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

OA/ID Number: 90709
Folder ID Number: 90709-007

Folder Title:
Monday, August 24, 1992 [2]

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

Presidential Phone Calls



DATE: 8-24 TIME: 11⁰³
incoming/outgoing

WITH: Lawton Charles

SUBJECT: in T'hurru gang 80.

could've been worse

C. Gable, H'stead, but very hard
might need troops
FEMA...

H'stead 40% gone
Ann Base - not sure its open.
FOLLOW UP:

Wasn't a type 5
didn't leave

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 24, 1992

Youth Skills Initiative

FACT SHEET

The President announced today his Youth Skills Initiative, a new strategy to prepare our Nation's non-college-bound youth for success in the rapidly changing workplace. The President's Youth Skills initiative consists of four major elements:

- Youth Training Corps (YTC). A new residential and non-residential training program for economically and socially disadvantaged youth;
- Treat and Train. A comprehensive youth drug treatment program that will tie rehabilitation together with the Youth Training Corps to ensure that rehabilitated kids get the training needed for a new start in life;
- National Youth Apprenticeship Program. A comprehensive school-to-work transition training program for high school juniors and seniors.
- Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (JROTC). Doubling the size of the existing voluntary instructional program for high school students that emphasizes self-discipline, family and social values, citizenship, and personal responsibility.

The Problem

Put simply, the United States needs an increasingly better trained and skilled workforce for the remainder of this decade and the next century. International competition, the expansion of new and complex technologies into the workplace, and a dynamic labor market require a well-trained and highly-skilled work force. One of our greatest challenges in creating such a work force is to facilitate the transition from school to work for non-college-bound youth.

Of the students enrolled in the 11th and 12th grades this fall, approximately 40 percent will not immediately go to

college. Of those who do attend, half will fail to complete their first year. Moreover, roughly one-fifth of American high school students either drop out or do not complete high school graduation requirements on schedule.

These young Americans need to acquire the vocational training and workplace skills that will allow them to compete successfully in the job marketplace.

The President's Proposal

In January, the President announced a comprehensive initiative to streamline the Federal job training system designed to implement "one-stop shopping" for job training in every community. Building upon this concept, the President has proposed a comprehensive plan to expand and improve job training for non-college-bound youth.

The President's Youth Skills initiative consists of four major elements:

Youth Training Corps (YTC)

The Youth Training Corps will provide economically and socially disadvantaged youth with intensive vocational training and workplace skills. This training will be combined with community service and conservation work in rural areas and on public lands.

- The Youth Training Corps will create 25 new YTC centers patterned after the Job Corps' 30 existing Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) centers to create a total of 55 residential YTC centers nationwide.
- These residential centers, located primarily in rural areas, will utilize converted Department of Defense facilities, where appropriate.
- Hiring preference for YTC staff will be given to individuals leaving military service. This will allow the YTC to take advantage of the military's high level of leadership and training expertise.
- The President's proposal will add 29,600 new training slots that will help 43,000 additional kids each year. Of these additional slots:

- 16,600 slots will be residential, located at the 25 new YTC centers.
- 13,000 slots will be non-residential, located at existing Job Corps centers.
- The President's proposals will serve an additional 43,000 disadvantaged youths (ages 16 to 21) annually. This will bring the total number of youths served annually by both the YTC and Job Corps to 113,000.
 - 18,700 additional youths would be served at the 25 new YTC centers.
 - 24,300 additional youths would be served on a non-residential basis at new or existing centers.
- The YTC will utilize an expanded Job Corps model, relying on a combination of remedial education, technical training, life-skills training, counseling and other support services.
- The YTC participants will spend an average of seven months as a resident at the Youth Training Corps center and receive both applied learning experiences and basic job training.
 - Participants will work to help improve parks, recreation, or community facilities, and public/low-income housing.
- The YTC would have an initial, start-up cost of \$200 million (FY 1994 and FY 1995), expanding to \$385 million per year when fully in place.

Treat and Train Program

This initiative will strengthen existing youth drug treatment programs and complement the Youth Training Corps.

- The President's proposal will fund 10,000 new drug treatment slots at intensive drug rehabilitation centers.
 - Two-thirds of the new slots will be residential. Participants stay in the residential centers an average 9 months.

- One-third of the new slots will be out-patient.
- The President's proposal will serve an additional 28,000 youths annually, increasing the number served by Federally-funded treatment by roughly 30 percent.
- Successfully completing the treatment program will give participants priority status for admission to the Youth Training Corps (YTC).
- The program will cost \$150 million per year beginning in FY 1994.

National Youth Apprenticeship Program

This initiative will substantially expand the President's National Youth Apprenticeship Act of 1992, which was initiated in January as a component of the Job Training 2000 proposal and transmitted to the Congress in May.

- This plan is a comprehensive, voluntary program for high school juniors and seniors that combines classroom instruction with a structured, paid, work experience program.
- The Department of Labor will provide community organization funding, planning and curriculum design using the current six-state demonstration program as a model to expand the program to all 50 states.
- Students who successfully complete the program receive a high school diploma and a widely-recognized certificate of skill competency. Students will also have the opportunity to continue training at the post-secondary level.
- The Targeted Jobs Tax Credit will be available to employers to cover participating students that meet current TJTC economically disadvantaged eligibility criteria.
- The National Youth Apprenticeship program will cost \$100 million per year beginning in FY 1994. The TJTC expansion will cost an estimated \$10 million in FY 1994 and \$160 million over 5 years.

Jr. Reserve Officer Training Corps (JROTC)

This initiative will more than double the size of the present JROTC program, a very successful and popular partnership between the military services and the public and private schools. JROTC emphasizes self-discipline, values, citizenship, personal responsibility, and staying in school among high school students, and provides an alternative to drugs and gangs.

- The President's proposal will add 1,500 new JROTC units to the present 1,482 units, and will include as many as 225,000 more high school students.
- The program will emphasize increasing the number of inner city high school JROTC programs initially, but plans call for JROTC to be made available to every high school across the country that requests it and qualifies. The goal is to establish 2,900 units by 1994.
- JROTC is a low-cost education program that provides those who participate in it with positive incentives to stay in school. Well-trained, highly motivated former military personnel serve as instructors.
- This initiative will provide job opportunities for highly qualified personnel retiring from military service.
- The Department of Defense will help local school systems absorb some of the costs for the new inner-city school JROTC programs.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 24, 1992

Worker Adjustment Initiative

FACT SHEET

The President today announced a new, comprehensive \$10 billion worker adjustment initiative to assure that American workers have the training and skills they need for employment security today and into the next century.

The President's proposal features:

- Universal coverage. All dislocated workers would have access to basic transition assistance and training support.
- "Skill Grants". Vouchers of up to \$3,000 would be available to help meet the costs of providing new skills and training for dislocated workers.
- \$10 billion in Federal funding. The plan almost triples the resources currently devoted to skill training and worker adjustment -- to \$2 billion a year in each of the next 5 years. This level of funding is sufficient to ensure that workers anticipated to need these adjustment services will have access to those services.

The Problem

Three related developments have created the need for a flexible, adaptable, well-trained, and highly skilled workforce in the United States.

First, world trade is expanding and promises to continue to expand during the coming decade. The United States has been at the forefront of this effort through the Uruguay Round GATT negotiations and the North America Free Trade Agreement. Expanding trade brings with it great opportunities for exports and job creation. But, it also brings with it the need for adjustment as nations concentrate on what they do best.

Second, the pace of technological change has accelerated. Computers and innovations in production technology have sharply increased manufacturing productivity. Technological advances

are reducing the need for certain skills and increasing the need for others.

Third, the end of the Cold War provides the U.S. with an historic opportunity to reevaluate and revise its national security requirements. This development inevitably involves redeploying resources, including human resources, from the defense to the civilian economy.

These changes create new opportunities; they also involve adjustments. Adult workers who lose their jobs need the training and skills that will allow them to adjust and adapt in a dynamic economy, to make the transition to new industries and occupations, and to compete successfully in the global marketplace.

The problem and the challenge is how best to facilitate the development of a dynamic, well-trained workforce that will keep the U.S. globally competitive.

The President's Proposal

In January, the President announced a comprehensive, streamlined Federal job training system that provides "one-stop shopping" for job training services in every community. This structure is designed to meet the Nation's workforce needs into the next century.

Building on this plan, the President proposes to complete the restructuring of Federal job training programs by replacing the current dislocated worker adjustment programs under the Economic Dislocation and Worker Adjustment Assistance (EDWAA) and Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA) Acts with a new \$2.0 billion a year comprehensive retraining and transition assistance program.

The Department of Labor's new Advancing Skills through Education and Training Services (ASETS) program will assist all dislocated workers, including those who may change jobs or careers as a result of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), as well as other workers in changing industries who need training in new skills.

The President's proposal would serve:

- workers who have lost their jobs,
- workers who have been notified their jobs are being terminated, and

- workers employed in industries experiencing significant changes and work force adjustments who fear job loss in the future.

Dislocated workers would be eligible to receive three types of assistance:

- Transition assistance, to help them find and secure new employment. This includes: skills assessment, counseling, job search assistance and job referral services;
- Training assistance, in the form of Skill Grants, for those workers who want and need retraining and skills development;
- Transition income support, where necessary, for workers completing retraining.

Program Funding

The President's program would be funded at \$10 billion over the next 5 years -- \$2 billion annually -- and structured as a capped mandatory program to ensure continuity of funding. At this funding level, an estimated 1.2 million workers could be served annually.

- Two-thirds of the total annual funding (\$1.3 billion) would be allocated to the States. These funds would more than triple the resources now available to States through EDWAA to respond to dislocations.
- States would provide basic transition assistance service and Skill Grants for training to dislocated workers regardless of the cause of dislocation, including trade and NAFTA-related employment changes, defense adjustments etc.
- One-third of the total annual funding (\$670 million) would be retained by the Secretary of Labor for discretionary allocation for uses of national priority.
- At least \$335 million a year would be reserved specifically to respond to NAFTA-related dislocations. The balance would be reserved to respond to multi-state and industry-wide dislocations (e.g., defense-related layoffs and environmental impacts). This triples the existing funding for these programs.

- If NAFTA related dislocations require more funding, the Secretary may shift the allocation as to as high as the full \$670 million per annum. Likewise, if NAFTA dislocations require less, as is likely to be the case, the Secretary may shift those resources to other priority dislocations.

Transition Assistance

Every dislocated worker would be eligible to receive basic transition assistance, including: an assessment of their current skills, counseling, help in resume preparation and interviewing skills, job search assistance and job referral services.

Skill Grants for Training

In addition to basic transition assistance, many dislocated workers may need to develop additional skills or upgrade their current skills. The President's proposal would provide dislocated workers with:

- A Skill Grant in the form of a voucher.
 - Grants would be awarded in amounts up to \$3,000 per year.
 - Workers would be eligible for the grants for up to two years.
 - The grant could be redeemed at any qualified college, junior college, community college or public or private trade school or training institution.
 - Workers would have the freedom and flexibility to choose the type of training that would best meet their needs and aspirations.
- Funding priority for individuals applying for the Skill Grants would be:
 - (1) currently dislocated workers;
 - (2) soon-to-be dislocated workers;
 - (3) workers employed in industries experiencing significant work force adjustments who fear future dislocations.

Transition Income Maintenance

Dislocated workers who enter training early in their unemployment, have exhausted their unemployment insurance benefits, and need income support to complete their training will be eligible to receive transitional income maintenance.

Hausman DOCUMENT= 1 OF 1 PAGE = 1 OF 2
NAME Mr. Samuel Hausman
SAL OUT Sam
CODES CC5 CNGRSS UNKNOR
ISSUES IZRAEL
FFNAME "Barbara" in. "George Bush" and "George" out.
HOME1 Apartment 18-C
930 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021
(212)
BUSINESS1 Belding Heminway Co. Inc.
12th Floor
1430 Broadway
New York, NY 10018
(212) 944-6040
Sec'y: Cynthia.
LUPDATE 920410
UPDATE BY CT02
DATES
PRIV COMM . Born approx 1897.

4BÜ

Hausman DOCUMENT= 1 OF 1 PAGE = 2 OF 2
. He has a brother Jack.
. Son: Bruce.
. *Spike Heminway* heads one of his subsidiaries.
. RNC Eagle?
CONTACT
CORSPNDNC . 4/8/92 Son Bruce attended Republican Eagle reception at WH.
. 1/25/91 GB thanks for support and friendship during Gulf War.
. 7/26/91 GB thanked for note and articles.
. 9/5/91 GB sent HighHolyDays greeting.
. 10/9/91 GB sent 95th birthday greetings.
. 10/21/91 GB sent signed photo to Jack Hausman's son Peter.
. 4/2/92 GB sent him a get well.

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

FYI:

Mr. Hausman passed away yesterday -- He was 98 years old.
Spike Hemingway has asked that letters go out to his
two children. Spike recommended they be machine signed.

Jan Burmeister is handling and will mail out today.

4BÜ

Daily 8/24

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

August 24, 1992

Dear Mr. Spears,

I didn't get a chance to stop by Abel's Pharmacy lunch counter while I was in Houston, but I heard you're campaigning there for me five days a week. Thanks for being such a staunch supporter. Your enthusiasm and loyalty are very much appreciated.

Last week's Convention went very well and I am feeling confident about November. We'll win!

Sincerely,

GB

From the desk of

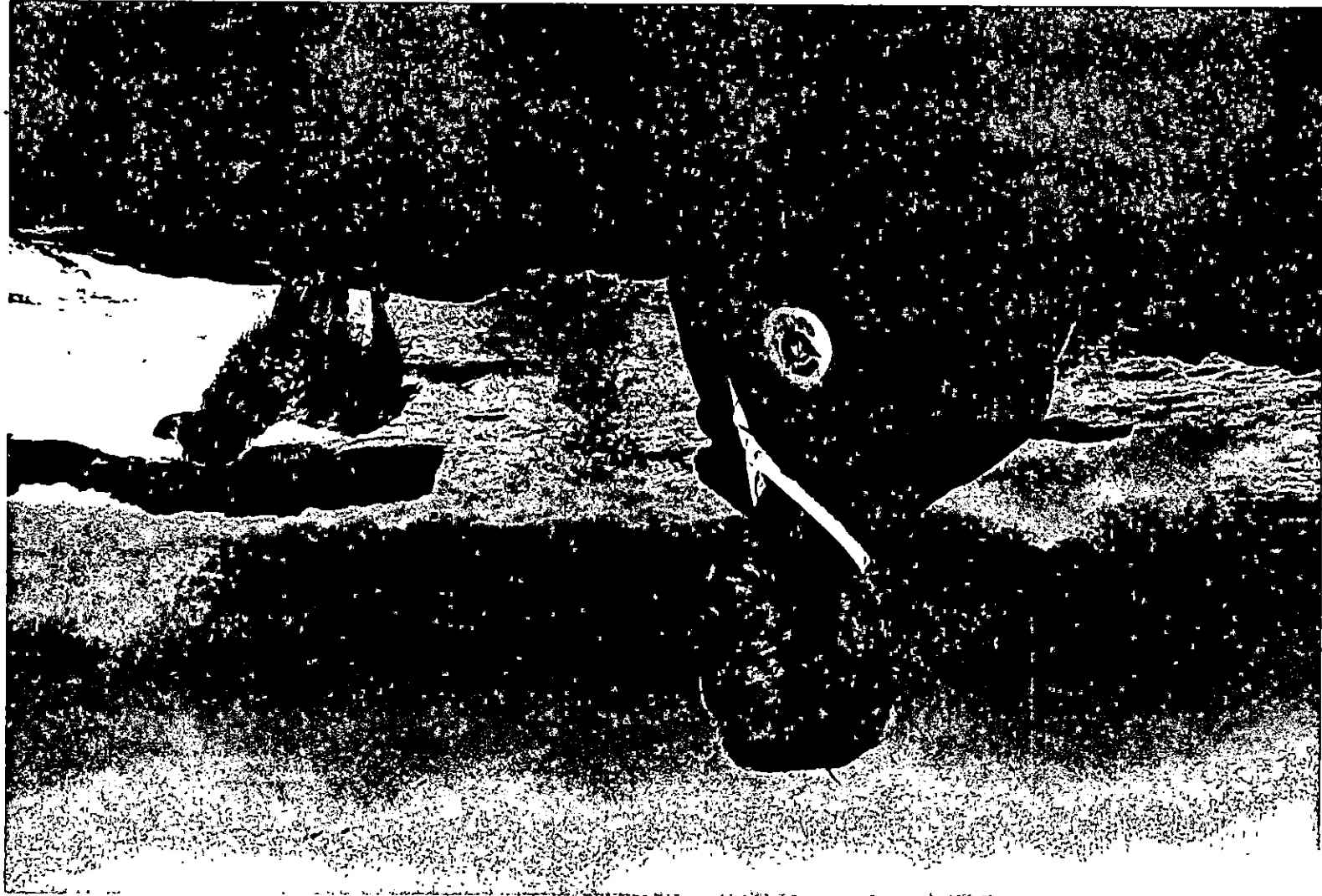
George Bush

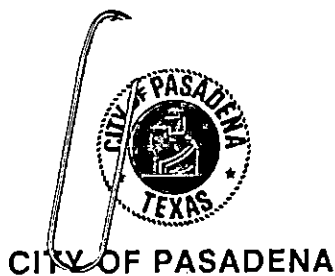
CC OL Harris

V Done 8/25 wt

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - GEORGE BUSH HANDWRITING

To C. A. Spear "Ranger" and I send you our very
best wishes. Hoping to see you very
August '92





OF PASADENA

O L HARRIS
COUNCILMAN-AT-LARGE
POSITION 1

1211 E. SOUTHMORE
PASADENA, TEXAS 77502
(713) 475-5517

P.O. BOX 672
PASADENA, TEXAS 77501

O L HARRIS
COUNCILMAN-AT-LARGE
POSITION 1

August 18, 1992

The Honorable President George Bush
THE HOUSTONIAN HOTEL
111 N. Post Oak Lane
Houston, Texas 77024

Dear Mr. President:

I would appreciate if you would write a letter to:
Mr. C. A. Spears, 1027 S. Shaver, Pasadena, Texas 77506.

Mr. Spears owns and operates a T.V. Sales and Service store in Pasadena and has for over forty years. Mr. Spears will be 70-years old next January; however, that is not the main reason for this request.

The main reason I would like for you to write a letter is that Mr. Spears campaigns very vigorously for you all the time. Every day at lunch at Abel's Pharmacy on the corner of Southmore and Shaver in Pasadena, Mr. Spears spends one hour, five days a week selling Mr. George Bush to everyone who enters the drugstore or has lunch at their lunch counter.

We have approximately 43,000 registered voters in Pasadena. If Mr. Spears receives a letter from you, Mr. President, a third of those voters will see that letter and the other two-thirds will hear about it.

You might remember Mr. Spears as he has been active many years in the Houston Livestock Show and Rodeo, the Bill Williams Capon Dinner and the 100-Club.

Any consideration you give to this request will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

O L Harris
COUNCILMAN
CITY OF PASADENA

lme

Industrial Center of the Southwest

Daily

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Cheryl Ladd
Richard Grant & Associates
Suite 500
8500 Wilshire Boulevard



THE PRESIDENT

August 24, 1992

Dear Cheryl,

I got the message that you called and want to let you know that Barbara and I are glad that you could be with us in Houston. You were great to come to the Convention and stand at our side. Many, many thanks! Your friendship and support mean a lot to us.

The Convention was great and I loved your skit with Gerald McRaney at the Gala. I'm fired up for the days ahead -- we will win! Thanks, again, for all you've done.

*It was great seeing
Brian. Give him an
"abrazo"!*

Warm regards, Love

BJ

August 20, 1992

Memorandum for the President

1) You received a phone call from Cheryl Ladd and she asked that the following message be passed to you. You need not return the call.

They had a wonderful time last night in the Box and were so sorry it was so brief, but they were there to help and didn't want to be a burden. Barbara's speech was out of this world -- brought tears to her eyes. Love and thinking of you, and, hopefully, will see you soon.

2) Mary Fisher really appreciated your call. She cried, per Bobby Kilberg.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~
etc.

write Cheryl ^{note} Ladd

You were great to
come to the Convention
and stand at our
side. ~ ck to see
if her husband was
there - "who is they"

MATERIALS FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT
August 24, 1992

ACTION

1. Daily Point of Light Letters and Summaries
(August 24, 1992 - August 30, 1992).
2. Convention Thank You Letters (Staff 86 letters)
(Special 15 letters).
3. Retirement Letter to Russel Cancilla and Connie Horner Memo
Career Prospects for Russ.

CLASSIFIED

INFORMATION

1. NOAA Memo re Hurrican Andrew.

REMARKS

1. Florida Arrival Statement.
2. Bush-Quayle Rally - Canton, Michigan.

SCHEDULE

1. Goldline only for August 24.
2. Tripbook for 8/24.
3. Tripbook for 08/25 to IL and MI.

Presidential Remarks
FEMA Announcement
August 24, 1992

During the night, as you know, southern Florida was struck by Hurricane Andrew, one of the most devastating storms to hit that part of the country in six decades.

Let me say that our thoughts and prayers are with the people of ~~southern~~ Florida. And I will also say that the federal government stands ready to respond promptly and effectively.

Right now, two teams of the Federal Emergency Management Administration (FEMA) are already in South Florida. One is from the regional center in Tallahassee, the other a regional center in Georgia. They will bring together the expertise of 27 government agencies, to help provide food and water to the people of South Florida and help repair and rebuild homes and businesses.

~~This evening~~^{Today}, I will declare the area of South Florida to be a federal disaster area, eligible for the appropriate federal assistance. We will move quickly and speedily to help Floridians put their lives together, and deal with the devastation that this storm has wrought.

Presidential Phone Calls



DATE: 8-24 TIME: 9 AM on AF 1
incoming/outgoing

WITH: Dole - Archer

SUBJECT: Job Training

FOLLOW UP: Reached both

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 24, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
UPON DEPARTURE

The South Lawn

8:06 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: I just very briefly want to express my heartfelt concern to the people of Florida on this devastating storm. Apparently it's one of the worst in six -- probably the worst in six decades. We've already gotten two FEMA teams -- that's the government emergency teams -- down there in Florida. I will be declaring today that Florida is a disaster area.

There will be 27 agencies of the government then ready to help in any way that the federal government can help. But I will be in touch during the day to see what -- that everything runs smoothly and that we do everything we can to help the people down there. Apparently it was a very bad storm, a storm that kept the evaluation teams from sizing it up until now; but I expect that'll change during the day. But it's a serious matter, and my heart goes out to the people in Florida.

END

8:07 A.M. EDT

POOL REPORT #3

August 24, 1992

(Ansonia, Connecticut)

Bush headed from the event to Nolan field where his helicopter was waiting along with a huge crowd estimated at 7,000 was waiting. The crowd packed the bleachers and spilled over into a nearby walk way over looking the park, football and baseball fields. Most of the crowd was supportive and waved Bush/Quayle signs, but a group of demonstrators, including some from Act Up, had positioned themselves front and center. Bush remarks to the

Among the most notable finds were: "God is not spelled G-O-P. We won't get fooled again."

Bush worked the rope line where he was nearly mobbed by cheering well-wishers. In brief remarks, he thanked the crowd for the homecoming, and said: "Help me get a new Congress--lets clean house." The helicopter ride back to Newark took nearly half an hour and Bush was greeted by nearly 200 supporters before he flew South to Florida.

Doug Jehl
Los Angeles Times

POOL REPORT #2

August 24, 1992

Event site and on the way from Middlebury to Ansonia
(Ansonia, Connecticut)

At Ansonia, Marlin Fitzwater said the President had decided to fly to Florida this afternoon to see for himself the extent of damage from hurricane Andrew. Fitzwater said Bush had declared three counties - Dade, Broward and Monroe - eligible for disaster assistance and would probably include other counties later as damage assessments came in. He said the President had called Florida Governor Lawton Chiles this morning and "assured him he would have the full support of the federal government in this effort." Fitzwater also said that Wallace Stickney, head of FEMA and Senator Connie Mack, R-Fla., would join the President, who will fly to Opa Locka Florida, and "visit two or three areas and meet with local officials there."

Although FEMA still has no final figures on the amount of damage, Fitzwater said that "initial damage estimates could run \$6 billion to \$8 billion.... This is just the beginning. We want to get on the scene quickly and start making available funds for housing particularly, and for cleanup and other emergency needs." Fitzwater said there are still some severe storms in south Florida and some airports are closed. In addition, he said, "some areas are not accessible so we're not sure exactly where we'll be able to go."

Before going to Ansonia, the President attended a \$2,500 -a-person fund raiser in Middlebury at the home of former U.S. Rep. John Rowland, R-Conn. About 50 people attended the event on the patio of the Rowland home, a large New England bungalow set amid corn fields and other expensive homes in the rolling hills in the Naugatuck valley.

All along the route from Middlebury to Ansonia, the President was hailed by mostly friendly crowds who turned out on the sunlit day to greet his caravan as it careered along the winding roads.

Dave Hess - Knight Ridder

POOL REPORT #1

August 24, 1992

Arrival at Newark and Tour at Union New Jersey
(Newark, New Jersey)

(Nothing was said on Air Force One)

Gov. Tom Kean of New Jersey met the president at Newark airport. There were a dozen other people to greet him, and a little boy got his autograph.

Motorcade uneventful, but a block from the Lincoln Technical Institute in Union, N.J., two knots of people waved placards and some cheered while others booed. There were several Bush-Quayle placards, but also one that said, "Bush Lies," another: "We've Been Bushwhacked," and another: "Four More Years -- Not." A few people held Clinton-Gore placards near the entrance to the institute.

In a room off the parking lot, the president was introduced to an instructor, George Schryver, and four standout students in his diesel class. One, Joshua Lax, 23, of Teaneck, N.J., had a sleeve lined with patches proclaiming him an honor student in several disciplines such as electrical systems.

Campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke discussed the contrast between the program Bush announced and the Clinton approach to job training. She said the Clinton plan would impose a 1.5 percent payroll tax.

"He would destroy jobs to supposedly create jobs," she said. She explained that under the Bush plan, the bulk of the money, about \$1.26 Billion a year, would come from "offsets under the budget caps."

Asked where the money would come from, she said, "I don't know."

Bush and Labor Secretary Lynn Martin chatted with the students and instructor, and Bush asked several questions about maintenance on a diesel engine. The truck that dominated the small room was a "cab-over diesel, Detroit V-8," Schryver said.

Bush asked who the students were.

"Have these guys been in the labor market and going back in?" Bush asked.

"We get students from all walks of life," the instructor said.

He said some come out of high school, some have lost jobs, and some were dissatisfied with previous jobs.

"How long before these guys get their patch ... from the day you start on the diesel?" Bush asked.

Schryver said they were five months into a six-month course.

Martin put on her eyeglasses and peered into the diesel.

The president's group moved into a large bay, which also contained a diesel tractor, bleachers, and an area for several hundred guests and students to stand.

There were some scattered boos as the president's hosts and Bush were introduced, but the crowd cheered loudly at his pledge to create new jobs and booed when he mentioned Clinton's name.

Bush reiterated the distinction between his plan to pay for retraining without raising taxes and Clinton's plan involving a payroll tax. That brought a lusty cheer and whistles from the crowd.

But did not specify where the money would come from, saying he would detail it in time, "when we move into the next budget cycle," early next year.

"I like the spirit here at Lincoln," the president said, to the loudest cheers.

After the speech, Bush posed with some students while Martin took pictures.

He was given a black nylon jacket with the institute logo, and a cap.

Tim Zimmermann, U.S. News and World Report
William Clayton, Houston Chronicle

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

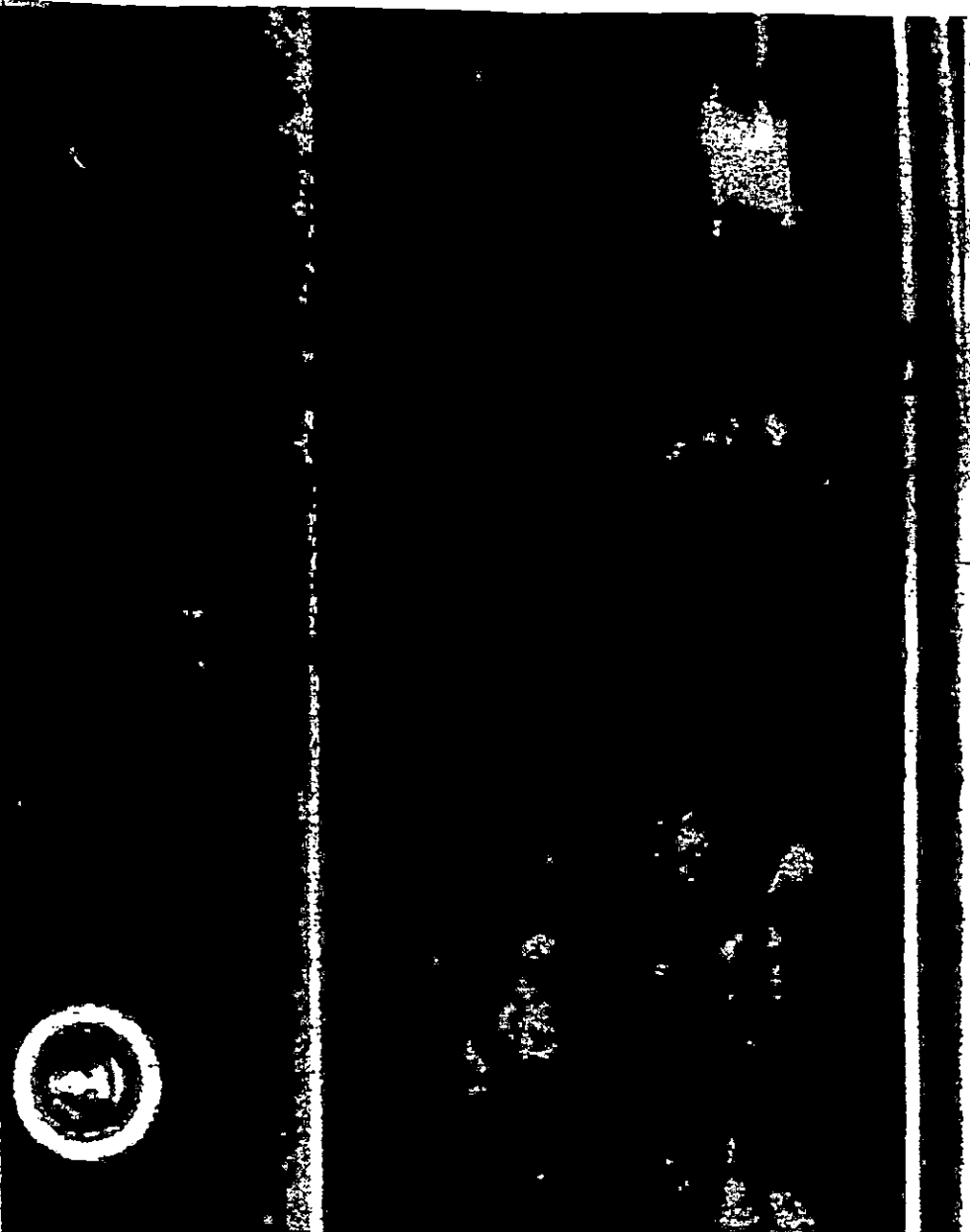
Monday, August 24, 1992

Mrs. Bush	(in folder)
Secretary Skinner	West Wing
Marlin Fitzwater	West Wing
Constance Horner	West Wing
Carol Powers	West Wing
Patty Presock	Residence
First Lady Detail	Staircase
Karen Connell	Room 58 OEOB
Shirley Green	Room 94 OEOB
Anne Griffith	Room 98 OEOB
Diana Kellogg	Room 157 OEOB
Gregg Petersmeyer	Room 100 OEOB
Marguerite Sullivan	Room 268 OEOB
Carolyn Washington	Room 268 OEOB
Benita Somerfield	hold one copy
Ann Brock	
Julie Cooke	
Joan DeCain	
Laurie Firestone	
Jane Moore	
Susan Porter Rose	
Sally Runion	
Peggy Swift	
Anna Perez	
Sondra Haley	
Jean Becker	
Jay Suchan	(plus originals)

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1992



President Bush and his wife, Barbara, are seen in a campaign trail.

© 1992 The New York Times



SHE'S A DOLL: George Bush holds a doll-sized version of his wife Barbara during campaign stop yesterday in Woodbury, Conn. (AP Wirephoto)



LOS ANGELES TIMES
AUGUST 23, 1982

AP Wirephoto
AUGUST 23, 1982

AP Wirephoto
AUGUST 23, 1982

Bush, in Georgia, Questions Clinton's Vision of the Family

Special to The New York Times

A high-contrast, black and white photograph of a crowd at a protest. In the upper right, a sign is visible with the text "OUR FAMILY VALUES ARE BETTER THAN YOURS". In the center foreground, a person is seen from the chest up, wearing a dark jacket with a light-colored patch on the sleeve. The crowd is dense, and the image has a grainy, high-contrast quality.

Associated Press

When the Democratic candidate said he made that maybe he should have inhaled marijuana — a joke about his so-called comment that he had tried the drug but "didn't inhale."

"He has a deep psychological need to pander to the worst instincts of whatever group he's in front of," Mr. Gingrich said. "He, in effect, said to these kids it was all right to inhale."

Mr. Gingrich called the Governor's comment "a sick thing" and "the most single destructive action by a politician in my lifetime."

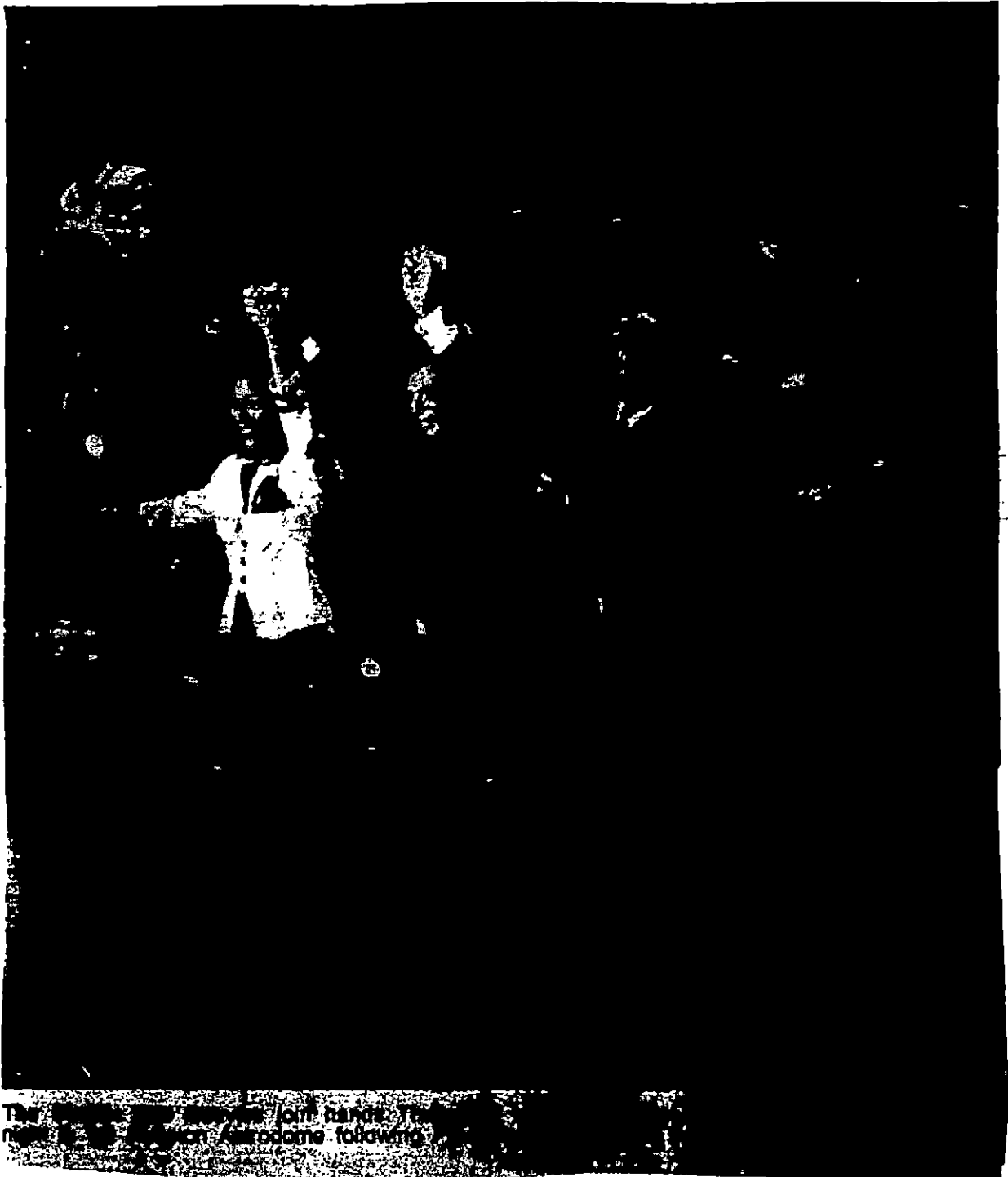
SUNDAY, AUGUST 23, 1992



President Bush and wife Barbara are greeted by flurry of lights at Illinois State Fairgrounds, where he made a campaign stop Sunday.



Chicago Tribune, Friday, August 21, 1992



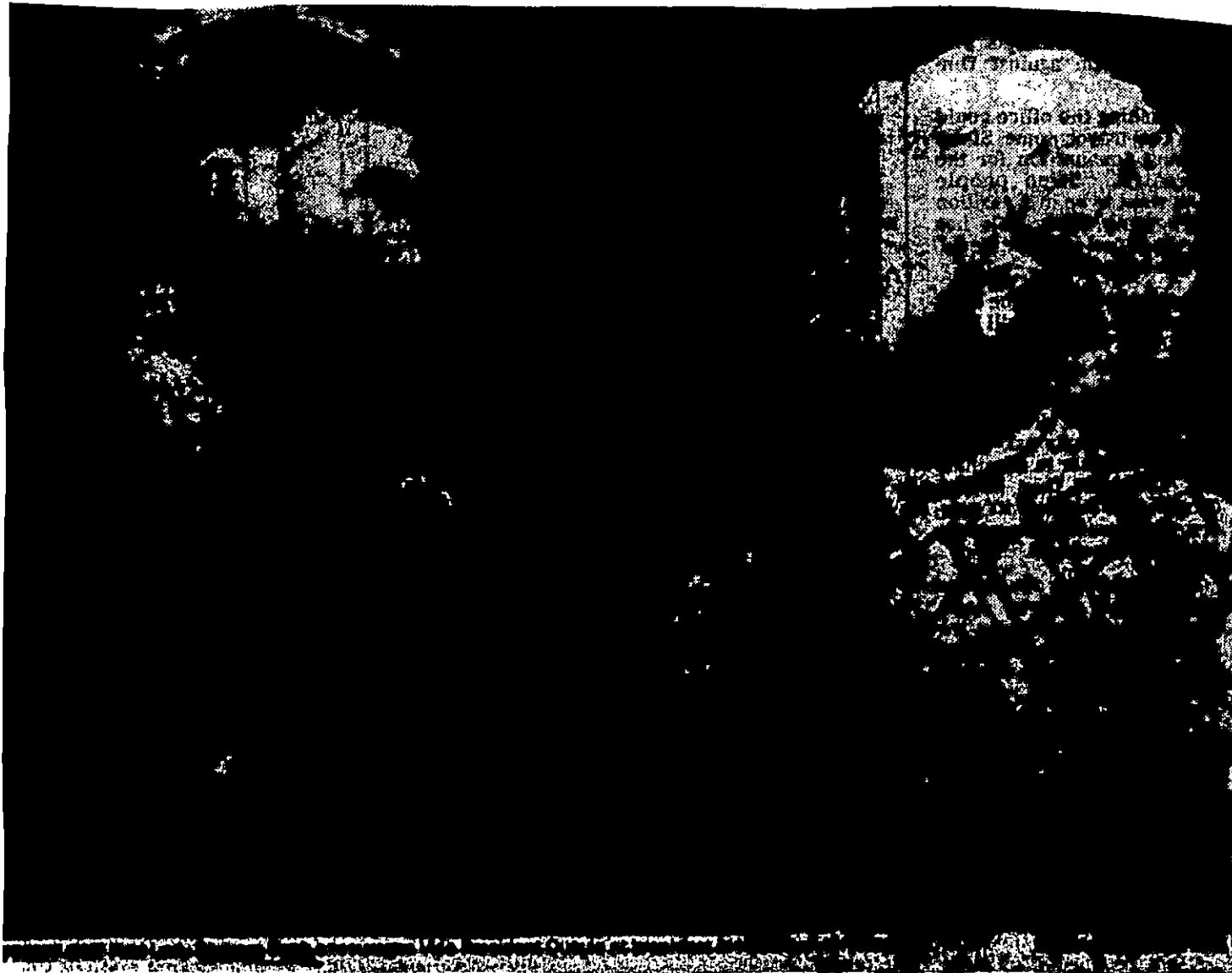
The Rev. Jesse Jackson (left) talks with
other leaders at the Lincoln Center following

Chicago Tribune, Friday, August 21, 1992



Rev. Jesse Jackson, former Pres.





AP Laserphoto

First Lady Barbara Bush hugs former President Gerald Ford after his speech Thursday night at the Republican National Convention.



Barbara Bush, singing with her husband at a prayer breakfast in Houston last week, warned reporters that she would be an "overrated" speaker making an "overrated" speech.



Ken Kavin/Saba

Hillary Clinton's image changed from that of mother, lawyer and children's legal champion to that of a beaming wife.

AUGUST 16-22, 1992

THE WEEKLY
NEWSMAGAZINE

THE WEEK

JAMES H. HARRIS FOR TIME

A NIGHT TO REMEMBER:
Amid a sky of balloons
and a sea of confetti at
Houston's Astrodome,
the President and First
Lady celebrate the end
of the G.O.P. convention

NATION

Playing for The Big Bounce

**Bush cuts into Clinton's lead as he
rallies his fractious party**

GEORGE BUSH SEES HIS LIFE AS A SERIES OF "MISSIONS assigned" and "missions accomplished." Accordingly, he set several goals for himself at the Republican Convention in Houston. He needed to reunite his splintering party after a brutal primary campaign. If he couldn't explain exactly what he wanted to do in a second term, he at least needed to remind a majority of Americans why they voted for him in 1988. And he needed to shave roughly half of Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton's 25-point lead in the polls.

By the time the Republicans had executed what may have been the largest balloon drop in political history Thursday night, Bush looked ready to move three more missions to his "accomplished" column. In his acceptance speech, he played the stature card, reminding Americans that on his watch the Berlin Wall fell, communism crumbled and Kuwait was liberated. After wrangling for weeks with advisers over how to reconcile his respectable record abroad with his listless performance at home, Bush

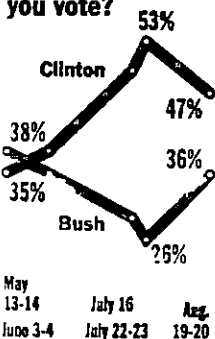
reduced his pitch to two sentences: "This election is about change. The question is, Who do you trust to make change work for you?" Translation: "I'm not perfect, but the other guy's worse."

Striking themes more political than presidential, Bush attacked Clinton as a dangerous liberal who would raise taxes and has dithered at times of personal and national crisis. While perhaps not inspiring, Bush's lesser-of-two-evils pitch seemed to be working: by week's end polls showed that Bush was narrowing the gap as the relentless Republican attacks began to cut into Clinton's favorable ratings.

But Bush skipped gingerly around any discussion of the economy in his 56-min. speech. And the centerpiece of his economic proposals was a familiar package of tax cuts he has proposed to Congress several times before, supplemented by a hokey plan to allow taxpayers to donate up to 10% of their income tax payments to reducing the federal debt.

Before Bush's finale, the convention had a schizophrenic quality not often seen at G.O.P. gatherings. Night after night, the party's fault lines were laid bare for the nation to see. Patrick Buchanan's darkly apocalyptic speech Monday night all but raised the specter of race war, only to be followed minutes later by Ronald Reagan's soaring tribute to Bush and America's future. Wednesday, Barbara Bush gently prodded the conservative delegates to broaden their party's sometimes narrow definition of family, while warm-up act Marilyn Quayle championed a zero-tolerance approach to "family val-

**If the election
were held today,
for whom would
you vote?**



In a telephone poll of 252 registered voters
for TIME.COM on Aug. 16-20 by rank-order
polling method. Margin of error is ±3%.

ues." But it was Mary Fisher, the HIV-positive daughter of a top G.O.P. fund raiser, who held the Astrodome rapt with her insistence that AIDS victims "have not earned cruelty and do not deserve meanness." Coming after several days of antigay rhetoric, Fisher gave what many believed was the bravest speech of the week.

Such divisions may be a harbinger for the G.O.P. Without communism to kick around, without the prosperity that has helped Republicans hold the White House for 20 of the past 24 years, the party is groping for a new philosophical glue to hold its various constituencies together. Even if Bush can unite the factions this year, their increasingly irreconcilable differences guarantee that the G.O.P. is itself in for some "change" before it gathers again in 1996. (See related stories beginning on page 22.) ■

The Veep Bites Back

Quayle's tough acceptance speech aims for the Democratic jugular

THE IMAGE THAT HAS STUCK MOST STUBBORNLY TO Dan Quayle from the 1988 campaign is that of a deer caught in the headlights: a helpless thing frozen in the path of destruction. In Houston, however, Quayle labored—with some success—to transform himself into a snarling attack dog, on the model of such G.O.P. vice-presidential nominees as Bob Dole and Spiro Agnew. Before the largest prime-time TV audience he has addressed, Quayle abandoned his attempted oratorical gravitas and delivered a withering attack on what he has called the "liberal cultural elite," which he has targeted to help distract attention from the economy. Liberals "look down on our beliefs," Quayle growled. Bill Clinton "can't fight for the traditional family because his supporters in Hollywood and the media elite won't let him."

That pitch roused the crowd in Houston, but polls show most Republicans still consider Quayle unqualified. And a slew of other presidential aspirants are also positioning themselves to run in 1996. Among them: chief of staff James Baker, conservative pundit Pat Buchanan, Housing Secretary Jack Kemp, Massachusetts Governor William Weld and William Bennett, former commander of the war on drugs. And Texas Senator Phil Gramm, another 1996 hopeful, hurt himself with a keynote address that delegates judged too long and snoozy. Then again, that was the rap on the 1988 keynote speech of the Democrat who now leads George Bush in the polls. ■

No Barbara Bounce on Nielsen Scale

First lady Barbara Bush's vaunted appearance before the Republican convention Wednesday night helped draw an estimated 28.5 million viewers to the three major networks, PBS and CNN to watch all or part of the proceedings.

Wednesday's national Nielsen figures remained static from Monday and Tuesday nights, when about 28.5 million and 28.4 million viewers tuned in to the convention, respectively. Even a rerun of "Roseanne" on ABC beat out the convention competition for viewers on the three major networks Tuesday.

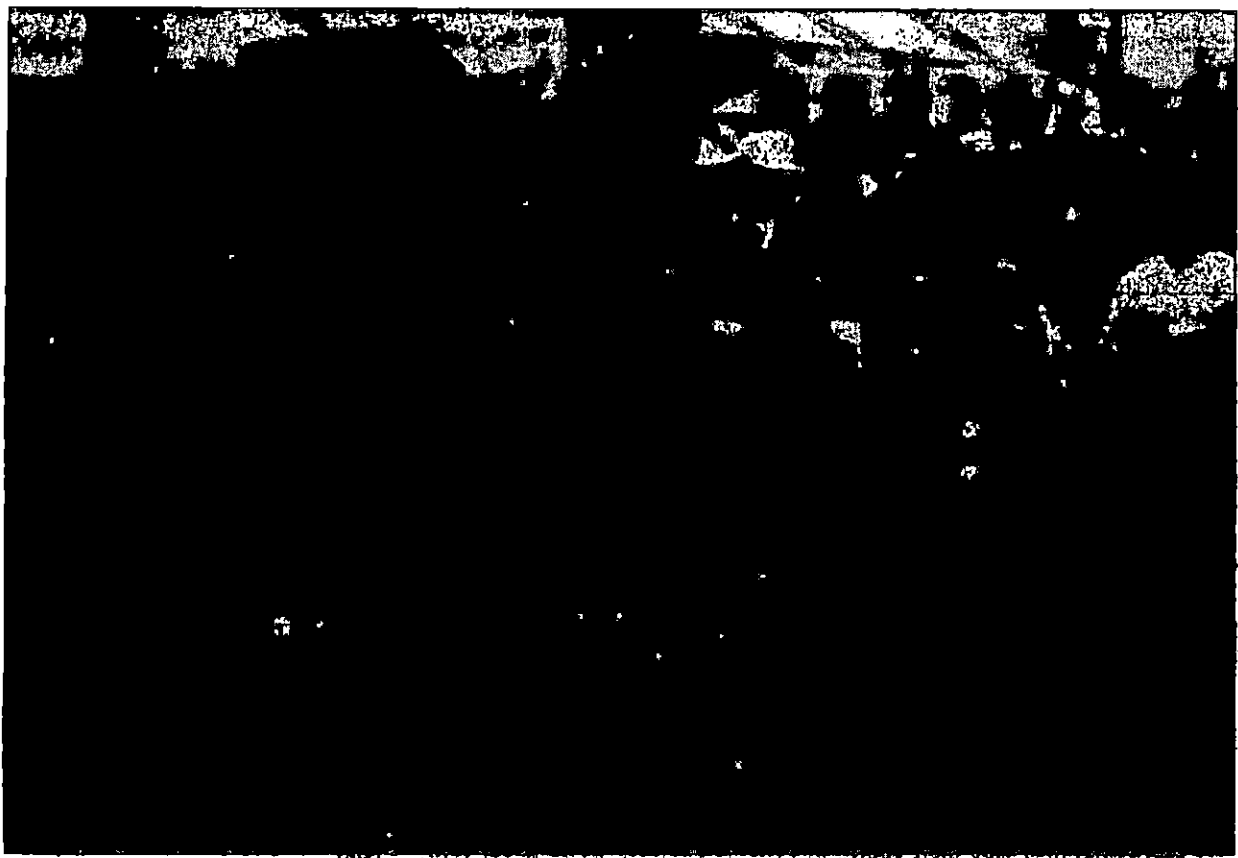
increase last night for President George Bush's acceptance speech, as they did when Gov. Bill Clinton accepted the Democratic nomination.

The three-day Nielsen convention also marked the network's first month of last month.

According to the latest Nielsen report, the network's biggest audience for the convention was for the prime-time 10 to 11 p.m. hour.

Network stations, WNYW, Ch. 5's "News 5 Check News," however, won the hour, beating the other New York TV stations carrying convention coverage.

Kemp, Cuomo agree GOP's divisive rhetoric is ill-advised



President Bush walks with Illinois Gov. Jim Edgar and his wife Brenda yesterday at the state fair in Springfield.

By Carleton R. Bryant
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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

In particular, the Democratic governor and the Republican Cabinet member agreed that the GOP presidential campaign should refrain from attacking Democratic nominee Bill Clinton's wife, Hillary.

"It's not something that makes the president or Barbara Bush get taken on. But so far as I can tell, she has not," Mr. Cuomo said on ABC-TV's "Meet the Press."

Mr. Cuomo was "amenable" to criticize Mrs. Clinton, Mr. Cuomo said on the "Meet the Press" show. "The issue is not Mrs. Clinton is... 'How do we get the country back to...'"

Mr. Cuomo said that the Arkansas governor, who is thought to be a leading GOP contender for the 1996 presidential race, said some Republicans "went too far" in presenting their priorities and noting their differences with the Democrats.

"I said that we should not be running against. We should be running for. We shouldn't run against the

man Robert Teeter said during an interview yesterday on ABC-TV's "This Week" that he doesn't believe "Hillary Clinton is much or part of an issue of this campaign."

In his CBS interview, Mr. Cuomo said many voters are probably "scared to death" of the Republican campaign as presented during the GOP convention.

Accusing Republican speakers of dividing Americans as "saints and sinners," Mr. Cuomo said they insulted those who do not share the GOP definition of family values.

"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? What do you mean by 'culture?' That's a word they used in Nazi Germany!" Mr. Cuomo said.

Mr. Kemp, who is thought to be a leading GOP contender for the 1996 presidential race, said some Republicans "went too far" in presenting their priorities and noting their differences with the Democrats.

"I said that we should not be running against. We should be running for. We shouldn't run against the

past. We should run for the future. We should run on those things to define and inspire and motivate and encourage people to vote for us," Mr. Kemp said.

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

But Pat Buchanan, one of the GOP's most outspoken advocates for family values, repeated his call for a cultural war yesterday, saying that Mr. Clinton wants to institute a "radical social agenda."

Appearing in a separate segment of "This Week," Mr. Buchanan said most Americans really feel up against the wall in terms of what the culture is doing to their families.

"And on this issue, I think the Republicans are in the mainstream, and Mr. Clinton is far outside of it," he said, noting the Arkansas governor's support of homosexual rights.

But Mr. Cuomo said the family-values issue will probably backfire on the Republicans.

"Unless I'm wrong about the intelligence level of the American voter, if the Republicans don't stop the insults and the stupidity... they are going to get wiped out in this election," he said.

Houston: So Normal It Was Weird

By Stephen King

No one — not even a journeyman novelist such as myself — should have to be part of a politician's warm-up act. But that was my fate Thursday night, when Bob Dole, the veteran Senator and longtime political loudmouth, accused me of crafting the Democratic platform — "a real horror story," he said. And no one should have to listen to 60 fresh-scrubbed Republicans in tan real estate blazers singing "Come-A-Ti-Yi-Yippee-Yippee-Yo" at 11 A.M. I think it causes intracranial bleeding and a nearly irresistible urge to roll in gallons of your father's Old Spice. But that's life in a political year. In the end, the departure of common sense doesn't hurt as much as the complete loss of taste.

Do I bear Senator Dole any real animus for his unkind swipe? I do not. Conventioneers — especially those condemned to an August week in Houston — are more to be pitied than railed against. Even a hardened, cross-dressing, pantywaisted, bleeding-heart liberal Democrat such as myself has at least qualified sympathy for the gathered Republicans, or for any group of conventioneers exposed to such merciless gavel-to-gavel coverage.

Still, they love it, you know. The

Stephen King is author, most recently, of "Gerald's Game."

Democrats do, too. I grant you that, but I am convinced that the Republicans love it more... that they do, in fact, adore each and every illegitimate moment.

That's not where the Republican convention kinks end, however, but only where they begin. The rest of them have to do with a ceaseless and almost instinctive search for what I would call "normative behavior."

There is something grossly unique about this search, something that goes beyond the Horatio Alger sentiments, the designer clothes and the funny hats. (My favorite was the Chicago bluesman's fedora, complete with snakeskin band, that I spotted on one aging and bejeweled Republican woman. It was like seeing Barbara Bush somehow grotesquely crossed with George Thorogood.) Normality has always been the guiding star of the Republican Party — or maybe its version of Ahab's white whale — and this year's version was no different.

What the Republicans in Houston appeared to aim for was five days that would feel like the last reel of a Jimmy Stewart movie, and my own overdone left me with a strangely Blues Brothers-ish feeling: it was like watching several thousand Amway salesmen and saleswomen on a mission from God. I have never in my life seen so many polka-dot silk scarves, so many Donna Karan suits, so many pink and gleaming double chins. (There are plenty of Democrats with double chins, but their owners are for some reason unable to achieve that same pink glow, that same ineffable gleam.)

Houston was once again normality — the Republican version of it, at any rate — on a pedestal, normality as the Holy Grail. It is particularly evident on the faces of the Young Republicans. Looking and listening to them, I was inescapably reminded of all the news film I've seen where some shocked elderly neighbor mutters, "And he seemed like such a nice boy."

The polka-dotted world view of Republicans.

A close look into this white-bread-and-meatloaf world, into these simultaneously complacent and pugnacious faces (Pat Buchanan in particular looks like a bulldog that has just enjoyed a good meal, a child, perhaps), suggests that many Republican delegates do believe that everything is O.K., that everything is just fine. Their faces say they believe the homeboy really are a Democratic invention, that the economy is actually ticking along like the Swiss watches so many of them wear on their wrists and that there is no intramural friction on the subject of abortion.

Against this backdrop, Ronald Reagan — looking like an iguana and sounding remarkably like Marlin Perkins — and Mr. Buchanan seemed

like just two more exhibits in some surpassingly peculiar theme park of the mind: call it BushWorld. In BushWorld there are no bombed-out ghettos where coked-up 12-year-olds kill one another over \$150 sneakers; the only real welfare need is to get the slackers off the rolls before they learn to like it too much and make sure the working poor know where to find a job.

According to Sally Atwater, Lee Atwater's widow, there is no such thing as negative campaigning in BushWorld; there is only comparative campaigning. And in terms of keeping everything on an even keel, the Republican platform suggests that the first step is to build a fence between BushWorld and the low-rent MexicoWorld next door. There are no gays in BushWorld, no AIDS, no pollution, no hunger and no war... none, at least, that we can't win. What's so great about BushWorld, Republicans seem to feel, is that everything is just so gosh-darn normal there.

There is something fitting in the fact that this strangely prosaic Xanadu was erected in the Astrodome, cradle of those twin grotesqueries, indoor baseball and artificial turf. It was exactly the right place to send the basic message of Republicanism: Everything is all right and the good guys will triumph in the end. The Republicans have no need for nightmares à la Stephen King, it seems; in their world, John Wayne always comes riding to the rescue... probably in a tan real estate blazer, singing "Come-A-Ti-Yi-Yippee-Yippee-Yo." □

Bush Hits Trail With Gusto

Rhetorical Sword Unsheathed in 6-State Tour

By Rich Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Aug. 23—Freeing himself of his self-imposed shackles, President Bush became a full-fledged presidential candidate this weekend, prodding familiar issues with punched-up, sometimes slashing rhetoric.

In his first campaign swing after last week's Houston convention, Bush went offbeat as Democratic opponent with the gusto of a man who has been holding back and finally can let loose.

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 the D.C. bubble and out on the campaign trail," he said, leaving Houston.

At the Woodstock rally, he said, "I'm not just a politician. I'm a person."

of the Republican National Committee, "No longer will we tell Rich [party chairman Richard N. Bond] to cool his jets."

The six-state, three-day swing took Bush before friendly crowds in friendly parts of mostly friendly states: Mississippi, Missouri, Georgia, Alabama, Texas and Illinois. From a country music theme park to the Illinois State Fair, it seemed like a needed tonic for a president who, at 67, is here today, has felt the bite of those corn dogs at the State Fair, and by the Democratic challenger for nine months.

At a rally Saturday in Woodstock, he said, "You know what this country needs? It needs a president who can lead."

And, he said, "I'm not just a politician. I'm a person."

port, Miss., his first stop after Houston.

Indeed, Bush talked about the campaign in religious terms. It was, he told the sweltering Gulfport crowd, "a crusade to bring back values and to build a stronger, more secure America." At an evangelical gathering in Dallas Saturday night, where he hugged the Rev. Jerry Falwell, Bush emphasized that his speech was not political, then pointed out that the Democratic platform did not contain the word "God."

Bush referred to the abortion issue for the only time all weekend before the evangelical group, tossing out the line like a trader throwing fish to clamoring seals. With the crowd already on its feet for the God line, he said, "And while you're still standing, may I say... I happen to believe that human life is precious from the moment of conception."

He also said, "I'm not just a politician. I'm a person."

We are going to take it to the American people."

Vowing again today to follow the model of Harry Truman's come-from-behind 1948 victory, Bush told the crowd, estimated at 6,000: "No, it's not 'give 'em hell,' but they're going to think it's hell when I get through with them."

From rally to rally, Bush sought to deliver a one-two punch to his Democratic opponents: that they are closet tax-and-spend liberals tied by an unseverable "umbilical cord" to those "gridlockers" in Congress. In Alabama Saturday, Bush told his former colleagues in Congress, "I served for four years as those old rascals."

There were the same themes the president sounded in campaign swings in the week leading up to the convention, but without the bite that he gave tonight. The unnamed

governor of Alabama would say in his first campaign press convention that he was "repeatedly re-

peating that Bill Clinton is a liar and a cheat. I'm not just a politician. I'm a person."

dropped the reference from his repertoire.

Later that day, Bush clenched his hands together to symbolize the connection between the two. "Make no mistake about it, that Clinton-Gore ticket are locked, they are interlocked, with the gridlocked Congress," he said, hands entwined. "And I'm not going to let the American people forget that."

By Sunday, he had distilled the message to four key words: the "Clinton-Gore, gridlocked Congress."

Bush was not shy about using his two best weapons: the power of incumbency, and his wife, Barbara. Air Force One swooped low over the Gulf of Mexico, wowing the crowd in Mississippi; Marine One, the president's helicopter, circled overhead in Branson, Mo., where Bush, serenaded by Loretta Lynn and Glen Campbell, spoke at the Silver Dollar City theme park.

Barbara Bush, who campaigned with her husband throughout the weekend, drew loud cheers when she was introduced at each event. "We stand for family values, and the best evidence of this, standing right here with me, is Barbara Bush," the president said in Birmingham. A spray-painted sheet draped a nearby wall, proclaiming, "Our girl is better than their girl."

Bush also took pains to emphasize his good health, referring Fri-

day again—as he did in his acceptance speech Thursday night—to "these crazy reports about my health." He underscored the point with an afternoon jog in a day that started with an 8 a.m. appearance in Houston and lasted through four private receptions and two more speeches before ending with an evening of country music in Branson.

In fact, Bush—who played up his taste for pork rinds four years ago to show how southern he is—rarely missed an opportunity this weekend to cite a country song title to make his point. In Branson, he managed to work Loretta Lynn, Garth Brooks, Buck Owens and Elvis Presley into his speech—and sounded more southern each day. "So you tell Governor Clinton and that gridlocked Congress, if you can't run with the big dogs, stay under the porch," he repeated twice Saturday, using an expression that mystified most of the press corps, who quoted it anyway.

"Oh boy, are we having problems with the national media. They don't know good news when they see it," Bush said in Hoover, where the crowd seconded his opinion with boos aimed at the press.

But even the press plane got with the program a bit: Heralding the new phase of the campaign, Bush aides tacked Bush-Quayle '92 signs to the front of the cabin.

Bush Upbeat Before Pivotal Speech

By Martin Kasindorf
WASHINGTON BUREAU

Houston — After a week in which religion competed with public policy for the spotlight, perhaps President George Bush can be forgiven for resorting to a biblical analogy to describe one of the most momentous days of his life.

"Tonight, I give my acceptance speech," he joked with reporters yesterday. "And if it catches fire, it might give a whole new meaning to the story of the burning bush."

The president spent his day in a mood that appeared upbeat, even cocky. He seemed so confident of the power in his crucial acceptance speech that he brought what appeared to be a copy to the Astrodome early in the day and confided reporters, while smiling playfully, through the press when someone asked whether it contained a tax cut.

"Must be in here somewhere," he smiled. "Does it contain any new ideas, Mr. Press?"

"New ideas?" Bush replied. "A lot of ideas. But we want that hasn't been tried. And that makes me nervous. I want to be sure I'm not going to be president tipped into the political arena with me as frequently employed when not speaking from a pulpit. Getting there. Great similarity between politics and competitive athletics for a political speech like this. Adrenaline factor. I call it."

The day was not without its hitches. Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle were interrupted so many times at an ecumenical prayer breakfast at the University of Houston that the president felt obliged to apologize to organizers. First a bald, well-dressed man chose an inopportune moment to enter a religious rapture,

cents is on your hands!" She kept it up, stymieing Bush for several minutes until she, too, was escorted out.

"I apologize to those who have put together this ecumenical, lovely prayer breakfast," Bush said, "but you just can't control things like this. And I hope you understand. I certainly do."

Things went more smoothly at a tribute later in the day to first lady Barbara Bush, who received so much adulatory attention that she claimed embarrassment.

"You all have certainly proved an old adage wrong," she told the crowd. "It turns out you can fool most of the people most of the time. Nobody's that good, and especially me."

"I don't deserve it," she said of the kind words. "But I love it."

The president is to leave Houston this morning for a three-day campaign trip whose itinerary points to some GOP uneasiness with Clinton-Gore inroads into the Republicans' southern and border-state base, and to the beginnings of a stiff contest in populous mid-western industrial states.

The president is scheduled to appear today at rallies in Gulfport, Miss., and Branson, Mo. He moves on to Georgia, Alabama and Dallas tomorrow and tours a Springfield, Ill., farm exposition Sunday before returning to the White House.

David Firestone contributed to this story.



Los Angeles Times / Tammy Lechner

Bushes at a morning prayer breakfast in Houston yesterday

After former Olympic gymnast Mary Lou Retton had introduced Bush and he began to speak, a young, blonde woman marched down an aisle, shouting, "Stop the slaughter in Haiti! Stop the death squads and dictatorships! The blood of inno-



But what happens if he wins? Clinton campaigning in Michigan

POLITICS

Passing the Bucks

Would a Bill Clinton victory in November kill off some of the liberal interest groups that have supported his cause? For the past 12 years, these Washington organizations have worked to put a Democrat in the White House. But if that actually happens, activists say, liberal groups won't have nearly as much to rail against. Already, past contributors are bypassing them and sending donations directly to the Clinton-Gore campaign. Shrinking donations led People for the American Way to suspend mail

solicitations this summer (they resumed again this week). And the National Abortion Rights Action League has scaled back its media buys as money dries up. Some activists fear their days on the job are numbered. "We fought for change throughout the 1980s," said one. "Now what are we going to do?" Meanwhile, Democratic fund raisers got their own financial bounce from the GOP convention. "Pat Buchanan really helped us rake it in, especially from women," said one.

PERISCOPE

RHETORIC

Family Matters

The Population Reference Bureau will release a report this week titled "New Realities of the American Family." It predicts that family life in the 1990s "will be marked by its diversity." Some of the survey's findings:

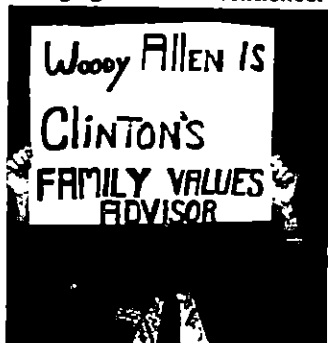
■ One in four babies is now born to an unmarried mother, compared with one in 10 in 1970.

■ About half of all children today will spend some part of their childhood in a single-parent home.

■ Over half of all mothers with preschool-age kids were in the labor force in 1991, compared with one in five in 1960.

■ Women are just as likely to be full- or part-time workers as full-time homemakers.

Changing times: Conventioneer



WASHINGTON FAX

Bush's Best

Ray Price, Richard Nixon's old speechwriter, was supposed to write President Bush's acceptance speech. But his drafts were rejected, and the speech was eventually stitched together by a team of young White House aides: Steven Provoost, Robert Zoellick and Robert Grady, with input from honchos Bob Teeter, Jim Baker and Richard Darman. But the man behind Bush's effective delivery was once again media meister Roger Ailes, who will join the re-election effort part time. When Bush rehearsed the section on his World War II experience—to many, the most moving moment—Ailes told him to visualize a friend who had died. Bush told his aides a story of seeing a man cut in half. When the president delivered that part of the speech on Thursday night with evident emotion, his aides saw it as proof that Ailes knows how to get the best from Bush.

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

Post Republican Convention Edition

The GOP missed some photo ops. If someone like Michael Deaver had been running things, they might have had a big "Collapse of Communism" sound-and-light show with Darth

Vader blowing up or Reagan and Bush appearing in front of a huge, crumbling Berlin wall. Now *that's* entertainment! Lots of sideways arrows this week, because it was a sideways event.

PLAYERS

Conventional Wisdom

G. Bush	↔	Hits a triple! Er, a double. Maybe he bunted... Read our lips: no new promises.
B. Clinton	↔	Hillary and tax attacks land below the belt. But he is slippery when wet.
D. Quayle	↔	Strong speech lowers handicap, but nobody takes you seriously for '94, oops '96.
→ B. Bush	↑	Old CW: Lovable granny who bakes cookies. New CW: Lovable granny who bakes Dems.
M. Quayle	↓	Ouch. No wonder Dan has that deer-in-the-headlights look.
M. Fisher	↗	Most moving moment. But what happened to Barbara's AIDS ribbon?

PLAYERS

Conventional Wisdom

R. Reagan	↑	Hey, his hair is dark again! Back in the saddle with boffo curtain raiser.
P. Gramm	↓	Keynote bombs. Forget '96. And sign up for charm, school, pal.
P. Buchanan	↔	Wows troops, scares nation. Good '96 candidate... for South Africa.
J. Kemp	↑	Generous speech too sunny for Astrodome. This guy in the right party?
Media	↓	After Congress, GOP's favorite scapegoat. But they love the attention.
Woody	↘	So <i>that's</i> what they mean by Family Values. Mama Mia, this a spicy meatball!

 CAMPAIGN 92

Clinton accuses Bush, wife of altering views to win votes

By Adam Pertman
GLOBE STAFF

WATERFORD, Mich. — Gov. Bill Clinton yesterday portrayed his Republican critics, including the president and Barbara Bush, as cynical, suggesting they alter their "natural, humane" behavior when they want to win elections.

Clinton even joked that the GOP soon might add his 12-year-old daughter, Chelsea, to its list of targets. "They go around and extol family values and then they attack my family. Before you know it, they'll be after Chelsea," he said.

The Arkansas governor, replying to reporters' questions, responded to several attacks made on him at the GOP convention in Houston the night before. Those included indirect assaults from Vice President Dan

Quayle's wife, Marilyn, for having tried marijuana in the 1960s, as well as the persistent deriding of Hillary Clinton by an array of Republican officials.

Probably the most striking aspect of Clinton's remarks, though, was his inclusion of the president's wife when he chastised his opponents. While Hillary Clinton has been the subject of GOP criticisms, it was the first time the Democratic nominee had specifically made Barbara Bush a part of the 1992 campaign debate as well.

"I'm just saying that George Bush and Barbara Bush and all of them, they say one thing about all these issues except when they need to make votes, and all of their surrogates go out and drop bombs and trash and slash," Clinton said at a brief news conference after receiving the endorsement of

the 135,000-member National Association of Police Organizations here.

He implied that Barbara Bush had been a reluctant participant in the process, adding: "They spent two months dumping on my wife; they even got Mrs. Bush to change her position." Clinton was referring to Barbara Bush's initial public denunciation of GOP attacks on Hillary Clinton, which were followed by an assertion in a television interview a few days ago that Clinton's wife had become fair game.

Marilyn Quayle obliquely referred in her convention address to past reports of Clinton's infidelity, marijuana experimentation and efforts to keep from being drafted. Yesterday, asked about her remarks, Clinton honed in on the marijuana reference, saying it was another example of how the Republi-

cans "say one thing but do another."

Clinton recalled that Bush, during the presidential campaign four years ago, had said he did not think past use of the drug was an important political issue. "He said he didn't think that was any big deal," Clinton said of the president.

He portrayed Bush and other Republicans as people who consistently put aside their true sentiments when they have to vie for votes. He cited, as an example, many Republicans' support for abortion rights under some circumstances but their simultaneous backing of the GOP platform, which calls for a constitutional ban to the procedure altogether.

"I just thought when they're being people, they say the natural, humane thing, and when they're being politicians they ... trash their opponents."

Unlike his comments earlier in the week, which concentrated on answering Republican charges, yesterday Clinton went back on the offensive.

Campaigning in several cities around Michigan, a state that Democrats believe may provide their best opportunity for victory in the country's ailing Rust Belt, Clinton hit President Bush on issues ranging from education to law enforcement to health care. But he focused sharply on his principal message: economic change.

Here in Waterford, after receiving the endorsement of the National Association of Police Organizations, Clinton said the first step toward solving crime problems will be restoring the country's fiscal health and providing more people with better job opportunities.

Red Meat And Astroturf: Decoding The Convention

By Peggy Noonan

IN HOUSTON last week, the delegates heartily repudiated Bushism in their platform and unanimously renominated George Bush at their convention. They had unity right from the start. They all arrived depressed, and they all left feeling better.

Now the race is a race, and the ambivalence is about to become energy. After all, nothing inspires troops like the possibility they will not die.

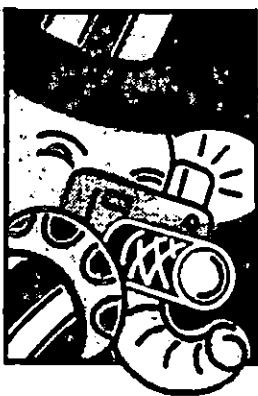
A prediction: This is going to be one of the great campaigns, a bruising contest, two groups of guys on a hill in the mud, wrestling in the rain for control of the ball. An inch-by-inch battle, and every week the observers will be saying, "This team is winning," and then the next week, "That team is winning."

When politics gets this tough and this tight, a wonderful thing happens, as if by accident. The talk turns to serious questions, they argue over serious issues, over different ways of seeing the world and how the American people ought to go about their pursuit of happiness.

We're all going to remember this one. Keep the kids up—they're going to see democracy in one of its great barbaric yawps.

Floor Mirages

The delegates stood during the opening program Wednesday night as a chorus sang "Proud to Be an American." Men in straw hats



PETER ALSBERG — ILLUSTRATION

with blue bumper stickers on the brim, women in lens and little elephant earrings—they looked around and half sang, half clapped. It was as if they were wondering: Where is the convention? Where is the convention I imagined when I imagined this week?

You look at the podium, at the network booths, at each other, smile and nod and finally show—happiness, or approval of the singers, by clapping or waving a clacker in the air. You find that a big challenge for delegates to modern conventions is to locate "reality." Another is to locate what you feel when you are surrounded by the inauthentic—by artfully constructed platforms, TV network booths, films, by bright light and correspondents scanning the hall for a story and you realize you're the story and you know something else: *You're not much of a story, you're just a guy in a hat.*

You ponder this and smile and a network camera catches you smiling and a CNN producer puts it on the air because he thinks you're responding to what the speaker at the podium just said. You see your face on the monitor. You stand there surrounded by inauthenticity so pervasive, so inescapable that it feels like a balloon drop.

Truth in C-SPAN

The authentic sound of the Republicans in August was the authen-

tic sound of the Democrats in July: "Richmond, Virginia, you're up next." The man and woman to whom all eyes turned in trust and for inspiration were C-SPAN's Brian Lamb and Susan Swain. You could walk the halls of the big hotels, the Stouffer El Presidente and the Doubletree, and from room after room would come the gentle buzz of their voices. C-SPAN broadcast both conventions "gavel-to-gavel," considered a seriously outmoded approach by the networks.

Lamb's livelihood does not depend on advancing the story, so he can be humane and curious in his approach. His guests are not frightened and so reveal themselves, which advances the story. Swain is intelligent and calm. Her body language says, "I'm so interested, please tell me more."

Tuesday afternoon, Lamb interviewed three delegates, all women, none of them famous, all of them delighted to be there. He asked how much it cost them to have this week in Houston. One said it cost \$1,000 air fare and hotel, but "we're sharin' rooms and havin' a great time!" They were. He asked who inspired them to be there, and one, a young woman with brown hair, said, "I'll start to cry if I talk about it, but it was my dad, who's a Democrat, who told me to always stand up for what I believe." Her eyes welled.

It said more about who goes to conventions than any number of bright, gently spoofing network pieces. And unlike your basic anchor booth bluh bluh about whether Dan Quayle timed his floor appearance to undercut Pat Buchanan's speech, it was actually interesting.

The Presence of Lee

I met a friend of Lee Atwater at a hoedown Monday night. We stood in red bandannas, ate barbecue from plastic plates and drank from long-neck beer bottles. Later we shared a car home and talked about the Republican National Committee chairman who died of a brain tumor at the age of 40. Tell me something Lee taught you about being an operative, I say. He smiles, looks at his hands. "Play dumb, keep moving, take credit, stir the waters." He laughs. "It's hard to explain Lee. No one's ever really got it."

Strangers in the Night

Two men standing together at a reception.

Consultant: Hello.

Politician: Hey!

C: So, we gonna win?

Page 1 of 3

P: Well . . . yeah.

C: [Surprise] We are?

P: [Alarmed] I don't know, are we?

C: Yeah!

They laugh, and look for other people to talk to.

Notes in the Night

Words jotted in a notebook after the first dozen speakers: "Do not mistake volume for passion. lectern-slapping for conviction. Fist-making does not convey strength but strength's opposite."

James & Mary

Walking, the Saturday before the convention, along the empty rows of the Astrodome, I saw Mary Matalin doing an interview. She stood so straight and looked so serious. I thought perhaps something had happened. Later, on TV, a reporter spoke of the interview. Matalin had been asked about whether her relationship with Clinton campaign manager James Carville has hurt her professionally. She said, "Yes, it hurts me because reporters always ask if it hurts me. They never ask the man, which in my view is sexist and unfair." It's nice when people say things that are both blunt and true.

In the Oratorical Zone

These are some of the people America watched last week:

■ **Mary Fisher:** An angel in pearl earrings and a black velvet dress who said, We must not judge each other, we must be kind to each other. She communicated this first through her presence, which said, I am a beautiful, wealthy, white, heterosexual mother, and when you think of AIDS, think of me. She used words not so much to assert as to underscore, and she manipulated the audience toward compassion by starkly stating her plight: "If it is true that my HIV will inevitably turn to AIDS, then it is true that my children will inevitably turn to orphans."

Decoded: It is good that you care about traditional values. Moral generosity is such a value. Human beings sometimes see clearly only through tears, so I will make you cry.

■ **Pat Buchanan:** That wasn't red meat, it was gristle and marrow. He defined: "Wrong, Albert. The central organizing principle of this country is freedom." And merrily insulted: "Well, speak for yourself, Hillary!" His approach was bracing but hard, and he has forgotten Reagan Lesson No. 1: Conservatives who go national must be happy warriors who envelop, not pierce.

Problem to work on: The angry, unsmiling

Pat looks slit-eyed and thuggish.

■ **Marilyn Quayle:** Flinty, unbroken and tough, she reminds me of the pioneer woman who, when the wagons were circled and the Sioux were coming over the ridge, kicked the cowering cowboys and told them to shoot, dammit. All this while sifting flour and breast-feeding a foundling.

It was a direct, substantive speech about societal arrangements and their meaning: Having a profession is not incompatible with being a good mother and wife; there are real trade-offs.

Problem to work on: When she tries to show her good humor, when her eyes take on a glint and her mouth a smile . . . well, to me she looks a like a Stepford wife who has a few wires just a little too tight.

Bad joke: After being introduced by the actor Gerald McRaney, Marilyn Quayle said, "If only Murphy Brown could meet Major Dad!" As some pre-school friends of mine say when they hear an adult say something dumb, *DOYce*.

Decoded: I don't care if the media don't like us, we're not backing down. You don't scare us.

✕ **Barbara Bush:** Everybody in politics could learn from her canny knocking-down of expectations—"Oh, it's just a silly little speech from silly old me, please don't pay any mind!" She knows intuitively what some of the president's men learned slowly: Don't promise a great speech, a defining moment, an oration that will make your spine tingle and your teeth dance. Play it down, do your best, act modest. Don't point to the bleachers unless you're Babe Ruth.

■ **George P. Bush:** Touching testimonial from a poised teenager. "Viva Booshi!" was great.

Mrs. Bush and George P. decoded: On traditional values we don't just talk the talk, we walk the walk. We have Hispanics in our family.

■ **Ronald Reagan:** Four-score years and one and hauling into the Astrodome to do it again: concentrating, speaking, acting, timing the jokes, trying to control the audience when he can't quite differentiate the sound of cheers and chants anymore and has to go by what he sees, by the clapping and the faces moving, knowing exactly what he has to do, coming through, and, at the end, blithely kicking back a balloon and exiting, with a wink, stage right.

"I knew Thomas Jefferson . . . an empire of ideas The sky would not fall if an American president told the truth Of course, at my age, every night's a special night."

Those kids who crowded the platform, they wanted to chair him through the hall, hold him high and rock the house with "Thank you Ron, thank you Ron"

It's nice when you see someone get the three little words they deserve.

Disclaimer: I adore Ronald Reagan.

■ **Phil Gramm:** A keynote speech is a hard old speech. This one won no converts at home.

Problem to work on: When Gramm juts out his chin to make a point, he looks like a startled turtle whose head popped out of the shell after someone touched his belly.

■ **Dan Quayle:** I was among those who weeks ago advised the president to remove Quayle and start over. I said he had been a good vice president, but he'd never, ever, win the confidence of the people, and in a close race this would count. But after his speech, I think maybe I was wrong.

History is funny. This man who never should have been chosen may turn out to be the grittiest guy in the fight. The speech started out good, got better as it built, was delivered with force and had a nice joke about the Democrats: "If they're moderates then I'm a world champion speller."

Quayle's eyes usually aren't expressive, they don't seem to widen or narrow much as he speaks, and it makes him seem—preoccupied, absent somehow. Maybe he's just a little too careful. Whatever, he was plenty expressive in his speech.

The Quayle Film: Not as polished or as long as the Clinton film, but good. Great old family movies, great Indiana faces, made the name J. Danforth touching instead of a joke. But oh, Marilyn, "We met over the death penalty." Like a satire of young conservatives in love.

■ **Bob Dole:** We see him so much in Washington we forget to notice. He has style, conviction and a wit that is an expression of a different, interesting sensibility. "If the polls were always right, I'd be speaking next." How old will he be in '96?

■ **President Bush:** The night after the Gip-

per, a friend told me, "The problem with Reagan's speech is it's going to get better as the week goes on." Meaning, it will make it tougher for Bush.

But it didn't. All Bush needed was a good solid speech in which he proved he was up for the battle, showed he could admit a mistake and demonstrated that he understands history, his own and the world's. He had it. He did it. If it didn't always sing—can capital gains, bless them, sing?—it still hit the right notes, and the president appeared relaxed and eager for fun.

Most important words: "When it comes to taxes, I learned the hard way It was a mistake."

Most important argument: You're better off with a man who raised taxes once and learned not to than with another who isn't at least philosophically opposed to raising them.

Unanswered question: Was the president suggesting he intends to liberate Cuba? Is something up?

Verdict: The other night on CBS, Terrence Smith found beneath the bleachers the Astro's third base. He knelt down, pointed and said, "This is where George Bush has to hit the ball."

That is where George Bush hit it.

One of Them

Reporters work hard. They are up at 6 for the prayer breakfast, then to the Southern Belles for Safe Sex news conference, then to the Democrats' news conference at Papadeux's Restaurant where reporters tried to get the quotes and facts right as 400 placard-waving Bush/Quayle kids pounded on the windows and screamed. (Ron Brownstein of the Los Angeles Times said, "I feel like I'm in 'The Birds.'")

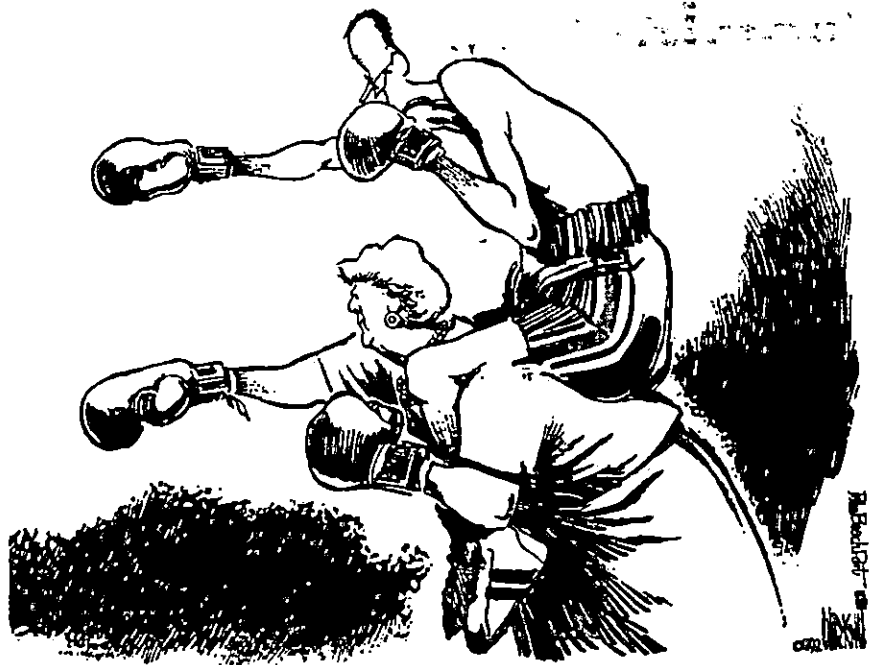
Then they rush to the workspace, work the phones, wait for calls for a quote from the president's cousin for the Bush profile that you have to file by 6, and he's not calling. (Maybe it was that column where you sort of suggested another family member was a squash-playing, Repp-tie-wearing Greenwich weenies. Can't these people take a joke?) And you wait, and worry, your stomach lining twitching with acid . . . and then the president's cousin finally calls and you have to get told off for five minutes before he gives you, after long negotiations, the quote: "As a boy, George was always—polite!" You finish the piece, argue with the editor, then on to the Reagan Reunion cocktail party and then B/Q '88 Alumni Dinner, file again, cover the floor, go home at 2 and get up three hours later if you're a woman to do your hair and makeup so your competitors won't say, "That's why she's not on TV."

I do not mean that hard work is an exonerating virtue; Mafia guys work hard. I do mean most of the politicians I know have only a passing sense of what a reporter's life is. For instance: Journalists resent the relentlessness of spin—of political hacks shading facts and omitting truths to get the reporters to see things the way you want them to see them. This is the political journalist's lot: to be patronized by dart-eyed campaign aides just out of business school, to be spun like fine silk by your intellectual inferiors.

Reporters resent being called an elite, but they are at least a hard-working one, I would offer them only one view they have not entertained lately: Referees are good, but the nation does not need a pack of schoolmarms. It's a fight; let it unfold.

Waiting for '96

Every serious Republican challenger for 1996 spoke at this convention. It was Jack Kemp, speaking to the big heart of conservatism, who most sounded like a president.



Bush message works despite failure to address concerns

By RICHARD MORIN
and BARBARA VOBEJDA

WASHINGTON POST

BLUE ASH, O.

With the Republican National Convention on the television before him, real estate investor Robert Maile waited to hear George Bush talk about the deficit.

Dwaine Thomas, a computer programmer with three small children, wanted the president to say something about unemployment.

Brenda Buchanan, mother of five and a dental hygienist, hoped Bush would explain what he planned to do about Saddam Hussein.

None of them would hear the answers they wanted. "I'm not satisfied he has a plan," Maile said after the president's acceptance speech Thursday night. "Really lame." Thomas said of Bush's talk of job creation. And Buchanan still wondered what Bush — and Saddam — would do next.

Nevertheless, at the end of the speech they found themselves more inclined than before the convention to support Bush. Their unanswered questions seemed less important. Their skepticism toward politics softened.

The three were among a group of 10 Cincinnati area residents who gathered with two Washington Post reporters Wednesday and Thursday nights to watch the convention. These independent-minded voters — ranging in age from 21 to 46 and in occupations from engineer to machine tool salesman — help explain what, if anything, the Republicans accomplished in Houston.

Of the group, four were leaning toward Bush going into the GOP convention, but also were seriously considering Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton. Two others leaned toward Clinton, but were considering Bush. And the remaining four were truly undecided.

By the time the president ended his speech Thursday night, six of the 10 said they were more likely than they had been a few days before to vote for Bush. The remaining four said the convention hadn't pushed them any further away from the Republican ticket.

But all emphasized that they remain open to change. Several even said they may not make a final deci-

sion until they are alone in the voting booth.

"I know they were pushing the buttons," said Janet Maly, a mother of four who hangs wallpaper part time. "And I think I'm smart enough to see that they're pushing the buttons. But it brought me back. I'm a Republican conservative. When he was speaking, I thought, 'That's right, you're saying all the right things. That's what we really stand for.' It did sway me."

The impressions of people like those interviewed here in Ohio are critical to Bush's re-election because they represent a slice of the populace that he must, in essence, win back: Most of the members of this group voted for him in 1988, but their allegiance to the president and his party is fragile.

Most agreed enthusiastically with Bush's declaration of political war on Congress, but wanted to hear more specifics on his plans for the economy.

Barbara Bush enthralled them, and while they weren't quite sure what family values meant, they were certain that she embodied them. Dan Quayle impressed them. Marilyn Quayle angered them.

But the comments of these Cincinnati voters suggest that the enthusiasm many feel for Bush is tepid, at best. That could be due, at least partially, to the faltering economy, which has touched most of them.

Buchanan, married to a truck driver who works 60-hour weeks, said they stretch to buy the basics. It used to be that "I didn't hesitate to buy what I thought was the best" at the grocery store, she said. "Now, cost-cutters are fine."

Susan Manne, 44, has a master's degree but can't find a full-time job, so she has worked three years for a temporary agency.

And Rebecca Moore, a stay-at-home mother, spoke with sadness of her daughter and son-in-law, both of whom work but can't afford health insurance to cover the medical bills of their 2-year-old son, who has cerebral palsy.

A handful in the group, mostly those with college educations, said they had done well over the last decade, or at least had held on. But none, even those who said they were just barely getting by, placed all the

blame for the economy at the president's door.

Moreover, although news accounts of Bush's acceptance speech highlighted his economic proposals, these plans drew hardly a murmur from these voters.

But when Bush mentioned Congress, he scored. In fact, even before he spoke, the anger toward Congress boiled over. "The Congress isn't doing anything," Maly said Wednesday night when asked to name a problem she wanted Bush to discuss. "I would like to see Congress up there and have shots taken at them instead of at the president."

Tom Cook, an engineer, said he was glad the president hadn't "wimped out" of a fight with Congress. But he is waiting to see what Bush does now, before the election. "He says, 'I'm willing to go to battle.' This is the time to watch," said Cook. "Is he or isn't he?"

In explaining their renewed support for Bush, several mentioned that his speech reminded them that he does have strong experience and leadership qualities. A couple said they were swayed by Bush's warnings that a Clinton administration could be a repeat of the troubled years under President Jimmy Carter.

"He just reminded me of what would happen if Clinton was elected," said Maile. "Why would you expect him to do anything differently than what a normal Democrat would do?"

Some found intriguing one of Bush's proposals: a tax return check-off by which taxpayers could earmark some of their tax dollars to reduce the deficit.

Maile figured the effect would probably be "minuscule," but the idea was clever, he said. "At least it's something, however minor."

Manne, too, said she was reassured by Bush's words. Before the president's speech, she said she wanted him to explain why he broke his no-new-taxes pledge. After he spoke, Manne said she was satisfied. "How often are you going . . . to hear a president say, 'I made a mistake?'"

She also said that Bush "learned a real hard lesson" and wouldn't break his new promise to cut taxes. Still, his tax proposal will have little impact on her vote, she said, because the amount she likely would save in taxes would be so small.

The group expected Bush to underscore his successes overseas, but still complained about that section of the speech. "Too long," they laughed in unison. And much, much too self-approving.

"It seemed to me that he was taking credit for democracy," said Daniel Mack, 37, a machine tool salesman who considers himself a political independent. Granted, the Berlin Wall has fallen, communism is nearly dead and there are new democracies, he said, but "it took more than George Bush for all that to happen."

The two in the group who were left most skeptical by Bush were those for whom the nation's domestic troubles have really hit home: Moore, whose uninsured daughter struggles to pay the medical bills, and Anita Grace, a 25-year-old black college graduate who works as a grocery store clerk because she can't find a better job.

After Grace listened to Bush's new proposals Thursday night, she wondered why he hadn't tried any of it before. "Did he just get all these great ideas yesterday?" she asked.

When the subject turned to Dan Quayle, the feeling among these voters could be summed up this way: The guy has been laughed at and poked at a lot, but he isn't really all that bad.

There were a couple of detractors.

Many said she is "one of those people who thinks he's a joke." And Manne said if it had been up to her, she would have dropped Quayle from the ticket.

From their vantage point in Blue Ash, the group said it was clear that the Republicans wanted to use the convention to firmly establish theirs as the "family values" party. But to this audience — most are married, with children, and vocal about the importance of family — the notion was still fuzzy.

When asked what they thought the phrase "family values" really meant, the group members struggled to fill in the blanks.

The members of the group, especially the women, were far tougher on Marilyn Quayle than on her husband. Despite her efforts to portray herself as just another American wife and mom, they complained, she is a well-educated lawyer married to a famous politician. When it comes down to it, they said, she has no real idea what the lives of most families are like.

Several said Marilyn Quayle reminded them of a 1950s television figure, maybe June Cleaver or Donna Reed. "What was that comment she made about beautiful, loving teenagers," asked Buchanan, two of whose five children are teenagers. "Does she have any?"

In a different election year, the

wives of the nominees might not matter so much. But in this campaign, everybody seems to have a strong opinion on Hillary Clinton, Barbara Bush and Marilyn Quayle.

Several in the group spoke in vivid, biting images of Hillary Clinton.

"I like Hillary. I think she's done a lot. But I don't want her to be First Lady," said Buchanan. "She just seems real, real hard ... not caring about whose throat she slits."

By contrast, Barbara Bush elicited mostly glowing words.

"I really believe she's genuine," said Buchanan, whose kids range in age from 1 to 19. "She's been a mom. She's raised those kids and we all know. I don't care if you've had a silver spoon in your mouth or not, we've all changed dirty diapers."

Most of the group agreed that the wives of the nominees shouldn't be a factor in their votes. But a few admitted that, even so, Barbara Bush and Hillary Clinton probably will figure in.

"When you get down to who to vote for, you vote for whatever you perceive to be the sum total of the man ... and part of that is his wife," said Manne.

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DEAR DIARY...

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER 8/23/92

Sunday, Aug. 16: Howdy, Ohio.

Stepping off the plane, Sally and I are greeted by clapping, smiling, unbelievably friendly Texans in red, white and blue western wear. A trio plays "Deep in the Heart of Texas." A pink elephant hugs us. We feel warm already.

We drive to the Wyndam Greenspoint Hotel along JFK Ave. That's a little out of place, I think. But then again, a lot of the people who voted for Ronald Reagan and George Bush were Jack Kennedy Democrats who walked away from that other party.

Reddish pink trees line the streets. I'm told they're called crepe myrtles which bloom only in the hot sun. This is a good place for them then.

At the hotel, we find a big "Welcome Buck-Eyes" banner across the atrium. We get credentials and bus passes, then slip into cowboy clothes. First stop: the Rose on Richmond, a barbecue and dance hall for our "official" greeting. We share the place with the Virginia delegation. And it's packed. Pat Robertson and John McLaughlin drop by. But the main entertainment is the dance floor. Time to Texas two-step and Texas slide. Fun.

Monday, Aug. 17. Down to Business.

I am not a morning person. But here we are at the first of our daily delegation meetings. 7:30 a.m. Mariachi music and onions Wellington. A bit overwhelming this early.

Paul Mifsud and Ruth Ann Leever brief us on the platform. It's 95 pages long, but all the mailings I got before I came down here and most everything in the press focused on one paragraph: the abortion plank.

I'm pro-life, and so is the platform. I would be happy with a platform like Barbara Bush suggested that took no position. But I also believe you've got to say what you are, what you believe in. You can't be changing to go along with polls.

As our bus nears the Astrodome, it seems there were protesters for anything and everything, from animal rights to atheists. Texas Rangers on horseback stand guard.

I hadn't realized it, but we go through security checks before every session. You have to take out your camera and click it for the agents. Wish I'd brought more film.

Inside everything is bigger than big. Overpowering. The podium has huge pillars and an immense screen. It reminds me a little of Vatican Square. But I like Janet Voinovich's description better: "Very expensive."

Ed Eberhart of Barnesville, the youngest delegate at the convention, sits next to me. He just turned 18. All the networks want to interview him. And Pearl Cox, one of our black delegates, who sits behind me. I'm surrounded by minicams.

There's a reception for Mike DeWine, who spoke this morning, at the Junior League of Houston. What a place! Antiques. Crystal chandeliers. An 8-foot floral centerpiece. Someday Mike and Fran DeWine will have to tell baby Anna about the party she attended when she was 4 months old.

On the way back to the Dome, we drive by a place called "Slick Willie's Family Pool Hall." Wonder what it's like.

Sally Florkiewicz of Chagrin Falls was an alternate delegate to last week's Republican National Convention in Houston. She and her husband, Thomas, have two children: T.J., 22, a senior at Allegheny College, and Sally, 19, a sophomore at Ohio University. This is her insider's look at the GOP's big show.

Kay Bailey Hutchinson, the treasurer of Texas, presides tonight. Remember that name. Pat Buchanan gives a great speech. When he talks about the people he'd met during his campaign and the pain he'd seen, the hall falls silent.

But nobody tops Ronald Reagan. He looks great. And his speech is mesmerizing. He reminds us why we're Republicans. And that line about Thomas Jefferson will probably be the most quoted of the convention. There are signs on the floor: "Reagan '96." What a leader.

Later, we drop by TGIFriday's with some Young Republicans from Wayne County. The kids tell the staff it's State Sen. Grace Drake's birthday. So a few minutes later, Grace sees them bringing out these balloons and a huge slice of cake. "Oh how nice," she says. She's pretty shocked when they bring it to her and sing "Happy Birthday." And she should be: Her birthday was months ago.

Tuesday, Aug. 18: The Bus.

Roger Synenberg, our Cuyahoga County co-chairman, and Jeff Hastings, our executive director, had buttons made up that read: "Cuyahoga Co. 857,410 for Bush." That's how many voters there are in the county. Button trading is big on the convention floor, and this turns out to be a hot number at the morning session.

We visit the famed Galleria shopping mall, then hustle back to the hotel to hear Vice President Dan Quayle. Our cab fare: \$32. Houston is massive. Thank goodness we have buses to take us to the Dome across town and on delegation outings. But I never dreamed I'd spend so much time on a bus.

I understand they had to bring buses and drivers in from all over. We've heard about state delegations getting lost on their way to the Dome. Some people from Arizona didn't get home until 3 a.m. It's so bad a few states have asked for police escorts. Some of our Ohioans went to the George Ranch and were lost for an hour. Poor driver was from Oklahoma and didn't have a clue.

Dan Quayle's a hit. I remember him talking to our delegation the first Monday we were in New Orleans four years ago. At that point, he was a senator for Indiana and none of us had heard of him. By the end of the week, all America had heard of him. He and Marilyn have put up with a lot since then. Hope he does well Thursday night.

Sal shakes his hand today. On the floor she's gotten to see Bob Dole, Charlton Heston, Bruce Willis and Arnold Schwarzenegger. Marilyn Quayle and Barbara Bush, too. She's in seventh heaven.

Grace Drake, Beryl Rothschild, the mayor of University Heights who's running for Congress, and I attend a benefit for women candidates sponsored by the National Federation of Republican Women. Love the invitation: "Hat and gloves optional." I wear neither, but many of our hostesses are dressed to the nines. In the middle of the afternoon.

We've still got a reception for Stanley Aronoff and Corwin Nixon to attend. And tonight's convention session. There's so much to do, and it takes so long to get everywhere. Do Democrats do all these things when they get together?

Wednesday, Aug. 19: Family Values.

Gov. George V. Voinovich previews his convention speech at breakfast. He says if we could strengthen our families, 70% of society's problems could be solved. And I think he's right.

I ask him about being on the podium, and he says he's been up in the air. He says they've



Sally Florkiewicz of Chagrin Falls shows her enthusiasm.

PD/GUS CHAN

got three lights for the speakers: Green means talk, yellow means pause, and red means get off.

The governor does great tonight. So does Marilyn Quayle. And, of course, Barbara Bush. I understand the first lady hates public speaking. But you'd never know it. I'm surprised no one starts waving "Barbara '96" signs. I'm in tears when she finishes.

But I don't know if anything was or could have been as moving as Mary Fisher, an artist from Boca Raton, Fla., who learned a year ago she has the virus that causes AIDS. I sit there and bawl. You look at that woman, and my God, she's talking about her son Zack who's 2 years old. This woman has got to be close to God, she has such inner peace. How many more people are going to die of this disease?

Thursday, Aug. 20: Grand Finale.

Rep. Bob Dornan of California talked to the delegation this morning. Some people say he was great. I'll have to take their word for it. I couldn't get out of bed. Last night's roll call lasted forever.

I do make a luncheon honoring Barbara Bush. She's so down to earth, such a magnificent lady. England has kings and queens, and as far as I'm concerned, she's our queen. She's someone everyone can look up to and be proud of.

Marilyn Quayle speaks, too. She talks about how hard the last four years have been. She's always so under control, but for a minute, I think she's going to cry.

At the Astrodome tonight, you can feel the excitement in the air. Security is extra heavy. The place is packed.

The video about Bill Quayle is interesting. I think someone's surprised to hear Dan and Marilyn met

and were married in 10 weeks. Ten weeks! These are conservative people?

As soon as I see him, I know Dan's going to give a great speech. I've been around sports with my children, and I can see it in his eyes. He's obsessed. I've never seen that fighting side of him.

And President Bush. The gloves are off now. He loves it when we chant, "Hit him again, hit again, harder, harder." I like what he has to say, too. About a fund to pay off the debt. About getting everybody to stop suing one another. If everyone gave a little more and took a little less, we would have a better country.

At the end, the balloons cascade down and the confetti and the fireworks go off and we all sing "God Bless America." I think how everybody gets mad at politics. But hey, no matter if you're a Democrat or a Republican, you have to love your country and love people to be this involved. It's wonderful.

Friday, Aug. 21: Homeward Bound.

Another late night. The young people with this delegation sure can party. I'm 48, and they make me feel old.

And another early morning. I'm here in the bathroom trying to write. . . We fly home this afternoon, then have a meeting Monday to plan the rest of the campaign.

I may be exhausted right now, but after this rest I'll be ready to go to work.

Speeches lifted spirits of local Republicans



David Brennan called Monday night a seminal event for the GOP.

AKRON
BEACON
JOURNAL

8/23/92

• Reagan and Buchanan made Brennan's day; for Arshinkoff, it was Bush

BY STEVE HOFFMAN
Beacon Journal politics writer

HOUSTON: From the verbal fireballs of Pat Buchanan on Monday to George Bush's rousing call to political battle on Thursday, Ohio's delegates to the Republican National Convention were, like the president himself, "psyched up."

The speeches, signs, balloons and fireworks were all part of a process designed not only to get the right words and phrases across on television, but also to forge political ties that will hold the Bush campaign together until November.

During interviews on the floor, even the most seasoned veterans found moments when words,

phrases and images touched a responsive chord.

David Brennan of Akron, the industrialist and entrepreneur, felt that chord Monday night in the speeches of Ronald Reagan and Buchanan.

"Last night was a seminal event for the Republican Party," Brennan said Tuesday, his towering figure, topped by a white cowboy hat, easily recognizable.

"We were all in the dumps yesterday," he said, referring to the opening day of the convention.

It was Reagan and Buchanan who began a key role for the convention — defining the differences between the two parties and the two candidates. Others, including Vice President Dan Quayle, followed suit.

Yet among some of the Ohio delegates, it was first lady Barbara Bush's "chat" on Wednesday that hit home, with its warmth

and sense of inclusion and acceptance.

"I loved her," said Frances Ray of Akron, wife of state Sen. Roy L. Ray. "I think bringing the grandson out was a stroke of genius. People were crying."

Frances Seiberling Buchholzer of Akron, head of the Ohio Department of Natural Resources, was impressed by Mrs. Bush's natural approach. "She wasn't trying to compete with the professional speechwriters," Buchholzer said.

Still, there were some worries.

Bush's speech clearly established the "peace first, progress next" theme for Canton steel executive W.R. "Tim" Timken.

Others, however, came into the speech looking for more specifics on domestic policy — especially



Frances Seiberling Buchholzer was impressed by Barbara Bush's natural approach.



Alex Arshinkoff was worried until the president spoke.

jobs and the economy.

For Thaddeus Garrett of Akron, an adviser to the Republican National Committee on minority voters, there was a sense that the party must strive to reach out to a widest possible section of the electorate.

"This party has to come to grips with the changing demographics of the country," Garrett said earlier in the week.

"We have to become acquainted and reacquainted with various constituent groups," he said.

But most agreed that what the Ohioans really needed was a campaign speech to boost their spirits, not a domestic blueprint.

And that's what they got. State GOP Chairman Bob Ben-

nett loved every minute of Bush's speech. Still, he acknowledged that it's going to be a long, difficult campaign.

Perhaps even Trumanesque.

Summit County GOP Chairman Alex Arshinkoff came into Houston with the image of Harry Truman's 1948 Congress-bashing, whistle-stop campaign in mind.

Arshinkoff's views reflected the widespread feeling that the Republican ticket had to come roaring out of the Houston Astrodome.

For Arshinkoff, Bush's specific references to 1948 were the political equivalent of the balm of Gilead, healing all afflictions.

Back at the Wyndham Greenspoint hotel afterward, Arshinkoff sat back and relaxed.

"You know," he said, "until tonight, I was worried."

Barmaid's-Eye View of GOP

Julie watched the speeches last night with what can be considered as half of her attention, for she had to rely on the other half to warn her of possible danger each time the door to the bar opened.

Julie is the barmaid at Slippery Sam's, Benning Street, Southwest Houston, and one problem in working there is that there are no windows and therefore she cannot see danger coming until it comes through the door and presents itself right smack in front of her.

I was present because speeches require no great on-the-site reporting because the camera does that. The job calls for watching it the way people do, and trying to understand what they think. So rather than sit in the Astrodome last night, which was cloaked with American flags and people screaming fanatically, I took a cab out to Slippery Sam's, which has been my hospitality suite in Houston all week because the owner, Sammy Ciavarella, is originally from Queens Boulevard.

I thought I could get the best idea of the effectiveness of the speeches by watching Little Julie, barmaid. She dances as she serves drinks and has black hair falling onto her forehead. Had she paid full attention to the speeches by both Bush and Quayle last night she would have learned that the people with money have a philosophy that can be quite helpful to those who don't have any money. And here is what this no deeply held belief is:

If I live in a fine house and you live in a house that has a busted roof and you have no money to repair it, and if I then go out and buy a second fine house, then by the mere fact that I own two fine houses, someday you, too, will have a house with a roof through which you cannot see the sky when you look up from the pillow at night, nor will you wake up in the winter covered with snow. Therefore, you should be supremely happy to see a rich person who has two fine houses in which to live.

If the rich understand the spreading effect of material possessions, then it only follows that they also should have a deep understanding of how be-

havior as suggested, or better, dictated by the rich, would make life so much better for the others.

For if a rich man such as George Bush has a son who takes money from a bank and you have a son or daughter who does something wrong, then of course Bush's son should be allowed to get up on the podium and stand in all the applause for his father and family.

And your son or daughter should feel the sting of law enforcement to teach them not to break the law anymore.

It happens that barmaid Little Julie got up one day some weeks ago and instead of corn flakes for breakfast she took herself a nice big drink of gin. Then she had another drink. She was drinking for a while during the day and then she had a couple of good drinks before she left for work at 5 p.m.

She was driving along to the bar in her red and black 1957 Chevrolet, and you have to give her credit, she was doing all right, but then she came to a red light and she drove right into the car in front of her, and that car went into the one in front of that and so forth.

When the police arrived, they found Little Julie was dancing out in the middle of the street.

"Are you hurt by the accident?" a policeman asked her.

"Nope, just drunk."

They took her in and held her on \$500 bail.

The owner of the bar, Sammy, got a bail bondsman, Ms. Linda, to post bail. Julie then had a court appearance, and she showed up all right but then she sat there for two hours and 15 minutes and absolutely nothing happened. She got up and went out for a drink and did not come back.

The bondsman, Ms. Linda, called the bar and told the owner, Sammy, that she would open the door and send a cheetah into the bar after Little Julie.

So when Julie had another appearance the other day, she made it there, but she doesn't

know what her lawyer looks like and nobody talked to her and she was afraid to open her mouth to anybody there. "I might plead guilty to something by mistake," she said. So she waited two hours and then she got herself up and left the courtroom. And went out for some new drinks.

The judge had her bail revoked and said her next bail would be \$2,000. Ms. Linda, the bondsman, said that when she got time she was going to come to the bar and put chains on Linda. That is, unless the police arrived first and carried Julie out of the place.

So here she was last night, dancing up and down the bar while she served drinks and kept watching both the politicians on television and the ominous door to the bar, and to tell the truth since the door swinging open could affect her life more than the politicians, she concentrated on that. She was standing there, dancing and watching the door, while George Bush said that the trouble with America is that people won't coach Little League anymore. Last night, both Quayle and then Bush said the American legal system has broken down. It sure has for George Bush's son. Bush said that sharp lawyers are running wild.

He then said, "Nothing hurts me more than to meet with soldiers home from the Persian Gulf who can't find a job. Or workers who have a job but worry that the next day will bring a pink slip. And what about parents who scrape and struggle to send their kids to college, only to find them back living at home, because they can't get work." Of course he did not tell them how he could help these people because that really is not his job. If you are one of these mutley people who demand an excuse, Bush gave one last night. "Our policies haven't failed, they haven't been tried." But he believes that if he uses what his forefathers have left him, if he lives in complete splendor, then someday you will be able to find work.

"What did you think about it?" Julie was asked when it was over.

"I liked the part about the sharp lawyers. Where do I get one of them?"



Jimmy Brosil

AUGUST 21, 1992

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★ VIEWPOINTS NY

New York Newsday

EDITORIALS



Newsday / J. Michael Dombroski

President George Bush and the Bush clan

USA TODAY • MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

BEING PRUDENT: President Bush's son, Jeb Bush, chose to prepare for Hurricane Andrew rather than join Vice President Quayle's central Florida bus tour Sunday. "He's literally boarding up his windows" back in Miami, said Quayle aide Al Hubbard.

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CHARLIE ARCHAMBAULT — USA & W



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Warring images.
In stark form, Campaign '92 pits GOP "family values" against the Democrats stress on U.S. economic woes.

COVER: The Graneer Collection

Copyright © 1992 by U.S. News & World Report Inc. All rights reserved. U.S. News & World Report (ISSN 0041-9537) is published weekly, except for the combined issue mailed in August and a second combined issue mailed in December. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to U.S. News & World Report, P.O. Box 518, Hightstown, NJ 08520. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to U.S. News & World Report, P.O. Box 518, Hightstown, NJ 08520. U.S. News & World Report is published weekly, except for the combined issue mailed in August and a second combined issue mailed in December. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to U.S. News & World Report, P.O. Box 518, Hightstown, NJ 08520. U.S. News & World Report is published weekly, except for the combined issue mailed in August and a second combined issue mailed in December. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to U.S. News & World Report, P.O. Box 518, Hightstown, NJ 08520.

CORPORATE OFFICES

U.S. News & World Report, P.O. Box 518, Hightstown, NJ 08520

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SUBSCRIPTION DEPARTMENT

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Here Come The Big Guns

After the rhetoric in Houston, the G.O.P. readies a fierce assault on four policy fronts. Clinton prepares a counterattack but may be vulnerable on some points.

By STANLEY W. CLOUD HOUSTON

A GEORGE BUSH OPERATIVE told a group of reporters at the G.O.P. convention four years ago that "a presidential campaign is just like a war." The take-no-prisoners Bush juggernaut rolled out of New Orleans and three months later routed opponent Michael Dukakis. Fair warning to Bill Clinton: if you heard a faint rumble in the background at last week's Republican Convention, it was the sound of Bush's heavy artillery moving into place. Stand by for incoming.

Despite Bush's adroit acceptance speech, his handlers know that to elevate Bush in the polls, they need to bring down Clinton—and fast. With James Baker directing the campaign, Bush will now begin trying to flush Clinton out of his comfortable moderate's nest and portray his opponent as just another tax-and-spend liberal Democrat with neither the experience nor the ability to deal with the nation's problems. The Bush team is sure to run a fine-tooth comb over Clinton's 12-year record as what Republicans are calling "the failed Governor of a small Southern state." And they will revive questions about his Vietnam War draft status by claiming, as Pat Buchanan did last week, that Clinton lacks the moral authority to make military decisions.

The Republicans won't stop there. Ironically, though Clinton has been praised for laying out a detailed economic plan, its very proposals provide some of the ammunition Bush needs for his late-summer assault on Little Rock. But the problem with these Republican bombshells is that while many of them are on target, the arguments tend to be aggressively hyperbolic and are occasionally contradicted by their own supporting documents. For one thing, the President faults

Clinton for not favoring a balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution—though it was the Reagan and Bush Administrations that are mainly responsible for the enormous amounts of red ink in the federal budget.

Even as Republican speechmakers were taking aim at Clinton from the podium last week, aides were crisscrossing the sprawl of Houston to underscore their points over breakfast, lunch, coffee and cocktails with reporters. Meanwhile, Democratic fax machines were churning out rebuttals—including a two-page reply to Bush's acceptance speech before he had even finished delivering it. As the volley of stats and cost estimates flying between both camps increases, the campaign is likely to be fought in four major policy arenas as well as on the "family values" front. The key lines of attack:

**Does Bush
deserve to be
re-elected?**

Yes	40%
No	54%

SPENDING. Given the Democrats' belief in an activist government, Clinton is vulnerable on this front. Bush correctly charged in his Thursday night speech that the Democrats' budget proposals would add \$220 billion in federal spending, not counting the cost of Clinton's health-reform package. But that number is spread over four years, and it would go for potentially politically salable projects such as investing \$80 billion to rebuild America's infrastructure or helping to finance bridges, roads, an intercity rail system and a nationwide information network.

But Clinton's vagueness on spending details gives Bush an opening to brand him an old-fashioned profligate liberal. "Governor Clinton and Congress know that you have caught on to their lingo," Bush said in his speech. "They know when they say 'spending,' you say 'uh, oh.' So now they have a new word: 'investment.' They want to 'invest' \$220 billion more of your money—but I want you to keep it."

Nor is the Bush camp the only one to



**BEHIND
THE SCENES
OF A
CAMPAIGN**

*Exclusive photographs for TIME
by Diana Walker*

THE U.S. CAMPAIGN



In the Holding Room, Houston Astrodome

Though he was about to deliver one of the most important speeches of his political life, a surprisingly relaxed President showed no pre-show jitters in this candid shot by TIME'S Diana Walker, who was given exclusive access to the Bush team during the convention.

Signing Autographs Backstage in Indianapolis

Clinton won the endorsement of the National Association of Police Officers, but Bush still enjoys substantial support from law-enforcement officials because of his tough talk about cracking down on crime.



TIME, AUGUST 31, 1992



Greeting the Gipper

The first couple call on their predecessors at Houston's Warwick Hotel on Monday. That evening, Reagan brought down the house with vintage oratory and a ringing endorsement of Bush.

voice reservations about Clinton's economic plan. The bipartisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget has serious objections, especially about Clinton's claim to be able to halve the federal deficit over four years. "The numbers do not add up," says a committee report. Noting that Clinton's plan would over four years produce reductions of about \$4 billion in the growth of such entitlement programs as Social Security and Medicare, the committee sees this as a very small drop in a very large bucket. By 1996, notes the group, "entitlement spending is projected to exceed \$900 billion!"

TAXES. Speaker after speaker in Houston charged that Clinton has advocated the largest tax increase in history. But the Republicans themselves could not agree on the size of those tax hikes: the Bush Administration's Office of Management and Budget used the figure \$220 billion, while Bush and other speakers, like Congressman Newt Gingrich, cited tax increases of \$150 billion. The issue has tremendous political force, especially in a time of less than 2% annual economic growth. The Bush team has charged that Clinton's taxes would force many small businesses to close and cost many people their jobs. Moreover, says Jim Cicconi, issues direc-

tor for the Bush-Quayle campaign, "the dirty little secret of this plan is that to raise the revenues they need on the tax side to pay for the programs they want, they have to drop the [higher] tax brackets into the middle class." But Clinton advisers suggest that the Arkansas Governor would sooner scale back some of his spending plans rather than extend his tax-hike proposals to middle-income Americans. Still, the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget finds that the Clinton plan, by relying on higher corporate taxes and a new 36% tax rate for the wealthiest 2% of Americans (families earning more than \$200,000 a year), is politically, as well as fiscally, unrealistic.

But are the Republicans correct when they say this would be the greatest tax increase in history? No. In truth, the record tax hikes are all Republican products: the Reagan Administration's 1982 increase (\$98 billion over four years) and the new taxes of 1990 for which Bush now apologizes (\$107.6 billion over four years). Clinton's plan would actually increase taxes about \$92 billion over four

years—hardly trivial, but no blue-ribbon winner.

So how do the Republicans pump the figure up to \$150 billion and beyond? By including as tax increases such items as Clinton's claim that he can raise \$45 billion over four years by tightening IRS regulations for foreign companies operating in the U.S., and the \$9 billion he projects from cracking down on tax fraud. These may be unrealistic projections, but they are not tax increases.

Moreover, the Republicans' use of these figures is inconsistent bordering on hypocritical: on the one hand, they ridicule the notion that \$45 billion could result from tougher IRS regulations on foreign companies, claiming that the real figure is closer to \$1 billion; yet they include the full \$45 billion among proposed Democratic tax increases.

MILITARY CUTBACKS. The Bush people went to great

lengths in Houston to portray Clinton as an irresponsible defense cutter who would slice right through the muscle and into the bone. In fact, there's not much difference between the two camps on this issue. Clin-

Do you think Bush is doing a good job

Handling foreign policy	61%
Handling the economy	22%
Providing strong leadership	45%



On Air Force One A major part of the President's campaign will focus on the risk factor, framing the debate around the question of whom voters will trust to sit behind the big desk.



Arranging a Family Portrait Bush used his acceptance speech to note that his foreign policy victories have made the world safer for children and grandchildren everywhere.

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

Hail to the Prisoner

RONALD REAGAN'S FRIEND THOMAS JEFFERSON SPURNED CARRIAGES AND escorts on his Inauguration Day in 1801. Instead, he strolled from his boardinghouse with some friends to the Capitol, where he took the oath of office and became the third U.S. President. He walked back for lunch—probably with Reagan.

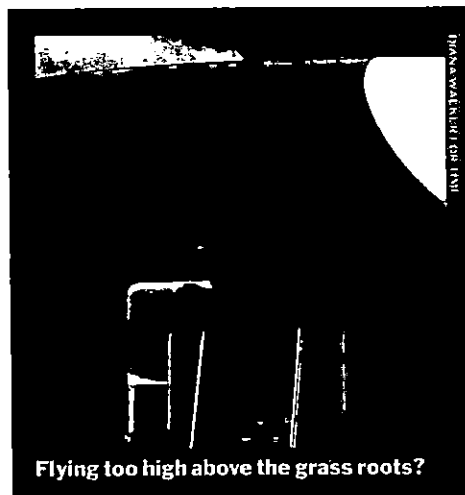
Things were simpler then. Last week at the gaudy end of the Republican Convention the 41st President roared off from Houston in a six-story, 227,000-lb.-thrust 747-200B jet. George Bush's seven-plane campaign air force began to crisscross the country from Gulfport to Hartford, bearing hundreds of advance men, surrogates, White House aides, Secret Service agents and reporters. These hordes will follow Bush through countless paralyzing motorcades and rallies, accompanied by helicopters, armored limousines, blocky weapons vans and scores of vip-toting luxury autos, all in search of the elusive voter.

What have we done to our Presidents? What have we made of this office that was so painstakingly designed to avoid kingly dimensions?

We have instead gone beyond mere royalty and invested the poor fellow with godly power—then raised our expectations accordingly and vented almost every human frustration and anger at him. We have girded him with this hideous apparatus for his safety and convenience; all too often it deafens and crushes its audiences and imprisons the President. An old hand from the days of Richard Nixon watched a phalanx of agents muscle aside delegates on the convention floor last week to clear the way for Barbara Bush. "The Secret Service has taken over the White House advance operation," he muttered through clenched teeth, "and the Bush people have let them."

As Bush's battle group was winging on its thunderous way, Mort Engelberg, the Hollywood producer turned bus-caravan impresario for the Clinton-Gore campaign, was in a dank Cleveland hotel mapping yet another ground-level incursion down the back ways of this civilization through Ohio and around Lake Erie to Buffalo. The earlier buscades along the Ohio and Mississippi river valleys were surprisingly successful strikes, finding people in neighborhoods where they lived, not at airports or pre-packaged arenas. Reporters from local television stations could hitch a bus ride for a hundred bucks or so a day, compared with more than \$1,000 on a political airlift. Nor were the local news spots edited to 90 seconds a day—more like 90 minutes. Engelberg's original idea was to steal the settings for Bush's family-values pitch before the President could arrive. The buses fit modest front-yard dimensions. The people flowed easily and eagerly out of the grass roots.

Old political calculations are dangerous. This election is between a savvy Democrat, nurtured by a small town and given an overlay of Oxford and Yale, and a duty-driven Republican reared in the nation's richest suburb and now in possession of the most majestic and mighty political office in the world. Given the country's suspicions of bigness and power, planted long ago by Reagan's friend Thomas Jefferson, it is not at all an uneven contest.



Flying too high above the grass roots?

at theme, and attracted more attention, at the Southern Baptists' annual meeting in June. Lately Bush has also been singing from the same hymnal—albeit in gentler tones. In July he appeared on Robertson's "V" show, where he dutifully pledged allegiance to most items on the religious right's agenda. He also agreed to attend a national gathering of religious conservatives in Dallas two days after the convention.

Clinton, for his part, turned down an invitation to the Dallas meeting. Having promised to appoint pro-choice jurists and to extend civil rights protection to homosexuals, he knows he cannot expect to pass the religious right's moral checkup. Still, Clinton hopes to recapture a respectable number of rank-and-file evangelicals, some of whom are more moderate than their leaders. Baptist Press, a news service or the Southern Baptist Convention's newspapers, last month distributed a long story describing the Clintons' and Gores' religious practices. While the candidates did not come across as quite the Sunday school teacher Carter was, they were depicted as committed churchgoers.

MARC NUTTLE, WHO MANAGED Robertson's failed 1988 presidential bid, thinks it was no accident that Clinton last year adopted the term New Covenant as a campaign slogan. "That's an evocative phrase for Christians," Nuttle says, "as Clinton knows." The Arkansan's long association with evangelicals appeals to some conservatives who nonetheless disagree with his positions. Anthony Mangan, a Pentecostal pastor in Alexandria, Louisiana, met Clinton at a Bible camp meeting eight years ago and has admired him since because "Bill is such a genuine, full-of-love person. He loves the Lord with everything in him." Still, because of Clinton's stands on abortion and homosexual issues, Mangan doesn't know what he'll do on Election Day. "I have to pray hard on it," he says.

For the moment, Clinton can live with that kind of uncertainty. If his religion wins him more of a hearing than Michael Dukakis and Walter Mondale got, he can try to shift the concerns of evangelical voters to more practical, kitchen-table questions. Says campaign manager David Wilhelm: "Plenty of Baptists know that the real family issue is how families can make ends meet."

Robison James, a religion professor at the Baptist-affiliated University of Richmond, thinks that at least some in his denomination are losing their pro-Republican fire out of frustration: the Reagan-Bush era, after all, did not re-create society in their image. Thus James predicts that Clinton could get close to half the white evangelical vote, rather than the 30% Dukakis won. If so, Clinton may be combing the New Testament for tidbits appropriate for an Inaugural Address.

50F5



OUTLOOK

Looking for the light in their souls

During Franklin Roosevelt's presidency, photographers were barred from showing him in his wheelchair. During the Kennedy years, reporters conspired to keep the president's bedroom exploits secret. Today, we are bombarded with the most intimate details of our leaders' lives—topped by the spectacle of one presidential candidate discussing his troubled marriage on national television and the other candidate denying rumors of infidelity.

Choosing a president has become a deeply personal process, based often on just these personal details. Voters' assessments of a candidate's temper and judgment

ONE WEEK

weigh more heavily than platitudes and white papers. Says Sam Popkin, a political scientist now advising the Clinton campaign: "We really think that the character we see is the policy we get."

To some extent this has always been true: Abe Lincoln's log cabin and coal shovel would do credit to any modern media guru. But this year, the struggle to define the candidates in terms of their life experiences has reached new levels. The campaign podium has become a confessional; suffering is now a sign of virtue, worn proudly as a badge of honor.

Bill Clinton countered the Slick Willie label by describing his humble origins in Hope, Ark. Al Gore, stiff and awkward in his last campaign, dwelt on his small son's nearly fatal accident. Dan Quayle, seen as a rich and pampered child, talked

about living through his mother-in-law's death from cancer. But the high point came from Barbara Bush, who recalled the pain of raising children—one died young, a second barely survived, a third suffered a learning disability—and then surrounded herself with 22 family members, the most memorable photo op of the convention. A White House adviser said the moment would be repeated endlessly in fall commercials because it answered a question asked by every voter: "Who is this guy? Whom do I trust to see things the way I would?"

Why do voters care more about the man than the plan? The nuclear age has put a premium on quick, sound judgment when the hot line clatters in the middle of the night. Even with the subsiding of the nuclear terror, a wildly changing world means that a president must deal with issues not even imagined on Election Day. And unlike most parliamentary systems, this country votes for an individual, not a party or a cabinet or an ideology.

Above all, television enables the candidates to invade our homes instantly. Voters know the candidates up close and personal. The voting process is so intimate because what they are looking for is a reflection of themselves: their trials and turmoils, virtues and values. The political campaign is a search for connection—from both sides, candidates and voters alike.

But when confessions come so easily, are they believable? When emotions can be manipulated so craftily, can they be trusted? When intimacy is thrust upon us, does it lose its value? These questions can be answered only by individual voters, alone in the voting booth, the private chapel of our civic religion. □ BY STEVEN V. ROBERTS

▼
'Choosing a president is a deeply personal process. The key to the campaign is the man, not the plan.'
▲

Personal—made one by one by one.

Socks Clinton Will Campaign If He Must, An Aide Says

Millie, at right, Barbara Bush's springer spaniel who is credited with writing a best-selling children's book, is such an asset to the President's re-election campaign that George Bush even mentioned "Millie's Book" in his acceptance speech Thursday night.

Bill Clinton and his family own a black-and-white cat named Socks, who is usually left out of Clinton family portraits. "Bill and Hillary are both allergic to cats," said Betsy Wright, an official of the Clinton campaign. She said their daughter, Chelsea, "wanted a cat real bad; they used to have a dog named Zeke, but he's dead."

So far, Socks hasn't had any book offers. "We'd be very interested," said Allen Marchioni, the chairman of William Morrow, which published

"Millie's Book" in 1990, "providing that Socks could write as wittily, charmingly and informatively as Millie."

Dogs have been preferred by most Presidents: in the last 50 years only two cats (owned by Gerald Ford's and Jimmy Carter's daughters) have lived at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. The Clinton camp, hoping to put the first cat in the White

House in 12 years, is prepared for attacks on Socks.

On Monday Ms. Wright said in Houston that the Republicans had "made it clear that they're here as much to attack Governor Clinton, his family, his cat, his record, as they are to tout their own proposals."

"I was being facetious," she said later, "but neither will I be surprised."



Jim Davis/"Millie's Book"

8-24

Date



E + L. A. - de...

2nd letter
with handle

'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)

August 24, 1992

Mr. President:

FYI. Today is Admiral Howe's 57th Birthday. (He's trying to keep it a secret!)

*Do you want to send the
attached card?*

no.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

daily 8/24

DATE: 24 July 92

TO: Rose Zensario

FROM: JAN NAYLOR
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Deputy Director of Presidential Personnel
Room 145, OEOB, x6444

I'm returning this to you. I
understand from Roger that he's
asked Ryan to proceed with this
appointment.

/s.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 7/23/92

TO:

Jan Nagler

FROM:

ROSE ZAMARIA
Deputy Assistant to the President

*Call me when
you get this
thanks,*

RZ

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 21, 1992

Dear Johnny,

You were great to be there at Salt Lake City for that most pleasant outdoor event. Thanks so much not only for coming but also for bringing along those great fishermen.

Thanks, too, for my electronic frog. The damn thing kept beeping after I put it into the water -- then I found that a little squeeze on the side would shut him up. Can't wait to try him out.

About your letter regarding the Foundation vacancies, I have asked Secretary Lujan to appoint Jim Perkins. Thanks for the suggestions.

Warm best wishes.

Sincerely,



Mr. John L. Morris
Bass Pro Shops
1935 South Campbell
Springfield, Missouri 65898

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 14, 1992
2 JUL 16 P7:01

Cornel Horner
has been given
a copy —

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*
SUBJECT: National Fish and Wildlife Foundation

Johnny Morris wrote indicating that you had asked to see a copy of his letter to Secretary Lujan about filling a vacancy on the Board of Directors of the National Fish and Wildlife Foundation.

His letter contains three recommendations. I will discuss these recommendations with Secretary Lujan when he returns from his trip to Russia.

Let's go with
Perkins unless
some problem

Attachment

Maybe Connie should
tell Lujan this
is what I want



NATIONAL FISH AND WILDLIFE FOUNDATION

1120 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 900

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
(202) 857-0166 FAX (202) 857-0162

July 6, 1992

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

John L. Morris
Chairman
Springfield, MO
Beatrice C. Pickens
Vice Chairman
Dallas, TX
Kenneth H. Holmann
Secretary
Concord, CA
Eugene A. Bay, Jr.
New York, NY
Magalen O. Bryant
Middleburg, VA
Thomas G. McMillan
Reno, NV
Steve Robinson
Boise, ID
David B. Rockland
Washington, DC
Charles E. Yeager
Brig. Gen., USAF Retired
Cedar Ridge, CA

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

A. Marshall Acuff, Jr.
Guy A. Avedisian
James A. Baker, IV
George Barley, Jr.
Frederick Brodsky
John M. Camp, III
Gen. John T. Chain, Jr.
Jeffrey R. Cilek
Tony Coelho
Leonard S. Coleman
Jeff Curtis
Chris Farrand
Marshall Field
David D. Fitch
Gardner L. Grant
John W. Hanes, Jr.
Thomas N. Harvey
C. Wolcott Henry, III
William G. Kerr
Kevin Lynch
Phyllis M. Minn
William A. Molini
Julie Packard
Thomas R. Parker
Sumner Pingree
Nathaniel Pryor Reed
Nancy N. Weyerhaeuser
John C. Whitaker
Joseph H. Williams
Lawrence J. Winston
Martin F. Wood

Honorable Manuel Lujan, Jr.
Secretary
Department of the Interior
Washington, DC 20240

Dear Mr. Secretary:

The National Fish and Wildlife Foundation has an opening on its Board of Directors with the resignation of Eugene Bay this past week. I believe it is important to maintain continuity at the Foundation by filling this position as soon as possible. With this in mind, on behalf of our Board of Directors, I am providing you with three nominations to fill this position on the Board.

My personal number one recommendation is Jim Perkins, General Manager of Chevrolet. I have spoken to Jim; he is a keen sportsman and conservationist and a wonderful individual who would be honored to serve on our Board.

My second choice is Don Tyson, a nationally prominent businessman from Arkansas. Don is also enthusiastic about serving and is committed to supporting the Foundation financially.

My third choice is James A. Baker, IV. Jamie is a partner in the Washington office of Baker and Botts, a Texas-based law firm and he has been acting in the capacity of attorney for the Foundation on a pro bono basis for the last two years. Jamie has had a life-long interest in fish and wildlife conservation, and he is an avid hunter and fisherman.

If you have any question or concerns, please feel free to contact me at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Best Wishes!
John L. Morris
John L. Morris
Chairman

Enclosures

J. C. (JIM) PERKINS

J. C. (Jim) Perkins has been a General Motors Vice President and General Manager for Chevrolet Motor Division since May 1989.

Perkins had spent nearly 24 years at GM before joining Toyota Motor Sales USA, Inc., as Group Vice President for Sales, Marketing, Distribution and Product Planning in 1984. He had most recently been Senior Vice-President of Toyota's Lexus Division.

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In 1979, Perkins returned to Chevrolet as a Regional Manager for the Atlantic Coast Region and was named Truck Sales Manager in 1980 and Assistant General Sales Manager for Field Operations in 1981.

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Perkins is a motorsports enthusiast who competed in organized drag racing as a youth in Texas. Four-time Indy 500 winner A. J. Foyt Jr. recalls the first time he met Perkins was in 1953 at a drag race in San Antonio, Tex.

Perkins also enjoys restoring vintage Chevrolet performance cars, and owns a collection that includes a 1957 Bel Air sport coupe with a modified 350-horsepower V8 engine, a 1969 Camaro SS and a 1985 Camaro IROC-Z.

#

10/3/89

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 14, 1992
2 JUL 16 P7:01

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a copy —

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Department of the Interior
Washington, DC 20240

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10/3/89

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Jeffrey S. Silverman
Apartment 12-B
983 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10028



THE PRESIDENT

8-24-92

Dear Joy,

Damn it - I just got
your letter of July 20th

Thanks for that wonderful
and supportive letter - thanks,
too, for all your support. Love
G

cc: (in/out)

✓ R. Zamaria
1 copy

Voice of America

Office of the Director



27 July 1992

~~Patty:~~

Joy Silverman sent the enclosed letter to the President, via Chase Untermeyer.

I'm sending it to you for whatever action is necessary.

Thanks -- come to see us at VOA

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "BT" or "Betty", written in a cursive style.

Betty Thompson
Special Assistant to the
Director

Joy A. Silverman

983 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10028

Rec'd
8/19

July 20, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

Your recent note and your continuing confidence in me were not only deeply appreciated, but prompted me into serious thought about how I can best be of help to you. You had mentioned that you wanted me to be involved in the "campaign -- somewhere, somehow" -- and I just want to reassure you that there is nothing that I wouldn't do to assist in your reelection.

Mr. President, I have been fundraising since November, and I wholeheartedly continue to do so -- but I feel that perhaps there is more that I could be doing (especially since New York will be a targeted state.)

You have done so much for me and for other women in your Administration. You saw my potential, believed in my abilities, and respected the choice I made to raise my family instead of seeking a professional career. You not only understood my choices, but encouraged me, and believed in me enough to ask me to become a part of your Administration. The ironic part in all of this is that the Democrats, who so strongly claim to represent, and hold highly, the family and its values, are the group who sought to destroy my nomination because I chose to do just that -- to raise a family and make them the priority in my life.

The American people should hear about your decency, loyalty, and strength of character. I believe that a man who portrays these qualities, while successfully devoting himself to the service of his country, and to his family, is the man who deserves to lead our country -- and our children -- into the future.

You are the true definition of a hero -- and on your behalf, this is a message that I would like to get across to New Yorkers and to the American people in general.

With love & respect
Sincerely,

Joy
Joy A. Silverman

Please give Barbara my love --



PRESS OFFICE
OF THE
PRESIDENT OF MEXICO

Mexico

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 8/24

On The Record

Volume 1, No. 7

July, 1992

Presidents Salinas and Bush Met in San Diego

The President of Mexico, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, and the President of the United States of America, George Bush, met in San Diego, California, on July 14 to review several issues of the bilateral agenda, such as commerce, the North American Free-Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the recent decision by the U.S. Supreme Court on the kidnapping of a Mexican national, the environment, fishing and border issues.

During the meeting, Presidents Salinas and Bush were briefed by the Chief Negotiators on the status of the NAFTA talks. At the end of their meeting, the Presidents mentioned that they had talked by telephone with Canada's Prime Minister Brian Mulroney regarding NAFTA and that the three leaders had instructed

their negotiators to continue forward with the negotiation process.

President Salinas stated that the briefing by the negotiators had been "positive and encouraging". He reasserted that Mexico is looking for the best possible agreement, one which will generate growth and create jobs in Mexico, the United States and Canada. In this regard, President Salinas said that it is the content of the agreement what has determined the stages of the negotiation.

President Bush stated the importance of NAFTA, which he termed as an "historic undertaking", and reaffirmed his administration's commitment to reach a sound NAFTA "just as soon as possible". He added that "by building together the largest free-trade region in the world,

Mexico, the United States and Canada are working to ensure that the future will bring increased prosperity, trade and new jobs for the citizens of each of our countries. And because our trade Ministers and their teams have made impressive progress in recent talks, we agreed that our meeting today marks the beginning of the final stage of negotiations."

Finally, the Presidents agreed upon the importance of pressing ahead with parallel efforts to ensure that NAFTA enhances environmental quality and that labor issues are addressed effectively.

Following the President's and Prime Minister's instructions, a ministerial meeting between Secretary Jaime Serra, Ambassador Carla Hills and Minister Michael Wilson was held on July 25 in Mexico City.

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The Privatization Process in Mexico

The Government of Mexico has established as a top priority the attention to the social needs of the population, specifically to improve living standards. In order to achieve this goal an economic modernization program has been implemented that considers, among other things, the divestiture of State-owned enterprises which are neither strategic nor of high priority to the nation. This allows the Government to relocate resources to important programs directed toward promoting the social needs of Mexicans. At the same time, private investors take on the responsibility of managing these non-strategic enterprises, at their own risk, without the Government having to subsidize their operation.

The main objectives that have been pursued in the divestiture of these industries from Government ownership, have been:

- Strengthening of public finances.
- Elimination of economically and socially unjustified expenditures and subsidies.
- Promotion of productivity in the economy by giving the task of production to the private sector.
- Improvement of public sector efficiency by decreasing the size of the Government's structure.

By December 1982, the Government of Mexico had acquired 1,155 companies; by January 1992, 936 companies had been

divested, and 75 more were in the process of being divested from the Government.

Impact of the Privatization in the Mexican Economy

The results of the divestiture process in Mexico have been considerable, if we take into account that at the end of 1982 the State had more than 1,100 entities and as of February of this year the number had been reduced to only 221. In 1982 the State participated in 62 branches of economic activity. Today the participation is concentrated on 24 branches, of which 14 are in the process of divestiture.

Due to the short time elapsed since their privatization, it is still difficult to measure if there has been an improvement on the efficiency and productivity of the recently privatized enterprises. Nonetheless, a recently undertaken sample study shows a trend of employment increase of up to 3.4% for the past two years. The sample also demonstrated an increase in capital investment of 246% and in spending for personnel training of approximately 120 percent.

The net sale proceeds from this privatization process is close to 20 billion dollars, and once again it has been used mainly to reduce debt on a permanent basis. In fact, the internal debt has been reduced in 20 billion pesos, approximately 7 billion dollars, and the external public debt has also been reduced in 7 billion dollars. Reducing the debt opens new

venues to increase on a permanent basis the expenditures of the Government directed toward social and development needs, such as education and basic infrastructure.

Another impact of the divestiture process can be seen in the sharp reduction of subsidies and transfers from the Federal Government to the parastate sector, from a peak of 12.71% of GDP in 1982 to 2.51% by 1990. The net present value of the savings from transfers granted by the Government to this sector, during the last eight years, has amounted to over 3.5 billion dollars.

The privatization of the productive sector is one of the most important elements of the State's reform program. Beyond the mere fact of exchanging assets between the Government and the public, it carries the philosophy of a broader participation of the private sector in the economic and social development. It is not, by any means, a sign of retreat on behalf of the State from its natural mandate. On the contrary, This reform has strengthened the Government's capacity to meet the social needs of the people, and to provide an environment of macroeconomic stability in the long run. This policy, along with the deregulation of the economy, the fiscal and financial reform and the new social spending program of the Government—the National Solidarity Program—complete a picture of a more modern Mexico where there are better opportunities for everyone.

Banking Privatization Process Concludes

Revenues total US\$ 12.9 billion

The privatization process of Mexico's 18 national banks concluded with the sale of Banco del Centro (Bancen) on July 3, sixteen months after the announcement of the first package of banks to be sold. In the process, the Government received 113 formal bids, 58 of which met the established requirements for review. The winning bid came from Multivalores Financial Group which paid US\$ 272 millions, 4.6 times the book value of the bank.

Before June 1991, when the first bank was sold, the Government held 73.36% of the shares in the national banking system. At the conclusion of the privatization process, in July 1992, the Government has

reduced its participation to only 8.8% and sold 64.4% of its share in the system. The Government retained some participation in three banks: Bancomer (22.53%), Serfin (15.98%) and Banco Internacional (21.04%).

To date, the revenues from the sale of the bank shares amounts to US\$ 12.1 billion. The Government is still owed US\$ 1.7 billion by five banks, in addition to the interest accrued, as well as the resources from the purchase of Banco del Centro, which totaled US\$ 272 millions.

Therefore, considering the payments received to date and the pending principal and interest to be paid, the resources received through the bank privatization

process total US\$ 12.9 billion. This amount does not include the shares the Federal Government still holds in the aforementioned banks. The last partial payment due will be for the share package of Banco del Centro on December 1st, 1992.

The revenues have been applied to diverse programs: a contingency fund which currently holds 6.9 billion pesos (approximately US\$ 2.3 billion) and US\$ 5.8 billion; during this year, the Mexican Government has destined US\$ 14 billion to reduce both the foreign public debt and the internal one. Most of the resources obtained from the bank sales have been applied to debt reduction, allowing the

→ 4

Environment and Development in Mexico

4 →

scientific and academic organizations, to better formulate and implement new standards.

In addition to this Institute, Mexico has created a new office responsible for the all important enforcement of environmental laws, the Attorney General's Office for the Protection of the Environment. This office plays the role of an authentic attorney general's office in the area of environmental protections and is responsible for ensuring strict observance of standards and regulations set by the Institute, as well as those contained in rules and laws enacted by Congress. Additionally, this environmental agency will hear public complaints and demands related to insufficient compliance. Although this new office started operating recently, it has already taken

measures in the border area by closing ten plants and levying heavy fines on those who have violated the law along the Texas-Tamaulipas border. Such actions are to be added to the more than 1,000 inspections conducted along the border during the last 12 months.

The National Institute of Ecology and the Attorney General's Office for the Protection of the Environment enhance Mexico's capacity to enforce environmental regulations with a new approach to development, according to which urbanization and industrialization processes are to be harmonized with ecological criteria. For instance, assembly plants on the border are undergoing a certification process in order to have full control of all existing plants by the

end of the year. The Attorney General's Office is responsible for the implementation of this task.

These new entities within Sedesol will enable us to improve environmental enforcement in our country and Mexico's cooperation in the border area. There is no substitute for strict compliance with environmental law. Mexico will dutifully provide the means required to enforce it. Besides Government actions, Sedesol is also building a wide basis for social participation. Environmental issues cannot be properly dealt with by Government alone. Citizen and social organization involvement is of the utmost importance to reach effective solutions.

Mexico and the U.S. Reach an Agreement on Cooperation against Drug-Trafficking

On July 1st, Mexico and the United States concluded negotiations that set new rules for cooperation in the battle against drug-trafficking. The new terms came as a consequence of the decision by the U.S. Supreme Court that allowed the U.S. Courts to try a Mexican national whom had been kidnapped in Mexican territory and delivered to U.S. authorities, despite the protest of the Mexican Government that such action had violated Mexico's sovereignty and the Mexico-U.S. Extradition Treaty.

The Mexican Government stated that the Supreme Court's ruling was invalid and unacceptable for it "transgresses essential principles of international law and ignores the extradition treaties as the only legitimate and legal way to obtain the detention of a person in a sovereign State and his/her transfer... to another (country)."

Among the results of the bilateral talks are the following:

- Both countries agreed to review, at the next meeting of the Binational Commission, the existing Bilateral Extradition Treaty, so as to avoid future kidnappings.

- Mexico and the United States exchanged diplomatic notes to recognize that transborder kidnapping of a person from the territory of one country to another by agents of corporations or private individuals, called "bounty-hunters", constitutes an extraditable crime under the terms of the Extradition Treaty.

- The President of the United States of America, George Bush, in a personal letter

addressed to President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, gave his personal assurance in that his administration "will not conduct, stimulate or permit such kidnappings in the future". The U.S. Government also gave assurance that no private U.S. citizen or corporation will undertake an action of this kind in Mexican territory.

The Mexican Government also took measures to strengthen the observance of Mexican law and the respect of Mexico's sovereignty.

Mexico's Congress approved the President's bill to punish severely those who participate in kidnappings of persons to be transferred to foreign authorities or to face charges overseas. Accordingly, the law was reformed so that it be considered an act of treason for a Mexican national to cooperate in the violation of Mexico's sovereignty on the part of a foreign nation.

The Mexican Government also issued a new set of rules for the temporary stationing of foreign agents acting in Mexico in the fight against drug-trafficking. The rules state that:

- The activity of accredited agents will be limited to serve as liaison to exchange information related to different aspects of international cooperation. They are prohibited from undertaking activities reserved for Mexican authorities and from applying or executing another nation's law in Mexican territory.

- Agents will strictly observe all Mexican laws and will not have criminal immunity in

case that they violate laws and regulations reserved for Mexican authorities.

- Agents will be expressly prohibited to undertake actions that vulnerate national sovereignty.

- The agents who bribe private or official individuals, especially in the case it involves a kidnapping in order to take an alleged criminal to be tried in another nation, will be expelled automatically, bilateral cooperation will be suspended and the foreign agency involved will be banned to undertake any activity in Mexican territory.

The Mexican Government will seek the support of the international community in order to strengthen the respect of the essential principles of international law and of the sovereignty of nations.

The Mexican position was stressed by President Salinas during the meeting he and President Bush held in San Diego, on July 14. In a news conference, President Salinas stated that the decision was considered invalid and unacceptable to Mexico, and was contrary to international law. He insisted on the return of Dr. Alvarez Machain to Mexican territory, to be tried in Mexico, and spoke on the new rules for the operation of foreign police agencies in Mexico. President Salinas welcomed President's Bush letter which gave assurances that no such action would be allowed. But the Mexican President also maintained that Mexico will take a firm stand and punish those who attempt or carry out such actions. Furthermore, he added, Mexico will continue to take its position to multilateral fora.

Banking Privatization Process Concludes

2→

Government to reduce principal as well as interest payments, thus making more resources available to allocate them in social and productive investment.

The price/profit average obtained in the sale of the 18 banking institutions was 14.75, and the market value/book value multiple average was 3.068. This compares favorably with the 2.2 times multiple of book value and 14 times profit value received in the average sales of comparable banks in the United States and Europe in the past five years.

The bank privatization process sought a balance in the financial system by promoting a regional balance and discouraging the largest banks from associating unnecessarily with similar institutions. Thus, the central offices of eight banks are located in Mexico City and ten in the interior of the Republic. The result was that 13 of the banks were acquired by financial groups while five are controlled by different groups of investors. However, all the groups were integrated with investors from all the regions and

they represent different sectors of the economy. The number of stockholders in the banking system has risen to over 180,000, compared to 80,000 in 1982.

The Secretariat of Finance and Public Credit also informed that, to date, under the reformed banking system and the new laws that regulate it, no formal position has been filed to open new banks, or for mergers among the existing ones. Nonetheless, the Secretariat mentioned that it was aware that six regional groups have shown interest in opening up new credit institutions.

Mexico Continues to Capture Foreign Investment

90.1 % of the target set for 1989-1994 was reached by April 1992

According to the latest figures from the Secretariat of Commerce and Industrial Promotion (Secofi), direct foreign investment (DFI) in Mexico reached US\$ 3.9 billion during the first quarter of 1992, more than three times the amount received in the same period of 1991. At the end of April 1992, total DFI in Mexico during the first 40 months of the Salinas' administration reached US\$ 21.7 billion, which represents 90.1% of the DIF target set by the Government for the 1989-1994 period.

The participation of individual countries in the total accumulated DFI is as follows: the United States with 62%; Great Britain, 6.5%; Germany, 5.8%; Switzerland, 4.5%; Japan, 4.4%; France,

4.1%; Spain, 2.1%, and other countries 10.6%. By economic activity, industry concentrates 52.4% of the total accumulated DFI; services, 38.7%; commerce, 7.3%; and mining and agriculture, 1.6 percent.

The Mexican Government has deregulated and simplified the process to approve foreign investment to such an extent that of the 977 investment operations undertaken in the first quarter of 1992, only 119 (12.2%) required previous authorization from the National Commission of Foreign Investment. Foreign investors have also benefited from information and contacts provided by Mexico's Embassies, Consulates and the Mexican Investment Board, among others.

The Mexican Investment Board

Mexico's successful effort to attract foreign investment is being spearheaded by the Mexican Investment Board (MIB), a non-profit venture between the Government and private financial institutions. As Mexico's central organization devoted to promoting and facilitating foreign investment projects, the MIB reaches out to top businesses and entrepreneurs around the world with a message about Mexico's competitive advantages. The MIB provides companies with the details of investing opportunities in Mexico, offers counsel and assistance on every aspect of the investment process, helps businessmen find venture partners and suggests how to get professional

services. MIB also publishes extensive materials on investment issues, industry sectors and the process of investing.

Extensive research enables the MIB to target particular issues and specific industry sectors. It identifies the sectors most attractive to different investors, the trends of investment and shifts in attitudes of foreign investors in Mexico. This information is very useful to decision-makers when considering their options for investment.

The MIB operates a toll-free number for the business and financial community, in order to provide information on investing in Mexico. The Information Hotline is 1-800-642-2434.

Environment and Development in Mexico

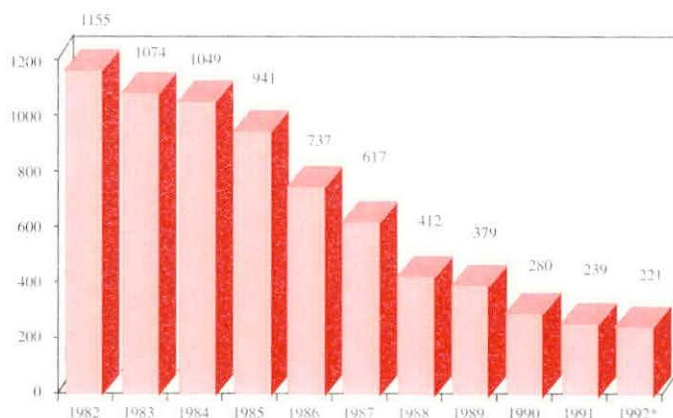
At the U.S.-Mexico Border Environmental Assembly and Colloquy, held in Santa Fe, New Mexico, on June 25, with the presence, among others, of William Reilly, Director of the Environmental Protection Agency, Mexico's Secretary of Social Development, Luis Donaldo Colosio, made the following remarks:

On May 26, the former Urban Development and Ecology Secretariat (Sedue) became the new Social Development Secretariat (Sedesol). Since the word "ecology" is no longer included in the Agency name, some doubts have emerged as to whether the Mexican Government was dismantling or downgrading environmental commitments. Nothing is farther from the truth. Actually, the creation of Sedesol is projecting environmental protection into a new dimension. For the first time ecology is becoming a substantial component for development and social change. Not one task, nor any duty formerly assigned to the Ecology Under-Secretariat, has been eliminated. Instead, new tasks directly related to the enforcement of environmental laws have been added.

Under Sedesol, two new high-level offices with significant budget allocations have been established for the implementation and enforcement of environmental regulations and standards. One is the National Institute of Ecology, which is responsible for the design, implementation and assesment of the regulatory framework for both environmental policies and programs. The Institute is also responsible for setting up an integrated network, aided by → 5

MEXICO AT A GLANCE

Number of State-owned enterprises

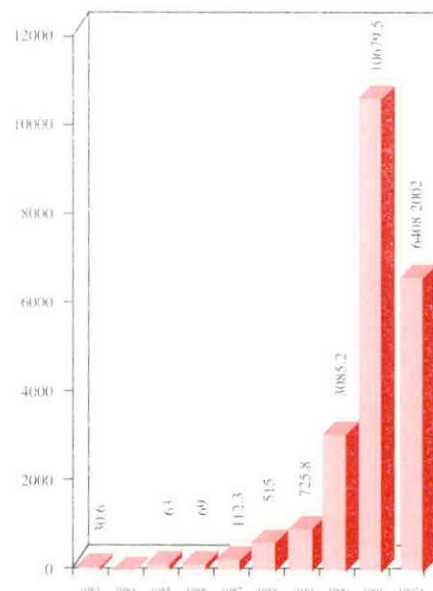


Source: SHCP

* up to June

Revenues from the sale of
State-owned enterprises

US \$ millions



* up to June

IN BRIEF...

President Salinas visits Europe...

President Salinas left on July 18 for a ten day official visit to four European nations. He began his visit in Great Britain. From there, the President traveled to France and then to Spain where he participated in the Second Iberoamerican Summit, which was attended by other 17 leaders from Latin America, Portugal and Spain. The First Iberoamerican Summit was held last year in Guadalajara, Mexico. President Salinas also attended the opening of the Barcelona Olympic Games and visited the Seville International Fair. From Spain, President Salinas continued to Hungary and returned to Mexico on July 28.

Consular appointments...

Francisco González de Cossío, former Consul General in Denver, Colorado, was appointed Consul

General in Houston, Texas, replacing **Oliver Farrés**, who is Mexico's new Consul General in Chicago, Illinois.

Enrique Michel was appointed Consul General in Dallas, Texas, in lieu of Mr. Farrés.

New Governors-elect in the states of Chihuahua and Michoacán...

In Chihuahua, Mexico's largest state, the State Electoral Commission declared the National Action Party (PAN) candidate, **Francisco Barrio**, Governor-elect. Mr. Barrio became the second candidate from an opposition party to be elected governor in Mexico's history. In 1985, **Ernesto Ruffo**, PAN, won the gubernatorial race in Baja California... In Michoacán, the State Electoral Commission's preliminary figures show the PRI's candidate, **Eduardo Villaseñor**, as the winner in the gubernatorial race, with the PRD

candidate, **Cristóbal Arias**, in second place.

I RDB-World Bank grants loan for housing...

On July 24, the Government of Mexico and the International Reconstruction and Development Bank signed a credit operation, by which that international financial institution will extend a loan of US\$ 450 million which will be applied to a project for housing market development in Mexico. The total cost of the project is US\$ 1.4 billion; the remaining US\$ 984 million will be provided by the Mexican Government through the Fund of Operation and Bank Financing for Housing (Fovi). The loan was contracted with a 15 year amortization period, including five grace years, at a variable interest rate adjusted every six months.

QUOTABLES

"It is difficult to overestimate the extent of Mexico's transition from a stereotypical Latin American economy characterized by heavy State involvement in industry, high external debt, hyperinflation and large Government deficits, to a competitive economy...with reasonable inflation levels and excellent opportunities for corporate profits and investments."

Ted Jackson, "A good run down Mexico way", *The Globe and Mail*, July 18, 1992.

"For decades, Americans have been preaching, nagging and cajoling Latin Americans to open their markets to U.S. goods and investment and let market capitalism and entrepreneurship transform their societies. More than any other figure, Salinas personifies the new pro-market ethos that is sweeping Latin America and disassembling the bulwarks of statism and corporatism. America's response to his request for free trade may well prove to be a defining moment for U.S. relations with the entire region."

Peter Morici, "Free Trade with Mexico", *Foreign Policy*, Summer, 1992.

"Some commentators call President Salinas the most effective leader in the world today. His policies have moved Mexico from the brink of bankruptcy to a success story now inspiring reforms elsewhere in Latin America and Eastern Europe."

Martin and Kathleen Feldstein, "Mexico's Maestro", *World Monitor*, July 1992.

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