R-NY) watched Buchanan's speech with some "big donors" in an Astrodome skybox and reports: "They thought it was terribly wrong, for the party and the country. It may keep a few people on the right from staying home, but for every vote you win, you lose two in the middle" (BOSTON HERALD, 8/23). Reagan '80 manager John Sears: "I know it's enough for many of my fellow Republicans to simply dine on raw meat. But I could hear many of the Reagan Democrats walking out the door the other night" (L.A. TIMES, 8/24). NEWSWEEK's Klein writes the GOP "reached an unimaginably slouchy, and brazen, and constant, level of mendacity last week. ... Democrats are no less egregious; they just did a better job keeping a lid on their maniacs this summer" (8/31 issue). N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Ken Auletta outlines "The top 10 whoppers," one of which that Bush "had to give the speech of his life. ... What

truly matters is not what a candidate says in a speech crafted by platoons of writers and handlers, but what he does" (8/23).

WE ARE FAMILY: ECONOMIST reports some senior Bush campaign officials "do not really think the election will be about family values at all. ... [they] are convinced that the message they must stress between now and November is an economic one, not a social one" (8/22 issue). Rep. Vin Weber (R-MN) called family values an "important," but "difficult," issue: "If you simply say [Dems] don't care about their families or anything like that, that's not fair. ... [But] there are a lot of real world policies that affect families and we think that the Republican position is usually one of empowering families, strengthening families, actually biasing the laws in favor of families, whereas the Democrats often don't want to do that or want to tilt in another direction" ("Newsmaker Saturday," CNN, 8/22). CHICAGO TRIBUNE editorial: "There is in this subject the stuff of a wholesome needed debate" (8/21). BOSTON GLOBE's Neuffer calls family values "uncertain terrain for politics" (8/23). TIME's Lance Morrow sees the issue two ways: 1) "almost by definition a smokescreen, and a manipulation of voters' closeted fears and prejudices"; 2) "profoundly relevant ... part of the nation's effort to assimilate -- in the deepest sense, to domesticate, to understand, to control -- changes in American society over the past two generations" (8/31 issue). N.Y. TIMES' Goodman notes the Woody Allen effect: "It is the soap opera of the bicoastals versus the soap opera of middle America, the late-night jazz club (clarinet and saxophone) versus Sunday morning in church, the separate dwellings versus the double bed" (8/22). PHILA. DAILY NEWS' Sandy Grady: "Any Serb, Muslim or Bosnian would understand Bush's 'family values.' Real simple -- hate anybody who's different from your tribe" (8/24). CBS' Bruce Morton: "We're all for family values -- we're just not sure what they mean. ... 'A man's word is his bond' ... promises were made to be kept -- honesty mattered. President Bush broke his most famous promise, the one about not raising taxes, his advisers said voters didn't expect campaign promises to be kept -- and the President agreed. 'Do unto others' -- that implies tolerance of others, being gentle to one another ... homosexuals, to mention just one group, were clearly not welcome in Pat Buchanan's republican party. Marilyn Quayle seemed not welcome working mothers, feminists or people who had opposed the Vietnam war" (8/22).

GAY RIGHTS: NEWSWEEK's Joe Klein writes GOPers "seem to see homosexuals as a greater threat to the republic than the corrosive effects of a violent, vulgar and thing-possessed popular culture -- the real 'family values' battle most parents fight every day" (8/31 issue). Bush campaign chair Bob Teeter and Pat Buchanan both appeared on "Brinkley." Teeter said Bush "does not personally approve of that lifestyle," but added he is "strongly opposed to any kind of bashing." Later, Buchanan charged Clinton with backing the inclusion of "sexual orientation" in the Civil Rights Act: "In my judgment that legalizes homosexual marriage and homosexual adoptions and puts them on the same plane as traditional marriage." George Will: "But he hasn't taken that position has he?" Buchanan: "He has included this, as I understand it, in the Civil Rights Law of 1964. ... I'm saying Clinton went out to [CA] and embraced the agenda out there. ... this is the most openly pro-lesbian and pro-gay ticket in history" (ABC, 8/23).

The campaign "turned today into the new odd couple in American politics: God and Woody Allen" (Walsh, W. POST, 8/24). In GA, Bush "raised doubts about the [Dems'] vision of family" while House Min. Whip Newt Gingrich cited Woody Allen as "symbolizing the party's values" (N.Y. TIMES, 8/23). Gingrich called Allen's life "a weird situation and it fits the Democratic Party platform perfectly ... Woody Allen had non-incest with his non-daughter because they were a non-family." Clinton "lashed out" against Gingrich: "Since [GOPers] can't defend their record or their proposals they have to hit us with an off-the-wall attack. They ought to be ashamed of themselves" (Orin, N.Y. POST, 8/24). Clinton: "Newt Gingrich has no shame" (N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 8/24). Gov. Mario Cuomo (D-NY): said, Gingrich "wants to talk about Woody Allen, about Murphy Brown, about 14-year-old girls having babies as the answer to our problems? What you're doing is running from the truth, because you can't handle the truth" ("Face the Nation," CBS, 8/23). Bush spokesperson Tony Mitchell said Gingrich was "speaking for himself" (DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 8/22). Clinton spokesperson Avis LaVelle: "Woody Allen is just another Willie Horton" (Green, KNIGHT-RIDDER, 8/23).

===== SENATE WATCH =====

*18 SOUTH CAROLINA: HARTNETT USES CONVENTION TO BLAST HOLLINGS

Ex-Rep. Tommy Hartnett (R), heavily favored to win the GOP primary 8/25 over physics teacher Charlie Thompson (R), focused on Sen. Fritz Hollings (D) charging 75% of Hollings' contributions come from out-of-state, while 68% of his own come from SC: "He's trying to buy the voters of this state with the help of big out-of-state contributors" (Roberts, Columbia STATE, 8/22). Addressing the convention in an afternoon slot, Hartnett "added his voice" to the convention theme of "bashing the Democratic-controlled Congress." Hartnett had complained to reporters earlier about the WH trying to "micromanage his presentation" (Hoover, GREENVILLE NEWS, 8/19).

ON AIR: On 8/18, Hartnett launched two 30-sec. "tightly-framed 'talking head'" spots in which he's "calling for change." The ads, which are identical except for the presence of a toll free number in one, feature Hartnett asking viewers what they think about when Congress is mentioned: "Arrogance? Perks? Special interest money? Career politicians? All things Americans despise in their elected officials" (NEWS, 8/18).

===== POLL UPDATE =====

*19 TIME/CNN: CLINTON UP 11 PTS; FAMILY VALUES FOCUS
958 registered voters surveyed 8/19-20 by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman; margin of error +/- 3% (TIME release, 8/22).

TWO-WAY	8/19-20	7/22-23	PEROT ON BALLOT	8/19-20	7/22-23
Clinton	47%	53%	Clinton	39%	44%
Bush	36	26	Bush	30	22
Perot (vol.)	1	1	Perot	16	18
Undec.	16	20	DK/other	15	16

	8/19-20	7/22-23		8/19-20	7/22-23
	FAV/UNFAV	FAV/UNFAV	BUSH JOB		
Bush	45% / 43%	36% / 52%	Approve	36%	30%
Clinton	53 / 29	59 / 23	Disappr.	53	62
Quayle	31 / 49	21 / 60			
Gore	47 / 18	50 / 17	BUSH FOREIGN	8/19-20	7/22-23
B. Bush	69 / 14	68 / 15	Approve	61%	57%
H. Clint	36 / 26	43 / 23	Disappr.	30	34

SOMETHING IS MORALLY WRONG IN U.S.				BUSH ECONOMY	8/19-20	7/22-23	
ALL	GOP	DEM	IND				
Agree	71%	72%	73%	68%	Approve	22%	17%
Disagree	25	26	22	29	Disappr.	69	77

TO PROMOTE FAMILY VALUES	IMPORTANT	NOT VERY IMPORTANT
Spending more money on education	88%	11%
Creating nat'l health care program to cover all Americans	83	14
Spending more on day care	79	17
Requiring employers to provide unpaid leave for new mothers	73	22
Keeping homosexuals from adoption	47	45
Republicans	60	35
Democrats	39	52
Independents	44	47
Women having kids only when married	46	48
Republicans	54	40
Democrats	41	53
Independents	44	51
Making abortion illegal	32	62
Republicans	41	55
Democrats	29	64
Independents	28	67

IT SHOULD BE LEGAL FOR HOMOSEXUALS	YES	NO
To be married	27%	67%
To adopt children	29	63
To be protected by civil rts. laws -- same as racial or religious minorities	44	47

*20 L.A. TIMES: CLINTON UP 8 PTS; BUSH REGAINS NET JOB APPROVAL
1,186 registered voters surveyed 8/20-21; margin of error +/- 3%. Full sample: 1,489 adults; +/- 3% (8/22).

AMONG FULL SAMPLE

BUSH JOB	8/20-21	8/12-14	COUNTRY	8/20-21	8/12-14
Approve	50%	42%	Right dir.	23%	16%
Disapprove	46	53	Wrong trk.	68	77

AMONG REGISTERED VOTERS

	8/20-21	8/12-14		VOTERS FOR		
Clinton	49%	56%	STRENGTH OF SUPPORT	ALL	GB	BC
Bush	41	33	Certain	77%	79%	76%
Perot (vol.)	2	1	Might change mind	21	17	23

	8/20-21					8/12-14				
	MEN	WOM	DEM	GOP	IND	MEN	WOM	DEM	GOP	IND
Clinton	45%	53%	83%	15%	47%	55%	58%	85%	25%	49%
Bush	46	36	10	79	40	36	29	6	67	39

WHICH COMES CLOSER TO YOUR VIEW?

Bush has failed to offer effective programs for solving domestic problems	44%
Bush has offered effective domestic programs but Congress has failed to enact them	45

WHO'D DO BETTER

	BUSH	CLINTON
Handling foreign affairs	69%	18%
Holding down taxes	44	31
Promoting economic prosperity	39	48
Providing affordable health care	22	57

*21 WASH. POST: CLINTON UP 9 PTS; CONGRESS LOSING BLAME GAME
705 registered voters surveyed 8/20-21 by Chilton Research;
margin of error +/- 4% (8/23).

HORSE RACE

Clinton	49%
Bush	40

EFFECT OF GOP CONVENTION

More likely vote Bush	16%
Less likely vote Bush	19
No difference	64

MORE TO BLAME FOR BIGGEST PROBLEMS FACING U.S.

Dems in Congress	44%
Bush	35

DOES BUSH UNDERSTAND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACING PEOPLE IN U.S.

Does understand	49%
Does not understand	49

*22 USA TODAY/CNN/GALLUP: CLINTON UP 10 PTS; NO GENDER GAP
754 registered voters surveyed 8/22-23; margin of error +/- 4% (8/24).

	ALL	MEN	WOM
Clinton	52%	52%	52%
Bush	42	43	42

*23 NEWSWEEK: CLINTON UP 12 PTS; BUSH PROPOSALS "JUST POLITICS"
751 registered voters surveyed 8/21 by Gallup; margin of error +/- 4% (NEWSWEEK release, 8/22).

W/LNRS	8/21	8/13-14	BUSH JOB	8/21	8/13-14
Clinton	53%	53%	Approve	38%	36
Bush	39	36	Disappr.	56	58

OF WHAT YOU KNOW OF BARBARA AND HILLARY, WILL YOU BE ...

More likely vote for Bush	14%
More likely vote for Clinton	4

Not have much effect on vote 81

HOW MUCH DID YOU WATCH?	GOP CONVENTION	DEM CONVENTION
None of it	16%	17%
Very little	29	26
Some of it	33	32
A great deal	22	25

EFFECT OF ACCEPTANCE SPEECH	BUSH	CLINTON
More favorable impression of candidate	39%	58%
Less favorable	35	11
No change (vol.)	16	18

BUSH SPEECH PROPOSALS	SERIOUS PROPOSAL	JUST POLITICS
Across-the-board tax cut tied to spending reduction	29%	65%
Check-off for 10% of tax return to go to deficit reduction	34	60

*24 CBS/N.Y. TIMES: CLINTON UP 2 PTS; GENDER GAP CITY
500 registered voters surveyed 8/20; margin of error +/- 4%
(CBS release, 8/21; NYT, 8/22).

					8/18-19	8/11-14	W/O LNRS	
W/LNRS	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	ALL	ALL	MEN	WOMEN
Clinton	48%	10%	78%	48%	51%	55%	40%	49%
Bush	46	89	14	43	40	37	47	37

	8/20	8/18-19	8/11-14
	FAV/UNFAV	FAV/UNFAV	FAV/UNFAV
Bush	36%/ 41%	30%/ 42%	28%/ 47%
Clinton	28 / 34	31 / 29	36 / 24
Quayle	33 / 44	24 / 45	22 / 50
Gore	36 / 14	39 / 11	44 / 10
B. Bush	77 / 5		74 / 5
H. Clinton	31 / 19		33 / 15

HOMOSEXUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN CONSENTING ADULTS SHOULD BE?					SHOULD HOMOSEXUALS HAVE EQUAL RTS IN JOB OPPORTUNITIES?				
	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND		ALL	GOP	DEM	IND
Legal	41%	38%	38%	46%	Should	79%	74%	81%	81%
Not legal	44	45	45	41	Shouldn't	13	18	11	11

===== TV MONITOR =====

*25 THIS MORNING: ABC's "GMA" hosted Bill Clinton in a taped interview from Chautauqua, NY. NBC's "Today" had Hillary Clinton, Tipper Gore and Bill Clinton in a taped interview.;Gallup poll editor Frank Newport, Gov. Lawton Chiles (D-FL), FEMA dir. Wallace Stickney. "CBS This Morning" hosted Hillary and Tipper in taped interview, Hurricane expert Neil Frank (8/24).

LAST NIGHT: All nets led with Hurricane Andrew. ABC's "Brinkley" hosted Bush campaign chair Bob Teeter, Pat Buchanan and GOP strategist Wm Bennett. NBC's "Meet the Press" hosted HUD/Sec. Jack Kemp. CBS' "Face the Nation" hosted Gov. Mario Cuomo (D-NY), BOSTON GLOBE's Tom Oliphant and W.S. JOURNAL's Michel McQueen (8/23).

THIS WEEKEND: 8/22: All nets led with Bush. CNN's "Capital Gang" hosted Bush dep. manager Mary Matalin. 8/21: All nets led with Bush. ABC's "Nightline" examined the failed Soviet coup. ABC's "Persons of the Week" were prison magazine ANGOLITE editors Wilbert Rideau and Ron Wikberg. CNN's "Crossfire" hosted Sen. Richard Lugar (R-IN) and DNC chair Ron Brown.

WEEKEND QUOTABLE: NBC's Jim Miklaszewski, quoting Bush campaign officials on the vague nature of his proposed across-the-board tax cuts: "Specifics can wait" (8/23).

WINNERS AND LOSERS: CNN's Rick Allen: Bush was winner -- "No contest": "The pictures from Houston were pretty, the rhetoric, especially towards Bill Clinton, was ugly." Clinton was the loser for his Habitat for Humanity stop with Jimmy Carter: "It wasn't quite as bad as Dukakis in a tank, but don't look for Bill Clinton to put on a toolbelt anytime soon" (Inside Politics, 8/21). WINNERS: Bob Novak: "Quayle was a big winner because he gave probably the best delivered speech." On Kemp and Buchanan: "Put himself in the picture for '96." Mary Matalin's 1st place winner was Quayle: "Unbroken, unbowed, unrepentant, go-get-'em Dan Quayle." 2nd: Gramm: "Laid out some very clear differences. ... He's my new personal hero." Mona Charen: Black GOPers Alan Keyes, Kay James. Jack Germond: "Quayle and to some extent" Buchanan. Mark Shields: "Kemp was a big winner, ... but the longterm prospects were not helped given the direction and dimension of the party." Also Wm Bennett: "Gave the best speech of the week." LOSERS: Novak: "Phil Gramm. ... Gave an abominable speech, he hurt himself for the future." Matalin: "All those speakers that could not contain themselves to the time-frame." Germond: Kemp, "because the Religious Right was so much more powerful than it was before" ("Gang," CNN, 8/22).

OUTRAGES: Shields: "Bush went too far, too far when he went after attorneys wearing 'tasseled loafers.' What's next, vests, tab collars, handmade ties? These attacks are hitting [GOPers] where it hurts -- in the closet." Novak: The Claire George trial. Mona Charen on Clinton bashing Bush for raising taxes: "It's the Clinton campaign that is now proposing even more taxes after January. How can they get away with this kind of hypocrisy." Germond: "Bush likening himself to Harry Truman"; and "the reaction of the delegates to that marvelously moving, evocative speech by Mary Fisher. ... particularly hypocritical and shameless coming from a party that wouldn't even approve a resolution of compassion for victims of rape and incest and a platform full of gay-bashing." Novak: "I don't think she belonged at that convention, what she said, because it countered the platform which said ... AIDS is more liable to be caught by

prostitutes, by drug-users, by homosexuals. And she said everybody is equally liable and they're not." Mark Shields: "Mary Fisher did belong at that convention, I though she belonged in every American living room, too" ("Gang," CNN, 8/22).

PREDICTIONS: McLaughlin asked: Who will be ahead and by how much by Labor Day weekend? Fred Barnes: Clinton, +3 "but that's inside the margin of error." Eleanor Clift: Clinton, +4 "outside the margin of error." Jack Germond: "Everybody will have sobered up, it will be Clinton by 10." Morton Kondracke: "I thought I was going to surprise you all with the same prediction that Jack just made, Clinton by 10 and widening." John McLaughlin: "Dead heat" ("Group," 8/22).

LAUGHS-A-LOT: NBC's Jay Leno: "Let me welcome you to the 'Tonight Show,' the family values show. Of course this is the monologue and the part of the show where many families are getting started right about now." On Bush speech: "He said 'Clinton has been spotted in more places than Elvis Presley.' Well, that's not really true. There was one place Elvis was spotted where Clinton was never seen at -- the draft board." A Leno special offer commercial, VO ('Jailhouse Rock' in background): "You thought he was gone forever, yet he's been seen bus stops, shopping centers and fast food restaurants throughout America, and now he's back in this special TV offer. Yes, it's the haunting melodies of Bill Clinton." Some song titles: "Heartbreak Hotel," "She Came in Through the Bedroom Window," "50 Ways to lose the Election," "My Cherie Al Gore," ... VO: "Order your copies now and receive Al Gore's latest release 'Singing With the Whales'" ("Tonight Show," 8/21). Arsenio Hall on the King: "You know what the difference is between Elvis and Bush's economic plan? Some people actually claimed they've seen Elvis recently" ("Arsenio," 8/21).

===== TV SOUNDBITE =====

"We've barely suited up and the guy's hyperventilating.

Wait 'till we're on the field with him,
the guy's knees are going to buckle."

-- Bush deputy manager Mary Matalin on Clinton,
"Capital Gang," CNN, 8/22.

#

12 G R
16 AUGUST 1992 [Sunday 7 p.m.]

MEMO FOR CHRISTINA MARTIN

FROM: J. BUNTON

SUBJECT: VFW ACKS

BOB WALLACE WILL INTRO POTUS -- HIS WIFE DIANE
SENATOR AND MRS. DAN COATS -- MARCIA
MARY SEARS - PRES. OF THE VFW WOMENS AUXILIARY -- HER HUSBAND SAM

STILL UNCON. ON GOV OR MAYOR OF TOWN AND GENERAL JACK GALVIN [AND
WIFE GINNY] - RECENTLY RETIRED SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER [4 STAR
GENERAL] POTUS MAY NOT WANT TO ACK.

BILL CALDWELL RAISED CONCERN WITH VA HOSPITAL LANGUAGE -- "NOT
THREE, NOT TWO, NOT ONE" THAT WE USED IN THE DAV SPEECH --
WALLACE ADVISED STRIKING A REF TO VA HOSPITALS BECAUSE A VA HOP.
IN MARTINEZ CO. CALIFORNIA IS ABOUT TO CLOSE -- ALREADY CLOSING
SOME PATIENT SERVICES. WALLACE FEELS POTUS COULD TAKE A HIT ON
THAT FROM THE CA. DELEGATION AT THE CONVENTION.

[MONDAY - 17]

BILL TALKED TO A VA GUY AND HE SAID IT IS NOT A PROBLEM -- WE ARE
CURRENTLY IN A BATTLE TO CLOSE MARTINEZ HOSPITAL. WE WILL STILL
HAVE THE SAME NUMBER OF VA HOSPITALS. BASED ON CONVO WITH VFW
COMMANDER WALLACE THAT THE GRAPH SHOULD BE DELETED. WE SHOULD
NOT SAY -- VA HOSP. WON'T BE CLOSED -- THERE WILL ALWAYS BE A SET
NUMBER OF HOSPT.

* P.1

INTRODUCE "OUR" INCOMING CHIEF AND OUR LADIES AUXILIARY -- SINCE
potus IS A VFW LIFE MEMEBER.

* P.2

SUBSTITUTE OR ADD CHRIS NOEL FOR/TO ADIAN CONOUER -- SHE WILL BE
HONORED AT DISTINGUISHED GUEST TONIGHT // WAS AN ARM FORCES
RADIO NETWORK RADIO PERSONAILTIY DURNING VIETNAM WAR -- VFW WILL
BE RECOGNIZINER HER TONIGHT FOR HER WORK DURING VIETNAM WAR AS A
RADIO TALK PERSONALITY.

P.5

* OUR LEADER BOB WALLACE -- INSTEAD OF YOUR LEADER
-- PEOPLE ARE VERY AWARE OF POTUS MEMBERSHIP IN VFW.

* P.6

INSTEAD OF INCLUDING SAY -- WHICH WILL INCLUDE A REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE VFW

P.7

3RD GRAPH / 4TH LINE -- INSTEAD OF WE WILL NOT MOVE FORWARD --
SAY MY ADMISTRATION

The Rep. Party was the 1st
party to call for Vet. preference
in employment back in 1896.

For almost century
1896-on

11 7

Vets preference

shorts platform.

for a 30-page

we'll trade vets preference

WARSAW PARK LUNCHEON \ ANSONIA, CONNECTICUT
AUGUST 24, 1992 \ 1:40 P.M.

*"Company"
great
home*

THANK YOU, MICHEAL (PACOWTA) FOR THOSE KIND WORDS.
LET ME QUICKLY THANK MY OTHER HOSTS: FROM THE CHAMBER
OF COMMERCE -- DAVID RIFKIN AND ESPECIALLY THE MAYOR OF
ANSONIA, THOMAS HALLIHAN. LET ME ALSO MENTION CONGR.
GARY FRANKS AS WELL AS FORMER CONGR. JOHN ROWLAND.
FATHER (ROBERT) WEISS, THANK YOU FOR THE INVOCATION. I
WANT TO ASK YOU TODAY TO LOOK AHEAD WITH ME TO THE
GREAT CONTEST THAT TAKES PLACE THIS FALL.

- 2 -

NO ... I'M NOT TALKING ABOUT THAT ANNUAL FOOTBALL
CLASSIC -- ANSONIA VERSUS DERBY. I'M TALKING ABOUT THE
CONTEST ON NOVEMBER 3RD -- AND THE NEW COURSE WE'LL SET
FOR THE NEXT FOUR YEARS AND THE NEW CENTURY BEYOND.

WE'VE WITNESSED A WORLD OF CHANGE. FROM MANAGUA TO
MOSCOW, MILLIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN NOW CELEBRATE A NEW
BIRTH OF FREEDOM.

- 3 -

FOR THE PEOPLE HERE TODAY -- PEOPLE WHO CAME TO AMERICA
FROM THE OLD COUNTRY -- WHO PRAYED FOR THIS DAY TO
COME, THE CHANGE WE'VE WITNESSED, THIS CHANGE WE'VE
WORKED FOR IS A MIRACLE COME TRUE.

TODAY, OUR CHALLENGE IS TO BRING THAT SPIRIT HOME
-- HOME FROM WARSAW, POLAND TO WARSAW PARK. TO FOCUS
THIS GREAT NATION ON THE NEW MISSION AT HAND. AMERICA
HAS CHANGED THE WORLD -- NOW WE WILL CHANGE AMERICA.

//

- 4 -

THE DEFINING CHALLENGE OF THE 1990'S IS TO WIN THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC COMPETITION -- TO WIN THE PEACE. WE MUST BE A MILITARY SUPERPOWER, AN ECONOMIC SUPERPOWER, AND AN EXPORT SUPERPOWER.

IN THIS ELECTION, YOU'LL HEAR TWO VISIONS OF HOW TO DO THIS. THEIRS IS TO LOOK INWARD, AND PROTECT WHAT WE ALREADY HAVE. OURS IS TO LOOK FORWARD -- TO OPEN NEW MARKETS, PREPARE OUR PEOPLE TO COMPETE, TO RESTORE OUR SOCIAL FABRIC -- TO SAVE AND INVEST -- SO WE CAN WIN.

- 5 -

MY OPPONENT HAS SPENT MOST OF HIS ADULT LIFE IN
GOVERNMENT -- THAT'S PRETTY MUCH ALL HE KNOWS ABOUT.
HIS IDEA ABOUT CREATING JOBS IS TO PUT PEOPLE ON THE
PUBLIC PAYROLL.

- 6 -

I COME AT THINGS A DIFFERENT WAY. I'VE SPENT HALF
OF MY LIFE IN GOVERNMENT -- HALF IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

- 7 -

LONG BEFORE I CAME TO PUBLIC SERVICE, I WORKED IN THE
FIELDS, THEN I BUILT A COMPANY ... I MET A PAYROLL ...
TOOK THE RISKS ... MADE IT WORK. AND I HAPPEN TO THINK
THAT'S NOT A BAD QUALIFICATION FOR BEING PRESIDENT. //

WE KNOW THE WORLD ECONOMY IS CHANGING -- AND
AMERICA MUST CHANGE WITH IT IF WE WANT TO COMPETE.

- 8 -

THINK OF THE ECONOMIC CHANGES YOU'VE SEEN RIGHT HERE IN
ANSONIA, FROM THE BRASS AND COPPER AGE, AND THE MILLS
ALONG THE NAUGATUCK -- TO THE NEW CORPORATE
HEADQUARTERS AND INDUSTRIAL PARKS ACROSS THE VALLEY.

RIGHT NOW, 1 IN EVERY 6 AMERICAN MANUFACTURING JOBS
^{1.5}
ARE TIED DIRECTLY TO EXPORTS -- AND THAT DOESN'T COUNT
THE ECONOMIC RIPPLE EFFECT CREATED WHEN THOSE WORKERS
PAY THE MORTGAGE, BUY A CAR OR FEED THEIR KIDS.

- 9 -

SINCE 1988, THREE-FIFTHS OF ALL OUR ECONOMIC GROWTH HAS
COME FROM PEOPLE IN OTHER COUNTRIES BUYING WHAT'S MADE
IN AMERICA.

AS PRESIDENT, I'VE WORKED TO CREATE THE NEW
AMERICAN MARKETS FROM MEXICO CITY TO MOSCOW THAT MEAN
NEW AMERICAN JOBS HERE IN ANSONIA AND ALL ACROSS
AMERICA.

I'M CONVINCED THE ANSWER IS
NOT TO BUILD A WALL AROUND
██████████ FOR ECONOMY, NOT TO PUT
THE GOVERNMENT IN CHARGE --
BUT TO USE THE GOV. TO HELP YOU
-- LITERALLY GO TO WORK.

100

-- AND NEW SCHOOLS BUILT ON
COMPETITION, READY FOR THE 21ST
CENTURY. SCHOOLS FREE OF DRUGS

I BELIEVE THAT GOVERNMENT IS TOO
BIG AND SPENDS TOO MUCH OF YOUR
MONEY. LAST WEEK I OFFERED AN
IDEA TO GET THE DEFICIT UNDER

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

CONTROL, WE'LL GIVE YOU A SPECIAL
BOX ON YOUR TAX FORM TO CHECK
SO THAT UP TO 10% OF YOUR
INCOME TAX CAN GO FOR ONE PURPOSE
ALONE TO REDUCE THE BUDGET DEFICIT.
CONGRESS WON'T LIKE IT, THE

100

EDITORIAL WRITERS WON'T LIKE IT,
BUT I SAY ITS A WAY TO LET THE
PEOPLE HAVE THEIR WAY.

I HAVE OTHER IDEAS ...

[REDACTED] IDE

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

EARLIER TODAY IN UNION, NEW JERSEY, I ANNOUNCED A
DRAMATIC NEW ^{Approach} IN JOB TRAINING. TO HELP YOUNG PEOPLE
FIND THAT FIRST JOB, A PROGRAM I CALL YOUTH TRAINING
CORPS -- TO GET INNER CITY KIDS OFF THE MEAN STREETS,
AND GET THEM A SECOND CHANCE TO BUILD THE SKILLS THEY
NEED TO SUCCEED.

- 11 -

FOR OLDER WORKERS WHO'VE LOST THEIR JOBS -- OR WORRY
THAT NEXT PAY ENVELOPE MAY CONTAIN A PINK SLIP: WE'VE
DEVELOPED A NEW CONCEPT CALLED SKILL GRANTS -- VOUCHERS
WORTH \$3,000 DOLLARS TO BE USED TOWARD THE TRAINING
PROGRAM OF THEIR CHOICE.

OUR PLAN IS BASED ON EMPOWERING PEOPLE TO GET THE
TRAINING THEY WANT -- NOT EMPOWERING BUREAUCRACIES TO
HIRE MORE PEOPLE.// THAT'S AN APPROACH THE OTHER SIDE
CAN'T MATCH.

- 12 -

THE OTHER SIDE SEES JOB TRAINING AS JUST ANOTHER REASON
TO RAISE TAXES. //

BILL CLINTON SAYS HE'S ALL FOR FREE ENTERPRISE --
THEN HE PROPOSES THE LARGEST TAX HIKE IN HISTORY, MUCH
OF IT ON THE BACK OF SMALL BUSINESS.

BILL CLINTON SAYS HE WANTS SMALLER GOVERNMENT --
BUT OF ALL THE THOUSANDS OF GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS, HE CAN
FIND ONLY ONE HE'S WILLING TO ELIMINATE: THE HONEY BEE
SUBSIDY. *I have proposed eliminating ^{over} 200 programs
and 4000 projects*

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

- 13 -

~~[[AND THEY COULD STILL GET STUNG ON THAT ONE.]]~~

BILL CLINTON SAYS HE'S FOR FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY
-- AND THEN HE COMES OUT AGAINST THE BALANCED BUDGET
AMENDMENT.

I STAND FOR SOMETHING DIFFERENT. I PROPOSE TO CUT
FEDERAL SPENDING -- AND WITH THE HELP OF A NEW
CONGRESS, CUT FEDERAL TAXES, SO WE CAN GET THIS ECONOMY
MOVING AGAIN.

-14-

IN THIS CAMPAIGN, I WILL GIVE
YOU STRAIGHT TALK ABOUT WHAT'S
RIGHT FOR AMERICA, AND LET THE
CHIPS FALL WHERE THEY MAY.

-15-

THIS YEAR, THE CHOICE IS CLEAR. IT'S A CHOICE
BETWEEN TWO FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT PHILOSOPHIES: OF
THE GOVERNMENT, BY THE GOVERNMENT, FOR THE GOVERNMENT"
VERSUS "OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE."

~~BECAUSE~~ WHAT IS AT STAKE HERE IS OUR FUTURE. WE
ARE IN CHOPPY WATERS NOW, PEOPLE IN CONNECTICUT AND
OTHER STATES ARE UNEASY.

BUT I SEE THE OPPORTUNITY THAT GLOBAL CHANGE HAS
BROUGHT.

- 16 -
[REDACTED]

I SEE CLEAR WATER AHEAD FOR AMERICA, IF WE DON'T GO
BACK TO THE FAILED POLICIES OF THE PAST. I SEE CLEAR
WATER AHEAD, IF WE HAVE THE COURAGE TO SAIL FOR IT.

WHAT WE NEED NOW IS SOMEONE WHO SEES THE NEW
HORIZON -- SOMEONE WHO UNDERSTANDS AMERICA'S PLACE IN
THE WORLD IS NEVER TO BE THE PATRON OF THE PAST -- BUT
THE ARCHITECT OF THE FUTURE. I WILL TAKE MY MESSAGE TO
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- AND TOGETHER WE WILL DO WHAT'S
RIGHT FOR AMERICA. //

- 17 -
[REDACTED]

**THANK YOU ALL FOR THIS WARM WELCOME -- AND MAY GOD
BLESS THIS GREAT NATION, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.**

#