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OA/ID Number: 90710
Folder ID Number: 90710-002

Folder Title:
Monday, August 24, 1992 [4]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	35	2	3	0



SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
Monday, August 24, 1992

W
N

8:00 am	The President departs for Newark enroute Union, <u>New Jersey</u>	South Lawn
9:30 am	<u>Arrives Union, New Jersey</u>	Union, New Jersey
9:45 am	<u>Victory '92 Fundraiser</u> (Kaufman)	
10:10 am	Arrives Lincoln Technical Institute for Tour and Address to the Students <u>and Faculty</u> (Demarest)	
11:10 am	Departs Union, New Jersey <u>for Connecticut</u>	
11:45 am	Arrives Middlebury/Oxford <u>Municipal Airport</u>	Middlebury, Connecticut
11:55 am	Arrives Rowland Residence <u>for Victory '92 Fundraiser</u> (Kaufman)	
12:55 pm	Arrives Warsaw Park for <u>Ansonia Community Luncheon</u> (Demarest)	Ansonia, Connecticut
1:45 pm	Departs Ansonia for Newark <u>enroute Washington</u>	
3:45 pm	<u>Arrives White House</u>	South Lawn

UNP 08/21/92
6:00 pm



THE PRESIDENT

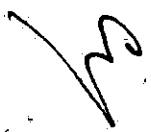
August 24, 1992

To: JAB

I expect Clinton will grandstand the
Hurricane in Florida.

Should we be thinking about going there???

GB

A handwritten signature, likely "GB", is written in dark ink below the typed name.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BUSH

AUGUST 24th

, 19⁹²

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT	7:16 AM	7:50	MR. JOHN W. MAGAW OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-435-5700	TLKD-OK 7:47 A.M.
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM		CONGRESSMAN E. CLAY SHAW, JR. FORT LAUDERDALE, FL. 305-523-7333	PASSED TO SIGNAL OPERATOR 60 AT 8:13 A.M.
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

August 24, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT	8:27 AM	8:33	Congressman E. Clay Shaw, Jr. Residence, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 305-523-7333	Tlkd-ok 8:29 AM via Secure Satellite
INC	PM			
OUT	8:41 AM	8:50	Senator Robert J. Dole Residence, Washington, D.C. 342-0143	Tlkd-ok 8:47 AM via Secure Satellite
INC	PM			
OUT	8:41 AM	9:03	Congressman Bill Archer Residence, Stanley, Virginia 703-778-1157	Tlkd-ok 9:00 AM via Secure Satellite
INC	PM			
OUT	8:41 AM		Senator Lloyd Bentsen Office, Washington, D.C. 224-5922	PRESUS Cancel 3:40 PM
INC	PM			
OUT	8:41 AM		Congressman Dan Rostenkowski Office, Washington, D.C. 225-4061	PRESUS Cancel 3:40 PM
INC	PM			
OUT	8:41 AM		Congressman Robert H. Michel Office, Washington, D.C. 225-6201	Presus Cancel 3:40 PM
INC	PM			
OUT	8:45 AM		Mr. Stephen W. Kotchco Connecticut Radio Network Hamden, Connecticut 203-288-2761	PRESUS Cancel 9:10 AM
INC	PM			
OUT	10:20 AM		Mr. John E. Bush Mr. Salam's Residence Miami, Florida 305-775-4221	Tlkd with Mr. Farish 10:24 AM via Cellular Phone
INC	PM			
OUT	10:43 AM		Governor Lorton Childs Office, Tallahassee, Florida 904-488-4801	PRESUS Cancel 10:46 AM
INC	PM			
OUT	10:43 AM		Mr. John E. Bush Mr. Salam's Residence Miami, Florida 305-775-4221	Busy-keep trying 10:47 AM
INC	PM			
OUT	10:55 AM	11:05	Governor Lorton Childs Office, Tallahassee, Florida 904-488-4661	Tlkd-ok 11:00 AM
INC	PM			

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

August 24, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT	11:17 AM	11:29	Secretsry James A. Baker III Office, Washington, D.C. White House Signal 7-2287	Tlkd-ok 11:18 AM
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		Secretary James A. Baker III Office, Washington, D.C. White House Signal 7-2287	Tlkd-ok 12:40 PM
INC	12:38 PM	12:50		
OUT	AM		Mrs. Barbara P. Bush White House, Washington, D.C. White House Admin x551	Tlkd-ok 5:28 PM via Secure Satellite
INC	5:27 PM	5:29		
OUT	AM		Mr. John E. Bush Residence, Miami, Florida 305-662-5038	PRESUS Cancel 9:29 PM
INC	8:47 PM			
OUT	AM		Mrs. Dorothy Koch Residence, Bethesda, Maryland 301-229-4594	Tlkd-ok 9:40 PM
INC	9:36 PM	9:45		
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
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INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

Washington, D.C.

Newark, New Jersey

Ansonia, Connecticut

LOCATION Opa Locka, Florida

DATE 24 August 1992

TIME	MOVEMENTS
0709	South Grounds
0714	Oval Office
0807	South Grounds
0811	Depart South Grounds via Marine One
0830	Arrive Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland
0835	Depart Andrews Air Force Base via Air Force One
0901	Arrive Newark International Airport
	Newark, New Jersey
0918	Depart Newark International Airport via Motorcade
0936	Arrive Lincoln Technical Institute
	Union, New Jersey
1134	Depart Lincoln Technical Institute via Marine One
1218	Arrive Ansonia Landing Zone, Ansonia, Connecticut
1225	Depart Ansonia Landing via Motorcade
1240	Arrive Rowland Residence
1315	Depart Rowland Residence via Motorcade
1355	Arrive Warsaw Park
1430	Depart Warsaw Park via Motorcade
1440	Arrive Nolan Field
1450	Depart Nolan Field via Marine One
1525	Arrive Newark International Airport
	Newark, New Jersey
1543	Depart Newark International Airport via Air Force One
1755	Arrive Opa Locka Airport, Miami, Florida

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

Opa Locka, Florida

Washington, D.C.

LOCATION Washington, D.C.

DATE 24 August 1992

TIME

MOVEMENTS

[illegible]

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 student interns 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.

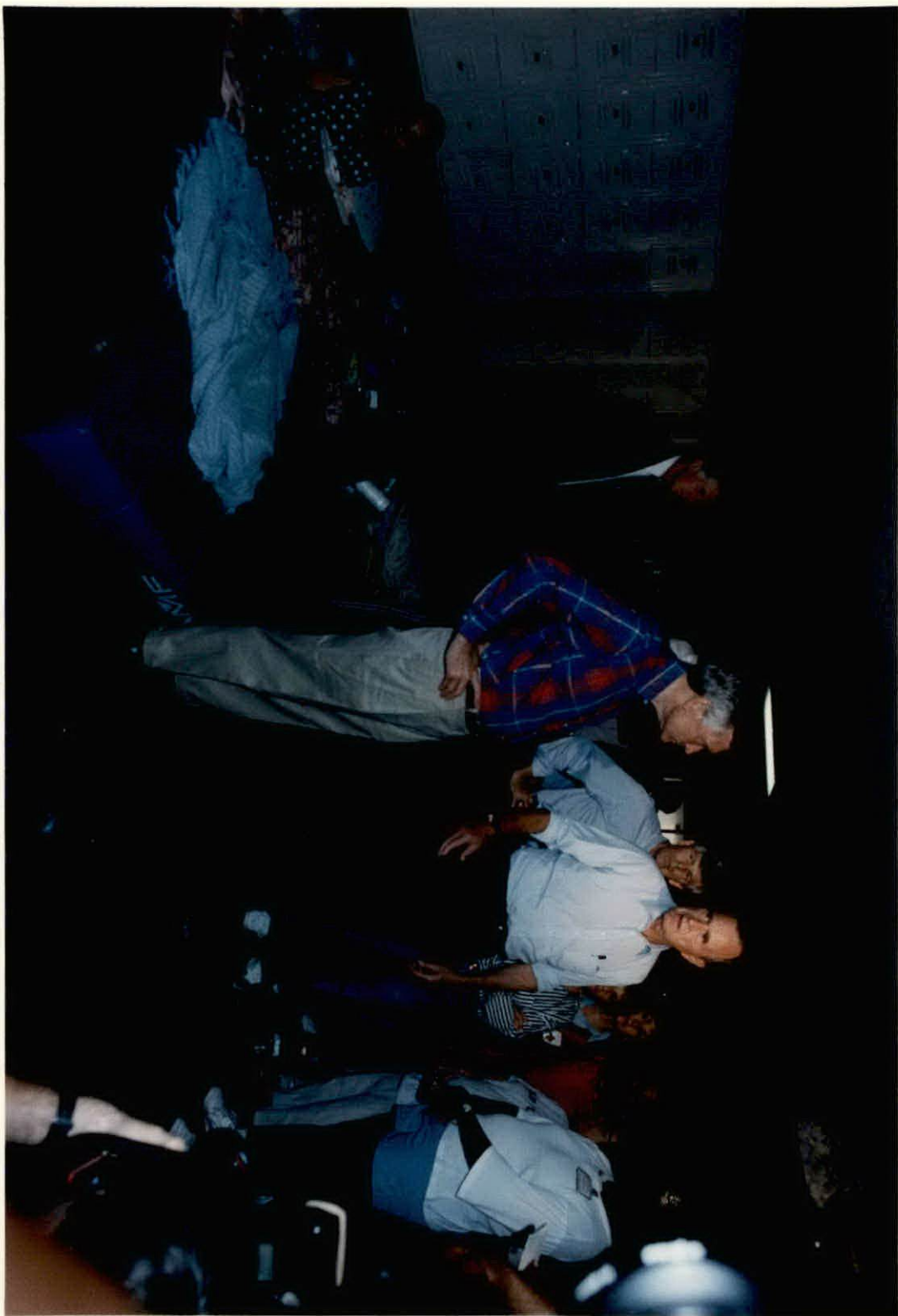
He was given a black nylon jacket with the institute logo, and a cap.

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

Miami



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO 24AUG92 DU P034958 -013 FILE -



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO 24AUG92 JN P034961 -034



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO 2440392 CU P034925 -008



*Chamber of Commerce
Ansonia, Ct.*

-OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO 24AUG92 JN 9034921 -024



THE STATE OF TEXAS, COUNTY OF DALLAS, ss. I, the undersigned, a Notary Public in and for the State of Texas, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original of the same, as the same appears from the records of the County of Dallas, State of Texas.



FEMA
Director
Craig Mack

OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO 24AUG92 DU P034950 -003 —

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

Bush Rejects Criticism of Hard-Hitting Attack

■ **Campaign:** He says Clinton is inclined to 'whine and complain.' Tone suggests President will keep pressure on.

By DOUGLAS JEHL
and DOUGLAS FRANTZ
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—After three days of pummeling Bill Clinton's values and record, President Bush on Sunday scoffed at criticism of the hard-edged tactics as a sign that the Democratic nominee is inclined to "whine and complain."

"The American people don't want that," Bush told reporters at the Illinois State Fair here. He portrayed the Republican attack as "a little, gentle broadside."

The tone of Bush's comments sent a new signal of his determination to keep the pressure on Clinton, despite the concern of some top Republicans that he is risking a political backlash. Only hours earlier, Cabinet member Jack Kemp sounded a warning about continued use of tactics that emphasized the negative and the personal.

After noting pointedly to evangelists Saturday night that the Democrats had not found room to include the word *God* in their platform, Bush insisted Sunday that he has not "begun to fight yet, I haven't."

"Nine months of Bill Clinton hitting me and he gets hit back, and mildly . . . and he starts to whine and complain," Bush said.

Clinton said Sunday that Bush had invoked a "deeply offensive" political ploy in questioning Democrats' commitment to God and he said that Republicans should be ashamed of their "off-the-wall" attack linking his values to those of Woody Allen.

The astringent tone of the GOP

offensive has been the subject of debate since last week's Republican National Convention unleashed a series of attacks on Clinton and on a "culture" that he allegedly represents.

Appearing on a television interview show to defend Bush's new tax plan, Kemp, secretary of Housing and Urban Development, said that he believes the campaign faces a "danger" of alienating important voter groups, particularly working women, if it continues attacks targeting Clinton's wife, Hillary, or

Please see CAMPAIGN, A6

CAMPAIGN: Bush Keeps Pressure On

Continued from A1

suggesting that the Democratic ticket reflects lesser values or is the enemy in a cultural war.

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

He acknowledged that not everyone in the GOP leadership agrees with this assessment, saying of GOP Chairman Richard N. Bond: "I'm sure he's a little bit upset with me." Kemp's concerns were underscored, however, by Sen. John H. Chafee (R-R.I.), who in a separate interview rejected attacks in a convention speech on gays and lesbians by former GOP presidential candidate Patrick J. Buchanan.

"I don't believe in bashing any group, gays or lesbians or whoever," said Chafee on a CNN talk show. "Pat Buchanan's not running for President of the United States. George Bush is."

In another sign of the campaign's determined pugnaciousness, campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter declined to distance the Bush camp from a suggestion by Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) that the Democratic platform embraces the cultural values of filmmaker Allen, who has acknowledged having an affair with the adoptive daughter of his longtime lover, Mia Farrow.

"Newt's rhetoric was Newt's," said Teeter. "I'm not going to get into whether I approve or not."

Teeter also defended Bush's reference to the absence of the word *God* in the Democratic platform, saying that the comment illustrates the difference Democrats and Republicans place on religious values.

After weeks of fretting that Bush had held his fire too long, White House aides were delighted Sunday with the shift in tactics that has transformed the race into a slugfest. They defended Bush's attacks as necessary to expose what Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater described as Clinton's liberal record.

"It's incumbent on us to make sure that he doesn't get away with trying to sound like Bush," said Fitzwater. "The President is energized and up for it all. It's the best week clearly that we've had."

In private conversations, Bush strategists argue that they have little choice but to mount a full-bore assault. With Bush's negative ratings hovering near 50% and nearly four in five voters believing that the nation is on the wrong track, they profess little hope that such an obstacle can be overcome by Election Day.

Instead, they describe their mission as raising enough doubts about Clinton that even voters who feel negatively toward Bush and the course he has charted can be persuaded to vote for his reelection.

Several leading Democrats said Sunday that they are convinced the tactic will backfire.

"Unless I'm wrong about the intelligence level of the American voter, if the Republicans don't stop the insults and the stupidity and start getting on the stage and debating Clinton, get on those issues and start making sense, they are going to get wiped out in this election," said Democratic Gov. Mario M. Cuomo of New York on an NBC-TV news show.

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) accused Bush of turning over the Republican Party to Buchanan and other leaders of the political and religious right. "It's unfortunate to move away from the mainstream in a dramatic and radical way," he charged.

GOP strategist Teeter said that the main focus of the campaign will continue to be to highlight the differences between the candidates on issues, such as the economy.

Bush is calling for an across-the-board tax cut and parallel reductions in government spending, and Clinton is advocating expanded programs to generate jobs and an increase in taxes on the wealthy.

Bush's plan has been criticized for its lack of details and Kemp tried to use his standing as a leading spokesman for conservative economic policy to mobilize support for it. The key to cutting taxes and spending without ballooning the national debt is to create new revenue for government by expanding the economy, Kemp said.

Cuomo played a similar role Sunday in trying to marshal support for Clinton's economic program. He characterized Bush as the candidate whose tax plan would help the wealthy and said that Clinton would invest tax money in roads, bridges and job training that would stimulate jobs.

Jehl reported from Springfield, Ill., and Frantz from Washington.

Clinton Disputes Republicans on Family Values

By DAVE LESHER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

CHAUTAUQUA, N.Y.—Delicately navigating through days of volatile polls that have shown a surge for President Bush, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton sought Sunday to steal the Republican campaign theme of family values as well as to disparage the GOP version of it.

The Democratic strategy actually took two forms during the last of three days on a Northeast bus tour, with candidate Bill Clinton lashing out at his opponents while his wife, Hillary, gave a poignant description of the modern issues facing children and working mothers.

"It's a difficult journey we're on," Hillary Clinton told a crowd of more than 13,000 people in this resort town where a seminar on the American family is under way. "It is hard for both men and women to know how to fully define themselves in this new world."

Mrs. Clinton, who was the target last week of attacks by Republican leaders who questioned her dedication to motherhood while she sought a career, quoted a recent letter by Roman Catholic bishops on the cooperation needed between government and families to support children.

"Our children's future is shaped both by the values of their parents and the policies of our nation," she said. About her own childhood, she said: "As a little girl, my family always told me I was special and they also told me that, you may be a girl, but you can do anything you want."

In his remarks, the Democratic nominee also offered a caring view

Please see CLINTON, A6

CLINTON: Family Issues in Forefront

Continued from A1
of family issues. But he lamented the distortions about the problems caused by the presidential campaign.

"The tone of the family values debate is too polarized for short-term political gain," he said. "We can't just yell at each other across a large divide. . . . Unless we lift all of our people up, we're all going to be dragged down."

But in a stinging attack Sunday, Clinton also added fuel to the sharpest exchanges of the campaign by charging that Republicans have used the issue of family values to distract voters from the poor economy and to improperly impose a moral standard for political inclusion.

"[President] Bush is promoting an atmosphere of intolerance in this country," Clinton said Sunday morning after leaving a church service in Erie, Pa. "He has basically said: Unless you believe in the Republican platform, you don't believe in God and you're not really an American. . . ."

"The implications he has made that Democrats are somehow Godless are deeply offensive to me, to Sen. [Al] Gore, and all of us who cherish our religious traditions but also respect America's tradition of religious diversity."

Several recent polls have shown the Democrats holding a lead over Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle in the high single digits, well under their lead before the Republican National Convention. Clinton strategists now are trying to gauge which way the surveys are heading and how best to influence their course.

If the Republicans' surge is transitory, as some believe, the Democrats could inhibit a natural return to their previous double-digit lead by appearing too negative. But if there is a trend toward the GOP, Democrats want to check it fast.

The Democratic attack had cooled on Saturday. But Sunday, it erupted again when the Arkansas governor responded to Georgia Rep. Newt Gingrich's comment Saturday that the sex scandal of film director Woody Allen is consistent with policies in the Democratic platform.

"That remark by Gingrich was off the wall and out of line and, you know, he just has no shame," Clinton said.

While the White House sought to distance itself from low-ball politics, Clinton insisted that Bush should be held personally responsible. Gingrich "was speaking for him [Bush] and he picked him to speak," Clinton said.

Clinton had complained Friday that Republicans have distorted his proposals for economic recovery. And he has continued to charge that Bush and assorted surrogates have focused their at-



Agence France-Presse

Bill Clinton gives wife Hillary a hug after her speech at Chautauqua.

tention on social issues like family values to distract voters from their poor record on the economy.

"They're concerned because we have transformed our party," Clinton said. "It's now a pro-economic growth, pro-environment, pro-family party. And since they can't defend their record or their proposals, they have to hit us with an off-the-wall attack."

The Democrat's bus trip has been blessed with large and enthusiastic crowds throughout its three days, which ended Sunday evening in Buffalo, N.Y.

A crowd of nearly 1,000 people waited until after midnight at a highway rest stop for a brief glimpse of Clinton, who was more than three hours late. The nearest town was miles away—and it is solidly Republican.

While political campaigns are adept at manufacturing positive images for their candidates, this one clearly was not faked.

"Nobody has done this in years—go out to the rural areas. We had to come and see it," said Bob Cunningham, a 78-year-old retired dairy farmer with a shock of black hair and a sense of humor.

"She is a good-looking gal, isn't she?" Cunningham said when Sen. Al Gore's wife, Mary Elizabeth (Tipper), stepped from the bus. "My wife says if I go blind, I might as well die."

One hour later on the bus tour, another 5,000 people were waiting outside the candidates' hotel. Clinton and Gore didn't finish shaking hands until after 2 a.m.

"I know why you're here," Clinton said. "You want your country back."

The Great Lakes bus trip began in Cleveland Friday, hoping to focus attention back to the Democratic ticket after four days of Republican news from the GOP convention in Houston.

The Clinton entourage traveled through Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. Sharp union-management conflicts have translated into strong Republican-Democrat competitions in both Ohio and Pennsylvania. Ohio is the only major state to have had a Republican-controlled House delegation most of the last 40 years, yet it has not elected a GOP senator since the early 1970s.

Pennsylvania has cast a majority for the winning presidential candidate in all but one election since 1960.

Along with New York, where the campaign bus tour ended in a Democratic enclave in a Republican upstate area, the candidates reached voters in states representing more than 77 electoral votes, nearly a third of those needed to win.

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

Democrats Wary of Blacks' Plan to Register Voters

By SAM FULWOOD III
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The Democratic presidential campaign is unlikely to embrace a \$6-million voter registration drive aimed at "maximizing black voter turnout" in 12 Southern states that was presented to the campaign by three black congressmen with close ties to Bill Clinton.

The congressmen—Democrats Mike Espy of Mississippi, John Lewis of Georgia and William J. Jefferson of Louisiana—led a delegation of Southern black political leaders to a recent meeting at the Clinton campaign's Little Rock, Ark., headquarters. At that meeting, the legislators urged campaign officials to "develop and fund a separate organization to deal with the black community" as outlined in a 10-page document.

Please see **VOTERS, A6**

VOTERS: Dilemma

Continued from A1

Privately, officials said that the full plan is unlikely to be approved by the campaign's hierarchy because of its massive price tag. Fully instituted, the plan would consume nearly half of the campaign's budget of \$12 million to \$15 million set aside for all voter outreach programs.

But campaign officials have been reluctant to spike the plan because that could be interpreted as a rebuff of an offer from three of Clinton's most vocal and active black supporters.

In fact, the unsolicited plan presents the campaign with a nettlesome dilemma that has prompted intense internal staff debate, officials said. Advocates for the proposal argue that Clinton cannot afford to offend black voters, a traditionally valuable and supportive voting bloc for Democratic presidential candidates. On the other hand, embracing the plan risks a negative reaction from conservative and suburban white voters, who might see the move as a concession to black political leaders.

Complicating the matter, the campaign is dealing with the issue as it grapples with attacks by the Bush campaign at its convention and in its aftermath. The Democrats' once-overwhelming lead in public opinion polls has been narrowed substantially.

For the moment, Clinton officials have been reluctant to spike the plan or to incorporate any of its features into their campaign strategy, saying that they have not made a decision about how to deal with the proposal.

"It's going to be another three or four weeks before we'll make a determination," said Carol Willis, a senior adviser to the Clinton campaign. "We're looking at it, and we're looking at a couple of other plans that would do the same thing."

But by delaying, the campaign effectively kills the plan because many of its provisions require timely action.

"Begin a voter registration drive now," the congressmen's report lists among its most important action items.

At another point, it states: "To maximize black voter turnout on November 3rd, we must begin now to create a mind set as to the urgency/necessity/absolute must of Bill Clinton's election as President."

The report was written for the legislators by Bernard Rochon, a New Orleans political consultant. Rochon could not be reached for comment and did not return several calls.

In his report, Rochon urges the Clinton campaign to create a new network of state, county, city, ward, precinct and block coordinators who would attempt to generate excitement in black communities, thus encouraging large

numbers of blacks to vote.

Additionally the plan calls for blacks to solicit support from high school teachers and college campus leaders to encourage black students to vote for the ticket of Clinton and his running mate, Sen. Al Gore of Tennessee. "We should target high schools and colleges/universities," Rochon wrote. "We can realize big numbers fast in these two areas."

The plan also proposed a budget that included expenditures of \$1.9 million for direct mail, \$390,000 in administrative costs and \$476,000 for stipends to a "field staff" of state, county, city and ward coordinators. Additionally, the plan proposed to spend \$20,000 on radio advertising in each of the 12 targeted states.

The states targeted in the proposal are Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Willis said that the plan is similar to the campaign's existing voter outreach efforts but noted that it contains suggestions that differ or could be blended into the campaign's ongoing strategy.

"We have a plan [to stimulate black voter turnout] for Bill Clinton and it runs close to this plan," he said. "But we haven't implemented it yet. There's plenty of time for us to do that."

Willis also praised the congressmen for offering ideas on how the campaign might reach black voters, saying that it shows that black leaders "are excited and willing to work" in the black community for the Clinton-Gore ticket.

Espy, Lewis and Jefferson were among the earliest and most outspoken black elected officials to support the Arkansas governor in his presidential campaign and each has accompanied Clinton into black communities. In return, Clinton and his campaign advisers often cited Espy, Lewis and Jefferson as a part of the campaign's "kitchen cabinet" of black advisers.

The voter registration proposal grew out of private discussions among Clinton and the three congressmen and other black elected officials, including members of the Congressional Black Caucus, Jefferson said.

He said that the three congressmen took it upon themselves to take the initiative to hire a political consultant and devise a strategy for Clinton to guarantee that black voters turn out for him on election day.

Redistricting has helped create 12 new congressional districts in the South that are considered likely to send new black legislators to Congress next year. Many of the candidates for the new majority-black districts were among the officials that joined the congressmen in their Little Rock meeting with Clinton campaign officials.

Political observers, such as Sonia Jarvis of the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, predict that black voter turnout is unlikely to be high in November without an intensive registration effort.



CAMPAIGN '92

Quayle Courts 'Reagan Demos'

■ **Republicans:** Planners hope to capture Florida by focusing on onetime Democrats who voted for the GOP in 1980 and '84.

By PAUL RICHTER and MIKE CLARY
SPECIAL TO THE TIMES

LEEESBURG, Fla.—Vice President Dan Quayle on Sunday led a bus caravan through central Florida in search of the "Reagan Democrats" that the Republican campaign believes it needs to win this key state in November.

Sounding his well-tested themes of traditional values, small government and low taxes, the entourage of Quayle and his wife, Marilyn, rumbled through Lakeland, Claremont, Leesburg and Ocala.

"Florida is key for us, and this is somewhat of a swing area," Quayle told reporters. "This is the heartland of the Reagan Democrats. . . . They've got to come home and stay home [with the Republican ticket] in 1992."

In registration, Democrats outnumber Republicans by 12% in Florida. But Republican strategists believe they may be able to capture the state by focusing on appeals to onetime Democrats who began voting Republican with Ronald Reagan.

They believe that central Florida, with a thick concentration of Southern Democrats and retired Northerners, offers particularly rich pickings. In two of the four counties visited Sunday, Democrats hold a 10% registration plurality. In the two others, registration is about even.

Quayle, appearing cheered by his party's post-convention "bounce" in the polls, told an audience of several thousand in Leesburg that the two presidential candidates are not the same.

President Bush and Bill Clinton "are miles apart on the important issues of the day," Quayle said. "You don't create jobs by raising taxes. . . . Furthermore, you don't strengthen families by raising taxes."

But lowering taxes to spur initiative and "having safe neighborhoods and safe streets strengthens the family," Quayle said.

The audiences were receptive, prosperous and virtually all white, fitting the profile of the crowds the vice president has addressed in recent weeks. Nonetheless, Quayle's appearances drew small knots of protesters.

Quayle was welcomed to Lakeland by a small group of supporters including Jim Bull, who said he moved to nearby Brandon six years ago after selling his house in Arkansas at a \$6,000 loss. Bull held a sign that read: "I know how Clinton is—I lived in Arkansas."

"Tell the whole world," Quayle told Bull as he shook his hand.

Quayle's visit to the Lakeland Baptist Church was interrupted by an AIDS protester identified as Josie Parker of the group ACT UP in Tampa.

"I want to thank you for 150,000 AIDS deaths," said the protester, who jumped up while Quayle was speaking. "I'm dying of AIDS. . . . God loves me. Jesus loves me. I know this."

Quayle was applauded when he replied: "We spend more per capita on AIDS than on cancer, heart disease and other life-threatening diseases."

Along with Parker, two other ACT UP members were arrested for disobeying a police officer.

At the Leesburg rally, which brought out several thousand people in a town of 15,000, a knot of protesters chanted "No second term!" In response, some of Quayle's fans chanted: "Four more years!"

The protesters held up signs that said, "We Love Hillary" "NOW," and "Potato." At a spirited rally in Ocala's central square, a man lofted a sign that said, with apparent irony: "We hate who you hate."

Herb Dillman, a 72-year-old retired printing shop owner, was among those in the crowd at Leesburg. He said that he strongly agrees with the Republican ticket's arguments that the Republicans have superior morality and leadership abilities.

As the caravan—led by a bus nicknamed Asphalt II—moved from town to town through 90-degree heat, Quayle at times stopped to speak briefly to waiting groups of party faithful assembled by local GOP organizations.

Dottie and Bernie Rupp were having a pancake breakfast at a Perkins Family Restaurant in Davenport near Interstate 4, when the Quayles strolled in and sat down at their table.

After 10 minutes of conversation—and a jam of reporters and photographers that caused gridlock in the kitchen—Bernie Rupp, 52, said: "I voted for Bush four years ago but I was thinking of myself as independent this year. But this has helped. I liked what he [Quayle] said about health care. I'm leaning their way now."

Richter is a Times staff writer and Clary a special correspondent.

Mideast Peace Negotiators Feel Baker's Absence

■ **Diplomacy:** A sense of urgency precedes new round of talks. It's compounded by U.S., Israeli and Arab political calculations.

By MICHAEL ROSS
and MARK FINEMAN
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—If the path to peace in the Middle East could be plotted on a road map, then former Secretary of State James A. Baker III might be compared to the motorist who, stopping for directions at a remote farmhouse, is told: "You can't get there from here."

Now, just when it appeared that the goal of an Arab-Israeli peace settlement might finally be in sight, Baker and his top Mideast man, Dennis Ross, have been diverted to the White House to take charge of President Bush's struggling reelection campaign.

Although the State Department stresses that Baker will still be available to offer advice, his departure, compounded by the manifold uncertainties of a closely fought election campaign, weighs heavily on the minds of the negotiators convening in Washington today for what could be a pivotal round of Middle East peace diplomacy.

After more than 40 years of conflict and stalemate, everyone "is suddenly in such a rush to make peace," said one Israeli diplomat.

Three new sets of political calculations—Israeli, Arab and American—have contributed to the sense of urgency driving the new monthlong round of talks being held at the State Department in an effort to negotiate a formula for Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Having put an end to 15 years of hard-line Likud Party rule with a pledge to make peace with the Palestinians, the new Labor-led Israeli government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is eager to cement its slim electoral majority in the Knesset (Parliament) by demonstrating progress early and quickly in the talks.

As confidence-building measures on the eve of the talks, Rabin announced several concessions to the Palestinians, including the early release of 800 Palestinians from prison. Other measures will include loosening restrictions on Palestinians entering Israel and reopening Palestinian homes and streets sealed by the army.

A statement from Rabin's office after Sunday's weekly Cabinet meeting said that the steps were being taken "to improve the atmosphere among the Arab population in the West Bank and Gaza Strip."

Israeli delegation leader Elyakim Rubenstein affirmed upon his arrival in Washington on Sunday that "it's a time of opportunity . . . [and] we desire to move ahead quickly." Confirming that Rubenstein is bringing "several new proposals" to the table, another Israeli official said that Rabin hopes to have the broad outlines of an autonomy agreement laid out by December—in time to organize elections for a Palestinian administrative council by next spring.

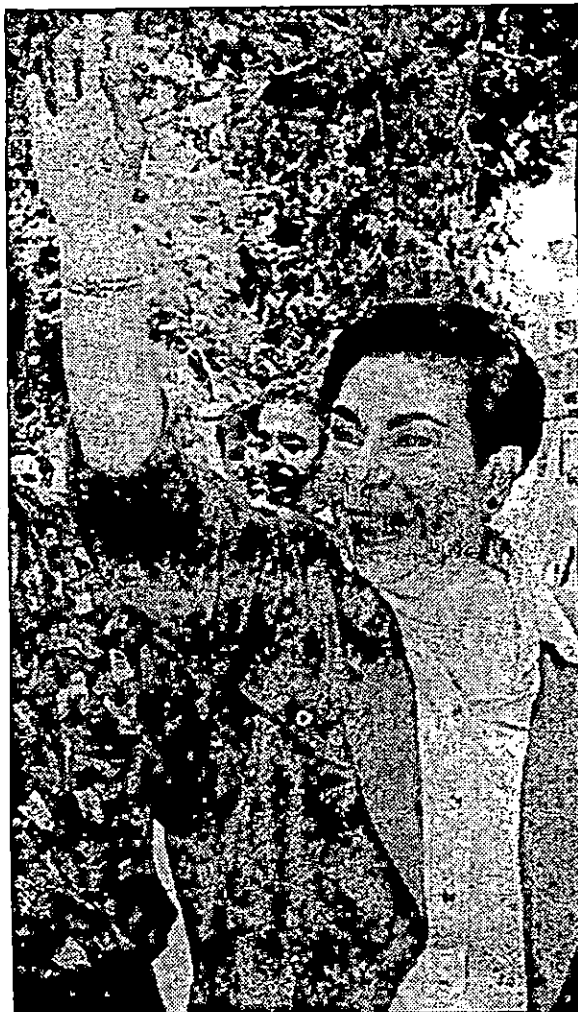
Asserting that the "historic window of opportunity" that currently exists may not remain open for long, the official added that the Palestinians would be making a "tragic mistake" if they failed to accept Rabin's offer to negotiate an "authentic" autonomy agreement.

While they suspect that this take-it-or-leave-it tone is pre-negotiation posturing on Israel's part, the Palestinians also have cause to keep at least one nervous eye fixed on the clock, according to sources close to their delegation. By the end of this current round of talks, the negotiations that began in Madrid will be one year old, and the patience of the Palestinians "in the occupied territories can be expected to wear thin if there is no visible progress by then," one Arab official said.

With Rabin's election, the sudden reflowering of the U.S.-Israeli relationship—evidenced by Bush's decision to approve \$10 billion in long-delayed loan guarantees to Israel—also has the Palestinians worried that the Bush Administration will show less sympathy toward their side than it has in the past, other Arab officials acknowledged.

The possibility that Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton may unseat Bush in November also is the cause of some angst in Palestinian ranks because of the even more solidly pro-Israeli position he has taken over the past few months.

For its part, the Bush Administration clearly hopes to quicken the momentum of the talks—not only because of the danger that things could begin to drift apart in Baker's



Associated Press

Hanan Ashrawi of the Palestinian delegation waves as she prepares to leave for talks in Washington.

absence but because of the boost that a peace agreement before Election Day could give to Bush's campaign. Originally scheduled to be held in Rome, the current round of talks was moved to Washington at Bush's request, Israeli sources confirmed.

But despite the pressures felt by all sides to reach an agreement on Palestinian autonomy, the obstacles remain high.

A senior Israeli official said Rubenstein was bringing "detailed" proposals for the election of an administrative council that would run Palestinian municipal affairs in the West Bank and Gaza Strip during a five-year interim period of self-rule. The council would have no say over defense or foreign policy matters but could conceivably exercise joint administrative control with Israel over land and water use in the territories—a degree of domestic power-sharing that the Likud government of former Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir refused to even contemplate.

The Palestinian negotiators will insist on something broader than that, however. While the Israelis envision a 15- to 20-member administrative council, the Palestinians want to form a much larger national assembly that would have legislative, as well as administrative, functions in the West Bank.

But that much autonomy, an Israeli official made clear, is too much for Israel. "We can talk about joint administration of water and land, but we are not going to talk about anything that would imply or indicate the possibility of an eventual Palestinian state," the official said. "If the Palestinians understand this, then we can be generous. . . . But if they insist on a legislative body, then it's a no-go."

While the Israeli negotiators headed to Washington, 40 members of the Palestinian delegation crossed the Allenby Bridge from the Israeli-occupied West Bank and boarded a waiting charter flight in Jordan after U.S. officials helped broker resolution of a dispute over bridge-crossing procedures. The delegation had delayed its journey when Israeli border guards Friday challenged the travel documents of several team members.

Delegation spokeswoman Hanan Ashrawi said that the Palestinian team had debated until the early morning hours Sunday whether to boycott the talks altogether. She said it finally agreed to attend after it won what she called significant concessions from the Israelis, whose exit procedures have delayed the delegation in the past.

"I think our people went to Washington with a lot of bitterness in their hearts and minds that might reflect on the peace talks themselves," said Elias Freij, the Palestinian mayor of Bethlehem and a member of the official negotiating team. "For us, this whole incident is like a red light."

Ross reported from Washington and Fineman from Jerusalem.

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

U.N. Envoys Hopeful on Libya Suspects

■ **Mideast:** Arab neighbors indicate readiness to step up pressure if Kadafi resists handing over pair accused in Lockerbie bombing.

By KIM MURPHY
TIMES STAFF WRITER

TUNIS, Tunisia—Libya's Arab neighbors have indicated that they would be prepared to step up the pressure on Libyan leader Moammar Kadafi to hand over suspects accused in a fatal airline bombing, but a U.N. mission to Libya expressed hope that the crisis could be resolved short of a full trade embargo or other new sanctions.

"We are optimistic that the situation can be resolved soon," Tunisian Foreign Minister Habib Ben Yahia said in an interview after meeting with U.N. envoy Vladimir Petrovsky.

"Petrovsky's mission is to find a mechanism to implement the United Nations resolutions, and we hope through this shuttle diplomacy and efforts through the Arab League and other countries we'll find this mechanism soon," Ben Yahia said. "What he told us is that time is of the essence."

Over the weekend, Petrovsky, a special envoy from U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, concluded a five-day mission to Tripoli to discuss Libya's noncompliance with U.N. resolutions requiring the surrender for trial of two suspects in the fatal 1988 bombing of a Pan Am airliner over Lockerbie, Scotland. The Libyan leader must also cooperate in the investigation of the bombing of a French airliner over Africa a year earlier.

"I gave Col. Kadafi the letter from Mr. Boutros-Ghali, and I explained to him that the factor of time was not in favor of Libya, which ought to commit itself immediately to the application of Resolution 748 of the Security Council," Petrovsky told reporters in Tunis after leaving Libya.

"It is time to take concrete measures. The time for discussions is past. And when we talk about concrete measures, we're talking about the application of the resolutions in all their aspects and without conditions," he said.

Petrovsky said the Security Council could meet at any time to escalate the current sanctions against Libya. Since April 15, the sanctions have prevented all international flights to and from Libya, banned military assistance and called on nations around the world to reduce the level of their diplomatic relations with the North African nation accused of supporting international terrorism.

The U.N. envoy's legal assistant, Winston Tubman, added that "the message was well understood. We had the impression that Libya will do everything in its power to fully and effectively conform with the resolutions. That's what we were told, and that's the message that Mr. Petrovsky will give to Mr. Boutros-Ghali upon his return to New York."

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak returned without concrete results from a last-minute meeting with the Libyan leader before the initial Aug. 13 deadline for complying with the resolutions. The Egyptians and Arab League officials had hoped to strike a deal in which Libya would turn over the suspects for trial in Scotland, scene of the Pan Am attack, with legal protections such as the presence of courtroom observers from neutral countries.

But the official press delegation that accompanied Mubarak had a glum report on the outcome, saying that Kadafi appeared inclined to wait out the situation, hoping to gain Britain's goodwill with disclosures of Irish Republican Army links in the Middle East and counting on difficulties within the Security Council for any agreement on escalated sanctions such as an embargo on oil trade.

Libya also appeared to believe that its own confrontation with the United Nations would be eclipsed for some time to come by the world body's more pressing concerns in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Somalia, Egyptian newspaper editors said.

WORLD

Iraq Zone Could Start Today, White House Says

■ Persian Gulf: Bush will announce its launch in a news conference designed to 'explain it to the American people.'

By DOUGLAS JEHL
TIMES STAFF WRITER

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—As President Bush wound up a post-convention campaign trip, the White House signaled Sunday that he will soon turn his sights back to Iraq, where U.S. and allied forces are braced to impose new strictures that could lead to a military clash.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said that Bush could set in motion as early as today action by the United States, Britain and France to establish a "no-fly" zone in southern Iraq prohibiting operations by Iraqi aircraft.

The United Nations-authorized move, which has been expected, has been justified by the Administration as an effort to protect Shiite insurgents in the region from repression by Iraqi forces.

But it also marks a sharp challenge to Baghdad by further limiting the governing regime's authority even within Iraqi borders. Allied warplanes are to be authorized to shoot down any Iraqi aircraft that violate the prohibition, creating what could serve as a flash point for military tensions.

Iraq's army newspaper on Sunday warned the West against ordering the air patrols and said "invaders" would find a watery grave in the marshes below, the Associated Press reported.

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein urged Iraqis to be "aware of their national and patriotic responsibilities" and protect the nation against those who wish "evil for the

country," said the official Iraqi News Agency, monitored in Cyprus.

Al Qaddissiya, Iraq's Defense Ministry daily, described Bush as a "cursed criminal," British Prime Minister John Major as "worthless" and French President Francois Mitterrand as "the mean old man."

"The aggressors have no one but themselves to blame," the newspaper said. "We will tear them to pieces . . . and the marshes will be the graveyards to the invaders."

With the three nations having agreed over the weekend to final details of the joint operation, Fitzwater said that Bush will announce its launch in a news conference designed to "explain it to the American people."

Bush has insisted repeatedly that he would not allow political considerations to motivate his conduct of foreign policy. But at minimum, the intensification of military pressure on Iraq will allow the President to emphasize a commander in chief's role that polls have shown to carry powerful political weight.

A Washington Post poll conducted over the weekend showed that 69% of American voters agreed that Bush could be trusted in a crisis. By contrast, only 44% of them voiced the same confidence in Clinton—a gap that Bush and his campaign sought once again Sunday to exploit.

Speaking to a campaign rally at the Illinois State Fair, Bush reminded several thousand cheering supporters gathered in a livestock exhibition hall that he had al-

ready made "the toughest decision that a President can make" when he ordered U.S. forces into Iraq.

As ceiling fans whirled high overhead in the steamy coliseum, Bush portrayed Democrat Bill Clinton by contrast as a "rubber-stamp President that will rubber-stamp this spendthrift Congress."

"So there," he added. "We're not going to let that nightmare happen."

Bush made no mention of the impending Iraq crackdown during his 13-minute campaign-style address or during a meeting with farm families that preceded it. But Fitzwater said that Bush intends this week to offer "a public explanation of the action that the allies have taken and why."

The President had seemed braced a week ago to use the impending confrontation with Iraq as a backdrop to the Republican Convention. But the Administration appeared to slow the timetable of its pressure campaign after news accounts quoted U.S. officials who suggested that the operation might be politically motivated.

Even while escalating pressure against Hussein, however, Bush is expected to spend most of the week on the campaign trail in an effort to maintain the momentum he gathered from last week's convention.

A boost to that bid is expected to come from the 1992 debut of James A. Baker III and a new team of advisers who on Sunday formally took charge of White House operations to help coordinate a final pre-election blitz.

Baker, who resigned his post as secretary of state to return to Bush's side, was formally sworn into office Sunday afternoon as White House chief of staff by an office administrator.

And in a frenzy of office-moving, Baker

and his closest aides shifted their operations from the seventh floor of the State Department to the White House West Wing suites that had been occupied by outgoing Chief of Staff Samuel K. Skinner and his lieutenants.

In consolidating his hold on the White House and the Bush campaign, Baker is expected to take charge of the daily early-morning meetings between senior staff members from the two operations.

But Fitzwater stressed that Baker, whose appointment was used as a signal of Bush's commitment to a domestic agenda, also will devote a considerable amount of his time to developing "issues and policies" for a second Bush term.

Among the foreign policy advisers now at the head of the White House operation are Robert B. Zoellick, who replaces W. Henson Moore as deputy chief of staff; Margaret Tutwiler, who becomes director of communications; Dennis Ross, who as assistant to the president for policy-planning supplants Clayton K. Yeutter as Bush's top domestic adviser, and Janet Mullins, who takes charge of White House political operations.

The extent of the White House shake-up has stirred apprehension at the Bush campaign headquarters several blocks away that their operation might become the next target of a Baker-led putsch.

The former secretary of state already has turned to former aides like Mitchell Daniels, an Indiana executive, whom he enlisted to oversee Bush campaign advertising efforts. Other longtime Baker loyalists such as James Cicconi, the campaign's issues director, are expected to play elevated roles.

Comment

ON THE NATION

Bush Bungles Chance to Get Reagan Dems

BY JOHN P. SEARS

HOUSTON
A Republican Convention is a conclave of people who distrust government, experts, social planners, college professors, the press and anyone else who would presume to tell them what to do. They trust the legal system, religion and their notion of the family to curb or punish any excesses that such unbridled freedom might result in.

The reason abortion is such a problem for Republicans is that individual freedom is placed in conflict with Republican-style religion—the right to an abortion itself is deemed unacceptable by those charged with safeguarding us from excess. So far, it is an inconsistency we have simply decided to live with.

I am not always comfortable with the inconsistencies which such use of "values" to defeat "freedom" causes in my party. But I agree that somebody must try to curb our excesses, and I am totally unwilling to accept the Democratic view that the U.S. government should be trusted with this right.

Anyway, last week, I heard Patrick J. Buchanan tell his supporters to get back in line and save the country from Bill Clinton. I heard Ronald Reagan make a nostalgic plea to the Reagan Democrats to come home. I listened to Jack F. Kemp tell the progressive conservatives to do likewise, and—although none of these speakers spoke for me—by midweek I figured I should come home, too. It was a good feeling because I see nothing believable in Clinton and I don't believe in the Democratic Party.

I even found myself looking forward with unexpected anticipation to President George Bush's acceptance

'The only thing I did hear was a small boy begging for trust when it was well remembered that he had broken his pledges before.'

speech. It seemed everything bad that needed to be said about Clinton had been said and there were believable hints that the President would finally share his vision of the future. I was convinced that now, with the troops together and ready to march, Bush would tell us where he wished to take the country and what we could do to help him get there.

I guess I had taken to heart the statements made by others during the week that "only a good man can be a good President" and expected to see Bush be a "good man." I think a "good man" is one who takes a little less credit than he may deserve, has real empathy for people with problems, is not quick to blame others if he may be at fault himself and, if he happens to be President of the United States, has some considerable respect for the office he holds.

Judging by Bush's performance on Thursday, I would have to conclude that his concept of a "good man" is someone who wanders around saying "Let me tell you again what I've done for this family," "It's not my fault" and "If you'd only done as I said, you wouldn't have that problem, so don't ask me about it now."

I'm sure he doesn't get away with that at home—obviously, Barbara Bush wouldn't allow it—so I don't know why he would expect that a majority of the American people would feel compelled to put up with it.

Bush claimed full credit for ending the Cold War (other U.S. presidents and Mikhail S. Gorbachev deserve at least some credit). He said it was not his fault, but entirely that of the Democratic Congress, that there deficit spending increased during his administration. He declared that if Congress had only passed his programs, there now would be plenty of jobs. I heard no empathy, no willingness to understand the problems of the people today, no plan as to what we should do next. The only thing I did hear was a small boy begging for trust when it was well remembered that he had broken his pledges before.

As much as I could tell, Bush, who was elected four years ago as the lesser of two evils, now says we should vote for him again because the evil we have is preferable to the evil we will get if we vote for Clinton.

I'm sorry, Mr. Bush; I guess I'm always being critical and I know it's enough for many of my fellow Republicans to simply dine on raw meat. But I could hear many of the Reagan Democrats walking out the door the other night. They don't think you know the difference between appearing tough and being strong. In fact, a lot of them think that you're just mean.

John P. Sears, a political analyst, served as Ronald Reagan's campaign manager in 1976 and 1980.

Finally Israel Looks Serious—Anyone Else?

Perhaps Mideast talks will now get down to real business

The Middle East peace talks are scheduled to resume in Washington this week as Arab and Israeli negotiators meet for the sixth time since they first began warily circling each other last October. This time, though, look for some notable differences. For one thing the talks are expected to run for four weeks, a prelude, or so sponsoring American officials hope, to making the negotiations more or less continuous and truly result-oriented. For another, even though the basic game remains the same, some of the rules have been significantly revised.

Israel's national elections two months ago produced a new government in Jerusalem whose approach to trying to end the long and enormously costly conflict between Israelis and their neighbors differs dramatically from its predecessor's. The hard-line government presided over by Yitzhak Shamir, as the former prime minister admitted in an interview after his defeat, in fact sought to prolong the talks indefinitely while proceeding at full speed to expand Israeli settlement in the disputed West Bank. This was wholly in keeping with the Likud government's consistent view that the West Bank was Israel's by right and that not a single inch of it would be yielded in any peace agreement.

THE CONTRAST: The new government, under Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, has frozen nearly all new settlement activity, signaled its readiness to make territorial compromises as part of the process of reaching peace agreements and embraced the outline for a political accommodation with the Palestinians that was in fact arrived at in the Camp David accords nearly 14 years

ago. To that end, it plans to offer new proposals for interim Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. That will likely involve a proposal for elections next spring to a self-governing Palestinian administrative council. Additionally, Israel indicates it's also ready to consider joint Israeli-Palestinian control over land and water in the disputed territory. Both are major departures from the stated policy of the Shamir government.



Yitzhak Rabin: New proposals.

THE OBJECTION:

The Arab response in advance of the resumed talks is that none of these changes go far enough. The Arabs say that all settlement expansion must be halted—Rabin has left the door open to settlements that serve a "security" need—that the goal of an independent Palestinian state must be recognized, that the strategic Golan Heights, captured from Syria after it went to war against Israel in 1967, must be given back entirely. These are maximum demands. They are not—at this point and in the absence of an Arab readiness to make concessions that address Israel's legitimate security concerns—realistic goals.

But arriving at realistic goals is precisely what negotiations are about. The resumed talks, in the wake of Israel's elections, provide opportunities that the Palestinians, the Jordanians, yes, even the traditionally inflexible Syrians would be unwise to ignore. The biggest difference is this: Under the Rabin government, Israel appears to be entirely serious about wanting to break the impasse and make rapid negotiating progress. Israel, beyond doubt, will still be an extremely tough negotiator. But this time around there's every reason to believe that its aim is not to stall but to succeed.

COLUMN LEFT/
MENACHEM Z. ROSENSAFT

There Can't Be Compromise With Evil

■ Pat Buchanan's influence at the GOP convention is reason enough to vote for Clinton.

On April 13, 1983, then-Vice President George Bush, speaking on the steps of the Capitol in Washington, told a gathering of thousands of survivors of the Nazi death camps that "the Holocaust serves as a universal warning. . . . The Holocaust is no metaphor; it is truth." Unfortunately, he does not seem to understand the significance of that truth.

I am the son of two survivors of Auschwitz. My grandparents, my 5½-year-old brother and most of the members of my family were murdered during the Holocaust. I was born in 1948 in the displaced persons camp of Bergen-Belsen, the site of the Nazi concentration camp of the same name. My cradle stood only a few hundred yards from the mass graves in which Anne Frank and tens of thousands of European Jews lie buried anonymously.

Last Monday, as Patrick J. Buchanan addressed the Republican National Convention, I remembered something else Bush had said on that spring day. "From the whispers of those lost in the Holocaust," he warned, "the world must not repeat the hate; we must remember instead to teach tolerance, to teach respect and dignity for every man, regardless of race, color or creed."

For me, unlike George Bush, the Holocaust is not a historical phenomenon to be used in a speech and then forgotten. As the son of Holocaust survivors, I know that indifference to evil constitutes the greatest danger to civilized society. People who condone bigotry are guilty of it themselves.

By allowing Buchanan to set the tone for the Republican convention and to play a role in his reelection campaign, Bush has given the lie to the lofty sentiments that he expressed in his 1983 speech to the survivors. With Bush's consent, Buchanan used the prime-time platform to spew forth his ideology of divisiveness and to engage in the crudest possible gay-bashing and anti-feminist rhetoric.

Buchanan's message was clear: Hatred is now an acceptable sentiment in the Republican Party, and promoting bigotry has become a legitimate political tool. Whatever else Buchanan may represent, it is not tolerance. Whatever else he may teach, it is not "respect and dignity for every man."

George Bush and the other leaders of the Republican Party do not appear concerned by the fact that Buchanan tried to foment popular anti-Semitism during the months

**'With Bush's consent,
Buchanan used the prime-time
platform to spew forth his
ideology of divisiveness.'**

before the Gulf War by accusing American Jews of "beating the drums" for a war in which American "kids with names like McAllister, Murphy, Gonzalez and Leroy Brown" would die. It also does not seem to matter to them that he has championed the cause of a succession of Nazi war criminals; that he has argued that it would have been impossible for Jews to perish in the gas chambers of the Treblinka death camp; that he once called Adolf Hitler "an individual of great courage, a soldier's soldier . . . a political organizer of the first rank," and that he has referred to a "so-called Holocaust Survivor Syndrome," which he described as involving "group fantasies of martyrdom and heroics."

Eight months ago, I called on the President to repudiate Buchanan. Instead, he and the Republican Party have now embraced and legitimized Buchanan and his views.

Presumably, Bush approves of Buchanan's rhetoric and hopes that it will help him hold onto the White House. He has certainly done nothing to dissociate himself from Buchanan's poison-mongering. On the contrary, the entire country and, indeed, the world watching the convention, could see Bush's surrogates in the Houston Astrodome, including Barbara Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle, applauding enthusiastically during Buchanan's speech.

Sixty years ago, Germany's conservative politicians made a pact with the devil. They agreed to go to bed with Hitler and his Nazi Party, thinking that this would enable them to remain in power. They were convinced that they could control Hitler and that the Nazis were merely a fringe element of the German body politic that posed no real threat. In short order, however, it was the storm troopers and their leaders—the "Hitler Brigade," as it were—who took over.

George Bush must now bear the consequences of having welcomed Buchanan's support. There can be no compromise with evil, with prejudice, with anti-Semitism, with homophobia, with anti-feminism. Buchanan personifies all of these darker sides of the human persona. He represents the very antithesis of decency and tolerance. His ideological influence in the Republican Party, and his prominent place at the convention, should antagonize and alienate every American who rejects bigotry.

Menachem Z. Rosensaft is an attorney in New York.

PERSPECTIVE ON FAMILY

The 'Radical' Clinton Isn't



The GOP distorts Hillary Clinton's view of minors' rights, which is conservative and backed by many courts.

By EDWIN M. YODER JR.

In Houston it sometimes sounded, as Bill Clinton said, as if George Bush were running for First Lady. The President's surrogates, if not Bush himself, have declared open season on Hillary Clinton.

The charges? She has "compared marriage and the family as institutions to slavery and life on an Indian reservation" (Pat Buchanan). She "believes kids should be able to sue their parents, rather than helping with the chores as they were asked to do." (GOP national chairman Rich Bond).

The pillorying of Hillary Clinton for supposedly "radical" views on marriage, families and the rights of children has few peers as an exercise in distortion since Pat Buchanan's boyhood hero, Sen. Joe McCarthy, hung up his spurs nearly 40 years ago. Moreover, the choice of Ms. Clinton as a target by a political party professing to be the champion of "family values" is steeped in irony, for families—and children—have had few if any stouter champions.

But where there is so much smoke, you may well ask, is there no fire? It depends, apparently, on your reading skills. The core of the imagined case against Hillary Clinton derives from two articles, one nearly 20 years old, which Republican orators have obviously mined for ammunition. Either they are functionally illiterate, or they deliberately turned a blind eye to meaning, tone and context.

The most salient of Ms. Clinton's views is that in formal legal contexts—situations in which children's destinies become seriously entwined with the law—the old "presumption of incompetency" should be reversed. Instead of presuming that children are absolutely dependent on parents (or the state) from infancy to the very age of discretion, the law would assume that they might have useful views on their own destiny; and when those views are mature and reliable, the law would take note of them.

Obviously, the weightiness of children's views in this regard would depend on such factors as intelligence and maturity. Only idiots assume that according children the benefit of a formal legal presumption means that they win every time, let alone gain the right to sue their parents to get out of doing the chores. In law, such a presumption—the presumption of innocence in criminal prosecutions is the most familiar example—is always rebuttable; and so this one would be as well.

Far more today than when Hillary Clinton wrote her article, "Children Under the Law," for the Harvard Educational Review (November, 1973) states are presuming the competency of children to speak up in their own interest. But the change has been evolving in law for years. As early as the landmark Gault case (1967), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that key 14th Amendment due-process rights (such as

the right to counsel, though not the right to trial by jury) apply to minors.

But this formal extension of legal safeguards is only part of the story, and not precisely what the current argument is all about. In a time when the nuclear family is thought to be in tension, if not under attack, what is childhood? Is it

a constant condition, or might it evolve as years advance, making some graduated legal standing appropriate? Is a 16-year-old as dependent as a toddler? Is a teen-age girl as dependent as a teen-age boy?

As a model of what she advocates for children, Ms. Clinton cites the partial dissent of the late Justice William O. Douglas in the Supreme Court case of Wisconsin vs. Yoder (1972). The court held that Old Order Amish parents had a First Amendment right to withhold their children from high school. This was a "free exercise" of religion, for the decision assumed that secondary education might irreparably undermine the children's acculturation in the conservative Amish folkways and faith.

Douglas, however, noted that even when there is no showing of religious discord between parents and children,

from 16-hour days of sweated labor. Today, the defense of so absolutist a notion of parental autonomy would strike most of us as quaint, though perhaps Rev. Pat Robertson or some of his followers would still subscribe to it.

As a general matter, Hillary Clinton's views are clearly close to the cutting edge in the field of children's legal rights. But to any close and intellectually honest reader of her writings, it is just as obvious that she is very cautious and conservative. She would confine interference in family authority to situations in which irreparable medical harm might come to a child. Her views are in no sense statist. Indeed, she warns explicitly against excesses of state, no less than parental, authority, and repeatedly says that, as a rule, families, not the state, remain the most dependable guardians of children's welfare.

So, politics aside, what is all the shouting about? Are Hillary Clinton's critics advocating unconditional sovereignty for parents? What about parents whose peculiar religious views prompt them to withhold a life-saving medical procedure from a child? What about the recent Florida case, in which a youngster sought adoption by kindly foster parents rather than be returned to birth

parents who had been abusive and negligent? In a free society, parents cannot be entirely sovereign. Most of us probably agree on that principle, and so, in many cases, have the courts.

Perhaps the valid argument here is a more general one, inevitable in all developing issues of social practice. When and to what degree should new expectations promote the institutionalization of new rights? The assertion of legal rights can certainly be a harmful solvent of social coherence. Yet in today's atomized urban

America, even stable households, even loving parents, function in newfangled ways. It seems obvious that children as a class will be increasingly at risk of neglect and abuse; indeed, reports of ill treatment seem to proliferate. Some modification of the old rules of dependency is not only desirable but desperately needed. The question is how much.

A serious critic of the Hillary Clinton view presumably would argue that the institutionalization of new children's rights, as against parents or the state, can promote social atomization, not heal it. That might sometimes be true. But that was not the argument Republican orators were offering in Houston last week.

The crowning irony of all the Houston hogwash about Hillary Clinton was this: A distinguished advocate of children's legal rights—a woman, wife and mother, who thinks that children should enjoy all the rights of "persons" in the constitutional sense that are consistent with their years and discretion—was belabored by a party whose official platform calls for the extension of precisely the same rights to the unborn. Is it not the astounding proposition of the Houston orators that fetuses, children in embryo, should enjoy higher legal standing than children themselves? This alone makes their attack on Hillary Clinton bizarre as well as dishonest.

Edwin M. Yoder Jr. writes a syndicated column in Washington.



their interests may diverge. Even the children of Amish parents might someday wish to be engineers or astronauts, and their prospects could be diminished, if not foreclosed, by forced withdrawal from high school. Should they not be consulted, in this free land, about their own destiny?

For many formal legal purposes, Ms. Clinton would take the Douglas view as her standard, though with appropriate cautions. This obviously has nothing to do with family disputes over chores or suing one's parents. Sneers of that kind trivialize serious issues that can be of great consequence for young people.

It isn't obvious just how sweeping the implications would be if Ms. Clinton's view of the presumption of children's competency prevailed in American law. In many states, the old rule known as *parens patriae* (the state is the parent) has faltered or fallen, quite apart from what she and other eminent children's rights activists have said about the issue. The times demanded modification. Which suggests that the children's rights movement is one aspect, and a natural and inevitable one, of American society's ongoing legal evolution.

Time was, as Ms. Clinton notes, when children were presumed to be "adults" at the age of 7, which in that primitive day meant that parents enjoyed the absolute right to apprentice them to a trade. Time was, more recently, when "conservative" parents viewed it as a nosy abridgment of "family values" for child labor laws to bar 12-year-olds

POLITICAL BRIEFING

BARBARA VS. HILLARY: The latest Times Poll contained the proverbial good news/bad news situation for Republicans who view First Lady Barbara Bush as their secret weapon in this year's presidential campaign. . . . The poll, conducted late last week, found that Mrs. Bush is far more popular than Democrat Bill Clinton's wife, Hillary, who has become a favorite target of GOP attacks. But most of those voters surveyed said their attitudes about the two women would not figure in their decision on how to vote in the battle between their husbands. . . . Mrs. Bush scored a lopsided rating of 83%, with just 9% saying they view her unfavorably. Mrs. Clinton is less well known and also less well-liked: 39% have a favorable impression of her, 26% view her unfavorably and 35% have no opinion. When it comes to voting, 72% said their feelings about the First Lady would play little role in determining who they support, while 75% said the same in terms of Mrs. Clinton.

□

BUSH'S CHALLENGE: Despite the political boost President Bush received from last week's Republican Convention, key GOP strategists retain a sober sense of the magnitude of the electoral task confronting him. . . . Although heartened by poll results showing Bush closing on Clinton, they fear that dissatisfaction with the nation's direction and the President's performance will remain substantial right through Election Day. And that looms as an enormous obstacle to Bush's reelection, if history is any guide. In the last 40 years, no President without a job approval rating of at least 50% has won reelection. . . . "We are just going to have to break the historical precedents," one campaign adviser said. "Earlier in the year, we thought we had to get Bush's approval back to the mid-50s to win; we've pretty much given up on that one."



President Bush

□

STRATEGY SHIFT: The Bush high command also has given up on the idea of having him compete against Clinton for the role of agent-of-change, a part that does not suit the President's natural inclination to defend the status quo. Instead, look for the President to continue to concentrate in his stump message on stirring fears about the sort of change Clinton and his Democrats would bring about in the White House. . . . Because of the sagging economy, "we'll have a hard sell," conceded Bush pollster Fred Steeper. "The voters' natural instinct would be to make a change because they perceive things to be lousy. We have [until November] to make the case that Clinton will make things worse than they now perceive them to be."

□

HOUSE WATCH: A total of 16 House incumbents have lost primaries so far this year, and Oklahoma voters may add two more to the list Tuesday in their state's primary. . . . Democrat Mike Synar, by far the most liberal of Oklahoma's congressmen, faces a tough race against a former district attorney. In endorsing his foe, one local newspaper recently chided Synar for representing the interests of "Hollywood and New York more than he has his own district." Also in trouble is Republican Mickey Edwards, whose impeccably conservative voting record was tarnished when it was revealed he wrote close to 400 bad checks in the House banking scandal. . . . If both lose, the nation's voters will have tied the modern-day mark of unseating 18 House incumbents in primaries—set in 1946—with several more nominating contests to come.

—From Times staff writers

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

Iraqi 'No-Fly' Zone Said to Be Imminent

Associated Press

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Aug. 23—President Bush is close to announcing that the United States will impose a "no-fly" zone over southern Iraq, warning that Saddam Hussein's warplanes will be shot down if they attempt to attack Shiite Muslims, the White House said today.

Presidential press secretary Martin Fitzwater, asked when a decision

would be disclosed, said that "most of the speculation has been on Tuesday, but it could slip." He said the president would make the announcement personally.

Administration officials have said previously that the United States, France and Britain had decided to impose a no-fly zone but were consulting about details on how it would be enforced and what territory would be covered.

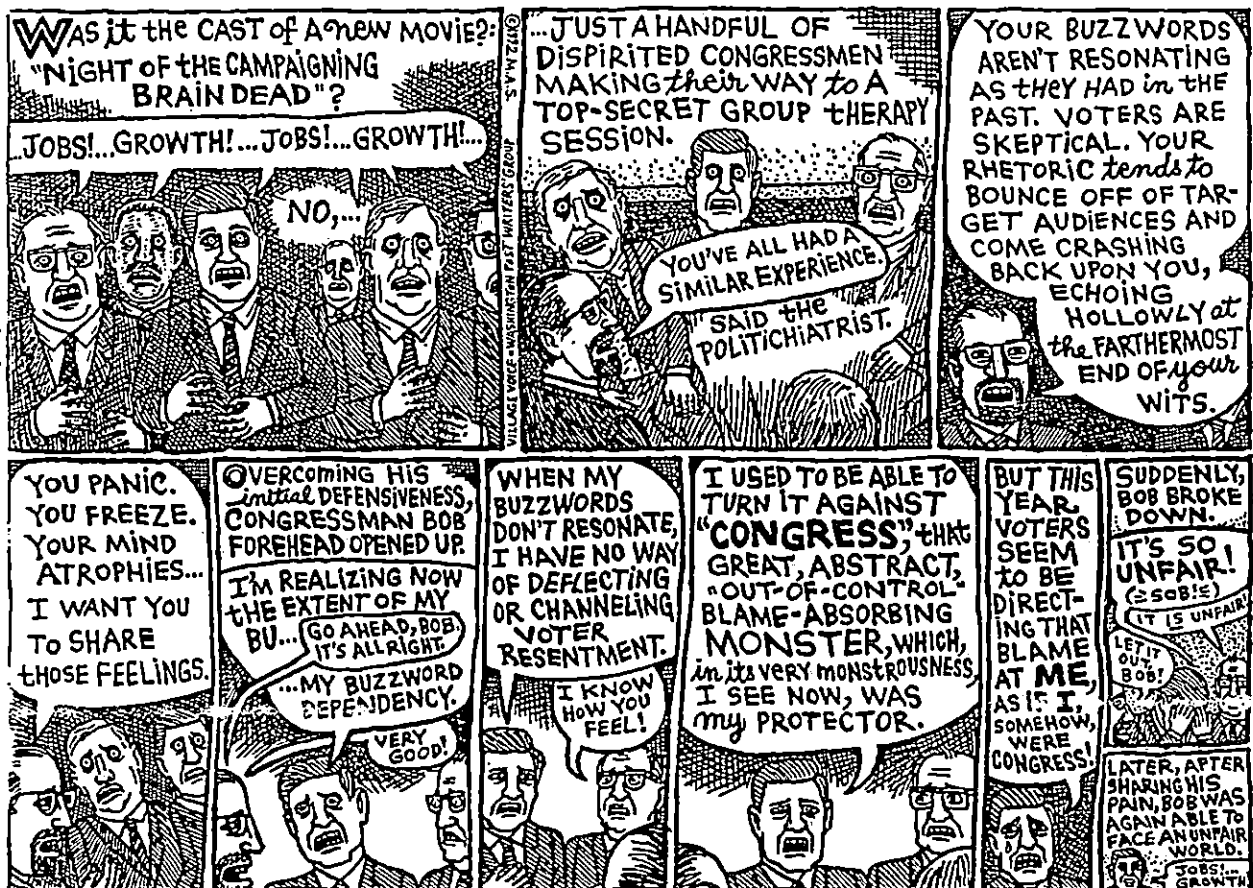
"We have agreed with France and

Britain to a no-fly zone," Fitzwater said. "We've been working on details on the military command. It will require [Iraqi] aircraft to be sure that they're not flying in that area." He said there are sufficient U.S. warplanes in the region to enforce the ban.

"The president wants to explain to the American people what he's doing," Fitzwater said. "We want the American people to know the action we're taking and why."

WASHINGTON.

Mark Alan Stamaty



The Washington Post

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Randall Robinson and Benjamin Hooks

Haitians: Locked Out Because They're Black

In November 1991, a well-known Haitian pastor who actively supported President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was arrested by the military because of a politically charged sermon that he delivered to his congregation. After his arrest, he was viciously beaten and pressured to confess his so-called crimes. He refused.

In the end, the pastor found himself propped upright facing a firing squad with seven other men. The first six were shot dead. He was number seven. The traumatized pastor recognized several of those on the firing line as his old classmates, and began to beg for mercy, reiterating his innocence. The minister was pitied and subsequently released, but was cautioned to leave Haiti immediately. The man secured passage on a boat in which he and many others floated for 18 days without food or water, hoping for safe haven in the United States or anywhere else that would provide refuge. Miraculously, he arrived in the United States safely and was able to tell his story during a recent visit to Capitol Hill.

If the pastor fled Haiti today, he would face not only the dangers of the high seas but also the certainty of interdiction and return to Haiti by the U.S. Coast Guard. With the stroke of a pen on May 24th, President Bush effectively consigned Haitians fleeing their homeland to forcible return—without interviews, access to counsel, opportunity for temporary protected status or any chance to explain the specific circumstances that led to their flight. The action was a callous response to the critical situation in Haiti, where we created a floating Berlin Wall around a nation struggling for democracy.

Current U.S. refugee policy toward Haitians is not only inhumane, but also illegal—breaching both domestic and international law. The recent decision by the 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals granting an injunction to halt the program, challenges the legality of the executive order. The court found that the executive order violated the Refugee Act of 1980, which states that the United States may not repatriate individuals who have a "well-founded fear of persecution." The enforcement of the executive order now denies other Haitian asylum seekers the option of leaving their country, regardless of the persecution they face at home or their intended destination.

The Supreme Court has blocked the injunction pending an appeal later this month, where the administration will be in the difficult position of defending a defenseless policy. Unfortunately, that does not mean that Haitians will win or that justice will be served. For years now, it appears that Haitians have been relegated to the "back of the bus" in U.S. refugee policy. The

Duvalier regimes were notorious long-term abusers of human rights, but from 1983 to 1990 the Immigration and Naturalization Service approved only 2 percent of all Haitian asylum claims. At the same time, we granted refuge to an estimated 76 percent from the former Soviet Union, 65 percent from China and 61 percent from Iran, 34 percent from Vietnam and 17 percent from Cuba. For more than a decade now, the courts have repeatedly allowed our government's discriminatory treatment of Haitian refugees.

Today's Haitian refugees face similarly unfair obstacles. For example, an estimated 38,000 Haitians have sought asylum in the United States in the aftermath of last fall's coup that deposed President Aristide. Despite an inadequate interview process, 30 percent—or more than 11,000 refugees—managed to pass the initial screening. But even these refugees still wage a battle for a fair hearing on their claims. Congress must enact temporary protected status for the refugees already here before it adjourns next month.

The administration's refugee policy does nothing, of course, to address the endemic problem of military rule in Haiti, where political repression has intensified. Within the last month, the military opened fire on protesting students. Several were hit. The army has also beat many students, injuring at least seven badly enough to be hospitalized, and 50 students were arrested. Human rights groups such as Amnesty International have documented countless other violent episodes that include beatings, tortures and executions. The executive order was intended to stop the refugee flow, but the bleak realities that force Haitians to risk their lives in rickety boats continue to make life in Haiti more precarious than a trip across the ocean. Recently, 90 Haitians drowned off the shore of Port-au-Prince in their search for safety abroad. We must remember that the real solution to the refugee crisis is the restoration of democracy in Haiti.

The plight of Haitian refugees seeking protection in the United States force us to question whether our government is truly committed to a new world order based upon a respect for human rights and democratic ideals. As the Supreme Court prepares to rule, momentum among the American public is building in support of common decency for these victims. Congress must reaffirm the right to a fair hearing on refugee claims and equal treatment for Haitian refugees.

Randall Robinson is executive director of TransAfrica. Benjamin Hooks is executive director of the NAACP.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

THE WASHINGTON POST

Meg Greenfield

Who Gets Credit?

Where in Bush's speech were the brave, anguished people who really liberated Eastern Europe?

To nobody's surprise—it had been foreshadowed in a much-admired speech of resigning Secretary of State James Baker a week before—George Bush on acceptance night made much of the overthrow of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe on his watch. He took a lot of credit for it. The theory his friends and advisers were pushing in Houston had been that Bush's preoccupation with bringing about the liberation of these people, with the subsequent diminution of the nuclear threat, could serve as a justification for his alleged first-term inability to focus on the domestic economy.

Everyone agreed that this was smart. Most people agreed that, even though he was stretching the truth, it was legitimate in the sense that politicians are always allowed to claim credit for good things that happen during their term, so long as they are aware that they will also then be stuck with blame for the bad. Some people vigorously disputed the political one-sidedness of the Bush administration claim, pointing out the long history of Democratic Party and labor-union involvement in the American diplomatic, military and human-rights struggle against the Soviet imperium; they didn't feel his couple of vague, pro forma nods to postwar bipartisan efforts began to cover that subject.

Finally, a few people, primarily his conservative Republican critics, complained that from their point of view Bush had all along been weak and in need of prodding (from them) in the great enterprise: He had stayed cozy too long with Gorbachev, they said, seeming to prefer dealing with constituted Communist authority, as he did in China also, to encouraging the anti-Communist leaders; he had told the rebelling Lithuanians and the Ukrainians to cool it; he had had to be pressed into identifying more with Yeltsin (by Nixon, among others) and so forth. That from his friends on the right.

May I briefly interrupt this classic American political squabble over which of us has been responsible for some cataclysmic event overseas to mention an overlooked party in the proceedings, the people of the former Soviet Union

and Eastern Europe themselves? Surely like many others, I cringed every time the president used those self-regarding formulations as to how the Communists were overthrown. "Just pause for a moment to reflect on what we've done." "We have a lot to be proud of—a lot." "I saw the chance to rid our children's dreams of the nuclear nightmare, and I did." Twice he bragged about how much he'd "helped" change the world; it was as close as he came even to implying that these others might have been involved. Even when he was allowing for some Democratic involvement, Bush was seeing the whole thing as an American undertaking: "Make no mistake, the demise of communism wasn't a sure thing. It took the strong leadership of presidents from both parties..."

How about the strong leadership of Lech Walesa? I found myself asking. How about those brave, beleaguered human-rights dissidents, the defiant and persecuted independence movement in Lithuania, the vulnerable, unarmed crowds in East Germany and Czechoslovakia and Poland who had first had the strength of mind to reject the drummed-in message of the tyranny over many decades and then the strength of will to risk all in deposing it? How about those waves of daring Russians, led by Yeltsin, who held their building and then, finally, their country against the coup makers?

Nobody would argue, least of all the people in those newly transformed countries, that the American role in the Cold War from the late 1940s on was not central in keeping the possibility of their eventual freedom alive and in doing much—and much that was heroic—to promote it. And I think it is also true that an awful lot of the liberal left, though far from all of it, was, infuriatingly, just out to lunch on this essentially moral issue in more recent times. But the lion's share of the glory of the last three years surely belonged not to Americans of any stripe or station, but rather to those valiant thousands who took to the streets in the East and their mortally endangered leaders—Havel, Walesa, Landsbergis, Yeltsin et al. They justly thrilled the world.

By what incredible oversight, then, could George Bush deliver a 58-minute acceptance speech that highlighted the liberation of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (and his own contribution to it) without once even briefly mentioning the anguish and suffering and bravery of these people whose handiwork it truly was?

My conclusion is that Bush, when he is in what he generally calls his campaign mode, becomes remorselessly and perhaps even uncharacteristically me-minded. ("Nothing hurts me more than to meet with soldiers home from the Persian Gulf who can't find a job." Hurts him? They are the ones who are getting the hurt. He is the one who is supposed to be doing something about it.) Bush seems to see all campaigns as illegitimate challenges to his personal right to have the office he is seeking. Whatever the ostensible issue, he makes it himself—the unfair way he is being treated, the degree to which he is misunderstood, the depth with which he cares, the pugnacity with which he intends to strike, don't cry for him, do cry for him and so forth.

It is odd. His campaigns tend to be primarily about himself, and yet you feel it is not about his real self. For there is always something implausible, acquired-for-the-occasion about the persona Bush projects when he is running. His ham-and-cheese-sandwich folksiness, his pork-rind and "kicking a little ass" and "read my lips" tough-guy stuff never quite fit. Now, despite the profound differences in their nature and circumstances, he is telling us he is Harry Truman, more or less impersonating Truman in the presidential campaign of 1948. Bush always becomes someone else when he is running. The exasperating part for others is that you cannot imagine that the political construct that results—petulant, nasty, self-involved—can hold a candle to the actual guy who is portrayed by family and friends as being so different from that. The actual guy, I must believe, would have been incapable of leaving out of his speech all reference to the actual people whose triumph the liberation of Eastern Europe really was.

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MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

Quayle Taunted on AIDS During Florida Bus Trip

By William Booth
Washington Post Staff Writer

LEESBURG, Fla., Aug. 23—Vice President Quayle and his wife, Marilyn, journeyed into the steamy heart of conservative central Florida today, waving at crowds from the open window of their bus as they rolled past such local monuments as the House of Presidents Wax Museum in Minneola.

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

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

Protesters outside the church held up signs that read: "Jesus Loves Autum Aquino, Too!"

Autum Aquino is a 7-year-old girl who has AIDS and whose family has received death threats because she wants to go to public school in Lakeland. Last week, many of the 500 people who attended a special meeting at Kathleen Elementary School

spoke out against her attending school. According to press accounts, Autum left in tears.

The girl contacted the AIDS virus before birth because her mother, Theresa Dannemiller, was infected by her late husband, who was an intravenous drug user.

"They talk so much about family values, but AIDS is a disease that destroys families. Why won't they talk about AIDS and compassion?" Kathleen Morrow, a worker at an AIDS-services clearinghouse in Orlando, asked outside church.

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

The church's pastor, Michael Hailey, praised Quayle, saying, "I admire your commitment to morality and your commitment to Judeo-Christian ethics and your commitment to Jesus Christ."

Taking a page from the playbook of the Democrats, who took a page from the Republicans, Quayle got in the same bus George Bush used in 1988 and rode north from Lakeland to a barbecue in Leesburg, which is about 35 miles northwest of Orlando, and then rode another 30 miles north to a rally in the town square of Ocala.

Throughout the day, Quayle stressed the Re-

publican Party's dedication to "family values," which he defined as "hard work, integrity, love of God and love of family."

"You don't strengthen the American family by raising taxes," Quayle told a crowd of several thousand at an outdoor picnic at the Venetian Gardens outside Leesburg.

Like the bus tours taken by Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton and his running mate, Sen. Albert Gore Jr., today's campaign included "impromptu" stops at Citrus Tower and Hawthorne, a resident-owned retirement community, where crowds ranging in size from a hundred to several thousand awaited the vice president.

"This is a good conservative area," said former Florida Republican Party chairman Jeanne Austin. "We thought this would be the right place for the vice president to be."

Florida has voted Republican in five of the last six presidential elections. But the Republicans say they're not taking the state for granted.

That might be a good idea.

In the last row of the First Baptist Church in Lakeland, Muriel Cyphert, a retired widow, whispered to reporters, "Shhh. I'm a Democrat."

While she has voted Republican in the past, Cyphert said this time she is voting for Clinton.

Quayle returned to Washington tonight.

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

Giving Family Values the Freudian Slip

Did you celebrate Family Values Week? If not, you missed the gala to end all galas. Family Values Week—the celebration ended, at least for the moment, last Saturday—was the occasion for all the families we know and love to strut their familial stuff, each in its uniquely fetching way.

Thus it was that in London an in-law of the Windsor family displayed herself topless, complete with foot-licking *inamorato* and *paparazzi* in waiting. In the House of Windsor, "family values" have to do with embracing the tired and lost of the world: lounge lizards, porn queens, fortune hunters, round-heeled debutantes, epicene courtiers and footloose matrons. The House of Windsor is many things but its inbred behavior patterns prove nothing so much as that, in the immortal words of the late and universally lamented Polly Adler, a house is not a home.

In Houston "family values" were as thick as flies, or fleas. George Herbert Walker "Who Do You Trust?" Bush was paterfamilias to a Grand Old Family that positively burst at the seams with what J. Danforth "Father Knows Best" Quayle called "the traditional values of middle America"—which, on the evidence of Houston, would appear to be Hillary-stomping, homosexual-bashing and bellicose religiosity. But the real star of the show was Barbara Pierce "Grandma Moses" Bush, who wears the pants in this particular family and played every string on the "family values" Stradivarius as if she were the reincarnation of Jascha Heifetz.

Yet the most touching display of Family Values Week was presented many miles to the northeast, in the most exclusive neighborhoods of Manhattan and suburban Connecticut, where the First Family of New York finally let a breathless public behind the drawn blinds of its iconographic existence. It was a media show such as has not been seen since Elizabeth Taylor last lost 60 pounds—or gained 60 pounds, or got married, or got divorced—and into the bargain it was a feeding frenzy for psychiatrists and psychologists and all the other ologists who sloop at the trough of our national obsession with self.

One such is John Ray Jr., PhD, who practices in Widworth, Mass., and who rendered (from afar, of course) this verdict: "No doubt, he is horrible, he is abject, he is a shining example of moral leprosy, a mixture of ferocity and jocularly that betrays supreme misery perhaps, but is not conducive to attractiveness. He is ponderously capricious. Many of his casual opinions on the people and scenery of this country are ludicrous. A desperate honesty that throbs through his confession does

not absolve him from sins of diabolical cunning. He is abnormal. He is not a gentleman."

Okay: Stop those calls and letters. You English majors know that's no psychiatrist but Vladimir Nabokov, masquerading in the foreword to "Lolita" as a devotee of the gray eminence whom he liked to call "the Viennese Quack." But reading about the tangled web woven by Woody and Mia and Soon-Yi—not to mention Dylan and Moses and Satchel and heaven knows who else—it was pretty hard not to think of Humbert Humbert and "the perilous magic of nymphets," wasn't it? If ever there was a case of life imitating art—"the wayward child, the egotistic mother, the panting maniac," as the aforementioned John Ray Jr., PhD, wrote of Nabokov's unholy trio—then this surely was it.

The incredible tangles of the web aroused a piteous chorus of journalistic bathos. "Say it ain't so, Woody," was the brokenhearted refrain from coast to coast as devotees of the sainted Woody's cinematic *oeuvre* tumbled over backward trying to explain away his sudden descent into what looked for all the world like what Nabokov called "the parody of incest." Many trees were felled to accommodate these lamentations, not to mention the somber musings of the ologists.

Say it for the ologists: They aren't shy. Should you fall victim to a sneeze or an itch and call your physician for help, he would say, "Come on in and let me have a look." The ologists labor under no such qualms. Over-the-phone diagnosis is their stock in trade, especially where the woes of the rich, famous and lionized are concerned and double-especially if they have never had direct personal contact with the patients in question.

Thus it was that The Washington Post had no trouble rounding up a psychology professor at a remote college in North Carolina who merrily proclaimed, "It's incestuous even if it's not incest," and opined of the wandering Woody, "He may have become someone who feels he has enough power or insularity to *really* break with convention in a way he only did humorously in films." It also rounded up the managing editor of something called—this is not a joke—Common Boundary: Between Spirituality and Psychotherapy, who reached as deep into her bag of tricks as she could go and announced that we live in an age where "all our idols . . . have these dark dissociated corners of the soul."

The Baltimore Sun outdid The Post, and then some. In the space of 20 column inches it managed to cite the sweet nothings of "a Brookline, Mass., psychologist who specializes in the psychology of men"; the chief of psychology at the Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital near

Baltimore; "a Los Angeles psychologist who treats patients in the entertainment industry"; the director of the Center for Abuse Recovery and Empowerment at the Psychiatric Institute of Washington; "a Washington-based clinical psychologist specializing in families, adolescence and relationships," and a Washington clinical psychologist who is a board member of—this is no joke, either—the Forum for Psychoanalytic Study of Film.

The New York Times preferred to heed the voice of the people, though its man-in-the-street examination of *l'affaire* Woody had a distinctly pop-psychological twist. One "writer and radio personality" told the Times that "Woody's work is a meaningful corroboration of *my* battle," while a novelist—the Times doesn't look for any old man in any old street—pitched in that Woody "is all about pain, the recognition of pain, making our pain fun."

But it was left to Edward Koch, the former mayor of New York generally and Manhattan spiritually, to express what all of us were so desperately trying to articulate. "What he is," Koch told the Times, "he's the analysand, representing millions more. Let me put it this way. If I were building a statue to Dr. Freud, and I were going to put it in New York, and the statue was going to be Freud in his office, it would be Woody Allen on the couch."

Right: Live by the shrink, die by the shrink. As The Post reported, "Allen has been in strict Freudian analysis for most of his adult life." Spend a lifetime eating "neo-Freudian hash"—thanks, Professor Nabokov—and sooner or later you're likely to toss it all up. "Freudian voodooism"—thanks again—when practiced as sedulously as it seems to have been by this *auteur* of upper-middle-class self-adoration, is nothing except a ticket to trouble.

The whole family seems to have bought the ride. Mia and her many children, according to The Post, "have spent months in psychiatric care . . . coping with the implications" of Woody's intrafamilial escapade. By the time all of them have been run through that particular mill, they should be set for life.

Ah, yes: "family values," Manhattan-style. George Bush and Dan Quayle may preach the gospel according to their own values and the Windsors may practice the royal variation on the theme, but up there in Herr Doktor's favorite city the people know what really keeps happy families all alike: "the scholastic rigamarole and standardized symbols of the psychoanalytic racket." Thanks again, Humbert Humbert.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Supply-Side Triumph

HOUSTON—George Bush's full embrace of across-the-board tax cuts in his acceptance speech, a dozen years after he condemned them as "voodoo economics," ratified the triumph of supply-side economics as the reigning doctrine of Republicanism.

Once non-supply-sider James A. Baker III hailed tax cuts in his farewell address to the State Department a week earlier, President Bush's course was well marked. What misled outsiders were hints from his agents at the Republican convention not to expect much in his speech. That was less intentional deception than ignorance of what had been decided.

The decision marks a serious defeat for old-time Republican deep root-canal policies, based on the doctrine that whatever is really painful must be doing good. That doctrine was the source of the politically and economically disastrous budget deal, which Bush now has discarded. Whatever his sincerity, there is no turning back from his pronouncements Thursday night.

In contrast to his theatrical cry four years ago to "read my lips, no new taxes," Bush's simple promise to ask for rate cuts tied to spending cuts is no mere speech writer's gimmick. It runs against the conventional wisdom, held by journalistic and academic establishments, that promotes ever

higher levels of taxation. The irony is that its handmaiden is Baker, long the favorite Republican of those establishments.

Baker as secretary of state was not involved in the 1990 budget fiasco presided over by his protege and colleague, Budget Director Richard Darman. Defense of that agreement by the tenacious Darman led to the administration's policy paralysis through 1991, as recession tightened its grip and Bush's decline was guaranteed.

Even as Republican platform drafters gathered here for the convention, Bush agents were in the old defense mode. They expressed outrage over the leaking to the press of a memo to the president from Housing Secretary Jack Kemp and his congressional supply-side allies calling for tax cuts. Bush campaign aides also tried to restrain the platform's tax-cutting promises.

But Baker, the supreme pragmatist, was ready to take Kemp's advice. His last public utterance on tax cuts before entering the State Department cocoon came at a testimonial dinner for Kemp after the 1988 election. Baker delivered a remarkable tribute in which he declared that he—and implicitly, Bush—had been wrong about voodoo economics and that Kemp had been right. Within 18 months, Darman was to show that lesson had not been learned.

With Baker removed from the bitter turmoil of tax-and-spend struggles, his first words about domestic policy since 1988 mentioned tax cuts. That was enough for Kemp to flatly predict a "dramatic" tax move by Bush. Once again, campaign strategists were outraged by the secretary's audacity.

But the tax cut was locked in by then. "It was not so much that everybody bowed to Baker, but that we bowed to reality," one of the president's senior economic aides told us. The reality was the need to set forth a politically viable economic proposal clearly distinct from Bill Clinton.

It was an overwhelmingly popular move on the convention floor. Kemp and Baker were the heroes of the delegates.

Darman, a pre-eminent Washington survivor, quickly put his hand to making sure the tax cut was balanced by spending cuts. Thus, he became an editor of a speech that broke Bush's link to the Darman-crafted budget deal.

Suspicion by supply-siders that this is a political ploy by Bush runs deep. "I can't help but think," a signer of the Kemp memo confided to us, "that the day after he's elected, they turn their backs on us again."

But if Bush somehow escapes the consequences of his first term, he cannot repeat his folly by breaking his word. He has now completed a 14-year process. Elevation of lower taxes as the party's principal political and economic weapon began with official party endorsement of the Kemp-Roth act in 1978 and, repudiating the apostasy of 1990, was affirmed Thursday night in Houston.

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The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

Rabin Announces Freeing of 800 Palestinians on Eve of Talks

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, Aug. 23—Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin announced the early release of 800 prisoners today in a gesture to Palestinians on the eve of resumption of negotiations in Washington that could test whether Rabin's election has changed the outlook for Middle East peace.

For the first time since the negotiations began in Madrid last October, Israel, the Palestinians and delegations from Syria, Jordan and Lebanon are committed to a month-long working session, compared with only a few days at a time in the previous five meetings.

Rabin has instructed Israeli negotiators to offer more flexible bargaining positions to the Palestinians than those of the Likud government under prime minister Yitzhak Shamir. But Israeli and other analysts

said they are not sure if the Palestinians are willing to take up the new Israeli offers.

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

The new Israeli negotiating approach comes at a time of frustration and anger among Palestinian delegates. They say President Bush failed to demand a complete settlement freeze from Israel in exchange for the U.S.-backed loan guarantees. They are worried that even

though the talks were moved to Washington, where the Bush administration could press both sides for progress, the administration will be too occupied with its reelection campaign to be deeply involved.

On Friday, the Palestinian delegation returned to Jerusalem and delayed its departure for the talks to protest Israeli permit procedures for crossing the Allenby Bridge into Jordan. Although the dispute was over a seemingly minor technical matter, the reaction was a reflection of the mood among some Palestinian negotiators, who had debated whether to boycott this round of talks.

Today, after consultations with the United States, the delegation departed for Washington. Spokeswoman Hanan Ashrawi said they had been given assurances that the delegation could depart unimpeded, without obtaining permits for five staff members as Israel was demanding. Ashrawi said in Washington that a "written agreement"

would be prepared governing the delegation's freedom to travel.

Elyakim Rubinstein, the chief Israeli negotiator in the talks with the Palestinians, told reporters today on arrival in Washington, "It's a time of opportunity. We'd like to . . . achieve results as soon as possible."

Shamir's government had discussed limited municipal elections in the territories, but Rabin has broadened the concept to general elections, and instructed the Israeli delegation to seek agreement on a timetable for the balloting. Israeli officials say elections would infuse new popular support for a Palestinian governing authority, paving the way for more detailed autonomy negotiations over such issues as land, water, law enforcement and education.

According to Israeli officials, if both sides reach a pact by the end of the year on the balloting, elections could come in March or April. But the key sticking point remains

the nature of the Palestinian governing authority.

Israel has proposed an administrative council of about a dozen members, a concept dating back to the Camp David accords, while the Palestinians, who serve in a joint delegation with Jordan, have sought a 180-member legislature. The Rabin government continues to reject the idea of a legislature as a prelude to Palestinian statehood, but Rabin is willing to be flexible about the size of the administrative council, Israeli officials said.

Palestinian negotiators say they will resist being pushed into agreements in Washington to satisfy the political needs of the Bush administration. The negotiators are expected to demand more power for the governing authority than Israel has suggested, as well as a wider scope for autonomy. Rabin has said Israel is prepared to turn over everything but foreign policy, security and protection of the Jewish settlements in the territories.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

Clinton Accuses Bush Of Promoting Intolerance

Religious References Called 'Deeply Offensive'

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

CHAUTAUQUA, N.Y., Aug. 23—The presidential campaign turned today to the new odd couple of American politics: God and Woody Allen.

That unlikely political coupling was first thrust into the election contest in the South on Saturday when President Bush criticized the Democrats for not mentioning God in their platform and House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) tried to link the Democrats' attitude toward families to Allen, the New York filmmaker who has acknowledged that he is having an affair with the 21-year-old adopted daughter of his longtime companion, actress Mia Farrow.

Today, as their campaign bus caravan rolled from Pennsylvania into western New York state, the Democrats, whose presidential ticket is headed by two Baptists who are regular churchgoers, fired back.

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

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

Clinton continued:

"I think there are a lot of people who now basically think that there ought to be a religious test for voting. I don't think most Americans feel that way. I think that George Bush, raised in a very different religious tradition, is doing this for political purposes. . . . The implication that he has made that Democrats are somehow Godless is deeply offensive to me, to Senator Gore and to all of us who cherish our religious convictions but also respect America's tradition of religious diversity."

Bush raised the subject of God and the Democrats while speaking Saturday to a meeting of evangelical Christians in Dallas. "I was struck," he said, "by the fact that the other party took [thousands of] words to put together their platform and left out three simple letters: G-O-D."

The same day, campaigning with Bush in Georgia and Alabama, Gingrich tried to make the link between Allen's spectacularly troubled private life and the Democrats. "Woody Allen having non-incest with a non-daughter to whom he was a non-father because they were a non-family fits the Democratic platform perfectly," Gingrich said at one campaign stop.

Claiming to have "transformed" the Democratic Party into a "pro-economic growth, pro-environment, pro-family party," Clinton replied today that Gingrich's remarks reflected Republican frustration.

"They don't know what to do about it, and Newt Gingrich has no shame, so he's just doing the best he can," Clinton said.

"Americans ought to be free to disagree on personal issues, on values issues," he added. "They always have and we always will. But we're going up or down together whether we like it or not. . . . That remark by Gingrich was off the wall and out of line. You know, he just has no shame."

This sharp exchange about God and a movie director was part of a larger political struggle that began

at last week's Republican National Convention, where a parade of GOP speakers assailed the Democrats on "family values" issues and tried to portray their opponents as the enemies of traditional views about religion, marriage and the family. It is an approach that has worked before for the Republicans, but Clinton again today signaled that he will not allow his opponents to portray him and his party as what he called "cultural aliens."

Speaking in a soft voice to more than 10,000 people gathered on the lawn outside the Chautauqua Institution here, the presidential nominee outlined his views on family values and scolded the Republicans for trying to use the issue as a political bludgeon.

"The thing that bothers me is that the family-values debate today is too polarized for short-term political purposes and too little used as a means for profound concern for the real people whose real lives will be affected," Clinton said.

"We are not going to get anywhere in this country," he continued, "if we try to turn people who disagree with us politically into cultural aliens by distorting their words, misrepresenting their values and dividing the American people when we ought to be reaching out to one another to lift up all of our children."

One of the chief targets of the attacks at the Republican convention was Clinton's wife, Hillary, who also spoke here today, providing her first extended response.

"This argument that seems to have consumed the other political party about families is presenting a false choice to America," she said.

"There has been an unfortunate, unnecessary and unreal polarization in discussions of how best to help families," she added. "The undeniable fact is that our children's future is shaped by both, both the values of their parents and the policy of our nation. It is time that we recognized that fundamental truth."

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Israeli Undercover Units Targeting 'Hard-Core' Palestinian Cells

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Foreign Service

JENIN, West Bank—Bassam Sadiq Sbeihat was leaning against an olive tree with his Kalashnikov in one hand when they came for him.

According to his family, he had arrived at his uncle's house here at dusk Aug. 15 and was waiting for food behind the house, talking to relatives, when three men in plain clothes, guns drawn, came darting through the grove.

They were elite Israeli undercover soldiers, and they knew whom they were looking for. They shouted in Arabic at the others to lie down, and suddenly the grove was filled with gunfire. Sbeihat died later in a rocky gulch beyond the trees, and a 3-year-old boy, was wounded in the crossfire. According to an Israeli officer, whose account

of the incident is similar, Sbeihat also was armed with a pistol, knife and ammunition belt.

The gunbattle was a small chapter in a deadly contest unfolding in the fifth year of the Palestinian *intifada*, or uprising, against Israeli rule of the occupied territories. While the level of day-to-day violence in the territories has receded in many ways, and peace talks in Washington are focusing on Palestinian self-rule, one aspect of the conflict is growing more intense.

Highly trained Israeli undercover units are carrying out a lethal hunt in the occupied territories for what they call the "hard core" of Palestinian fugitives. At the same time, many of those being sought are fighting back with potent firepower, and turning their suspicion and rage on other Palestin-

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Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Taking Violent Turn

INTIFADA, From A1

ians accused of helping the Israeli authorities.

What began as a popular revolt waged by large numbers against the Israeli occupation has evolved, at one level, into a heavily armed struggle between small teams of Israeli commandos and cells of Palestinian fighters. The stone throwing that symbolized the early years of the intifada goes on, but the conflict also now echoes with the sounds of Uzis and Kalashnikovs.

The combat has raised worrisome questions on both sides. The Israeli special units, often disguised as Arabs, have been criticized by human rights groups on the grounds that they are operating under relaxed open-fire rules that lead to killing Palestinian suspects rather than apprehending them. The military has denied the charge.

At the same time, bands of Palestinian fugitives continue to assassinate other Palestinians as suspected collaborators with Israel, refusing to take orders from anyone and rejecting appeals from moderate Palestinian leaders to curb the slayings.

The outcome is a spiral of ruthless killing.

Israeli authorities recently captured more than three hours of what they said were homemade videotapes being used for recruitment by a gang describing itself as a military arm of Hamas, the Islamic movement in the territories.

In the tapes, some of which were broadcast by Israeli television, the fighters boasted of more than 15 slayings they had carried out of suspected Palestinian collaborators and four Israelis. They also vowed not to heed direction from Palestinian leaders such as peace talks negotiator Haidar Shafi, a Gaza Strip physician. "We receive our instructions from heaven," one of the fighters said on the tape.

Several factors have led to the bloody confrontations, according to Palestinians and Israelis. The 1.7 million Palestinians in the territories remain divided by factional rivalry. With the advent of peace negotiations, some armed activists who reject even talking to Israel are trying to disrupt the process with firearms and violence.

At the same time, Israel's military says there has been a concerted effort to reduce tension by making its troop presence less visible in the territories. But the military has been waging a dedicated manhunt against what officials have called the "hard core" of activists, estimated to number several hundred in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. The list of "wanted"—and the severity of the charges against them—remains secret, but it reportedly includes a range of suspects, from skilled terrorists to roving gangs of youths.

"It is clear they are hunting; they are relentless," said Said Zeedani, program coordinator for the Palestinian human rights group Al Haq and a professor at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank. "They have targeted the hard core. There was a decision to reduce the number of troops on the streets, to minimize the friction and to target and kill the activists."

Israeli military officers deny they are deliberately trying to execute the wanted activists. However, the undercover units are responsible for a growing proportion of the Palestinians killed by Israeli troops. The military has acknowledged that the special units have been "expanded and reinforced," and that fugitives are the chief target.

The units are known as *mista'arvim*, a Hebrew term that means "Arab pretenders." The existence of the units was disclosed in the news media four years ago but not officially acknowledged until

June 1991, when Israeli television broadcast a controversial authorized report on their activities. The units often work closely with Israel's internal security service, the Shin Bet; with Palestinian collaborators and with the Israeli Border Police.

The special teams operate in small groups. According to human rights activists and Israeli press reports, the units frequently disguise themselves, impersonating Arab women or teenagers, among others. They have used extensive costumes, wigs, fake mustaches and traditional Palestinian dress. They

also have used cars with license plates from the West Bank and Gaza.

The confrontation in the olive grove here was typical of how the units operate.

Their quarry, Bassam Sbeihat, 32, was wanted for armed attacks on Israeli soldiers and Palestinians, according to an army spokesman. Although no specific incidents were cited, the spokesman said Sbeihat had shot at Israeli army patrols and served as an arms thief and supplier in the hills.

Many groups of young Palestinian fugitives operate in the rugged terrain near Jenin under the name of Black Panthers and claim affiliation with the mainstream Fatah wing of the Palestine Liberation Organization. However, Palestinians say those cells often function independently rather than as subordinates to anyone. Some of them—to avoid being caught or turned in—have been living in caves, being fed by local residents, sleeping in a different place every night.

Ibtisam Saleh Sbeihat, a cousin of Bassam who witnessed the firefight from about a dozen yards away, said the undercover soldiers, dressed in simple civilian clothes, came through the grove and shouted to her in Arabic to move.

When she stood there frozen, she said, one of them shouted to her, "Do you understand Hebrew?"

The military said Sbeihat opened fire. The boy, Makhmoud, 3, was wounded near Sbeihat when the fight began, apparently caught in the crossfire, witnesses said. Amid a hail of bullets that tore bark from the olive tree, Sbeihat backtracked from where he was sitting and was still shooting at the Israelis when one of them picked up the wounded child and held him up.

"You killed the child!" the soldier shouted in Arabic, Ibtisam Sbeihat said.

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Bassem Falah Sbeihat, another cousin, who was sitting closer, said regular uniformed soldiers instantly appeared on the scene and ordered him to lie down by a water tank. He said they blocked him from trying to take the wounded child to a hospital. The military then pursued Bassam Sbeihat with dogs and flares into the gulch, where he was killed.

Critics say the split-second decisions required of the undercover units in such situations can lead to errors. The Israeli human rights group B'tselem said it found in a recent study that the "operational methods" of the special units "leave the way wide open for mistakes to occur." B'tselem charged that five

people have been killed in error by the undercover units and that in many other cases the units "did not first try to capture the wanted person without resorting to firearms."

B'tselem said soldiers in the special units "are equipped with live ammunition only," and "many of those killed were shot from close range." B'tselem also reported that in a growing number of cases, those killed were armed at the time.

Since earlier this year, the undercover units have been operating under open-fire regulations that permit them to shoot in a wider range of circumstances. Under the rules, they are allowed to fire in response to a life-threatening situation, or, under certain conditions, while attempting to apprehend a suspect, according to the military. The military said it was necessary to change the rules because the units face "armed terrorists who do not hesitate to open fire."

Such an armed cell was captured in a basement apartment in Ramallah in early August. The group was part of As a-Din Kassam, the military arm of Hamas. The group's videotapes included confessions of two Palestinians who later were killed as collaborators, as well as pictures of members training with machine guns in a remote wooded setting and numerous lists of those they had killed.

In an interview with Israeli television Aug. 5, a member of one undercover unit, his face disguised with a traditional Arab checkered kaffiyeh, said, "Our work is pinpoint work before we begin, and the work we do—we know the specific people that we are supposed to get to, what they've done, what their past is. You can be at peace with yourself when you get to a person like this."

But the nature of the undercover work is that the soldiers are making life-and-death choices in difficult if not impossible circumstances.

In July, the result was tragedy. An undercover unit was working in the village of Bartaa in the northern West Bank, apparently hoping to

corner the wanted activists in a mosque. All the soldiers were disguised as Arabs.

Sgt. Eli Isha, 19, a member of the unit, was ordered by his commander to move to another point, and while walking there, he saw two figures and thought they were wanted activists. Isha took out his weapon and cocked it.

The two figures actually were members of his unit. Apparently, hearing him cock his weapon, they mistook him for an armed wanted activist—and shot him on the spot. According to results of an investigation of the incident reported in the daily newspaper Haaretz, Isha was killed instantly by "tens of shots." The commander of the unit was relieved of his duty.

Isha's death was the first casualty by friendly fire in the history of the special units, the military said.

Despite criticism from some leftist members of parliament, Israeli military and political leaders appear committed to the campaign by the special units. They said there is a psychological value in keeping the undercover teams in the field—always creating a sense of uncertainty in the minds of the most violent fighters that they may soon be face-to-face with the special units.

Israel's chief of staff, Lt. Gen. Ehud Barak, justified his decision to acknowledge the existence of the units last year on the grounds that it would frighten young people enough to stay away from hard-core activists.

Out of such fear, military officials said, a growing number of Palestinians have been surrendering to authorities.

But the mistrust and suspicion also spill over into Palestinian society at large, said Zeedani, the Palestinian human rights group coordinator. "The thinking is, you deter a whole population this way, giving the impression to activists that the undercover units are everywhere. They are dressed in women's clothes, they are dressed in jeans and T-shirts. You scare the population."

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

Record Exports

AMERICAN EXPORTS HIT a new record in June, the government's scorekeepers have just announced. But imports also set a record, and the difference between the two—the merchandise trade deficit—continues to roll along at the level at which it has been stuck for the past year and a half: around \$70 billion a year. Increasing exports won't get rid of that trade deficit.

The trade balance is linked, directly and rigidly, to the balance between investment and savings in this country. That's an arcane point and, as the economists say, it's counterintuitive. But bear with us for a few more lines. It's an important part of the explanation of the peculiar way the American economy is behaving.

When this country imports more goods—cars, machinery, oil and all the rest—than it exports, there has to be a flow of money from the rest of the world to finance that deficit. This money plus Americans' savings equals investment in this country. But Americans' private saving is very low for a rich country, and the huge federal budget deficit currently pre-empts about nine-tenths of it. The inflow of foreign financing—that is, the trade deficit—is crucial to maintain even the present inadequate rate of investment in American industry and housing.

The Bush administration likes to point out that

the trade deficit has dropped significantly over the past several years. The result of good trade policy? Unfortunately not. It happened because the country was sliding into a long recession. Investment fell as it always does in recessions, diminishing the demand for foreign capital and, with it, the foreign trade deficit.

If a strong recovery gets underway next year, the demand for investment capital will soar and the trade deficit will widen. The alternative is much more ominous—that the trade deficit will stay low because there is no upswing in investment and no recovery.

Apologies for these rather text-bookish paragraphs. What conclusions should you draw from them? First, that the federal budget deficit is harming the economy directly by absorbing several hundreds of billions of dollars a year of investment capital that it needs to create jobs, technology and a higher standard of living.

Second, that the trade deficit does not measure American producers' ability to compete with the rest of the world. The trade deficit is the result of the way Americans are handling their finances here at home. It's mainly the result of the budget deficits that President Reagan left behind him, and that neither President Bush nor Mr. Clinton seems to know how to remedy.

VERBATIM

Bill Clinton: "Buy one, get one free."
Speech in Bedford, N.H., Jan. 18

Hillary Clinton: "People call us two-for-one. The blue-light special."
Chicago interview published March 16

Tim Russert: "Governor, you often say on the stump, 'You buy one, you get two free.' What role will Hillary Clinton play in your administration?"

Bill Clinton: "Well, she's always played a very major role in the issues in which she was concerned: early childhood issues, child health issues, preschool education and, of course, the education standards which she had a major role in writing back in '83 and the whole process of education reform."

Tim Russert: "A lot of women are obviously watching her and her role. Would she, in effect, be a full partner, a co-president?"

Clinton: "No, she wouldn't be a co-president."
NBC's "Meet the Press," March 22

Richard N. Bond: "Advising Bill Clinton on every move is that champion of the family, Hillary Clinton, who believes kids should be able to sue their parents rather than helping with the chores, as they were asked to do."
Speech to Republican leaders in Houston, Aug. 12

Patrick J. Buchanan: "Elect me, and you get



PATRICK J. BUCHANAN



RICHARD N. BOND



BARBARA BUSH

two for the price of one, Mr. Clinton says of his lawyer-spouse. And what does Hillary believe? Well, Hillary believes that 12-year-olds should have a right to sue their parents. And Hillary has compared marriage and the family as institutions to slavery and life on an Indian reservation."
Republican National Convention, Aug. 17

Peter Jennings: "Let me come at the Hillary Clinton issues again. Do you think she is a legitimate target?"

President Bush: "... I think that if a wife is in the arena and you—and if they are saying 'you get two for the price of one,' and 'here's my views as a defender of children,' or running of the foundation—that's slightly different than if the person was not injecting oneself into the issue business."
ABC's "World News Tonight," Aug. 19

Bill Clinton: "All [Hillary] said is that she wanted to be a voice for children in our administration, and I want her to be. There has never been a

co-presidency, and there's not going to be one now, and we never suggested that. What happened is that George Bush's handlers want to run against Hillary, and they've been taken over by the extreme right-wing intolerant faction of the Republican Party.... What Pat Buchanan and all the mouthpieces for George Bush have been saying about my wife's writing and views are just absolutely dishonest.... And it's not just an attack on Hillary. It's an attack on women who are independent, strong minded, and who work for a living."
NBC's "Today" show, Aug. 20

Katie Couric: "Bill Clinton actually says that discussion about Hillary and talk about where she stands on various issues and analysis of some of her previous writings have been really misinterpreted, taken out of context. And he finds it, quote, something like 'pathetic and desperate effort.'"

Barbara Bush: "Well, wasn't he the one who said, 'When you vote for me you get her' and 'It's two for the price of one'? I mean ... George Bush has never said that about me."
NBC's "Today" show, Aug. 20

—Compiled by
Barbara J. Saffir and
Mary Louise White



BILL CLINTON

SOURCES: Reader, Lehigh

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THE WASHINGTON POST

U.S. Took Slow Approach to Somali Crisis

Delay in Action Attributed to Civil War, Other Global Problems, Lack of Media Attention

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

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

Yet it was only 10 days ago, on the eve of the Republican National Convention, that the White House ordered its first dramatic action to deal with the crisis, an emergency U.S. military airlift of food.

According to interviews with officials involved and close observers outside of government, the Bush administration's slow-motion reaction to the Somali tragedy—an estimated 1,000 to 2,000 people have been dying there every day—was caused by a complex and intractable civil war on the ground, the relatively low priority given to the crisis by the news media until recently, and a policymaking apparatus consumed by a proliferation of other humanitarian problems, from Yugoslavia to Iraq.

"It bothers me a lot that these things happen, and I am ultimately responsible for this and I sit a lot and say, 'What could I have done differently over the last year,' because it weighs on me a lot," said Andrew Natsios, the overseas relief chief for the Agency for International Development (AID) and recently named by President Bush to be special coordinator for Somali relief. Natsios, who is described by insiders as well as outside relief officials as among the most concerned and outspoken proponents of U.S. action, concluded, "I don't know what else we could have tried."

Since its first commitments of food aid 14 months ago, the United States has been in the forefront of providing humanitarian relief to Somalia—more than \$85 million so far. But because of the underlying problems of clan warfare and growing chaos, some of the food could not be delivered and some was diverted by hoodlums. But even huge amounts of outside aid could not keep up with sharply increasing needs.

The fundamental crisis in Somalia is political: the collapse of government, authority and social order. Except for modest efforts by the United Nations, some of which were complicated by U.S. reluctance to accept new peace-keeping obligations, little has been done to restore order. Neither Africans, Europeans nor Americans summoned the will to compel efforts to quell the crisis.

A State Department official said the Bureau of African Affairs tried in vain to obtain the priority attention of Secretary of State James A. Baker III, his top echelon of senior advisers and the White House. A key problem, he said, is that top officials react to headlines and television pictures, and that "there are certain things that are news, others that are not news. For many months, Somalia was not news."

Suddenly, all that has changed.

The Somalia crisis, rooted in the country's history and social structure, came to the forefront following the January 1991 ouster of the country's longtime leader, President Mohamed Siad Barre. For 21 years, Siad Barre ruled brutally but cleverly, destroying many existing institutions and turning clan groups and factions against one another. After his fall, there was fighting between rival groups and eventually sub-groups, widespread looting and disintegration.

U.S. diplomats were not around to see the fall of the man the United States had armed and supported during the last decade of the Cold War, nor the bitter aftermath. Three weeks before Siad Barre's final collapse, U.S. Marine helicopters evacuated the diplomats of 10

nations, including the U.S. and Soviet ambassadors, from the lawless capital of Mogadishu.

With no presence on the ground and the situation worsening, the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs last fall began considering sending at least a few diplomats back to deal with the crisis, even if they had to operate from hotel rooms. The proposal was rejected within the State Department on security grounds.

Starting last November, as the dimensions of the human suffering grew clearer, the United States encouraged the International Committee of the Red Cross to undertake a massive feeding program in Somalia, something it had never done before. But the crisis was so massive that, despite its best efforts, the Red Cross was unable to cope with it all.

Washington then urged the United Nations, which had pulled out its civil servants, to return to Somalia to direct a second track of humanitarian relief. It found an ally in new U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, an Egyptian with extensive contacts and interest in Africa.

Boutros-Ghali in February convened peace talks in New York of rival factions and, in March, brokered a tenuous cease-fire in Mogadishu that reduced the fighting there. He also appointed Mohamed Sahnoun, an Algerian diplomat, as U.N. special representative to seek a political solution to the fighting. Sahnoun, working nearly alone with little backup, has won praise from U.S. officials for his effort, which is considered the most important bid to deal with the causes of the crisis.

Natsios had been saying at least since January, in comments before congressional committees and to anyone who would listen, that Somalia was "the most acute humanitarian tragedy in the world today." Starting in March, reports were received of masses of children being "severely malnourished," which is the last step before starvation. (Some estimates are that one-fourth of Somalia's children under 5 have now died.)

Beginning in May, the Office of U.S. Disaster Assistance began reporting U.N. estimates that 4.5 million people in Somalia "are facing the threat of starvation due to the effects of civil strife" out of a total population of 6.5 million Somalis. This month, the starvation-risk figure was downgraded to 1.5 million people on the basis of an International Red Cross estimate that is considered more reliable.

By July, according to Natsios, it was clear that the Red Cross and U.N. efforts were failing "because the death rates were going up, not down." Asked what he did about it, he said, "I made a lot of telephone calls. I have a volcanic temper some times. They were not fun telephone calls." He added, though, that "it is very difficult to handle multiple crises simultaneously."

The first clear indication of presidential interest resulted from a July 10 cable to the State Department from U.S. Ambassador to Kenya Smith Hempstone Jr., who

had spent a day visiting native Kenyans and Somali refugees in northern Kenya. Hempstone, a longtime Washington Star reporter and editor, headed his gripping cable, "A Day in Hell." (It was published in yesterday's Outlook section of The Washington Post.) Somehow the cable got to Bush, who read it and wrote in its margin, according to an administration source, that "this is a terribly moving situation. Let's do everything we can to help."

On Sunday, July 19, the New York Times carried a lengthy front-page account of death and starvation in Somalia from Jane Perlez, its Africa correspondent. (The Washington Post had carried four front-page accounts earlier this year, and more later.) Immediately after the Times story, the White House asked the State Department for a briefing paper for Bush. After reading it, Bush wrote in the margin, according to an administration official, that "he was very upset by these reports and he wanted something done, both in Somalia and northern Kenya."

In addition to Bush's growing interest, White House officials were energized by unfavorable public

comments about the contrast between the urgency shown about Bosnia and the lack of urgency about Somalia and by pressure for action from Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-Kan.), who had just returned from a visit to the Kenya-Somalia border.

Natsios, as the administration's senior relief manager, received a call from White House officials. "They said, 'What are you going to do?' I told them what we were trying to do," Natsios recalled. The White House asked, "Tell us what additional measures we can take."

At that point, the administration was mobilized at a higher level and at a greater intensity than ever. Plans were drawn up and decision papers written.

On Aug. 12, Bush met in the Oval Office with Baker, Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney and national security adviser Brent Scowcroft to discuss what was now recognized as the Somalia crisis. They decided in principle on the emergency U.S. military airlift of food to northern Kenya refugee camps and into Somalia's interior, if experts found this to be practical. They also set in motion plans for a new U.N. Security Council resolution authorizing additional relief for Somalia and a U.N. conference involving the major Somali warring factions.

The following day, the White House announced that the United States was offering a military airlift of 500 U.N.-sponsored Pakistani troops to Somalia as guards for the food shipments to Mogadishu.

On Aug. 14, following a meeting on Somalia of the deputies group, a high-level interagency committee, the White House announced the emergency airlift and the other measures. "The growing suffering and mass death by starvation in Somalia is a major human tragedy," the White House declared. "The United States will take a leading role with other nations and international organizations to overcome the obstacles and ensure that food reaches those who so desperately need it."

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

Bush Hits Trail With Gusto

Rhetorical Sword Unsheathed in 6-State Tour

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Aug. 23—Breaking free of his self-imposed shackles, President Bush became a full-fledged presidential candidate this weekend, pressing familiar themes with punched-up, sometimes slashing rhetoric.

In his first campaign swing after last week's Houston convention, Bush took off after his 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 that D.C. mode and out on the campaign trail." Before leaving Houston Friday morning he promised a meeting

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, as he put it here today, has felt "like one of those corn dogs at the fair—skewered by the Democratic opposition for nine months."

Looking over a rally estimated at 20,000 in Hoover, Ala., Saturday, Bush said: "I can't tell you what this does for the spirit."

"This is good for the soul," he said, surveying a flag-waving, cowbell-ringing crowd Friday in Gulf-

See PRESIDENT, A8, Col. 1

Bush Opens Campaign in Earnest With 6-State Tour

PRESIDENT, From A1

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 trainer 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 all human life is precious, born or unborn."

Barbara Bush refrained from joining in the thunderous applause that greeted that line, placing her hands securely behind her back.

Bush sounded defiant and almost angry at the notion that anyone could have counted him out. Arms waving, fist punching, voice raised, he shouted in Gulfport: "Two weeks ago, they were totally writing off the Bush-Quayle ticket—all those smart talking heads on television.

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

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 derided his former colleagues in Congress, where he served for four years, as "those old mossbacks."

Those are the same themes the president sounded in campaign swings in the week leading up to the convention, but without the bite that is now present. The unnamed "opponent"—or "the governor of Arkansas," as Bush would say in his most personalized pre-convention moments—is now repeatedly referred to by name.

In pressing his case that Bill Clinton and Albert Gore Jr. are "interlocked" with Congress, Bush tried out a line that noted the similarity of monograms.

"The Clinton-Gore ticket and the gridlocked Congress are totally interlocked—one is C-G and the other is G-C," he said in Gulfport. But the crowd seemed puzzled and Bush

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 her 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.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Roseanne Arnold's brother said she beat him and sat on him when he was a youngster...

Ben Barr told the Salt Lake Tribune that "she was very violent and out of control. When my mother would leave, she would beat me. She would chase me around the house, sit on me and beat me with metal parts of the vacuum. She would beat my legs, beat me on the genitals, beat my head..."

Arnold, whose ABC series finished No. 1 in the 1991-92 primetime season, has been mentioning Ben Barr in her non-series comedy routines. Barr is 31, eight years younger than Arnold...

In a recent HBO special, she said that as a child, he dressed as a girl and wasn't able to stand up for himself...

"I feel violated," said Barr, a gay father of a teenage daughter. "I want it to stop..."

Politics in the (Very Early) Morning: An interview with Gov. Bill Clinton will be shown on "Good Morning America" today in the 7 a.m. half-hour. The interview was to have been taped yesterday during a Clinton-Gore bus tour stop in Chautauque, N.Y.

And Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore will be chatted up by Katie Couric on the "Today" show this morning, also sometime in the first half-hour. Also on tape from Chautauque...

And by the miracle of tape, Hillary and Tipper will also be seen on "CBS This Morning" during the first hour in an interview taped yesterday by Paula Zahn...

Changes Coming

Speaking of "CBS This Morning," it is virtually certain there will be changes in the format of the program before the fall has given way to the chill winds of winter...

A larger presence for local news operations—at least for the stations that have the resources—is in the works, although details are still being hammered out...

Network affiliate relations staffers, top News division executives and affiliates have met three times in recent weeks to discuss a number of options...

So far, rumors of major changes in personnel on the show are just that, according to our sources...

Although viewership for "CBS This Morning" is up 29 percent since the first of the year, nobody is kidding himself that it is anywhere near catching up with ABC's "Good Morning America" or NBC's "Today," which are locked in a battle for the top...

The five CBS affiliates in the Gillett broadcast chain are already making changes. The Atlanta outlet has dropped one hour of "This Morning" and the Detroit outlet will cut back to one hour next month. But Tony Malara, president of CBS affiliate relations, said yesterday, "We're fighting hard for the other three"...

The negotiations come at a time when the network is expected to yield to pressure from affiliates to pull back from a harsh plan announced several months ago that would have severely reduced compensation paid by CBS to the stations for carrying its programs...

"CBS This Morning" is caught in those pressures—although it is currently the only morning network program for which stations receive compensation—as affiliates push for additional revenues in a poor advertising environment...

Two weeks ago, NBC announced that as of Sept. 21 it will give affiliates five more minutes for local news breaks in the "Today" show—for a total of 15 minutes in the two hours, compared with 11½ minutes each for "Good Morning America" and "CBS This Morning"...

Malara wouldn't discuss it, but a format change for "CBS This Morning" could involve even more time for local stations...

Malara said yesterday that "one of the many options we've discussed in recent weeks is the use of more cutouts [for local news]. What we've been looking at is a combination of what CBS brings to the party every morning and using more local resources. We have a very, very good news program after all"...

He confirmed that some stations "would like us to do 90 minutes, some an hour," but "for the time being" the network is "not interested in doing just one hour" in the morning. He said Gillett had asked for a reduction to one hour in Atlanta but "we want the full broadcast. We feel very strongly about this for the time being"...

Malara said there "are lots of plans on the table of how to make those two hours more involving for the local stations"...

"But there is no pressure from stations threatening to leave," he said. Of CBS's more than 200 affiliates, only stations in New Orleans, Tallahassee and Monroe, La., currently don't carry "CBS This Morning"...

"Various people are offering various formulas," said Malara. "There've even been suggestions we

increase the cutaways more than the 'Today' show. But it boils down to how do we take a very good broadcast, and increase the elements that would be compelling, increase the local presence, and still keep the CBS News identity"...

Now This

All this week medical correspondent Bob Arnot will report live from Africa on the famine in Somalia on "CBS This Morning." He will also be seen on "CBS Evening News"...

"Good Morning America's" anchor Joan Lunden will be on vacation all week. Lunden broke her shoulder when thrown from a horse Thursday while training for a Long Island horse show. She will have to wear a sling and brace for six to eight weeks...

ESPN said last week that the Junior Olympics Tae Kwon Do championship, taped this summer in Orlando, Fla., but bumped recently from the schedule for a tennis tournament, will be seen Oct. 7 at 2:30 p.m.

There were at least five mentions of the absent Arthur Kent on Friday night's "Tonight" show, but if there was any reference to the fact that the NBC News correspondent had been fired earlier in the day it escaped us...

On Thursday, the NBC legal department had stepped in to ban a planned Friday appearance on "Tonight" by Kent—then only on suspension from the network. Friday's show opened with little billboards announcing guests including one that read "No Arthur Kent." And the voice-over announcer at the end of the hour said, "The Tonight Show with Jay Leno but without Arthur Kent will be right back"...

In between, Leno read a mock legal document from NBC, and NBC News's chief congressional correspondent was introduced as "Arthur Kent's co-worker Andrea Mitchell"...

A Ratingzzzz Roundup

Don't get overheated, but it turns out the final nights of both the Republican convention last week and the Democratic convention in July drew almost exactly the same audience on the three big networks—a cumulative total of 27.3 million awestruck viewers...

The Public Broadcasting Service reported that an additional 5.1 million people watched Thursday night. Throw in maybe another 2 million-plus watching CNN and C-SPAN, and the last night audience for the Grand Old Party probably totaled around 35 million...

Nielsen said that NBC News attracted the top audience, 10 million viewers, on Thursday followed by 9.5 million on ABC and 7.8 million on CBS...

Just so you won't think we've staked out a Ratingzzzz-Free Zone for long-suffering TV Column fans this morning, let's put it all another way:

On Thursday night, both ABC and NBC averaged a 7.0/13, compared with a 5.7/10 for CBS and a 3.7/7 for PBS...

For the four nights of Republican convention coverage, ABC had the highest numbers, averaging a 5.9 national Nielsen rating and an 11 percent audience share, compared with a 5.7/11 for NBC, a 5.2/9 for CBS and a 3.0/6 for PBS/NBC...

ABC also had the best numbers for the Democratic convention in July, averaging a 6.0/11, compared with a 5.7/10 for CBS, a 5.6/10 for NBC...

Don't go away, we've got lots more this morning. In 1988, ABC was also No. 1 for audiences at the Republican convention, averaging a 6.7/13 for the four nights, compared with a 6.3/12 for NBC and a 5.7/11 for CBS...

NBC, in 1988, had the biggest audience for the Democratic convention, however, doing a 7.4/14, compared with a 6.9/13 for ABC and a 6.5/13 for CBS...

As they like to say at ABC, three out of four ain't bad...

Locally, on Thursday night, CBS's coverage of the convention on Channel 9 drew the highest ratings, a 7.9/13 between 9 and 11:35, compared with a 7.3/13 for the ABC coverage on Channel 7 from 9 to 11:45 and a 7.0/12 for NBC coverage on Channel 4 between 9:30 and 11:30...

Channel 26 recorded a healthy (for Channel 26) 4.9/8 for the long evening—8 to 11:53 p.m.—of PBS/NBC coverage...

Each local ratings point represents 18,199 TV homes; each national ratings point represents 921,000 TV homes...

While we're still enmeshed in the numbers this morning, let's take a peek at the Late-Night Battle as it's been played out most recently in Washington...

Thursday night? ABC News's "Nightline" hung in there for a 4.3/16 on Seven, compared with a 4.2/16 for Arsenio Hall on Nine and a 2.8/11 for Jay Leno on Four...

And from Aug. 10 to 19, Arsenio averaged a 5.2 rating, "Nightline" a 5.1 and Jay, a 3.5. Poor Jay!...

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

HIGHLIGHTS

- The NFL's Bills and Chiefs on WJLA.
- Plus the conclusion of "Switched at Birth" on WRC.

Sports

NFL Preseason Football (CC). Buffalo Bills at Kansas City Chiefs (Channel 7 at 8 p.m.).

Public Broadcasting

Mysteries of Peru (R) (Parts I and II of three). Two hours (Channel 26, approx. 9:15 p.m.).

Primetime Movie

Switched at Birth (1991) (CC) (R) (conclusion). Two families whose children were accidentally swapped meet for the first time (Channel 4 at 9).

Series

Fresh Prince of Bel-Air (CC) (R). Will and Carlton's plans with two French women are ruined by Aunt Helen's arrival (Channel 4 at 8).

Evening Shade (CC) (R). Herman takes a job at the local ice cream parlor after losing his teaching position (Channel 9 at 8).

Blossom (CC) learns that Vinnie wants to see other people, while Joey breaks up with his girlfriend (Channel 4, 8:30).

Major Dad (CC) (R) is in charge of getting the base in tip-top shape for the arrival of the vice president (Channel 9, 8:30).

Murphy Brown (CC) (R) signs up for a natural childbirth class and takes Eldin as her partner (Channel 9 at 9).

Designing Women (CC) (R). Mary Jo goes to a sperm bank and narrows the field of candidates for fatherhood (Channel 9, 9:30).

Northern Exposure (CC) (R). Joel and Maggie are forced to share a hotel room (Channel 9 at 10).

Late Night

The Arsenio Hall Show (CC) (R). With Howie Mandel, Larry Hagman and En Vogue (Channel 9, 11:30).

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With actor Powers Boothe, actress Kelly Coffield and a tribute to Miles Davis (Channel 4, 11:35).

Tuesday Morning

Today (CC). With a report on North Korea and an interview with actor George Corraface of "Christopher Columbus: The Discovery" (Channel 4 at 7).

Good Morning America (CC). An interview with Ross Perot and a look at a study that predicts the lengths of marriages (Channel 7 at 7).

CBS This Morning (CC). With a report on the famine in Somalia and a look at the new Disney Animation Studios in Florida (Channel 9 at 7).

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

Bush to Offer Plan To Broaden Scope Of Job Training

Continued From Page A3

Grants given to low-income students for their college education. Dislocated workers could use the vouchers to pay for technical education or retraining.

The vouchers would be similar to ones proposed early this year by the Bush administration, which would help pay for the education or training of young persons under a revamped Job Training Partnership Act and other federal youth-training programs. That revamping was proposed under the administration's Job Training 2000 initiative.

The main elements of the new package include:

—Two existing dislocated-worker programs—Trade Adjustment Assistance and Economic Dislocation and Worker Adjustment Assistance—would be combined in a new, \$2 billion-a-year Advancing Skills Through Education and Training Services program.

The administration has been trying, without success in Congress, to kill the 30-year-old TAA program for aiding and retraining workers who lose their jobs because of foreign competition, and cover those displaced workers under other programs. A similar change will be sought under the new proposal.

EDWAA, enacted in 1988, covers a wide range of job losers. Lately, those who are displaced because of the 1990 Clean Air Act provisions or defense cutbacks are included. And ones who lose their jobs because of the North American trade pact would also be covered.

—The Youth Training Corps would include the 30 current Job Corps centers that are run by the federal park and forest services, and which concentrate on maintaining parks and trails, environmental cleanups, rehabilitating historical sites and other conservation-oriented work. Another 25 conservation centers would be built, with slots for 10,000 youths who live on the training sites. Still another 13,000 non-residential slots would be added at the existing 108 Job Corps centers, which include the 30 conservation centers.

The additional 23,000 slots mean that 43,000 more youths, taking an average of seven months of training each, would be covered annually by the expanded Job Corps program, in addition to the nearly 80,000 now given intensive education and training in work and social skills. It would fulfill part of the goals sought by congressional, industrial and other advocates of a "50-50" Job Corps expansion; that idea would involve 50 more centers and the ability to serve 50% more students. Most of the 108 centers train youths living on the site.

Because the training is costly, the administration had proposed cutting fiscal 1993 funding and killing three new authorized centers. On the other hand, Labor Department officials have argued that the Senate-proposed conservation corps wouldn't work without full-scale Job Corps-like education and training. "Just putting 'em out clearing trails isn't going to teach anybody anything," one official said.

—A new school-to-work youth apprenticeship program would be formed, with \$500 million in funding. The Bush administration recently proposed a pilot apprenticeship plan, costing only \$50 million. Under the proposal, education for high-school juniors and seniors would be combined with employer-gear training. The result would be a high-school diploma that included certification of certain apprentice-level skills.

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

As Campaign Nears Traditional Labor Day Start, A Bitter Struggle for Angry Electorate Looms

By DAVID SHRIEMAN
And JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — After months of campaigning, slogans, primaries, conventions, exchanges of charges and maneuvering, the 1992 presidential campaign is slouching toward a new beginning.

As President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton gear up for the traditional Labor Day launch of the general-election race, the campaign is already taking on a sharply defined character: a close, hard-fought, even bitter struggle for the allegiance of an angry electorate whose whims and desires blow like a hot summer's breeze.

CAMPAIGN
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The Democrats over the weekend struggled to keep the focus on the economy, a battleground where they believe Mr. Bush continues to fare poorly. The president himself, on the other hand, skipped lightly over his economic plan, instead focusing on questions of trust and family values.

Fall Debates

A critical skirmish could well be the fall debates, which traditionally have functioned largely to affirm voters' previous intentions. This year's debates, which are expected to begin Sept. 22 at Michigan State University, could have a major and unpredictable impact. "The electorate is very elastic," says Republican consultant Karl Rove, who believes that the race won't be settled "until the end."

But before the two candidates meet at the dais in East Lansing—Gov. Clinton has agreed to the proposal by the nonpartisan Commission on Presidential Debates and Mr. Bush is expected to assent soon—the two camps must acclimate themselves to the new landscape of the election.

Mr. Bush and his strategists take some encouragement from national polls showing that he's closing the gap with Gov. Clinton, largely because wavering segments of the GOP base — conservative Southerners, Northern Catholics, moderate Republicans and men generally — are returning to the fold.

But the post-convention bounce, which Republicans had hoped would draw Mr. Bush even with Mr. Clinton, still left the president trailing by eight to 14 percentage points in several polls over the weekend. Mr. Clinton spent the weekend along the Great Lakes corridor, territory that has been dependably Republican in recent years but where high unemployment and economic distress make it not only competitive for Democrats but render it the likely swing battleground for the entire contest.

In industrial Ohio and western Pennsylvania and in agricultural western New York, Mr. Clinton accused the president of proffering a "totally bogus" economic plan for across-the-board tax cuts and a taxpayer checkoff to battle the deficit. "He has imperiled our national security by having no economic policy," the governor said.

Indeed, Mr. Bush's initial post-conven-

tion swing fueled doubts about his commitment to his new economic proposals. At his first stop in Gulfport, Miss., the president didn't even mention the call for the tax cut that was the highlight of his acceptance speech — an omission reminiscent of how Mr. Bush called for a middle-class tax cut in his January State of the Union Address, then quickly abandoned it. Nor did he provide any details of the tax or spending cuts he says he'll send to the new Congress next year.

In the wake of the president's proposals, the debate for the moment is just where the Democrats want it — on the economy. "Let me tell you what this election is about," Mr. Clinton said in Cleveland. "We propose to put Americans back to work." The governor, his surrogates and his staff are portraying the Bush plan, which includes unspecified spending cuts, as "phony," a cynical election-year ploy reminiscent of Richard Nixon's 1968 claim that he had a plan to end the Vietnam War.

"They'll come up with a plan at the end of the year," says George Stephanopoulos, Mr. Clinton's communications director. "We've heard that before — a 'secret plan' to create jobs."

Risks Ahead

There are risks ahead for Mr. Clinton, however. The campaign's emphasis almost surely will shift in another day, because tomorrow both he and the president will speak before the convention of the American Legion in Chicago. In that setting, where the president's foreign-policy expertise will be on broad display in front of a sympathetic audience, Mr. Clinton will once again face questions about why he didn't serve in Vietnam.

Moreover, as Mr. Clinton takes up the Bush challenge to distill the election down to a question of "trust," there is worry inside the Clinton campaign. The governor scored rhetorical points this weekend with his charges the president is "a great fearmonger" who has betrayed his own promises and an opportunist who offers the "fool's gold of an across-the-board tax cut."

But Mr. Clinton still may not be ideally positioned to prevail in a contest over issues of trust. As Mr. Bush spoke at the Illinois state fair in Springfield yesterday, his campaign workers played on lingering questions about Mr. Clinton's character by posting a sign reading "Willie — Slippery When Wet."

Neither is Mr. Bush in a comforting position as the campaign enters this new phase. The specter of rapidly shifting opinion polls isn't entirely reassuring to GOP strategists who have grown accustomed to the ingrained electoral patterns of the past quarter-century. "In a way, that kind of rapid movement is troubling," says Mr. Rove.

Electorate in Turmoil

Public-opinion experts believe the volatility in the polls is a reflection of an electorate in turmoil and in confusion. "All this should be disregarded until things settle down," says David Moore, a University of New Hampshire expert in public-opinion polls. "No one even knows who will

vote in this election. People are uncertain — and no [polling] sample is like the rest of the public at this period."

Among Mr. Bush's challenges, aides say, is convincing Americans he'll really deliver on his promise of a "crusade" at home. He tried last week to repair the damage to his credibility caused by his broken 1988 no-tax pledge, but polls show voters have deeply held misgivings about Mr. Bush's handling of domestic policy.

The president's rallies seek to evoke the cheerful patriotism of Ronald Reagan's 1984 re-election bid, with renditions of the now-familiar country song, "I'm Proud to Be an American," and Mr. Bush's declaration of "sunrise" in America. That's a tough theme to sustain with polls showing that three-quarters of voters believe the country is on the wrong track.

His campaign-season economic plan fits his previous pattern of electioneering that bears little resemblance to his performance in office. Throughout his term, Mr. Bush has neither sought across-the-board tax cuts nor pushed aggressively to curb federal spending. His Treasury Department opposed tax checkoffs — like the one he now proposes for spending and deficit reduction — as bad policy just a few months ago. And his claims to have been frustrated by the "gridlocked Congress" on everything from legal reform to education come in light of his passive approach to domestic policy.

Nasty, Even Brutal

While the outcome may be uncertain, the contest is almost certain to be nasty, even brutal. The Bush campaign is prepared to launch escalating attacks of Mr. Clinton's draft record and on, among other things, his decision as governor to commute the life sentences of convicted rapists.

The Bush campaign's tactics are tough already. Mr. Bush links Gov. Clinton to "sharp lawyers" who intimidate everyone from doctors to Little League coaches. Courting conservative Christians in Dallas this weekend, he criticized the Democratic Party platform for having "left out three simple letters, G-O-D" — a remark that Mr. Clinton later called "deeply offensive."

In Woodstock, Ga., the president campaigned alongside House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich, who tied the Democratic Party's tolerance of nontraditional families to Woody Allen's well-publicized affair with the adopted daughter of his longtime companion Mia Farrow. The twice-married Mr. Gingrich called the famous movie-maker "a perfect model of Bill Clinton Democratic values."

Swift Reaction

That sort of riposte brought swift reaction from Democrats. Mr. Clinton, campaigning in Chautauqua, N.Y., called the comment "out of line." Earlier in the day, New York Gov. Mario Cuomo said on CBS News's "Face the Nation" that "If the Republicans don't stop the insults and the stupidity, and start getting on a stage and debating Clinton, they're going to get wiped out in this election."

Some Republicans said they believed some of the attacks at last week's convention were distasteful. "I don't believe in bashing anybody," Housing Secretary Jack Kemp said yesterday on NBC News's "Meet the Press."

The Democrats are calculating that the Republicans' aggressiveness will backfire. "They got their base back," said Mr. Stephanopoulos, the Clinton communications director. "but they went over the line."

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

Bush's Debt-Paring Plan for Checkoffs By Taxpayers Has Weak Track Record

By RICK WARTZMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—When it comes to paying off the \$4 trillion federal debt, President Bush would like to convince the public that it's as simple as saying the check—and the checkoff—is in the mail.

But it's far from clear that many people would be inclined to go along with his plan, which would have them stipulate on their Internal Revenue Service returns that up to 10% of their tax payments be devoted to paring the debt.

The only checkoff currently on federal tax forms, which allows people to designate that \$1 go toward financing presidential election campaigns, is in big trouble.

Like the proposed debt-reduction designation, the campaign checkoff wouldn't affect the amount of money people pay out of pocket. Nonetheless, the ranks of those participating has steadily dwindled to about 19% from a high of 28% in 1980, so that the amount going into the election fund isn't even keeping pace with inflation. "The system is in danger," said a spokesman for the Federal Election Commission. By the 1996 election, he said, the fund is likely to face a shortfall of \$75 million or more.

Participation's Paltry

Some analysts maintain that people will be more inclined to help pay off the debt than they are to bankroll politicians' election drives.

But others believe the approach could backfire on Mr. Bush. "It's a slight to the public," said Gary Bass, executive director of OMB Watch, a research group. "It's just another bit of hocus-pocus that substitutes for real political will."

The checkoff plan, which Mr. Bush unveiled in his acceptance speech last week at the Republican national convention, would require approval on Capitol Hill. Already, congressional Democrats are attacking the idea.

Yet assuming it were put in place, it would—in theory—work like this: Taxpayers would designate that anywhere from 1% to 10% of their payments to the IRS be placed in a special trust fund, which could be used only to buy down the national debt. Those payments would, in turn, trigger a government spending cut equal to the amount of money placed into the fund.

Individuals are expected to pay \$515 billion in income taxes next year. So if everybody dedicated the maximum to debt reduction, it would presumably cut spending by \$51.5 billion.

Congress and the administration could always try to work out priorities, sparing some programs and making deeper cuts in

others. But if they failed to agree, it would force an automatic across-the-board whack in spending, except for some special items such as Social Security and interest on the debt.

Henry Bloch, chairman of tax preparer H&R Block Inc., said he would "love to help" trim the debt, if given the opportunity. "And I would think the vast majority of taxpayers would take advantage of it," he said. Mr. Bloch suggested, however, that the checkoff could raise serious constitutional questions, because it would effectively give those with large tax burdens a disproportionate say in how the government operates.

Tough Trade-Off

Others said that even if people went along for the first year, many probably wouldn't do so again once they feel what it's like to have all sorts of government programs scaled back. "You're talking about very substantial cuts compared with anything we've seen in recent times," said economist Rudolph Penner, former director of the Congressional Budget Office. "We'd see how much the public would start to howl."

Kay Fishburn, national coordinator for a grass roots group called Citizens for a Debt-Free America, agreed. Especially if, as intended, the checkoff plan came on top of Mr. Bush's proposed cap on government benefit programs, "it would pinch," she said.

Indeed, it's unclear just how committed Americans are to the cause. For a decade, the IRS has invited people to send in "a gift" to reduce the debt with their tax returns. Last year, according to the IRS, only 275 out of nearly 115 million individual filers did so, bringing in \$114,794.

One worry is complexity. In a report last year on the many states with checkoff programs, the Federation of Tax Administrators said officials fretted that the checkoffs had "led to more taxpayer errors." And not long ago, a top Treasury Department attorney voiced similar concerns, telling lawmakers that the administration has "consistently opposed" proposals for voluntary checkoffs, "regardless of how meritorious" the purpose.

Dave Ross, an official with the Division of Wildlife in Ohio, said the state's checkoff for people to donate part of their tax refund to help preserve endangered species is considered fairly successful with a 3.5% participation rate. He doubts the White House plan would fare much better.

"Endangered species is an apple pie kind of issue," he said. "I'd think people would be a lot less interested in dealing with the deficit."

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

That Revolutionary Ten-Percent Option

By DANIEL J. MITCHELL

George Bush's proposal to allow taxpayers to dedicate up to 10% of their income taxes to "reduce the national debt" sounds like a political gimmick. It would be a gimmick if Mr. Bush were talking about a simple executive order. Closer examination, though, reveals that this approach really could curtail the growth of federal spending — on a scale not seen since Gramm-Rudman was enacted in 1985.

Mr. Bush didn't say where he got the idea that he mentioned Thursday night in his Houston acceptance speech. But his proposal matches legislation that Rep. Robert Walker (R., Pa.) and Sen. Robert Smith (R., N.H.) have introduced.

If Mr. Bush follows the Walker-Smith plan, the actual effect of the proposal would be to reduce, dollar-for-dollar, the following fiscal year's spending by the amount checked-off by taxpayers when filing their taxes. With individual income tax collections for the 1992 tax year expected to exceed \$500 billion, adoption of the Walker-Smith legislation next year could reduce fiscal 1994 spending by as much as \$50 billion, or 3.27% below levels currently projected for 1994.

Best of all, as was the case with Gramm-Rudman, lawmakers would have no choice but to comply. The \$50 billion of spending cuts would occur automatically, reducing by equal percentages all spending items other than Social Security, deposit insurance and net interest. Congress could not avoid the automatic cuts by raising taxes; nor could legislators replace the real cuts with a package of phony savings similar to those in the 1990 budget.

Budget Surplus by 1997

The legislation is also crafted so that the spending reductions permanently reduce the trend line of federal spending. In other words, rather than evaporating after the year they occur, automatic cuts would reduce projected spending levels in all future years, a critical reform since these estimated levels are used as the starting point for crafting each year's budget.

Would the Walker-Smith plan work? According to the Congressional Budget Office, hardly a lackey for conservative budget plans, the proposal could balance the budget in just four years. As shown in the table, savings of \$49 billion in fiscal 1994 would grow to \$263 by 1997, resulting in a budget surplus of \$26 billion that year.

Whether or not the budget actually is balanced by 1997, of course, depends on the

number of taxpayers who choose to participate and whether they choose the full 10% check-off. Even if actual savings were only one half of maximum levels, however, the Walker-Smith legislation would dramatically slow the growth of federal spending. This is especially impressive when compared to what is happening under current law. The Budget Enforcement Act, imposed as part of the 1990 budget, has allowed constant dollar domestic spending to climb more than seven-and-one-half times faster than it did when the law the new act replaced, Gramm-Rudman, was in effect.

The Friday after the speech, many critics were already dismissing the Bush 10% idea. If Mr. Bush shows continued support for the Walker proposal, the legislation is almost sure to come under attack, too. Initial critiques doubtless will assert the approach is simplistic. Opponents will focus on some of the bill's cosmetic features, which include the creation of a trust

of spending discipline will be less than critics might claim.

As was the case with Gramm-Rudman, the legislation will also be attacked for its inflexibility. Opponents will assert that an across-the-board sequester treats all programs as if they had equal value, subjecting monies for AIDS research to the same percentage cut as subsidies for honey production and spending for pork-barrel mass transit projects. A "meat ax" approach to the budget, critics will say, denies lawmakers the right to target more federal funds to pressing needs.

Not true. When preparing a budget for an upcoming fiscal year, lawmakers will be free to increase or decrease funding for any program. Changes in overall spending levels will continue to be constrained by already existing restrictions, such as the overall cap on discretionary spending and the pay-as-you-go rules for entitlements (rules that mandate higher taxes to pay for increases in entitlement programs).

Surplus in Sight

If every taxpayer opted for the full 10% check off, the savings, in billions of dollars, would be:

FISCAL YEAR	1994	1995	1996	1997
Automatic Cuts	\$48	\$101	\$162	\$232
Interest Savings	2	7	16	31
Total Deficit Reduction*	49	107	178	263

*Figures may not add due to rounding

Source: Congressional Budget Office

fund to reduce the national debt. They will argue, quite accurately, that buying down existing debt is meaningless if offset by the creation of new debt. Such attacks miss the target, however, since the real impact of the Walker-Smith legislation is the automatic dollar-for-dollar reduction in spending levels.

Once proponents of higher spending realize what the legislation could accomplish, they may reverse field and argue that the cuts are too severe. Under the Walker-Smith legislation, full participation in the check-off would limit fiscal 1997 spending to \$1.464 trillion, only 4.5% more than the \$1.407 trillion projected for this fiscal year, and more than 13% below the baseline fiscal 1997 projection made by CBO in March.

By Washington standards, these cuts might be draconian, but by real-world standards they remain modest. Moreover, if Walker-Smith legislation is enacted, not all taxpayers will choose to check off, and many of those who did would not choose the full 10%. As a result, the actual amount

Nothing in these rules or in the Walker legislation, however, would prevent Congress from appropriating more money to politically popular programs. Indeed, even if taxpayers checked off enough money to force a 5% sequester, Congress could guarantee the level of funding for any particular program by appropriating 5% more than they really wanted to spend.

But the Walker-Smith legislation would force lawmakers to set priorities by shrinking the overall federal spending pie and making interest groups compete for fewer federal dollars. This discipline would put an end to the current practice of giving all programs big increases, regardless of how poorly the money is being spent.

Some will argue that automatic cuts are not necessary; that Congress should be allowed to vitiate a sequester by enacting legislation with an equal level of deficit reduction. This is fine in theory, but difficult in practice. Not only would the law have to be written to preclude tax increases, policymakers also would have to craft the legislation to ensure that the

substitute cuts are real. Supporters and opponents both agree that automatic sequesters generate real deficit reduction; the same cannot be said for the alleged savings which have been included in past budget agreements. Assuming that these hurdles could be overcome, however, the law could be modified to give Congress the authority to come up with their own package of real spending cuts instead of a sequester.

Another line of attack will come from Keynesian economists who will argue that we should be increasing spending to lift the economy out of the doldrums. According to the Keynesians, legislation which mandates less spending will weaken the economy by reducing aggregate demand. (A Reuters report that came out Friday reflected this view. Its author wrote of the 10% proposal: "The effect of such action in a slow-moving economy could easily be to dampen economic activity further, rather than to stimulate it.")

Gramm-Rudman's Lessons

The Keynesian argument rings hollow, however, since record spending increases and record deficits in the last few years have been associated with slower rather than faster economic growth. Not that Keynesians have a good track record. They were the ones who predicted that the Reagan tax cuts, adopted when inflation was in double digits, would be inflationary.

Just as interest groups condemned Gramm-Rudman, they will criticize Walker-Smith. This is a sign that the legislation would be effective. The real question is not whether it will work. It is whether Congress will voluntarily be able to enact legislation that so clearly would curtail its ability to funnel resources to favored constituencies.

This is why the president's endorsement Thursday night is so important. If the president's support for the Walker-Smith legislation indicates that the administration recognizes the urgent need to reduce federal spending—and is willing to fight to get the legislation enacted—the policy mistakes of the first term could be reversed. In his speech, Mr. Bush quoted an old saying that goes "Good judgment comes from experience, and experience comes from bad judgment." The unanswered question is whether Mr. Bush's economic team, Budget Director Richard Darman and Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, have learned the same lessons.

Mr. Mitchell is a fellow at the Heritage Foundation in Washington.

Let Russia Be Your Product Testing Lab

New product introductions are the elixir of business corporations. Unfortunately, the introduction of a new product involves a difficult period of low sales coupled with high marketing costs. Sometimes the losses during product introduction can be confined to a short period of time; other times they continue for years before the product becomes profitable.

When Du Pont developed "Corfam," a synthetic leather with advantages over the natural product, it appeared that it might have another nylon in the making. But expected improvements in manufacturing costs did not materialize and, since the product had to be competitively priced against leather, the losses continued. Finally, after many frustrations trying to reduce costs, the company called it quits—poorer by hundreds of millions in today's dollars.

Strange as it may seem, one way to reduce the risk of product introduction for U.S. multinationals may be to introduce the new product in Russia instead of in the U.S. The former Soviet Union provides a very large market in which domestically produced, world-class products encounter no effective competition. This unique combination allows a new product introduced in Russia to move down the experience curve without draining profits. At the same time, products made in Russia can be exported to repatriate profits and to develop markets in the U.S. and other countries.

In Russia and other former Soviet republics the absence of competition will allow a Western company to introduce a

new, domestically priced product without a period of low sales and high marketing costs. For example, until several years ago tampons were not available in the Soviet Union. Thus, when Tambrands started manufacturing tampons in a factory in Kiev, in effect a new product was introduced. This plant sold out its entire inventory without any advertising or other marketing costs. The operation has been financially successful because Tambrands repa-

Manager's Journal

By James L. Hecht

triates its profits in the form of high-quality cotton from the former Soviet Union, which it then uses for other products.

Lack of competition for world-class products produced in Russia will continue for at least a decade, and probably longer. Very few Russian factories can compete with Western quality and efficiency. And although foreign-made goods are readily available in Moscow and other cities, they are far too expensive for most Russians to buy. Consequently, these goods capture only a minute segment of the total market. Until Russia achieves a modern industrial infrastructure, the only foreign-produced products that can compete with Russian goods are those that are extremely capital intensive.

Many potential ventures in Russia are not feasible because too few raw

materials or components of sufficient quality can be obtained domestically. However, such a problem is not an automatic show-stopper; domestic sources often can be developed by providing technical assistance, at times augmented with additional investment. For example, McDonald's spent \$40 million for a food processing plant, right outside of Moscow. In addition, the company trained Russian farmers and supplied them with superior lettuce and potato seeds.

One "test product" that would be very appropriate to introduce in the former Soviet Union is processed food in plastic shelf-stable packaging. As energy costs increase, semi-rigid plastic containers (sometimes called "plastic cans") may someday replace more expensive metal cans. The plastic containers have other advantages: they are lighter and allow food to be heated in the container using microwave ovens; plastic containers can be made flat, and therefore do not need to be heated as long to sterilize the contents (which makes food taste better); plastic packaging allows food to be stored for more than six months without refrigeration, or shelf-life can be extended to several years by using more expensive plastics.

Some processed foods in shelf-stable plastic packaging are being sold in the U.S. today, such as Hormel's Dinty Moore Beef Stew. But many U.S. stores do not carry these products because they are swamped by many more product offerings than they can stock. Thus sales have been low, there has been little movement down

the experience curve, and the products available are less desirable and more costly to produce than they would be if there had been more experience.

What a difference producing and marketing the product in Russia would make! There would be plenty of room in the stores and, if the products were good, people would pay premium prices for them. With experience, more desirable products would result and costs would decrease. That would be the appropriate time to start exporting the product for market development to the U.S. or Western Europe—both to repatriate profit in hard currency and to have a low-cost source for initial marketing in the West.

There is yet another important advantage to such a strategy: With a competent public relations effort, initial marketing in the U.S. would benefit from free publicity. McDonald's has skillfully used its Moscow operation so that, without any advertising, tens of millions of people in the U.S. and Europe associate McDonald's with a restaurant where people wait in line, often for an hour or more, to spend four hours of pay for a single meal.

By receiving a cheap ride down the experience curve, the chances of being successful in the West are increased, but not assured. At the same time, the limitations of Russia's infrastructure present a common problem for Western investors. Success requires patient management and a willingness to become familiar with the country. Russia offers some of the best opportunities in the world for investment, but only to companies willing and able to handle the challenges of doing business there.

Mr. Hecht is director of the Project for the Study of the American Future at the University of Delaware and is author of "Rubles and Dollars" (Harper Business, 1991).

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The Bottom Line on Spanking Kids

By ARN TIBBETTS

Family values received a lot of play at the political conventions this summer. But what, exactly, does the term "family values" mean? For our family, at least, one answer comes to mind — and it doesn't involve public speeches, but rather a paddle or a switch.

My wife recalls that when she misbehaved as a child, her mother cut a switch from a tree in the backyard and whaled her with it then and there. Any mother so thwacking a child today would be condemned. The American Academy of Pediatrics repudiates it. School officials warn against the once-ubiquitous classroom paddle. Joan Beck, a nationally syndicated columnist, equates corporal punishment in schools with child abuse. Thus has political correctness befogged one of civilization's most useful ways to raise the young.

In my own boyhood in the Great Depression, the thwack-'em philosophy still prevailed. Because my parents moved around America, I got a broad view of thwack 'em. From 1933 to 1944, we lived in 50 places, from Maine to California. In 11 years, I attended 35 schools in 12 states. And was thwacked in every state. (Good thing — without fear to control me, I would have been an impossible child.) Of course, my father used the rod, and I was afraid of the man — and of most of my teachers and principals, too.

You can't raise or teach children without fear — although moderns term it respect, a distinction no child perceives. What is perceived is the certainty that if one commits an evil, one will get thwacked, and so evil-doing is approached with the wariness of a cat.

Thwacking works because it's a natural, quick and humane way to say to a

child, behave yourself. A newsmagazine columnist described a bedtime ritual with his two-year-old son, whom he called "a chunky kid with a strong allergy to authority. He refuses to undress. . . . He kicks, grabs my glasses and screams. . . . The undressing usually takes 20 minutes and leaves me exhausted."

This columnist is describing a spoiled, unhappy child common in America: the screaming urchin in the supermarket, the child lout banging on a computer in a public library, the three-year-old monster throwing a fit in a restaurant. These children are miserable; their parents are even more miserable.

Each of my four children was once two years old. At that age, they undressed themselves. Or they would have had a taste of the hairbrush. They went to bed happily because they knew they had no choice. (You give very few choices to small children, and not very many to big ones.)

Modern liberals say commonsense notions are ideologically unacceptable and that thwacking in schools "defies sound teaching practices." Yet the 35 schools I attended were full of sound teaching. Fifty years ago, most school officials were confident in the knowledge that you can't teach youthful barbarians anything unless you can keep them quiet and focus their attention. Thirty years ago, my wife taught in a high school in the worst section of a large city. The principal, in his office, displayed a paddle and a stack of expulsion slips to keep order. That school was quiet as a grave. Any child who wanted to learn could do so.

Liberals also say that thwacking children "does lasting harm." Yes, you can hurt your hand on a child's bottom — that's

why I always preferred a hairbrush. As a boy, I knew hundreds of children who were spanked in school or home. None expressed lasting resentment; rather, they boasted that they got more thwacks than Joe or Tom did "and didn't cry at all."

To plant genuine resentment in a child, do what today's liberated parent does. Yell at the kid. Tell him he's rotten, you hate him, you'll never take him anywhere again, that he's embarrassed you to death. Work him over verbally, the cruelest thing a parent can do. Take away his feeling of worth. That's how you abuse a child, how you hurt him permanently.

Liberals mistakenly believe that thwacking children creates an atmosphere of violence in which children themselves grow up to be violent. Yet my generation — which was thwacked by its parents — enjoyed a gentler world. As a child living in many poor sections in America, and as a young adult experiencing life on my own in the big city, I saw that violence was not the order of the day.

I do not recommend beating children. Beating is one thing — thwacking is another. And I recommend thwacking only when necessary. In an Ohio study of 619 doctors, published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 70% of the family physicians and 59% of the pediatricians polled supported the idea of spanking.

Some children need thwacking often, some almost never. Spanking a child is but a single act — among many — that supports civilized behavior against the natural barbarism of the American brat.

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Everybody's Business

Scenes of wanton killing in Bosnia and mass starvation in Somalia displayed on the world's TV screens have raised a familiar question of international law: At what point do so-called "sovereign" governments forfeit their sovereignty through their own despicable acts?

In the post-World War II era, as West European colonialism yielded in Africa and Asia to resurgent nationalism, "national sovereignty" was enshrined in the United Nations General Assembly. The "anti-colonialist" theme was exploited by the Soviet Union as it built its own empire.

But many of those new postwar nations, particularly in Africa, have become economic basket cases, and the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia have shattered into separate republics that seem, increasingly, to involve themselves in bloody quarrels.

Today there is far less risk of being accused of "imperialism" for suggesting that sovereignty is not an absolute right.

But that distinct change in global attitudes does not solve the fundamental problem: When a regime is guilty of abusing innocent people, who in the larger world will step forward to help the sufferers?

That, of course, is the question the world has faced — and without much unanimity or resolve — in the case of Yugoslavia. To its credit, Britain stepped forward last Tuesday to offer 1,800 ground troops to help guard U.N. aid convoys in Bosnia. The U.S. and the allies are promising air cover for the Shiites of Iraq. The U.S. is mounting an airlift to relieve starvation in Somalia. But all of these moves, admirable as they are, come rather late in the game of human slaughter. The U.N. is conducting a peacekeeping operation in Cambodia, but its troops aren't supposed to fire on the murderous Khmer Rouge.

Bernard Kouchner, France's minister for health and humanitarian ac-

tion has recently elucidated a doctrine he calls the "Duty to Intervene." He argues that we should no longer shrink from using military cover for humanitarian relief operations. The safety and subsistent needs of a population override national borders.

We are a bit uncomfortable with Mr. Kouchner's choice of the word "duty." It may be unrealistic to ask that global politics be based on something other than national interest. But he raises a provocative thought: Maybe national interest often does require that little thugs be suppressed before they become big thugs.

Surely, not all cases that offend our sense of justice necessitate intervention. But in those cases where rulers are causing the wholesale murder of their populations, certainly respect for national sovereignty should no longer be considered an obstacle to intervention. As always, the merits of intervention must be carefully weighed against its practical costs.

The crucial question remains, who decides? At the moment, the U.S., working through the U.N., seems to be the principle decision maker. But it remains to be seen whether the U.N. is finally evolving toward the peacekeeping role envisioned in its charter. Even if it is, the democracies will continue to initiate intervention efforts. Their military strength gives them the power, but more important, the embodiment of democratic values gives them the moral qualifications.

Public opinion can certainly be riled to a fever pitch, but the reactions to the Yugoslav and Somali crises demonstrate that, if anything, the Western publics prefer to err on the side of caution.

But neither should we justify inaction on the grounds of national sovereignty. As the children starve in Somalia, and as the sniper bullets rip through Bosnia, any absolute principle of nonintervention becomes a cruel abstraction indeed.

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Fannie Mug

When Congress first decided to rein in Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac by strengthening capital standards and creating more oversight, their private competitors cheered. At last, they hoped, somebody was putting the brake on the relentless federalization of housing finance. The bill recently passed by the Senate may make them sorry they did.

In return for the bill's negligible curbs on the two "government-sponsored entities," these public-private hybrids are likely to get a sweeping invitation to mug the private sector by expanding their mandates.

Capitol Hill's interest in the so-called GSEs was never in creating private business competition for them, but fear of another thrift debacle, with the attendant claims on taxpayers. Fannie and Freddie have nearly a trillion dollars in potential IOUs outstanding. Despite their being privately owned, the mortgage-backed securities they sell carry an implicit taxpayer guarantee. This guarantee, worth up to \$4 billion a year, explains why private firms throw up their hands when Fannie and Freddie come a-poaching.

If approved by a House-Senate conference, the new law would oblige them to put aside capital worth a mere 2.5% of their assets. While this may be better than the current nothing, it's about one-fourth what a private firm such as GE Capital must keep on hand to maintain the same triple-A rating. And for this concession, they extracted a prize.

The bill and its accompanying report spell out generous terms for letting them into new lines of business. As long as it's housing-related and would not have "deleterious effect on housing finance," it's open season. Specifically, the report says, they can't be held back just because a market is already well-served by the private sector.

What unearthly source provided this language? As near as we can tell, it emerged from talks between Senate staffers and lawyers for Fannie and Freddie. The corporations have never been happy with existing arrangements, which allowed HUD discretion to delay their move into adjustable-rate mortgages, Remics and other new gizmos pioneered by the private sector.

Banks, thrifts and finance companies, rightly fearing Fannie's and Freddie's ambitions, worry that this portends a taxpayer-backed assault on home-equity lending, mortgage insurance and who knows what else. It was

widely reported that Salomon Inc. was frozen out of underwriting opportunities because it opposed Fannie's takeover of Remics.

Something must be in the air, because most of the other GSEs seem to be sizing up new worlds to conquer.

Sallie Mae, born to package and resell student loans, will soon begin competing with banks to provide short-term financing directly to universities. Connie Lee, created to insure building loans for junk-rated colleges, (typically, public and private schools with a triple-B rating) has been looking to expand its business to include investment-grade schools. On the drawing board around the administration bureaucracy are Dottie Mae (municipal road-building loans), Vinnie Mac (mortgage insurance for veterans) and an as-yet unnamed insurer of pollution-control bonds.

Fannie and Freddie work hard and spend lavishly to preserve their special status. Fannie operates her own PAC and throws some of the most sumptuous schmoozathons in Washington. Housing groups and home builders are always standing by to storm Capitol Hill on their behalf. Rep. Jim Leach once called them an "arrogant two-headed monopoly."

The private sector submitted rather meekly to all this. Even today, the only complaint it dares utter is that by threatening to take all the profitable business, the GSEs are increasing the risks to taxpayer-insured banks and thrifts. But there are better reasons for worrying.

However solid Fannie's and Freddie's balance sheets look now, nothing is eternal. Even great businesses have a life expectancy considerably less than the biblical three score and ten. As long as taxpayers are on the hook, the bill will inevitably come due.

This is even more probable in institutions operating with special favors from government. By contrast, when many are competing, there's less chance of the industry as a whole being blind-sided by changes in technology or consumer tastes. And when one firm goes down, it doesn't take the entire business with it.

The argument that underlay the GSEs' creation — that the private sector couldn't or wouldn't do the job — no longer holds. Today there's a thriving secondary market in "jumbo" mortgages that Fannie and Freddie by law can't touch. If the services they provide to the housing market are so important, then they're important enough to privatize.

Executives Negative on Bush, Clinton

A WALL STREET JOURNAL News Roundup
George Bush or Bill Clinton? Whose economic battle plan is best? A nationwide survey of business leaders by The Wall Street Journal found that many executives agree on one thing—both camps have to spell out their programs more fully.

Some executives say both the Republicans and the Democrats have yet to come up with real solutions for the economic malaise. Others are simply turned off by the rhetoric from both sides.

Several executives believe reducing the budget deficit should be the No. 1 priority. And faced with the huge deficit, at least one corporate leader says the country simply can't afford a tax cut. Another says tough steps are needed to hold down spending, warning that otherwise that big deficit will be with us for a long time.

And Congress? One executive says the folks on Capitol Hill represent a major roadblock to getting the nation's economic engine humming again.

Here is a sampling of the results of the Journal's survey:

ROBERT H. MALOTT
Executive Committee Chairman,
FMC Corp.

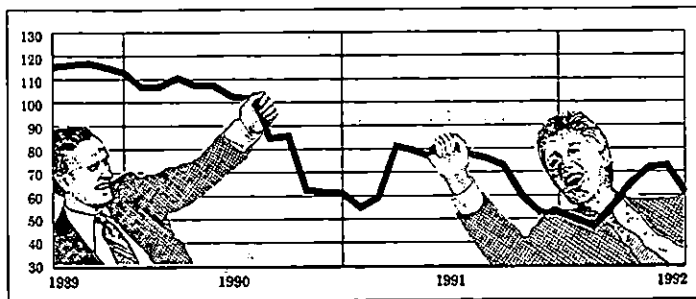
"I don't really think either of the [economic] plans are specific or substantial enough to evaluate," says the retired chief executive of the Chicago-based maker of machinery and chemicals.

However, he says, certain economic proposals Mr. Bush has tried to implement in the past appear to be "in the right direction for stimulating the economy." For example, he says, eliminating a tax on capital gains is "absolutely mandatory to encourage . . . the investment necessary to create jobs. All the countries with whom we compete have lower capital gains rates."

PAUL ALLAIRE
Chairman, Xerox Corp.

"The president has taken a laissez-faire approach to the economy, apparently believing that the problems were temporary and would take care of themselves," says the chief executive of the Stamford, Conn., maker of business products. "I know he inherited a massive deficit, but he just hasn't been able to effectively deal with it. Also, with our current deficit, I don't believe we can afford a tax cut."

"Gov. Clinton, on the other hand, has come up with a domestic agenda focused on improving our competitiveness. He would make a \$220 billion investment in America's infrastructure and the American people to make us more productive. He would cut government spending by about \$150 billion. This, plus tax increases for business and our wealthiest citizens,



would pay for the investment and also reduce the deficit by half over four years."

GLENN SCHAEFFER
President, Circus Circus Enterprises Inc.

"Bush didn't really explain the economic program," the Nevada casino-hotel operator says. "And I'm not sure Clinton's program is any more articulated. We're dealing with points of rhetoric."

That aside, he says, "The weakness the Republicans have had is cutting government spending. I don't think they have attacked spending and entitlement programs, which are huge."

Mr. Schaeffer says the main weakness of Clinton's proposal is his plan to raise taxes on the rich and ease the tax burden of the middle class. "When you raise taxes on a slim percentage of the population, it's symbolic and populist, but it's not economic," he says. "There just aren't enough taxpayers above the middle class cutoff to make it work."

JERRY K. PEARLMAN
Chairman and President,
Zenith Electronics Corp.

"I was very disappointed to hear [President Bush] talk about an across-the-board tax cut. It's a sell-out to the conservative side of the party, and it is, in fact, not the right economic theory," Mr. Pearlman says. "I wish he would have skipped the tax subject entirely" and focused on spending cuts, investment and deficit reduction.

To talk about deficit reduction on top of an across-the-board tax cut "seems a little Alice-in-Wonderland. I began to wonder, 'If this is possible, why haven't you proposed it before?'"

"A number of Clinton's proposals made sense to me," Mr. Pearlman says, citing tax increases for upper-income individuals. "Amazingly, there's a lot more detail available in Clinton's economic plan than there is in the Bush proposal." He cited Clinton's proposal to pare 100,000 federal employees, cut more money out of the

defense budget and invest more in the nation's infrastructure. Zenith, Glenview, Ill., makes consumer electronic products.

GEORGE N. HATSOPOULOS
Chairman, Thermo Electron Corp.

"I think the suggestion made by President Bush of taxpayers allocating a portion of their taxes to reduce the budget deficit is a good one, only if it can be coupled with legislated reduction of government spending. Otherwise the whole thing is a joke," says Mr. Hatsopoulos, whose Waltham, Mass., firm makes industrial products.

"Cutting the capital gains tax helps, but it's not enough," he says. "Besides, the economic community is split on how much help it really brings. On the one hand, it might spur investment but on the other it slows the deficit-reduction process. I think what's missing . . . is specific proposals on how to reduce the deficit."

STEPHEN SANDBERG
Owner, Sanco Toy Inc.

"I seriously doubt if President Bush or Gov. Clinton think they have the answer to the nation's depressed economy. That's why their reform proposals in campaign speeches have been very abstract and vague," said the executive of Sanco, a Foxboro, Mass., toy distributor with annual revenue of about \$7 million.

"But whoever gets elected, and whatever their economy revival plans, the next president is going to have to inspire confidence, much like President Reagan whose approach was very Calvin Coolidge-like: let business be business. That struck a chord with the small-business community. It did with me."

STANLEY E. COLLENDER
Director, Federal Budget Policy,
Price Waterhouse

The accounting firm executive says the Bush proposals, "while they sound good rhetorically, when you run the numbers you realize they can't possibly work." He says "the amount of spending cuts that

would be required are so far above anything that anyone has talked about before, there would be no Republican or Democratic support for them."

Mr. Collender says the numbers "don't seem to make sense," adding that the Bush plan is "roughly the equivalent of getting a cash advance on your Mastercard to make a payment on your Visa."

The Clinton camp "has apparently decided the deficit isn't the most important thing," and "decided it's all right to spend more money as long as it's for the right things," he adds.

ROBERT C. STEMPEL
Chairman, General Motors Corp.

"It's too early [to react to either candidate's economic proposals] so far," the giant auto maker's chief executive says. "Give us a couple of days on that."

Mr. Stempel and other auto industry leaders huddled with Gov. Clinton Friday after the Arkansas governor's speech to the Economic Club of Detroit. High on the list of topics was a congressional proposal to boost federal fuel-economy standards to 40 miles a gallon from the current 27.5 miles a gallon. "I'm glad to see that the governor has taken some flexibility on that," Mr. Stempel says.

JERRY ROGERS
Chief Executive, Cyrix Corp.

The head of Cyrix, a closely held computer chip maker based in Richardson, Texas, says he found neither candidates' proposal particularly appealing. He called President Bush's checkoff program a "gimmick" and chided Bill Clinton for his big-spending proposals.

Neither of the candidates, Mr. Rogers says, is addressing the problem most important to him this election year: the nation's budget deficit.

"Unless somebody really gets tough about the spending side of the equation, the deficit is going to be there for quite some time. Spending that much money on interest just doesn't make sense."

JOHN LAUGHLIN
Chief Executive,
Galaxy Registration Inc.

The budget deficit is the biggest economic problem facing the U.S., and most of President Bush's proposals are thoughtful and effective ways to attack the problem, says the executive of the Frederick, Md., trade-show planner. But he sees a roadblock: Congress.

"You've got the pork-barrel problem—gore everybody's ox but mine," he says. "If Bush were president of a company, many of these things would seem like the right thing to do. But the country's not the dictatorship that a company is."

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Grading Bush's Speech

PHOENIX

All eyes have been fixed on the effect of the Bush acceptance speech: conventioners bought while investors sold and pollsters bounced.

But what of the speech itself? Did it measure up to the standard set in Mr. Bush's first acceptance speech four years ago — and did it live up to the advance word that it would not only "redefine" his image but would tell the American people where he hoped to lead them in a second term?

Those of us who were rooting for him to deliver a thematic, inspirational address that set forth realistic economic and foreign policies were disappointed. Here is a report card from a former Republican speechwriter who still wishes he could be more of a Bush supporter:

1. *Structure*: It was as if the first and last 10 minutes of the speech were written by an articulate idealist (Ray Price, my estimable Nixon colleague) but an interminable 40-minute middle — a laundry list, complete with the hoary line-item veto, left over from the State of the Union Message — was jammed in by a scathing partisan (Robert Zoellick, James Baker's writer). Result: a pushmipullyu polemic, going in opposite directions.

2. *Tone*: Throughout his speech's sagging center, Mr. Bush adopted the uncharacteristic pose of ridicule. His shaft at Mario Cuomo's indecisiveness was lost on listeners unfamiliar with Baskin-Robbins; his "Slippery When Wet" charge was insensitive to auto accidents in the Clinton and Gore pasts; two references to Elvis Presley were one too many, and a derogation of the "tasseled loafers" of lawyers seemed out of place for a patrician more familiar with Gucci than most Democrats. Mr. Bush, good at sincerity, is poor at ridicule.

3. *Delivery*: In rejecting Democrat-ic ridicule, as in his repeated "tell that to" passage, he used Churchillian anaphora to drive home his point with confidence and zest; Roger Ailes, his coach, has reason to be proud. However, in the speech's roughest personal shot — "while I bit the bullet, he bit his nails" — Mr. Bush, perhaps because it was out of character, blew the line.

4. *Phrasemaking*: "The gridlock

Democrat Congress" is a nice evocation of Harry Truman's "do-nothing 80th Congress," and picks up on Ross Perot's favorite word. "A rubber-check Congress and a rubber-stamp President" was good, but the use of alliteration — calling Congress a web of "PAC's, perks, privileges, partisanship and paralysis" that "puts politics ahead of principle, and above progress" — was Harding-like in its excess. ("Not nostrums but normalcy, not experiment but equipoise ...") Good focus was on the target shown in "Our policies haven't failed; they haven't been tried," but "our new crusade," coined to counter the religiosity of Clinton's "New Covenant" and to evoke Eisenhower, is unlikely to catch on.

5. *The Fresh Idea*: The tax-return check-off is a gimmick to try to deal with the worst shortcoming of the Bush Presidency: unrestrained spending that caused a ballooning deficit. His serious plan is to throttle down increases in Medicare, Medicaid and veterans' benefits to the rate of inflation and new beneficiaries — a necessary discipline — but in this he bit his nails rather than the bullet. By sugarcoating his entitlement restraint with a vague promise of tax-rate reduction, Mr. Bush destroyed the credibility of deficit reduction.

6. *Omissions*: The speech was improved by leaving out cracks about Hillary Clinton or overtly dwelling on family values; it was diminished by a fear of mentioning or comforting the unemployed.

7. *Peroration*: His railroad-whistle-in-the-night passage — standing a pre-dawn watch "when God introduces you to yourself" and presaging a national sunrise — worked.

8. *The Implanted Film Clip*: As "an aside," he promised to "never let politics interfere with a foreign policy decision" no matter how much it would help his re-election.

This is a rhetorical time bomb set to go off at a moment of crisis. Intended for replay when he zaps Saddam or puts medics in Sarajevo, those words may turn out to be the most memorable line of a speech in which the President "redefined" himself as Harry Truman because he could not define himself as George Bush. □

Peru's Dictatorship Is Ridiculous but Real

By Gustavo Gorriti

The scars left by the Shining Path's July offensive against Lima are all too evident. The windows of many of office buildings in the middle- and upper-class districts of the capital look like empty eye sockets. The buildings now stand as monuments to shallow modernity, assailed by the vicious anachronism of fundamentalist revolutionaries.

The latest wave of attacks began on July 16, when a car bomb exploded in a narrow street in the Miraflores district. Within the next eight days, one powerful car bomb after another was detonated around the city.

The failure of the army and other security forces to give even minimal protection during the first seven of these eight days exposed their ineptitude. Except for a few police units, both the army and the police, taken totally by surprise, were busy protecting themselves, hedgehog-like, in their garrisons.

Alberto Fujimori, the de facto ruler, didn't appear on the scene of the bombings or offer support to the victims of the explosions. He only appeared on national TV days later to announce a few security measures. His speech on July 28, Peru's national day, was mostly used to attack the legal political parties and to defend his April 5 coup and suspension of Parliament and the democratic process.

As his dictatorship has taken away

Gustavo Gorriti, a Peruvian journalist, is joining the Carnegie Endowment in Washington this month as a senior associate.

the safety nets that a democracy provides — participatory decision-making, nontraumatic replacement of leadership — the last wave of Shining Path attacks brought the remaining middle class a painful realization: that the war might be lost without the army losing even one battle.

Should Latin America and the U.S. care? I believe they should, very much. You have only to look at a map to realize how a Shining Path victory would change the hemispheric security situation. Historically, major revo-

**Don't send aid
until democracy
is restored.**

lutionary processes have either spread from or culminated in Peru. Most neighboring countries are vulnerable to the influence of the Maoist rebels. Already, Shining Path has directed some actions at Bolivia.

If it's hard to imagine the spread of Communist fundamentalism in the 1990's, remember that nobody gave a chance to the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's efforts to bring Iran and the rest of the Muslim world back to the Middle Ages.

What should be done? First, the U.S. should continue working through the Organization of American States to increase hemispheric pressure on the Fujimori dictatorship to restore democratic rule within this year. Pressure, steady during the first months, has been slackening, and

some suspended international aid was recently released.

Mr. Fujimori will try to sabotage the democratic restoration at every step; the recent easing of pressure prompted new trickery. But he is vulnerable and sensitive to external pressure.

A progressively stronger democracy, both at the grass roots and the national level, represents the best chance of turning the tide and eventually defeating the Shining Path. No democracy has ever been overthrown by a guerrilla-based insurgency. Many dictatorships, especially weak and inept ones like Peru's, have been.

Consider what the army commander, Nicolás de Bari Hermoza, was occupying himself with only a few days before the rebel offensive in the capital. At an impromptu, ridiculous ceremony, the commander declared his loyalty to Mr. Fujimori and barked attacks against Mario Vargas Llosa, the writer and former Presidential candidate who has called for the West to withhold aid to the Peruvian Government until democracy is restored.

Then, at the headquarters of the Special Forces unit, officers formed smartly behind their general, donning fancy, bersaglieri-like berets. Brandishing glasses of Pisco sour (so that they had to applaud with their feet), they proclaimed their undying loyalty to the dictator.

Contrast this scene with Shining Path's demonstration of strategic dexterity, not uncommon in highly disciplined totalitarian movements.

The movement's growth is reflected by the number provinces declared under a state of emergency. In December 1982 there were five provinces under emergency rule. In May

1991, when the Shining Path proclaimed to have achieved "strategic parity" with the state, there were 87.

Since then, the situation has only worsened. The rebels have surrounded the cities and moved into the cities, especially in the huge shantytowns ringing Lima that for all practical purposes amount to the countryside moved into the city.

The pessimistic mood in Peru doesn't stem only from the security situation, bad as it is, but also from the economy's hopelessness. Mr. Fujimori's rigid free-market approach has partly stemmed hyperinflation, but recession has deepened: The free-market true believers did not take into account that wars, internal or external, are Keynesian affairs.

At the end of 1992, the country's gross domestic product will be the same as it was in 1973. Close to \$1 billion would have been paid to international financial institutions from 1990 to 1992.

It shouldn't be surprising, therefore, that Peru continues to be the world's largest producer of coca and cocaine paste.

In the best scenario, Peru would emerge as a gradually more vigorous democracy, and, in great part because of that process, win the war against the Shining Path after a long, difficult and probably bloody struggle. To help make this possible, Peru should be helped — once democracy is restored — through debt relief and direct support. The stakes are certainly much higher than the money that would be involved.

But the continuation of Mr. Fujimori's dictatorship would only help the Shining Path and make defeat a horrifying but distinct possibility. □

The Clinton Plan (Thanks to Dukakis)

By Christopher J. Georges

Although Gov. Bill Clinton promises a new generation of leadership, he appears ready to deliver more of the politics-as-usual he rails against.

He claims to be an "agent of change." His hefty agenda, billed as the "Third Way," is as The Los Angeles Times reported "filled with literally dozens of new programs on a range of issues."

Or is it? Thirty-nine of the 49 specific proposals in his national economic strategy are virtually identical to policies proposed in 1988 by Michael S. Dukakis.

Of course, Mr. Clinton offers variations. But put his bold agenda under the spotlight and it quickly melts to the old agenda.

Are the Republicans right in charging that he, like Mr. Dukakis, is yet another "tax-and-spend liberal"? No, but only because Mr. Dukakis was unfairly stigmatized. What does appear true is that Mr. Clinton, despite

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his rhetoric of "change," offers very little of it in the way of specifics.

His education agenda is virtually identical to Mr. Dukakis's Stars and Stripes plans, his National Apprenticeship plan was Mr. Dukakis's Job Start, his Youth Opportunity Corps was Mr. Dukakis's Educational Excellence Mentors.

Mr. Dukakis offered a detailed plan to invest in America's infrastructure, part of which he labeled the Fund to Rebuild America. Mr. Clinton gives

The candidate has backed away from bold reforms.

us a Rebuild America plan, which reiterates almost all of Mr. Dukakis's planks.

Point after point, the agendas match: a worker retraining initiative, a civilian research and development agency, campaign finance reform, play-or-pay health insurance, a plan to toughen lobbyists' disclosure regulations, a parental leave act, in-

creased fines and taxes for corporate polluters.

Mr. Clinton even offers a version of Mr. Dukakis's often-mocked proposal to collect \$58 billion by going after tax cheats; the main difference is that Mr. Clinton vows to collect \$45 billion by going after foreign tax evaders.

It should come as little surprise that Mr. Clinton would fill his agenda with reruns. After all, a number of his top domestic policy advisers are the very people who engineered Mr. Dukakis's agenda.

But despite the similarities, Bill Clinton is clearly no Michael Dukakis. Aside from the obvious personality differences, the campaign has emphasized different themes. And even if Mr. Clinton relies on many ideas proposed by Mr. Dukakis (and other Democrats), it is no bad thing. Many are worthy and deserve a chance.

Still, Mr. Clinton is missing an important opportunity. The public clearly has embraced the idea of change. If he truly wants to live up to his reformist image, he would go beyond what Mr. Dukakis and other Democrats have proposed and return to some of the aggressive ideas he has spent the last few years promoting.

Mr. Clinton once championed hard choices such as cutting wasteful spending in Social Security and other

entitlements. Today, toadying to the lobbyists for the elderly and other special interests, he has yet to propose any such cuts.

In Arkansas, his sweeping education reforms, such as mandatory teacher competency testing, went beyond what Mr. Dukakis or any other Democrat dared offer. But, again, he has shelved the idea, this time pandering to teachers' unions.

As for military spending, Mr. Clinton would slash \$300 billion. But a closer look shows that of the 21 proposed reductions, several, such as cutting \$10 billion from inventory and procurement management, have been tried and have failed, and the details of other cuts, such as \$22 billion in administration, are vague.

Governor Clinton, pandering, seeks to restore financing for the Seawolf submarine (even though the Administration has sought to kill it) and has supported development of one of the most expensive weapons systems, the V-22 Osprey aircraft (a stance that prompted the Administration to reverse its decision to scrap it).

Mr. Clinton appears to have struck the right chord. But his specifics fall short of his bold rhetoric. He's got a rare opportunity to offer serious solutions to our economic woes. It would be a shame if he let it pass. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

The Price Of Lies

BOSTON

If you wonder why Americans have become so cynical about politics, take a close look at George Bush's acceptance speech at the Houston convention. It was a classic of the misrepresentations, the hollow promises, the brazen falsehoods that have made people turn off.

The big news in the speech was the promise of an across-the-board tax cut. Everyone likes the idea of paying less in taxes. But the Bush plan was so hollow that it collapsed at once when analyzed — not only by the Democrats but by conservative economists.

Herbert Stein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Nixon, told *The Boston Globe*: "We're not likely to see any tax cuts out of this. It's just to fill up the space until the election."

The Bush plan calls for tax cuts to be matched by cuts in Federal spending. But Mr. Stein pointed out that the President also demanded a constitutional amendment to balance the budget, and any spending cuts would have to go to reducing the deficit. "You can't sell the same spending cuts twice," he said.

Moreover, some of the particular cuts proposed by Mr. Bush — in medical care for the elderly and the poor — have no chance of enactment, and he knows it. In fact, his budget this

President Bush — and the real world.

year called for increases in Medicaid spending.

But my favorite passage in the Bush speech was this one: "From Angola to Central America they [the Democrats] said, 'Let's negotiate, deliberate, procrastinate.' We said, 'Just stand up for freedom.'"

The purpose of that passage was of course to make the Democrats look unpatriotic. Mr. Bush was using the tactic pioneered by Richard Nixon and Joe McCarthy. But in the examples he chose he turned the record exactly backward.

In Angola, the consistent American policy through the Carter, Reagan and Bush Administrations was to help negotiate an end to the brutal civil war. The policy was brought to a successful conclusion — an admirable conclusion — by Hank Cohen, Mr. Bush's Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Mr. Cohen must be surprised to hear that his President thinks he was unpatriotic.

In Central America, the Reagan policy, created by Al Haig, was to stoke up war. Mr. Bush's Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Bernard Aronson, turned that policy around. He aimed for a negotiated end to the war in El Salvador and a political solution in Nicaragua.

The peaceful policy worked — with crucial help from Jimmy Carter at the Nicaraguan election. Mr. Aronson, too, must be surprised to know that President Bush disapproves of negotiation.

Then there was Mr. Bush's statement that Bill Clinton had "raised taxes and fees 128 times" as Governor of Arkansas. Dan Quayle first used that figure. It has the delusory precision of Joe McCarthy's claim that he had the names of 155 or 163 Communists in the Government.

But the figure had been examined by Michael Kinsley in *The New Republic*, and exploded, before the convention. Mr. Kinsley showed that the list produced by the Bush-Quayle campaign was, as he put it, "hilariously shoddy."

One item listed as a "tax increase" was a 1987 law lengthening the Arkansas dog-racing season. Why? More days, more revenue from the state gambling tax. Another was a \$1 increase in court costs imposed on convicted criminals. And so on.

There have been about as many tax cuts as increases in Mr. Clinton's years as Governor. And Arkansas is 49th among the 50 states in per capita state and local taxes.

The word carpenters who put together the Bush speech surely knew the 128 figure was phony. They put it in there anyway, and Mr. Bush used it.

Does that matter? Maybe I am naïve, but I think it does. Hyperbole is to be expected of politicians. But deliberate lies? I think that kind of politics has brought this country close to disbelief in its own political system.

When an incumbent President makes such a speech, the purpose is to distract the voters from his record. But as Mr. Bush spoke, the real world reminded us of the record. The dollar fell to a record low against the German mark. The stock market dropped sharply. And the largest number of Americans in a decade filed new unemployment compensation claims. □

The New York Times

Reporter's Notebook

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

'Plain George' Plainly Tries To Be Likable

By RICHARD L. BERKE
Special to The New York Times

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Aug. 23 — 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 had no use for a jacket and tie. As he toured the Illinois State Fair today, 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.

As he told supporters in Woodstock, Ga., "Frankly, it's great to be out of the D.C. mode and out on the campaign trail, taking our case to the American people."

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.

When Mr. Bush steps off that gleaming white jet decorated with blue trim and a Presidential seal, greeted by officials running on the taxiway, he could not look any more distant from the people in the crowd.

The fact is, he cannot escape being President.

Gov. Bill Clinton can romp around from hamlet to hamlet in a bus, but the President's entourage is so large that it is difficult for him to get close to the people. When he tried to take an impromptu stroll on a California beach recently, Mr. Bush was surrounded by such crowds that the Secret Service had to hurriedly guide him back to his limousine.

Still, Mr. Bush is determined not to lose to Mr. Clinton in the fitness race: the heavy security does not stop him from jogging like the Arkansas Governor.

After running a couple of miles around a park in Missouri the other day, he was asked if he looked better in shorts than his Democratic rival.

"That," Mr. Bush said, "is for the American people to decide."

Has Job, Will Travel

Springfield, besides being where Lincoln is buried, is also the hometown of Samuel K. Skinner, the departing White House chief of staff. So it was only natural for Edward Madigan, the Secretary of Agriculture, to give a nod to Mr. Skinner this afternoon as he was warming up the crowd for Mr. Bush at the state fair here.

But Mr. Skinner was nowhere to be

Just your ordinary, everyday, run-of- the-mill President.

found. "Where is he?" Mr. Madigan asked the thousands of supporters as he surveyed the stage.

It was an abrupt finale for Mr. Skinner, who officially stepped down today to make room for James A. Baker 3d. Mr. Bush's post-convention campaign swing has been something of a farewell for Mr. Skinner, who now becomes general chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Though Mr. Skinner seems unusually cheery for someone who only last December was brought in to rescue Mr. Bush after the stormy tenure of John H. Sununu as chief of staff, he seems to be groping to find his role in what is largely considered a ceremonial post. He came back to chat with reporters on Air Force One Saturday, not to make an important political pronouncement but to pass along the official police count of people at a rally in Hoover, Ala. (It was 19,800.)

Mr. Skinner was said to have resisted efforts to use his new job to raise money for the party, and is instead expected to travel as a surrogate for Mr. Bush. At least he managed to find some humor in explaining his latest career move.

Recalling the "60 Minutes" report that as Secretary of Transportation he liked to take trips at Government expense, Mr. Skinner quipped: "I'm going to do a lot of traveling. If you didn't see '60 Minutes,' I like to travel."

Some Protest, Some Praise

It was high noon in the war over "family values."

Inside the Dallas Convention Center on Saturday night, Mr. Bush preached to a convention of evangelical leaders, interrupted by chants of "Four more years; four more years," as he talked of God and country, the sanctity of life and his call for prayer in school.

Outside were more than 200 demonstrators from Act Up, the combative AIDS protest group, joined by some abortion-rights advocates whose chant was more of a shout: "Four more months! Four more months!"

Inside, Dr. Adrian Rogers, a Baptist leader, introduced the President

by recalling his acceptance speech last week in Houston. "You gave that magnificent address," he said. "We stood and cheered and clapped and clapped. We love you."

Outside, the message was not one of love for the President. The protesters outlined in chalk on the pavement the shapes of people, saying they represented dead AIDS patients. For the President, they had these words: "Shame, shame, shame!"

It was not likely that Mr. Bush even saw the goings on outside. Inside, he won ovation after ovation. "I was struck," he told the enthusiastic crowd, "that the other party took words to put together their platform but left out three simple letters: G.O.D."

But there was at least one person on the crowded speaker's platform who may not have agreed entirely with the program. Though she politely applauded the speakers and joined in the many standing ovations, Barbara Bush remained still at one point: when her husband mentioned "the sanctity of human life."

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

Baker Returns, Bringing Tried-and-True Tactics

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 23 — With but 10 weeks to election day, James A. Baker 3d took over as White House chief of staff this evening amid expectations that he plans to reorder the top of the Republican re-election apparatus.

Mr. Baker replaced Samuel K. Skinner as President Bush's top aide at 6:30 this evening, minutes after the President returned from a post-convention speaking trip to a carefully orchestrated welcome by a thousand cheering supporters at the White House.

Under Mr. Baker's direction, aides said, the campaign will shun major

policy initiatives in the remaining 73 days before the election, concentrating instead on a relentless effort to cast Mr. Bush as a better prepared, more capable and more trustworthy leader than his Democratic challenger, Gov. Bill Clinton.

Tried-and-True Tactic

The same tactic worked in 1988, when Mr. Baker took over the President's campaign in late summer and it roared from behind to trounce the Democratic nominee, Michael S. Dukakis. Mr. Baker will be helped by a team of aides, all veterans of the 1988 race, who are following him from the State Department to the White House.

Mr. Baker is expected to put his stamp on the White House and the

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

As Mr. Baker has already swept out the top ranks of the White House, replacing Mr. Skinner's staff with his own advisers in virtually every decision-making position, he was widely expected to "run a rake through the campaign," as one Republican associate of Mr. Baker said late last week.

Sticking With Teeter?

Bush aides and Republican strategists said Mr. Baker has been urged to recruit a veteran political strategist to oversee operations at the Bush campaign offices four blocks from the White House, but it was far from clear whether he would follow that advice. Other Republican Party officials said he could well decide instead to rely on the campaign's current chairman and his old friend, Robert M. Teeter, to execute a strategy dictated by the White House.

Mr. Teeter runs the campaign's daily affairs and oversees long-range strategy, and Frederic V. Malek, an investor and airline executive, manages its finances and operations. A

Continued on Page A13, Column 5

The Republicans

Baker Returns to the White House, Bringing Tried-and-True Tactics

Continued From Page A1

Washington lobbyist and conservative political strategist, Charles Black, has acted as a senior adviser to the two.

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

"The very first thing you have to do is walk in the door and immediately set a tone and direction, and start moving," said a senior Administration official who is familiar with Mr. Baker's thinking. "Everything has to be integrated. You're talking about the entire process of defining what is the difference between George Bush and his challenger, and we've only got 10 weeks to do it."

Another Administration official who is an associate of both Mr. Bush and Mr. Baker said: "Baker's not going to run the campaign. The nuts and bolts will stay where they are. But the two most important things now are where the President goes, and what he says. And both of those things are going to be coming out of the White House from now on."

Doomsaying Officials

Circumstances are vastly changed this summer from those in 1988, and beneath a surface cockiness, Mr. Baker's associates and Administration officials are already seeking to lower expectations of his success.

Several of them noted in interviews last week that Mr. Baker this time is taking over both a White House and a campaign on the fly, coming from a short vacation and work on Middle East peace talks, the war in Bosnia and the growing crisis in Iraq.

Some of this aides are in a similar position. One top State Department official who will accompany Mr. Baker to the White House, Dennis Ross, was vacationing in California last week. A second, Margaret Tutwiler, returned only today from a safari in Africa.

Asked on Friday about changes in the campaign, one Baker associate responded: "That's going to be the subject of some discussion. I can't tell you how much we don't know about the campaign."

Such ignorance is probably overstated. Mr. Baker is legendary for his ability to stage manage the public view of his role in a crisis, and there is ample reason for him to depict this crisis as a struggle that for which he is ill prepared, and which he could well lose.

Mr. Baker may indeed lose, but there

is little chance that he is ill prepared, for that is not his nature.

As Secretary of State in mid-July, well before his shift to the White House was announced, Mr. Baker had already solicited advice from a handful of friends and advisers on whether and how he should take on a new White House role. This month, engulfed as he was in diplomatic work, he still found time to devise a farewell address to State Department employees that became the blueprint for Mr. Bush's own acceptance speech at the Republican convention, and very likely for the campaign itself.

Prime Office Space

Coming with him to the White House are the four aides who more or less oversaw the State Department for Mr. Baker for the last four years, and who will effectively run the White House for the duration of the campaign. Their roles and importance are reflected in the locations of their new offices in the coveted West Wing of the White House.

Mr. Baker will take the spacious yellow-and-white office held by Mr. Skinner, barely 40 steps from the Oval Office. Closest to him, in a windowless room occupied until now by a counselor to Mr. Skinner, will be Ms. Tutwiler, the State Department spokeswoman, Mr. Baker's closest adviser and aide de camp since 1976.

Ms. Tutwiler will take the job of White House communications director now held by Marlene Fitzwater, a post that oversees speech writing and scheduling. But a primary duty will be to serve as Mr. Baker's link to the national press — the one White House official, aside from Mr. Bush himself, who knows Mr. Baker's thinking, and can speak for him without hesitation.

Next to Ms. Tutwiler, in an office held until now by Mr. Skinner's deputy, Henson Moore, will be Robert B. Zoellick, the new deputy chief of staff. Mr. Zoellick, the former undersecretary of state for economic affairs, will manage the White House staff and work on policy options for a second term.

Upstairs, on the White House's second floor, will be Dennis Ross, another policy expert who will oversee the Bush domestic agenda, and Janet G. Mullins, who will handle political affairs, and serve as a liaison to the campaign. They will take over offices once held by Mr. Skinner's domestic-policy experts, Clayton K. Yeutter and Roger B. Porter.

Mr. Skinner and Mr. Porter are moving to rooms in a staff building across the street from the White House. Mr. Skinner will remain about a week to help Mr. Baker before becoming general chairman of the Republican National Committee, a new post created for him this month.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

Editorial Notebook

Shifting on the Shiites

In moving to shelter the rebellious Shiites of southern Iraq from Saddam Hussein's air force, the Bush Administration is not only reversing last year's cruel abandonment of an uprising encouraged by American rhetoric. It is junking the strategic formula behind America's disastrous, decade-long flirtation with Saddam Hussein — that a unified Iraq could best protect the region from the revolutionary Shiism of Iran.

In its place comes a new — and equally dubious — strategic calculation. With Iraq now installed as public enemy No. 1, the threat of Iranian adventurism is dismissed as a lesser evil. In some ways, it's simply the old failed policy in reverse. Baghdad's control over the Shiite south was seen as a strategic bulwark against a fundamentalist Iran. Denying that control is now seen as a strategic wedge against a defiant Iraq.

The problem with such grand designs is that they can lead policy makers to sweep aside troublesome details — like nuclear proliferation, terrorism, dictatorship and abuse of human rights. That's exactly what happened during the years of strategic tilt toward Iraq, and it could happen again with this new wink at Iran.

Beginning in the early 1980's, Washington began cozying up to Baghdad, despite ample evidence of Saddam Hussein's ruthless repression, his sponsorship of global terrorism and his drive to acquire high-tech weapons. America's longtime ally, the Shah of Iran, had been replaced by a regime that preached anti-American revolution to Muslims everywhere, especially the Shiites of Iraq and the Persian Gulf emirates. Mr. Hussein's dictatorship, by contrast, was secular, hostile to Iran and armed to the teeth.

When Baghdad's war against Iran turned sour, the U.S. stepped in with vital support, sharing intelligence and providing armed defense of Persian Gulf sea lanes. The Reagan Administration feared that Iraq could shatter in defeat, with Iran gaining dangerous influence in the Shiite south. Neither Baghdad's 1987 missile attack on the U.S.S. Stark, killing 37 American sailors, nor its later use of poison gas on Kurdish villages moved Washington to alter its pro-Iraq tilt.

Strategists Adrift In the Persian Gulf

After the cease-fire between Iran and Iraq, President Bush pressed ahead with his strategic courtship of Saddam Hussein, despite evidence that American aid was being diverted toward illegal weapons programs. And even after Operation Desert Storm, the strategic buffer theory led Mr. Bush to distance himself from Kurdish and Shiite revolts.

Now Washington has abruptly stopped worrying about Iran, for the same kind of reasons that earlier led it to put aside worries about Iraq. Yet Iran too is a bloody police state. It too is trying to develop nuclear weapons. Iranian hit squads still roam Europe and the Middle East. And Teheran has armed and trained some 30,000 Iraqi Shiites while offering sanctuary to one of their spiritual leaders. Iran has not really changed its stripes; Washington has simply changed its perceptions.

Perhaps the Administration's new strategic calculus will work out better than its predecessor. But such gamesmanship threatens to undermine public support for an active U.S. global role. A more promising approach would develop new policies based on clearly understandable American values and interests, rather than obscure considerations of realpolitik.

In the case of Iraq, America's primary interest is enforcing the U.N. cease-fire resolutions, not trying to manipulate regional politics. Saddam Hussein's survival may be a source of political frustration for Western leaders. But in reality, it's the butcher of Baghdad who's now backed into a corner, not the West. The main focus should be on keeping Iraq disarmed and unthreatening to its neighbors, not staging and winning psychological showdowns.

Both Presidential candidates believe that the United States should continue to play an active role in world affairs. But they have generally shied away from discussing the nature of that role, feeling that the public isn't interested in foreign policy debates this year. Certainly the public is tired of obscure causes and never-ending threats. But Americans might respond more positively to a new constructive vision, firmly rooted in America's own best ideals.

DAVID C. UNGER

Vouching for Capitalism in Moscow

President Boris Yeltsin plans to make every Russian a capitalist. Come Oct. 1, 150 million Russian citizens will be given vouchers to buy shares in state-owned enterprises. The goal is to privatize most enterprises within three years. That's lightning-fast.

Speed is key. After last summer's coup, Communist controls were dismantled. But market controls have yet to take their place. That's left managers in charge of factories, but answerable to no owner — an invitation to mismanagement and theft.

There's another urgency. The trek to markets has traumatized Russians: hyperinflation, political upheaval and threat of job loss. What Mr. Yeltsin now proposes is to offer tangible reward — enough, perhaps, to draw 150 million Russians to his side if opponents try to turn back his reforms.

Under the plan, every Russian would receive free vouchers worth about \$60, roughly four months' wages. Voucher holders would buy shares of enterprises, turn the vouchers over to mutual funds to invest on their behalf, or sell them. Voucher holders would control about a third of each privatized enterprise, with workers and managers controlling most of the shares and the Government owning what's left over.

The strength of the plan is the speed with which it would distribute ownership. It would also actively involve the entire population in economic reform. And, unlike Czechoslovakia's voucher plan, the Russians have designed safeguards to prevent mutual funds from mismanaging their holdings.

The problem with the plan concerns what happens after the shares are distributed. Companies would be owned by millions of shareholders. Such diffuse ownership could leave managers with free rein over company assets. By contrast, the voucher plan proposed in Poland would require individuals to deposit vouchers in a handful of mutual funds — concentrating control and oversight.

The Russian plan tries to overcome the problem by requiring managers to report to a governing board, as in the West, and by turning them into minority owners. Even if ownership and loose oversight don't produce ideal behavior, they would have one very important side benefit: Industrial managers might join Mr. Yeltsin's cause, rather than trying to preserve their privileged position by undermining his move to markets.

If so, Mr. Yeltsin in one smart stroke of the pen would pacify beleaguered citizens and threatening opponents.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

A Halthearted Homeless Policy

The Dinkins administration forged a stopgap solution to a sharp dispute over jumping homeless families to the head of the line for public housing. Fewer apartments will go to the homeless each year, the new tenants will get some needed counseling, and the New York City Housing Authority will screen the applicants to weed out disruptive tenants.

That could help preserve the stability of public housing projects in the short run, while providing better support to the homeless lucky enough to qualify. But the settlement that Deputy Mayor Cesar Perales worked out last week is destined to fail in the long run until Mayor David Dinkins and his advisers stop ducking the need to overhaul the city's homeless policies.

An admirably candid Sally Hernandez-Pinero, the Housing Authority chairwoman, dramatized the weakness of the administration's policies. She said that many of the homeless families placed in public projects were so troubled and unprepared for living on their own that they were endangering one of the city's true success stories, its public housing.

Some of the homeless brought drug abuse, crime and violence with them, threatening housing developments that have long been bulwarks of stability for nearly 190,000 hard-working poor, middle-class and elderly New Yorkers.

The policy of setting aside up to 2,000 apartments a year for the homeless was questionable from the beginning. It was hatched in 1988, when the Koch administration faced a cut-off of Federal emergency housing funds unless it emptied its notorious welfare hotels of homeless families. Looking for places to put them, it turned to public housing. Since then, 8,000 homeless families have elbowed aside hard-working people who had been waiting for apartments an average of 12 years. That

was grotesquely unfair to those on the waiting lists.

Nearly as upsetting is evidence that some people, seizing the new opportunity, have deliberately made themselves homeless to get to the head of the line for public housing. They simply move out of their cramped or deteriorated lodgings, where they may be doubled up with relatives, and move into homeless shelters or hotels. That increases the burden on both the shelters and public housing.

The amended policy will reduce the risk to public housing, mainly because it gives the Housing Authority the right to reject applicants. It will also reduce the number of homeless families that move into the projects each year, from 2,000 to about 1,400, and they will move in gradually.

The authority will also provide a "housing readiness" course to help families adjust, and follow-up counseling. This is a welcome recognition that most homeless people have a welter of social and health problems that cannot be solved by housing alone.

But the problem of where to house the majority of homeless families remains. The Mayor already knows the best solution — the recommendations of his own blue-ribbon panel on the homeless — but appears reluctant to move aggressively for fear of alienating voters.

That panel, headed by Andrew Cuomo, called for creation of a network of small shelters for the homeless and intensive social services, including drug treatment and job training, all run by nonprofit groups. The proposal looks more promising than any other approach the city has tried. Yet so far, the administration has implemented only some of the recommendations, and is subjecting others to unnecessary study and delay.

Unless City Hall moves aggressively to reform its homeless policies, failures like the Housing Authority experiment are inevitable.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992 ★

DAVID GRIFFITH SOERGERL

Technology policies

Hoping to create more new jobs, the platforms for both political parties are "far left" in that they both would make permanent the R&D tax credit, institute a new civilian research agency and double federal funds for developing "key" civilian technologies.

These proposals increase deficit spending and institute an Americanized version of the former Soviet Union's Gosplan Ministry, which along with the Soviet Academy of Sciences centrally planned the Soviet Union into history.

Consider the permanent R&D tax credit. It causes a loss of tax revenue (so far not specified) that adds to the loss from the R&D tax deduction. For 1991 alone, this Treasury loss amounted to \$25 billion-plus. But the real question is, are these expensive R&D tax incentives really needed? Would U.S. companies cut back or simply stop investing in new product developments if R&D tax incentives were eliminated entirely? The answer is, with or without R&D tax incentives, corporations naturally develop and introduce new products to maintain and enlarge market shares, to expand sales into new markets or just to keep up with their competitors and stay in business.

Moreover, most of the tax-saving benefits go to high income earners, and all lower income earners pay higher taxes as a consequence. For example, the home mortgage interest tax deduction gives 52 percent of the total tax savings to the top 8.5 percent of all income earners. Similarly, the R&D tax deduction gives nearly 90 percent of the annual \$25 billion-plus corporate tax savings to only 400 of the largest R&D spending corporations. Yet, it is these largest spending R&D companies that have lost tens of thousands of American jobs to foreign developers, suggesting that something besides R&D tax incentives is needed to revivify Yankee ingenuity and create new jobs.

The real creators of new American jobs and industries are entrepreneurial start-up businesses, even though they benefit the least from R&D tax incentives of any sort. Yet the R&D tax credit further tilts the innovation playing field toward established companies at the expense of entrepreneurial start-up companies; in short, it promotes still more

venture inequality before the law. Nor do venture inequalities stop at the tax code. Several other federal policies, such as federal procurement policy, also promote venture inequality.

The platforms of both political parties would have been more "centered" if they had proposed purging all public policies of venture inequality, thus leveling the United States' innovation playing field for

The platforms of both political parties propose an Americanized version of the failed Gosplan Ministry, an increase in federal R&D spending and a permanent R&D tax credit.

entrepreneurial start-up businesses and all operating businesses regardless of how "big" or how "small."

One way to at least start leveling the innovation playing field would be to eliminate corporate taxation entirely, leaving only dividends actually distributed subjected to taxation at individual tax rates. Government's inequitable distribution of R&D tax benefits, mainly to stultified large corporations, would be terminated and taxpayers would not treat some innovators differently than others.

Both political platforms propose the federalization of civilian technologies. Here, the responsibility for entrepreneurial decisions must be transferred from the competitive private sector to "shielded" bureaucracies that would centrally select, plan, fund and control civilian technologies. The platform committees surely had their collective heads in the sand when they proposed a new civilian research agency, duplicating the former Soviet Union's failed Gosplan Ministry.

They also had their collective heads in the sand when they ignored the poor results of past U.S. experiments with federalized civilian technologies. They either were not aware of or just chose to ignore a canceled federalized housing technology program, costing taxpayers nearly \$100

million, and a canceled federalized supersonic transport airplane technology program, costing nearly \$1 billion. Another example is the Energy Department's 20 years of federalized "alternative energy technologies." As to a new civilian research agency, the Commerce Department already federalizes "pre-competitive, generic commercial technologies," which are centrally selected, planned and controlled by the department's special interest "peer" committees and "technology gurus."

Rather than increase the deficit by federalizing civilian technologies, a new federal R&D policy should be instituted that motivates private (not public) investment in technological solutions to public problems, such as air pollution and U.S. dependence on imported oil. To its credit, such a policy is being explored by the Environmental Protection Agency. It is the only civil agency that has recognized the distinct differences between military R&D policy for federalizing technology aimed at single federal buyers — a B-2 bomber for the Air Force, for instance — and civilian R&D policy for privatizing technologies aimed at competitive and diverse solutions for choice by many non-federal buyers of different needs (technical constraints) and means (pocketbooks).

The new policy motivates private (not public) investment in solutions to ecological and environmental preservation problems by minimizing the investor's cost and risk to advance a responsive idea to a successful demonstration of technical and economic feasibility. This is the least costly and first meaningful phase of new product development, sometimes called the "preliminary design phase." Successful demonstrations will be rewarded by substantial cash "prizes." In concept, government's 200-year-old reward for invention — a 17-year economic monopoly — is similar to the reward embodied in the new private investment policy.

In the event the innovator cannot demonstrate techno-economic feasibility, investor losses would be limited to about one-twentieth the total R&D cost to production — an investor "deal" not found in private capital markets. On the other hand, successful feasibility demonstrations will attract new investors who will finance the new idea beyond feasibility demonstration to introduction and sales within non-federal markets throughout the nation.

Thus, by preserving technological freedom, solutions to a common public problem would be competi-

tive, diverse and incur the least cost and risk to both taxpayers and non-federal buyers. And by instituting EPA's policy governmentwide and by eliminating all public venture inequalities, the innovation playing field would be leveled, Yankee ingenuity would be revived, the number of new jobs increased, new industries would be created and America's leadership in world markets would be restored.

But the platforms of both political parties propose an Americanized version of the failed Gosplan Ministry, an increase in federal R&D spending and a permanent R&D tax credit, all financed by deficit spending from a bankrupt U.S. Treasury. As a great nation based on the political ideals of economic freedom, free markets and democratic capitalism, we can surely do much better than this.

David Griffith Soergel is executive director of the Veibel Society Inc., a nonprofit research firm that provides information on tax-financed venture policies.

JEFFREY HART

As the Republican National Convention drew to a close, it became clear that the geniuses managing the Bush campaign have decided to make Hillary Clinton an issue. They have cut out a hole in the center of the target and are lining up to throw baseballs at her smiling face.

This is risky stuff politically.

There are plenty of smart young careerists out there who might be Republican on taxation but who will resent Hillary-bashing.

In 1988, Ronald Reagan fared overwhelmingly among voters between 18 and 25. They responded to the Reagan message of opportunity and optimism. But are they Barbara Bush voters?

Mrs. Bush, in an unprecedented move, delivered a major address to the convention. She stressed "family values," and that was the prominent theme of the convention.

The "family values" theme, of course, was a torpedo directed right at the hull of Bill Clinton. When you stress "family values," you don't have to mention Gennifer Flowers. As President Bush says, that would be "sleaze."

There is no doubt that it is in this context the allegation about Mr. Bush having had an affair with his secretary gained media prominence. Such stories often rattle around without picking up much steam. But now the old Bush adultery story surfaces again, in the context of the proclaimed "family values."

But the Hillary Rodham Clinton case is much more complicated. On my reading of the record, she is a fine lawyer, an asset to her law firm

Jeffrey Hart is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Holding her to account — how fair?

Throughout her adult life, Hillary Clinton has been a leftist, some sort of anger boiling within her. She is a child of the 1960s, a brilliant fool. Now, she will pay the price for her radicalism.

and an original thinker on the rights of children. Not that all her original thoughts are valid, and not that we should move quickly to her rhetoric about "rights."

On the record, however, throughout her adult life, she has been an extreme leftist. I say that with considerable gravity. She has been connected in her extracurricular activity with exclusively leftist groups, such as her chairmanship of the New World Foundation. The foundation, which dispenses grants, funded such causes as Salvadoran revolutionaries and a group linked to Palestinian terrorists. There is no evidence that Mrs. Clinton registered any objection.

Then there is her delivery of a speech at an American Bar Association convention honoring, among others, Anita Hill.

Now Mrs. Clinton is a good enough lawyer to know that Anita Hill's testimony under oath against Clarence Thomas was suspect.

Enough has now come out about Ms. Hill's testimony to indicate, to put it minimally, the chronology is all wrong. Yet she has been mythologized into the woman of the year, to adapt the title of a famous Broadway play. She received a standing ovation at the ABA convention.

The fact of the matter is that most American women, black and white, did not believe her testimony. I myself judge that Ms. Hill is a fantasizer who believes her own fantasies and probably could pass a lie-detector test. Poor Clarence Thomas barely survived this wacko. And there was Mrs. Clinton at the ABA convention, gladly participating in the charade of honoring Ms. Hill.

This fall, David Brock, an investigative reporter, will publish a book about the Hill-Thomas matter. He has the names, dates and facts. The Anita Hill saga will come to a smashing halt.

Throughout her adult life, Mrs. Clinton has been a leftist, some sort of anger boiling within her. She is a child of the 1960s, a brilliant fool. Now that she is in the national arena, where she has always wanted to be, she will find that it is not a kinder and gentler place.

She will pay the price. The thugs on the Republican National Committee will make sure of that. But she asked for it.



The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

MARTIN ANDERSON

First of three articles

The critical problem with universities today is not so much that many professors don't teach very well, but that so few of them teach at all, that a significant part of the crucial teaching responsibilities of our universities has been handed over to people who are unqualified.

It is the shame of the academic intellectuals, a shabby secret they are loath to discuss publicly. If senior professors were lecturing only six hours a week to a hundred or so students, but were preparing those lectures thoughtfully and thoroughly, grading the students individually with care, and counseling them wisely, then we would have no complaints. But more and more professors are not teaching or grading or counseling. As a former Stanford professor, John Kaplan, an excellent teacher himself, once observed, "Professors feel that students are the crabgrass on the lawn of academia."

Professors don't lecture or lead classroom discussion? Don't grade? Don't counsel? Then who does?

Students.

The clever solution that professors have come up with for the teaching albatross that grew around their necks in the 1960s and 1970s is the teaching assistant. These young men and women, usually graduate students, but sometimes undergraduates, do a large part of the teaching work of many of our universities. You won't find them listed in any college or university catalog by name, but they lecture, they lead classroom discussions, they make up examinations and grade them, and they counsel their fellow students.

We have recently had a growing problem in this country with children having children, a practice that threatens the stability of family life. We now have what may be an even worse problem, students "teaching" students, children teaching children.

The extent of the scandal is difficult to know precisely because the records of student teaching are not publicized. Pick up any university catalog and you will find only the vaguest of references to these student teachers. Look at the detailed schedule of courses and you will not find their names among the listed instructors. They are nameless and unknown, unhonored and unsung in their own universities.

Reign of absentee professors

For example, if you examine the 1989-1990 catalog for the University of California at Berkeley, one of the finest universities in America, you will find the following descriptions of the learning experience that awaits the young men and women lucky enough to gain admittance. The very first page asserts that the faculty "is made up of some of the most distinguished teachers and scholars in the world," and that there are "more seminars and small classes, more creative challenges to the student."

Three pages later the Berkeley catalog boasts that "students who attend Berkeley have the benefit of learning from world-renowned theorists and researchers who are also often distinguished teachers." It continues to advertise the extraordinary teaching: "Every year, departments nominate many of their faculty as distinguished teachers. You will encounter excellent teachers in all departments, all disciplines, in large classes and in seminars. There is no one way to teach well; the styles you will encounter will be as varied as the courses you take, from eye-opening lectures to discussion sections in which you will clarify and define your own ideas. In teaching, as in every aspect of Berkeley, diversity is the key to a rich and challenging educational experience."

The impression given to a proud parent is clear and direct. Let your sons and daughters come to Berkeley, let them learn from some of the best professors in the world.

But when the professors sit down and talk among themselves, they tell a quite different story about who teaches what. For example, on April 13 and 14, 1989, the University of California sponsored a conference for selected faculty and administrators entitled "Teaching Assistants and the University." In the keynote

Martin Anderson served as a senior domestic and economic policy adviser to Presidents Nixon and Reagan. He has been a professor at Columbia University's Graduate School of Business and is now a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. Excerpted from "Impostors in the Temple" by Martin Anderson. Copyright 1992 by Martin Anderson. Reprinted with permission of Simon & Schuster, New York. Distributed by Universal Press Syndicate.

address, Carol Cartwright, a vice chancellor for academic affairs at Davis, spelled out the importance of student teachers in the prestigious University of California system:

"Teaching assistants are a central part of the undergraduate educational experience at the University of California. TAs number in the hundreds on our campuses, thousands in the UC system. They are responsible for leading discussions, running instructional labs, evaluating papers and exams, and performing other critical functions. ... Lower division students [freshmen and sophomores] will frequently find themselves interacting with TAs as instructors, academic advisers and personal advisers."

You won't find that description printed in the university catalog.

The reality of teaching is very different from that described in university advertising. If this were a business, or a profession such as law, would we stand for such false and deceptive advertising? Wouldn't we call it fraud?

Maybe we have been blaming the wrong people for the disastrous decline in the quality of university teaching in America. Perhaps it is the student teachers who bear much of the responsibility.

Why don't students complain? Why are they so docile about being taught and graded by other students? Basically, they don't have much choice. Who are they going to complain to — the professors and administrators who set the system up and who ultimately determine whether or not the student gets a degree?

One explanation was offered by Ernest Boyer, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. These students arrive "all wide eyes and hopeful," he said. "Then they begin to see that

they are not being well served and a certain resignation sets in. They figure, 'If these are the ground rules, and if I'll get a blue-chip degree and will have a good time in the process, let's go for it.' Instead, these students should march into the dean's office and demand what the catalog promised them."

This is what they should do, but how many undergraduates are that strong?

The university world will argue that many student teachers are qualified, that they do possess the knowledge, the teaching skills and the maturity to teach undergraduates. In some cases that may be true, but then we should insist that the university do the right thing: Promote them to the faculty, pay them a decent wage and give them the title for the work they do. Or stop pretending.

The seamy practice of allowing, and sometimes coercing, students to teach students is one of the most significant forms of academic corruption, and one of the easiest to correct. Prohibit all student teaching. Simply adopt a policy that says all classes will be taught by professors, all discussion sections will be led by professors, all examinations will be

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ANDERSON

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made up by professors, all examinations will be graded by professors and all counseling of students will be done by professors.

There is nothing radical about this. A few major schools — Amherst College and Dartmouth College, for example — have always done it this way. In fact, most people in America think that professors already do this.

Such a simple change would have an immediate, far-reaching impact. Students and parents would no longer feel cheated, duped by the

rhetoric in the college catalogs. Students might even take more interest in their courses if they were taught by real professors, not one of their buddies. Because students, graduate students especially, would be prohibited from teaching, they could devote more time to their own studies, complete their degrees earlier and add to the pool of professors available for teaching. Professors, required to spend more time on what they were originally hired to do, would have less time to spend on spurious research and writing, thus tending to increase the quality of intellectual output.

It will be argued that no single college or university could afford to

make this change because of the great competitive disadvantage it would experience. Professors required to teach would simply move to schools that allowed them to continue as before. But universities and colleges could get together and decide to implement such a policy collectively, so that none would be at a competitive disadvantage. If some of our finest institutions of higher education can get together to set financial aid awards, they are capable of getting together on the simple matter of requiring professors to teach.

Any attempt to banish the widespread use of student teachers can be expected to meet adamant hostility

from professors. Much of this opposition stems from the fact that so many of today's professors do not have the temperament of teachers. Teaching is an old and honorable profession, but many professors consider teaching no longer a fitting vocation once they get to be 35 or 40 years old. These are the academic intellectuals who are excited by the play of ideas among equals or near-equals. Publishing an article in a prestigious academic journal, participating in an advanced seminar, debating colleagues in a panel discussion: These are what stimulate their intellectual juices.

Students are not qualified to teach. They do not possess enough

knowledge. They do not have enough judgment and maturity. They rarely know how to teach. Some of them, incredibly, can't even speak English well. They have powerful conflicts of interest, for in many cases they must teach and grade some of their friends, or even the young men or women they date. To pretend that students are qualified to lecture other students a scant few years behind them, to grade and judge them, and to counsel them is to mock the essence of higher education.

Children teaching children is unconscionable.

Tomorrow: Institutional corruption.

ARNOLD BEICHMAN

It was 19th and early 20th century research into petroleum and the internal combustion engine that made possible the auto industry and the millions of jobs the industry created not only in the United States but throughout the world. What about the future?

Take biotechnology. From this one science alone could come the manufacture of new therapeutic "wonder" drugs and chemicals, new health-giving foods and the concomitant creation of tremendous job opportunities, skilled as well as semi-skilled. A real problem will ensue in filling these new jobs if high school job applicants are, as is so often the case, innumerate and illiterate despite their high school diplomas.

Another area for job creation is telecommunications. The entire country will be rewired within the decade with fiber optics networks, essential in the era of computer networks and digital TV. This process would be comparable to the U.S. highway network construction in the early half of the century as part of the nation's infrastructure. Will private industry perform what will soon be a costly task or will government have to do it, as it did in constructing the interstate road network? The Bush administration's hesitant steps toward a fiber optics network are woefully inadequate.

Isn't too late for Mr. Quayle with his experience as chairman of the National Space Council to press this issue in the coming campaign. I believe that the Democratic ticket with date as Al Gore will find a golden opportunity in coming weeks to make the job-creation issue central to the Democratic campaign. The Bush administration has, to put it mildly, pursued a policy of benign neglect as far as the research-and-development future of American industry is concerned.

America's employment future depends on science, not junk bond takeovers.

Arnold Beichman, a research fellow at the Hoover Institution, is a columnist for The Washington Times.

Biotechnology, fiber optics and telecommunications, computer technology, digital TV, nuclear energy, the new chemistry — are these going to be the mass-production industries and the mass job producers of the 1990s and into the 21st century? If not, what will?

This is the question that should be debated in the coming presidential campaign. Are President Bush and Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton prepared to discuss it? I know that Vice President Dan Quayle is prepared, as is, no doubt, Sen. Al Gore, who has published articles in Scientific American. Such a debate may make the 1992 campaign of front-burner importance. Without it, like the man said, don't wake me up until it's over.

The unemployment rate seems now to be frozen, and it will stay frozen — whether we elect a Democrat or Republican — until American science and technology begin to

Sustained recovery without new job-creating industries is improbable. Yet little is heard about job creation, except in the vaguest of generalities.



translate laboratory potential into factory application. Sustained recovery without new job-creating industries is improbable. Yet little is heard about job creation, except in the vaguest of generalities.

Part of the reason for the silence on the need for new American manufacturing industries is the media. Most journalists and their editors are ignorant about what is or is not happening in American science and technology. Their ignorance is the reason why science and technology as job creators have become a not-story in the print and, especially, the electronic media. Murphy Brown, yes; Bell Labs, no. But if we are to bring down mass unemployment, it will come about only by American corporations and science laboratories working together (unobstructed) by environment-made public officials) and dedicated to the position that the best method of dealing unemployment is the production of new jobs by new industries under new theories or amendment of old ones.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992 *

EVAN GALBRAITH

Looming tariff war with EC?

The Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930 lives in infamy as the proximate cause of transforming a cyclical recession into the Great Depression. It had been lobbied into law under the stirring refrain of "Rootie Toot-Toot for Hawley and Smoot."

Today the protectionist forces in Congress, ably led by Gen. "Smoot" Gephardt, are attacking free trade on several fronts. The general is amply bankrolled by powerful unions, and the situation is touch-and-go.

The free traders are obliged in the daily media to rewin intellectually battles won centuries ago by Adam Smith and Ricardo, i.e. to reinvent the wheel of commerce every day. President Bush has flown many combat missions in defense of free trade, so it is with the ultimate irony that one sees him poised today to take a kamikaze dive on behalf of soybeans; a dive that could cause the most damaging trade war since Smoot-Hawley.

The story began 30 years ago, when the United States exchanged U.S. tariff reductions for free access to the European Community for American soybeans, creating a billion-dollar business for U.S. farmers. Subsequently, the EC began subsidizing the processors of European oil seeds that caused our soybean exporters to lose about \$1.5 billion annually. The EC says the loss was because of competition from South American producers. The United States sought relief in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which after protracted proceedings over three years found that EC subsidies unlawfully exclude U.S. soybeans from the European market. Compensation negotiations have been off and on for the last year, but no agreement has been reached, and the United States in its frustration over the EC's unwillingness to accept GATT's determination has published a list of \$2 billion of imports from the EC upon which the U.S. intends to impose increased tariffs. Both EC and the United States are under heavy fire from their respective agricultural lobbies.

The EC is guilty as charged, but more accurately, we are both guilty; by use of subsidies, of destroying the free market for agricultural goods and raising their cost at the expense of the taxpayer and consumer. We both should cease rigging markets and subsidizing the inefficient producer.

However, no one expects to solve this underlying chronic problem today, and the immediate question is: Must we both cripple ourselves in order to make political points?

The EC has said unofficially that increased tariffs by the United States will be met by a retaliatory list against U.S. exports (the United States has a positive trade balance with the EC), and the United States has replied that if the EC retaliates, the United States will impose additional duties on other products.

This is just the sort of escalation triggered by Smoot-Hawley in the 1930s. Our retaliation operations today may be successful, but like the '30s, the patient will die. The situation requires our leaders to rise above political pressure and above all do nothing that will derail this slow economic recovery. A peaceful solution is not beyond the wit of man, and George Bush and Bill Clinton should reject a disastrous trade war wherein the casualties will be worldwide.

My company's product, Cognac, is on the present U.S. list for a prohibitive increase in duties and is an example of the mindlessness of trial by battle. Cognac is in no way subsidized by the EC or France and is an innocent hostage, but its sales of \$200 million per year to the United States make it an obvious target; even though as a branded, trademarked consumer product, it will take years after the trade war ends before its sales climb back to pre-war levels. (We estimate that \$500 million will be irrevocably lost after a settlement is reached.)

Meanwhile, the U.S. government will lose \$70 million per year in excise taxes. The cognac industry openly supports the U.S.-proposed "zero for zero" agricultural initiative that is the ultimate solution to these problems, hoping against hope that something can be achieved before the guillotine drops.

The cognac file will be multiplied by the hundreds and both the EC and the U.S. economies will plummet. There will be no victors in Great Depression II, only the pathetic wail of "Rootie Toot Toot" from the ghosts of Hawley and Smoot.

Evan G. Galbraith is chairman of Moët-Hennessy Louis Vuitton U.S., chairman of National Review magazine and a former U.S. ambassador to France.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992 *

JOHN CADY

When future historians try to understand contemporary Washington, they might do well to focus on the "law of unintended consequences" — a law that has never passed by Congress but which seems to permeate everything Washington does.

If you recall high school science, you remember learning that for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction. The law of unintended consequences is the public policy equivalent of this: When Washington tries to solve problems, it often creates new problems.

U.S. tax policy is a classic case in point, described by economists as the financial equivalent of driving a car with one foot on the accelerator, the other on the brake. Many of Washington's environmental and economic regulations are similarly ill conceived, creating new problems as the attempt to solve others.

Consider the relatively innocuous-sounding Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, known to Washington insiders as RCRA ("rick-rah"). Congress is in the process of reauthorizing the 16-year-old statute, which deals primarily with the disposal of "solid waste," a Washington euphemism for trash and garbage.

The stuff you haul out to the curb each week is part of the nation's "solid waste stream." And what troubles Congress is that there's too much of it, and according to some experts, no place to put it.

Neither claim holds up under careful examination. The charge that there is "too much" waste is strictly subjective: How much is too much? And the claim that there is no place to put it is nonsense; there are plenty of places to put it, it's just that most people have the attitude, "Not in my backyard." A 1991 survey by the Roper Organization, for example, indicated that more than half of all Americans would be concerned if a landfill were located within 10 miles of their homes.

This was dramatically illustrated during the Democratic National Convention when a 41-car Conrail train loaded with 2,000 tons of smelly New York City garbage roamed the Midwest for a week in search of a dumping spot. No takers; back to a landfill on Staten Island.

The story of the "poo-poo choo-choo," as the train was dubbed, made good headlines. But it didn't give a true picture.

There are approximately 6,500 active landfills in the United States. And there is plenty of room for more, as these are filled. According to one expert, the total waste produced in the United States for the next 100 years could fit in landfills "comprising just one-hundredth of 1 percent of the total U.S. land mass."

RCRA is Washington's solution to the alleged problem of too much solid waste and no place to put it. The only trouble is, like so many other federal laws, the changes proposed

What waste law wrecks

by Congress not only will do little to reduce the amount of solid waste in the United States, but will have harmful side affects as well.

First, because it would mandate recycling, it would impose new costs on the economy. Recycling can be an efficient and environmentally sound way to deal with waste, as the aluminum industry has demonstrated with its beverage recycling program. Aluminum Association President David Parker, in an article for Scripps-Howard News Service, noted recently that there are 10,000 aluminum recycling centers around the country. Last year, almost 57 million beverage cans were recycled, nearly 2 of 3 produced.

The program is successful because both industry and consumers have an economic incentive to recycle. But recycling is not always the best way of dealing with solid waste. While aluminum manufacturers save huge amounts of energy, recycling other products can waste energy and increase air and water pollution. A preferable alternative: hauling them to landfills.

There are other costs involved as well. Materials intended for recycling must either be collected separately, or must be separated after collection. The city of Spokane, Wash., for example, pays about \$180 a ton for recycling its trash, an estimated four times the cost of burying the trash in a landfill. Because of these added costs, the benefits of recycling are sometimes marginal at best. It costs about 20 percent more to recycle plastics, for example, than to produce them from raw materials.

Because RCRA would mandate recycling such materials as cans, jars, bottles and certain plastic and paper products, we have a problem: In an effort to do good, the government is going to add to food-production costs and in some cases to pollution. And, since food products targeted by the legislation account for just 8 percent of the solid waste produced in the United States, Washington will impose these costs without any guarantee that they will accomplish their stated objectives.

The Environmental Protection Agency estimates that the proposed changes in RCRA would add as much as \$1 billion to the costs of food packaging alone.

In the final analysis, RCRA would not significantly reduce solid waste. It attacks a problem that poses no risks to human health or the environment. It could cost as much as the Clean Air Act. And it would nationalize U.S. garbage-collection policy.

If historians want to see what the law of unintended consequences is all about, this is it.

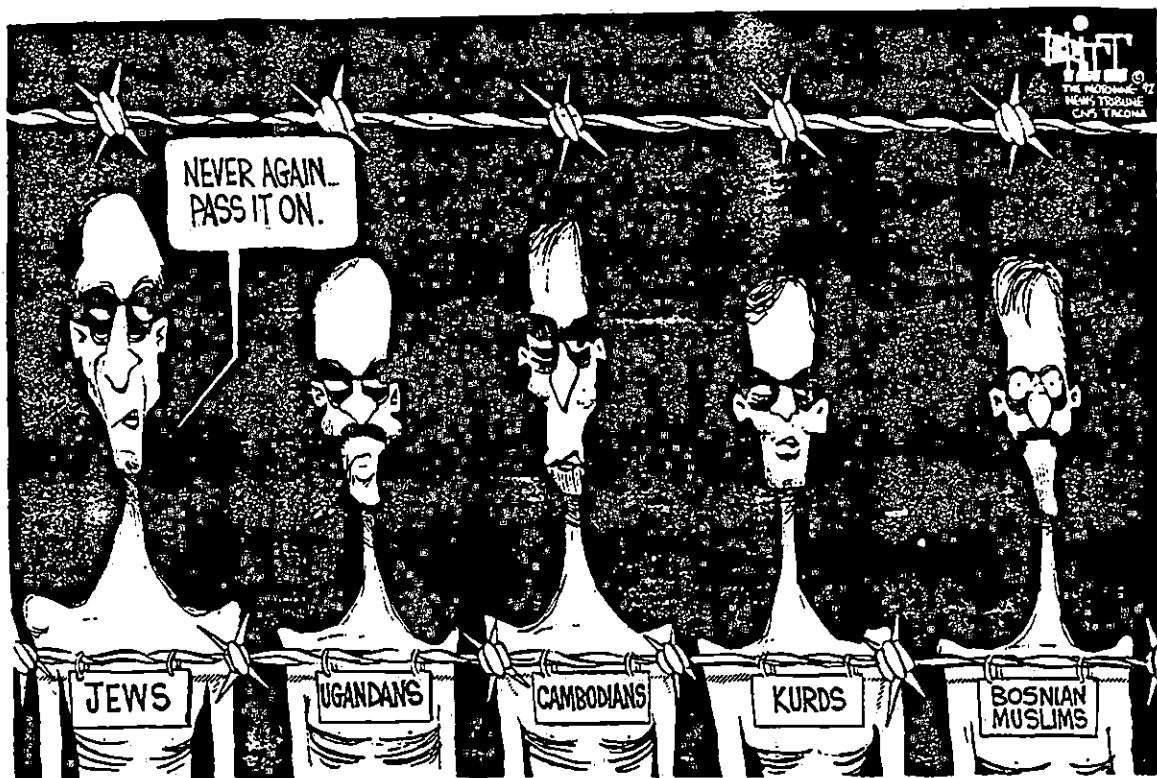
John R. Cady is president of the National Food Processors Association, the scientific voice of the food industry.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992 *

RICHARD GRENIER

The suffering seen and unseen



The fax machine is mightier than the sword. The photocopier is mightier than the sword. The camcorder is mightier than the sword. Voice of America is mightier than the sword. It makes you wonder.

To tell the truth, I've never been convinced that even the pen is mightier than the sword. Goths, Vandals, Huns and Mongols swept many an empire into the dustbin of history without much in the way of pens. Having given up my career as a military officer for a career of writing, I've never gotten that "mighty" feeling.

But the dawn of the visual age has changed everything. News photographs of World War II in the old Life magazine, and newsreels of Hitler's death camps, and now television footage of the Serbian detention centers, seem for large numbers of people to be the ultimate reality.

Visual images so overwhelm people that they never seem to think of what other horrible things might be happening in the world but that — for one reason or another — they're not seeing pictures of.

I, for one, brooded for decades that, actually seeing newsreels of grisly, inhuman suffering at Auschwitz, Dachau and Treblinka, people became convinced that the Nazis were uniquely diabolical. Whereas, since at the end of World War II we didn't overrun the Soviet Union and never saw newsreels of grisly, inhuman suffering in Stalin's Gulag (where the death toll was 10 times higher than Hitler's), the Kremlin

was generally thought of as presiding over nowhere near as evil a system as the Nazis.

It's only in quite recent years — forced by a barrage of denunciations coming out of Moscow itself — that the West has started coupling the names of Hitler and Stalin. Until almost the day before yesterday, Stalin

We must ask, what price are we prepared to pay?

was considered perhaps a pretty tough customer, but Hitler was the anti-Christ. And this was in good measure the result of photographs and newsreel footage of Auschwitz.

Since Auschwitz, of course, the world has witnessed innumerable scenes of slaughter and suffering — although "witnessed" might not be quite the right word, because, for whatever reason, they've rarely been recorded by television cameramen. We had civil wars in Bangladesh and Nigeria (both with more than a million dead), the Cultural Revolution in China (tens of millions), Uganda (Idi Amin), Ethiopia, Sudan, Chad, Liberia, Somalia...

Our erstwhile friends and protégés in Afghanistan are now fighting a civil war among themselves. As people should realize (and the Russians surely realize), these are not gentle folk. In war, they do terrible things. Where are the television cameras?

For most people, as the old saying has it, "Seeing is believing." But for the unreflecting masses there

seems to be an unconscious corollary that not seeing means that nothing of importance is going on. And I include former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as a member of these unreflecting masses.

Mrs. Thatcher took to American television in a hectoring manner to admonish laggard Americans that what was happening today in the former Yugoslavia was like "just about the worst of Stalin and Hitler!"

But my dear Mrs. Thatcher: Horrible as they are to behold, not only are the emaciated detainees in Serbian camps not a patch on the many millions who died at the hands Stalin and Hitler, but surely you must realize that hardly a year goes by without a barbarity comparable to Yugoslavia erupting somewhere in the world — but of which we have no pictures. Do you suggest we intervene in Tibet?

We're facing here a major problem for a democratic society. The problem now with the power of the "pen" (communications media) is the allocation of skimpy resources. A slim majority of the American people, bombarded with television footage of emaciation in Bosnia, now suddenly favors military force to bring the horror to an end.

But how much force will be necessary? Are there emaciated detainees elsewhere? On Mrs. Thatcher's level of high morality, are we to embark on a worldwide crusade against emaciated detainees? Will those Americans favoring force maintain their martial spirit when U.S. soldiers start coming back in body bags? What price are we prepared to pay?

Pictures don't tell you this. And they will never tell you.

Richard Grenier is a columnist for The Washington Times.

JACK PAYTON

Fateful green light to Iraqi helicopters

At the end of last year's Persian Gulf war, Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf made what some people now think was a monumental mistake, one that may have contributed to the deaths of thousands of people.

What Gen. Schwarzkopf did was to allow Saddam Hussein's army to keep flying its helicopters over Iraqi territory.

At the time, the reason given for letting this happen was that a nation — even one still ruled by Saddam — had to be able to move its officials around to help reorganize the country after the allies' devastating air strikes wrecked most of Iraq's key bridges and highways.

So Gen. Schwarzkopf agreed with Iraqi generals on March 3 of last year that they could fly their helicopters just about anywhere they wanted as long as it wasn't near allied troops still bivouacked in the region.

And the green light from Gen. Schwarzkopf was not just for flights by ordinary helicopters. It included helicopter gunships such as the Soviet-made Mi-25 Hind that are especially lethal against lightly armed ground combatants.

We all know what happened next. Saddam's army used the helicopter gunships to crush rebellions by Kurdish forces in the north of Iraq and Shi'ite Muslim fighters in the south. Thousands were killed in the fighting.

A number of fascinating theories have been advanced to explain why Gen. Schwarzkopf — or his bosses back home — decided to let the Iraqi gunships fly.

Some think the decision was a simple but tragic mistake, yet another example of underestimating Saddam's cunning. Others suggest that it was part of an elaborate allied plan to help high-level Iraqi military officers use the gunships to lead a coup against the Iraqi leader.

There's a good chance we may never find out what really happened.

Jack R. Payton writes for the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times. Distributed by the Scripps Howard News Service.



Saddam Hussein

What we do know is that the decision — whatever its motivation or whoever made it — was a disaster. Not only did it allow Saddam to crush his domestic opponents, it also encouraged him to begin testing and defying the U.N. cease-fire provisions at every turn.

That's why we now have Saddam once again using his helicopters to go after the Shi'ites in the south on an almost daily basis. It's also why the Iraqi leader is all but dictating the rules for U.N. inspectors who were supposed to be able to go anywhere without notice in Iraq in search of ballistic missile factories and nuclear, biological and chemical weapons facilities.

The just-concluded U.N. inspection tour wasn't very encouraging.

The actual inspection team, at Saddam's insistence, excluded members from the nations that fought in the coalition against Iraq last year. The team leader, Nikita Smidovich of Russia, also admitted that he and his colleagues deliberately stayed away from government buildings, the Iraqi regime declared off-limits.

Maybe there's some secret deal between Washington and the United Nations on the inspection question. It's quite possible the full story is not in yet on this.

But without such a deal, the appearance can't help but be that the United Nations is reverting to its old habit of compromising principles to avoid unpleasant confrontations.

The problem is that unpleasant confrontations seem to be the only thing Saddam Hussein understands. If we've learned anything about the Iraqi leader over the past two years, it's that he considers anything short of brute force, or the imminent threat of it, a sign of weakness.

If Gen. Schwarzkopf and his boss, President Bush, did not know that last year, they sure do now.

Even so, Iraq's attacks on the Shi'ites hiding out in the marshes near the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers present a special problem.

The idea being talked up now is for the United States, Britain and France to stop the Iraqi helicopter offensive by enforcing a no-flight ban on a 250-mile-wide zone of southern Iraq. Together with the already existing 125-mile-wide exclusion zone over the Kurdish areas in the north, this would leave the Iraqi pilots a swath of central Iraq only 260 miles wide to patrol.

The thing to keep in mind is that if the United States, Britain and France go in and stop the offensive, it won't be because of some newly discovered sympathy for Iraq's Shi'ite Muslims. The Bush administration and its allies still consider the Iraqi Shi'ites tools of the anti-Western fundamentalists in neighboring Iran.

No, if they do go in and ground the Iraqi helicopters in the south, it will be to put even more pressure on the Iraqi army to get rid of Saddam and install a more moderate leader.

The tricky part of this is to apply just the right amount of pressure. What the Bush administration and its allies want is to force whatever army dissidents there are to act. What they don't want is to make it possible for the Iraqi Shi'ites to stage a successful rebellion and split Iraq apart.

This is what the allied coalition was trying to accomplish in the Gulf war and was not able to pull off.

The hope is that this time, with a little more wisdom and a lot of luck, the allies will be able to finish the job they started a year and a half ago.

And nobody has higher hopes than President Bush, who is facing nagging questions about his performance in the Gulf war and an uphill re-election battle against Bill Clinton.

This may turn out to be an extremely interesting fall.

Meltdown in Clintonomics model

Bill Clinton's plan to "invest" in America by raising taxes on businesses and investors will kill private investment, destroy jobs, swell the deficit and reduce incomes for middle-class wage earners.

These are among the chief findings of a study by the independent National Center for Policy Analysis that ran Mr. Clinton's plan through an econometric model to measure its impact upon the economy.

Contrary to Mr. Clinton's insistence that his tax and spending economic plan will spark new investment, create good paying jobs and get the economy moving again, the study shows that his principal taxes would end up driving capital, the life blood of business expansion, out of the economy and hurting the very people he professes to want to help.

The conclusion by the study's authors, economists Aldona and Gary Robbins:

"Gov. Clinton's plan combines measures that would stimulate investment with an attempt to extract more taxes from high-income taxpayers. But since high-income taxpayers derive most of their income from investments, the higher taxes would discourage private savings and investment. The net result would be to prolong the current recession and reduce jobs for the foreseeable future."

There is nothing really new in Mr. Clinton's economic plan. Its features

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should be familiar to most Americans. It would raise taxes on upper-income people making more than \$90,000 with the idea of plowing billions of dollars into the economy through a bunch of new government programs. It would impose costly new mandates on employers and provide limited tax relief and incen-

You do not need a doctorate in economics to know that you cannot create jobs without encouraging private capital investment.

tives to investment. But those incentives would be "more than offset by higher taxes on investment income," the Robbins say.

Here are some of the key findings of their study:

While Mr. Clinton's plan promises major middle-class tax relief, it would be very limited, averaging about \$55 per family per year.

But to pay for those meager tax cuts and more than \$200 billion in new spending on public works and other government projects, Mr. Clinton would raise taxes on the very people who should be encouraged to pour money into new, job-creating entrepreneurial enterprises.

"The main stimulus envisioned by the plan is a thinly disguised re-

turn to pump priming and government work programs," the study notes.

Will it work? Mr. Clinton believes that more government spending, which he cleverly and misleadingly calls "investment," leads to economic growth. But "most recent research refutes it," the Robbins say.

"The latest finding is that (government) capital spending increases have no effect on private sector output, productivity or capital formation," they say.

Indeed, after running Mr. Clinton's plan through the Fiscal Associates economic model, and using very generous assumptions in forecasting its impact, they conclude that it will "reduce economic growth, slow job growth and worsen the federal deficit."

The reason his plan would stunt growth is because it would increase marginal tax rates for both labor and capital. The Robbins project that his plan would lead to a 4.2 percent rise in the average marginal tax rate on wages and a 1.5 percent higher average marginal tax rate on capital.

Mr. Clinton has been insisting that he would only tax "the rich" by imposing a new, nearly 40 percent top tax rate, a specious proposal that is never questioned by the national news media.

"But the rich also happen to be investors who derive most of their income from investments," the Robbins study points out. "Taxing the rich, for the most part, means taxing investment income."

For example, people with annual

incomes of more than \$200,000 get 60 percent of their income from investments and about 40 percent from wages, they note.

Moreover, raising taxes on the rich, they point out, was tried in the 1990 tax-raising budget deal that effectively pushed up marginal tax rates to 33 percent. The result: It led to reduced business investment, a lower rate of economic growth, higher unemployment and reduced tax revenues that ballooned the deficit.

The Robbins study compares the Clinton plan with the Bush-endorsed plan fashioned by House Republicans that, among other things, would cut the 28 percent capital gains tax rate to 15 percent; provide a tax credit for first-time home buyers and offer a new investment tax credit. Its conclusion:

President Bush's non-tax, pro-investment plan would lead to the creation of 369,000 jobs while the Clinton pro-tax plan would result in a minimum of 747,000 lost jobs and possibly more than 2 million over the next four years.

The Robbins forecasts also showed that Mr. Bush's plan would raise America's gross domestic product, the national measure of our economic health, by \$226 billion by 1996, while Mr. Clinton's plan would reduce GDP by \$173 billion.

You do not need a doctorate in economics to know that you cannot create jobs without encouraging private capital investment. And the Robbins study finds that "on net, Mr. Bush would reward investors while Mr. Clinton would punish them."

PAUL GREENBERG

Stray thoughts while watching a fund-raising dinner for the Republican ticket:

Other nations surround their leaders with ceremonial pomp or martial spirit. The president and vice president of the United States entered this amusement park of a hall on a miniature train, surrounded by assorted family and waving in all directions. A chief requirement for chief executive, commander-in-chief and head of the American state is evidently an ability to grin uncontrollably for long periods of time. We seem to have made silliness job requirement No. 1. That's assuring. It restores perspective. Some comic once suggested that, whenever debating complex issues of war and peace, statesmen should wear party hats. It might restore perspective.

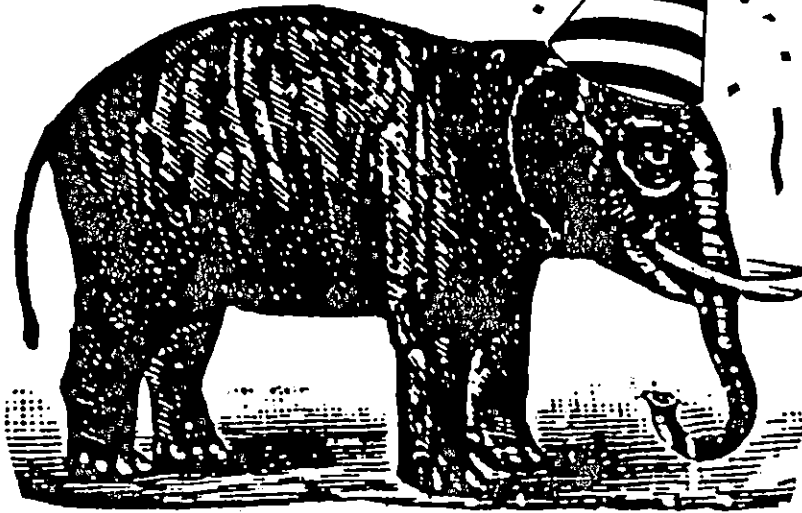
The GOP campaign strategy this fall was previewed in a short film from the Republican National Committee. President Bush will run against Congress, which is even less popular than the president. Responding to Bill Clinton's call for change, George Bush will emphasize trust.

At the moment, Republicans feel surrounded by a conspiracy of Democrats, the media and events. They're circling the wagons. But according to Phil Gramm, convention keynoter and Texas senator, the U.S. Cavalry will arrive by mid-October and rescue the wagon train from the cultural elite.

The humidity and political rhetoric

Paul Greenberg is editorial page editor of the Arkansas Democrat Gazette in Little Rock and a nationally syndicated columnist.

Pumped up without the pomp



combined to clog the atmosphere. Is rhetoric deteriorating faster than ever, or was I just exposed to too much of it? At this dinner, Vice President Dan Quayle was introduced as "the No. 1 surrogate of the Republican Party."

Mr. Quayle is almost amusing in his self-denigrating way. He seems to have found a way to deflect Democratic jokes about his intelligence: Make them himself. It's disarming. Of course he knows how to spell liberal, he says: C-L-I-N-T-O-N-E.

I've never heard Harry Truman praised so highly and often, cer-

tainly not at a Republican gathering. The feisty Democrat's historic comeback in 1948 has become the Republican model this year, right down to running against a "do-nothing" Congress dominated by the other party. "I'm gonna do what Harry Truman did," Mr. Bush promised, and Republicans cheered.

A couple of hecklers interrupted the president from the press gallery. He handled the incident with aplomb, with practiced charm. "I can't hear you. Please speak up." He calmed his audience: "For those of you who haven't been around my line

of work lately, this is normal."

The president actually seemed to enjoy the interruption, and he proceeded to deliver a fighting speech reminiscent of, yep, Harry Truman. Do you suppose he's been studying old film clips?

For the moment, Clinton Democrats seem as serenely confident as, yes, Dewey Republicans in 1948. All around the press boxes, now called the Media Center, I heard that this is the end of the Reagan era. Yet a platform has been assembled here that stresses a free-market economy and traditional values — Reaganesque themes so appealing the Democrats moved toward them in New York.

I would not underestimate the party supposedly gathering here for its last stand. I certainly would not underestimate George Bush. "I look forward to this fight," the embattled president said. "I can feel it building in my blood."

What a peculiar combination of artificiality and moments of truth a national nominating convention can be. I estimate the ratio at about 9 to 1. The atmosphere was piped in so thick, I could hardly wait to get home and wash it off. The high road runs parallel to the low, with the Bushes and Ronald Reagan on one track, and the Pats (Robertson and Buchanan) on the other. Calls for unity and compassion, alternated with fits of gay bashing.

I do not know which presidential candidate is the better politician. That judgment will be easier Nov. 4. Nor would I guarantee which would make the more successful president. But I don't see how anyone could examine their records, and compare the values each has demonstrated, and their service to their country, and have any doubt about which is the better man.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992 *

Appeasement in the Balkans

This Wednesday, London will be the site of yet another European conference on the war in the Balkans. All warring parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina have promised to show up. But there is little chance that this conference will do more to end the fighting than the previous ones, which is to say not much at all.

The unhappy fact is no one has the stomach to oppose the Serbian militias, and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic knows that by now only too well. The U.N. resolution allowing the use of force to ensure the delivery of emergency supplies to areas of Bosnia under siege was appropriate and long overdue, but it does nothing to roll back the Serbs, who now control 70 percent of Bosnian territory. The Croats, it might be noted, have been less ruthless but have taken the opportunity to assume control of most of the rest. What many Europeans quietly hope for is that the Serbs will get their ethnic campaign over with and solidify their occupation so the fighting can stop. When that happens there can be another European conference on what to do with the displaced Bosnian Muslims. Munich would seem a fitting place for a capitulation to Mr. Milosevic.

This view was eloquently articulated in the editorial pages of the *Economist* after much obligatory hand-wringing about atrocities, etc.: "The true answer is a bitter one. The Serbs have grabbed and won. Outsiders may pressure them into acting less callously and stopping sooner. But the country that might, most improbably, have been Bosnia is set to be carved up between Serbia and Croatia, with the Muslims pushed into a tiny residue. The sooner the world comes to terms with this, the sooner it can begin to mitigate the injustice that has been done to the Muslims, by striving to trade its

own recognition of the new borders for the return of some of the refugees, and for a Serbian withdrawal from some of the captured land."

The moral bankruptcy of this line of reasoning speaks for itself. Yet even those who think that moral bankruptcy is easier to live with than military intervention may want to consider a few practical points: Why in the world should anyone believe that the Serbs want the return of the Muslim refugees? Serbian militias are currently expending a great deal of energy on ejecting them from their homes, to the point of blackmailing U.N. convoys into taking them away. Why would the Serbs want to give up any of the land they have fought hard for and which is key to the realization of the dream of Greater Serbia?

And, since brutal aggression will have been rewarded with international recognition, why shouldn't Mr. Milosevic reason that he is free to press on with his ethnic and territorial ambitions? That certainly would be the logical conclusion to draw. In fact, Serbia itself has a large Muslim population in the once-autonomous republic of Kosovo bordering Albania — 90 percent of the province's 2.2 million people. The Kosovans have been subject to harsh repression of their culture and language for the past three years, and the tension in the area is close to a breaking point.

Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger told the *Voice of America* and *Worldnet TV* Friday that there was a "very great likelihood" that the civil war in former Yugoslavia would spread to Kosovo. "It's what has terrified us all from the very beginning. It's been nothing but one escalation after another." That's exactly the point, and handing Mr. Milosevic his victory in Bosnia will do nothing to end it.

The Post's rich fantasy life

It comes as no great surprise that the editorial page of The Washington Post should so earnestly intone, "George Bush didn't level with the electorate he asked so earnestly to trust him in his acceptance speech Thursday night — not close. He bent the truth about both the future and the past." Cheerleading for the Clinton campaign is, after all, a perfectly fair activity for editorialists. But speaking of bending "the truth about both the future and the past," perhaps the editorialists could have a word with The Post's news department, where cheerleading for the Clinton campaign is supposed to be off-limits. It isn't — not close.

Now, the hostility of most members of the major media to the Republicans in general and Mr. Bush in particular is not exactly a new development. The glee with which they have pounced on every scrap of bad news for the Bush administration has been a remarkable spectacle. There was even a brief spasm of enthusiasm for quoting conservatives — provided the conservatives were beating up on Mr. Bush.

But The Post news pages hit something of a low on Thursday. As a big "good morning" on the day he would deliver his speech to the convention, Mr. Bush got the "news," courtesy of a Washington Post-ABC News poll,

that he was trailing Mr. Clinton by 25 points, 57-32. The front-page graphic said, "Clinton has maintained a wide lead in three polls taken since the end of the Democratic National Convention." Reporters for other organizations who have grown accustomed to letting The Post decide what's news quickly jumped in to pepper Republicans with questions about their inability to make headway against the Democratic ticket.

In fact, of course, by Thursday the gap between Mr. Clinton and Mr. Bush was narrowing dramatically, and it would continue to narrow to a dead heat in the aftermath of Mr. Bush's speech. The poll results The Post released Thursday were, by Thursday, hopelessly outdated. About four-fifths of the respondents were surveyed before even Ronald Reagan's speech to the convention Monday night. It is rather difficult to believe that those responsible for this poll didn't know better — didn't know that the timing of the survey, Aug. 14-18, was such that by Thursday, they would in essence be trafficking in public-opinion fiction.

The sheer contemptuousness is breathtaking: Political reality is simply not going to get in the way of The Post's coverage of the Clinton juggernaut of its fantasies. Very well. We will see if it is truly possible to sustain that view through Wednesday, Nov. 4.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992 *

Tough on taxes in Montgomery County

Montgomery County voters have a bad attitude when it comes to taxes. It is so bad that they just might succeed in making Maryland the California of the East. Unlike most taxpayers who resignedly regard every tax hike as a fait accompli, Montgomery's voters have seized the moment to remind elected officials that taxpayers really do have a voice in how much of their money they want to give away.

The point was made two years ago when a wave of anti-tax and anti-government sentiment swept across the county and residents voted to limit property-tax increases. The people spoke decisively. As a result, the county is prohibited from raising the property-tax rate more than the rate of inflation. A year ago that rate was about 3.5 percent and the typical property-tax rate was creeping up beyond \$2.80 per \$100 of assessment.

And now county officials are worried again, this time over an anti-tax initiative that is slated to appear on the November ballot. The Ficker amendment, named after its author, Bethesda lawyer Robin Ficker, would put yet another clamp on taxes and require the county to cut property taxes by the amount of the recent increase in the local income tax. Last month, the county raised its piggyback income tax from 50 percent of the state tax rate to 60 percent to cover

losses from a reduced allotment of state revenues.

Of course, most county officials oppose the amendment, seeing down the road the same fate for Montgomery as what beset California, where state employees were being paid this summer with IOUs. Critics lay the blame for the state's fiscal predicament on Proposition 13, the ballot initiative Californians approved in 1978 that limited property taxes and touched off a nationwide property-tax rebellion. Montgomery officials say passage of the local amendment may mean fiscal Armageddon for the county, citing a projected loss of \$50 million.

In other words, would county residents fork over an extra \$50 million, please? No. In truth, the Ficker amendment really amounts to a swap of revenue sources, give or take a few million dollars. Since the county is peeling off more dollars through income taxes, residents rightly believe they should get comparable relief in other areas, such as property taxes. Taxpayers understand that government is not particular about where it puts its mitts as long as they come back full. So at the very least, Montgomery County voters can impress upon elected officials that they expect to decide which of their pockets they prefer to have picked and that picking all of them is not an option.

Accept the risks

One of these days, people are going to begin taking responsibility for their own judgments. But until that utopia materializes, there will be those who continue trying to make someone else pay for the personal decisions that lead to their own injury. Tawana Hammond is a sad case in point.

In 1989, Miss Hammond achieved a distinction shared by no other Carroll County high school girl. She was a member of the Francis Scott Key High School football team — not a cheerleader but a player in the fullback position. She was the county's first female football player and she was the last.

Her coach described the 5-foot-10, 150 pound player as naturally tough, tenacious and aggressive. In practice she was described as a hard-charging fullback and a punishing tackler from the safety position. But Miss Hammond's career on the gridiron came to a sad end, the result of an injury she suffered during the team's first scrimmage Aug. 25, 1989. Doctors had to remove her ruptured spleen and half of her pancreas.

Miss Hammond blames the school system and her coach for not adequately warning her of

the dangers of the sport.

What was there to say other than that playing football is dangerous? An evening just watching Monday night football confirms that. For that alleged negligence, Miss Hammond wants to be compensated with \$1.5 million.

That dangers abide in every sport no matter how innocuous it may seem at first should be news to no one. There is immunity for neither the weekend athlete nor the professional player. Few people missed seeing Greg Louganis misjudge his clearance and crack his head on the diving board in the 1988 Olympics. Years of an aggressive playing schedule aggravated Larry Bird's nearly crippling back problems, finally forcing him to retire from the Boston Celtics. Fans watching the game between the Redskins and the Giants a few years ago actually heard Joe Theisman's tibia break when Lawrence Taylor performed the tackle that ended the Washington quarterback's career.

Those things happen. Injury is the nature of the game. And to claim that someone else is at fault for the cuts and bruises and worse that evolved from your decision to participate is disingenuous.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992

Clinton excites Hollywood as Bush woos Main Street

President states case on stump, over and over

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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

He boasted, ridiculed Bill Clinton and implored Illinois farmers with the same words he used to talk family values in Woodstock, Ga., economic recovery in Hoover, Ala., and religious beliefs in Dallas.

The repetition is intentional: Hammer that message home until voters hear it.

Since leaving Houston, Mr. Bush has used each passage four or five times a day as "The Speech" takes shape, to be repeated endlessly until an issue sours or Election Day arrives.

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

"This election, like every other, is about making ... an America we all can be proud of: good jobs, safe streets and strong families," Mr. Bush told 5,000 fair-goers on "family day" in a steamy animal-judging rink whose sawdust floor smelled of manure.

When he quoted a famous line in praise of the state capital — "To this place and the kindness of these people I owe everything" — and identified the source as Lincoln, Mr. Bush inexplicably felt constrained to add: "Abraham, that is."

see BUSH, page A8



A QUESTION OF VALUES

According to a poll for Time magazine and CNN, 56 percent of adults want to hear President Bush and Bill Clinton discuss family values. Asked which of the following are very important to promote family values, the rankings were:

Spending more money on education	88%
Creating a national health care program	83%
Spending more on day care for children	79%
Preventing homosexuals from adopting children	47%
Women having children only when married	46%
Couples living together only when married	39%

Polls done for Newsweek, CBS/New York Times and the Los Angeles Times last week produced these results:

Homosexuals should be able to adopt children	29%
Homosexual marriages should be sanctioned	27%
Homosexuality should not be considered an acceptable alternative lifestyle	50%
Homosexuals should have equal job rights	79%
President Bush would do better promoting family values	48%
Bill Clinton would do better promoting family values	37%

The Washington Times

'Cultural elite' solidly behind Democrat slate

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Nearly invisible during the primaries, a Hollywood army is being mobilized for a man many in Tinseltown's liberal circles had little enthusiasm for: Bill Clinton.

At least 143 persons from the entertainment industry — including Alec Baldwin, Glenn Close, Danny DeVito, Richard Dreyfuss, Chevy Chase and Bonnie Raitt — have enlisted in the Democratic presidential campaign.

And they're giving more than time. Money has flowed like bottled water — \$1.4 million was raised at one recent fund-raiser — and it's coming from some of Hollywood's most important players.

Much of Hollywood traditionally has followed the Democratic standard-bearer, but the town has been hit with a new urgency in the past six weeks.

The reasons: increased GOP attacks on the "cultural elite," the prominence of social issues such as abortion, Mr. Clinton's ability to cast himself as a fighter and his selection of Tennessee Sen. Al Gore as a running mate.

"My views have changed," said Danny Goldberg, senior vice president of Atlantic Recording Corp. and chairman of the Southern California affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union. At first he said Mr. Clinton was not liberal enough.

"Now I'm extremely impressed about Clinton's campaign, excited about the chance for a Democrat to win, and really disgusted by the attacks on my community and friends. ... It took a while for [the enthusiasm] to catch on, but it's now clearly greater than in the last sev-

see CLINTON, page A8

BUSH

From page A1

As he moved to the crucial Midwest from the South, where campaign manager Robert Teeter predicted victory except for Arkansas, he didn't change the tune that dates in part to the primaries.

Except for localizing the speech with the usual well-researched references to Republican pols, local hangouts and winning teams, Mr. Bush ticked off issues one by one. In phrases now branded on his brain, he talked of who stood where on Operation Desert Storm, deadbeat fathers and the excesses of trial lawyers — a universally popular line.

"We are suing each other too much and caring for each other too little," he says in his pitch to change liability laws that "drive doctors out of medicine, drive Little League coaches out of baseball."

For Mr. Bush, and most other high-visibility politicians, the basic stump speech means constantly rearranging key phrases to sound fresh.

In Bush speeches, that requires key words like trust, character, change, experience, principle, God, family, life and Barbara (all good); Congress, deficit, taxes, liberal, spending, nuclear, welfare, government and abortion (all bad); and choice (good in the context of education but bad when the topic is abortion).

That produces variations on these ideas:

- Family values. "You tell the opposition we stand for family values, and the best evidence of this, standing right here with me today, is Barbara Bush."

- National security. "I am not going to apologize for one minute for having spent time making the world a place of peace for all the children in this country."

- Domestic policy. "Who do you trust to bring it all home? ... I ask for your support based on my experience, my ideas and my character."

- Kuwait. "I think of the great patriotism shown by this wonderful state of [fill in here] and I think of those men and women that served in Desert Storm and I think of the opposition I had in the Congress."

Mr. Bush embellishes as he goes along, sometimes with klutzy phrasing that makes news. More often he tosses darts that are sharp and quick. When Mr. Bush mentioned Harry Truman yesterday, a fan in the audience yelled back, "Give 'em hell."

Mr. Bush didn't blink before responding, "They're going to think it's hell when I get through with them."

Speech writers wouldn't discuss tactics, but campaign spokesman Tony Mitchell said: "You don't want to reinvent the stump speech at every turn. You want to be able to hammer home some key themes and messages."

"It may bore journalists, but it's

important for the president to get out his message all across the country," Mr. Mitchell said.

Reporters who travel weeks at a time with the president seize on any change to freshen daily stories. Rarely, however, is enough of the underlying message printed to satisfy White House officials or Mr. Bush, who has taken to blaming reporters for not recognizing good news.

Often Mr. Bush feeds reporters' appetites with so-called "red-meat quotes," as he did yesterday on the hot midway here when he rebuffed a Clinton charge of misrepresentation.

"Haven't begun to fight yet — I haven't — and he starts to whine and complain," Mr. Bush said. "I've never heard him quite like this."

Messages also evolve, like Mr. Bush's headline-grabbing plan to propose a tax cut, offered without details in his convention acceptance speech.

In the speech he promised to propose an across-the-board cut in unspecified taxes in January, along with spending caps. Two days later, he said the tax-cut proposal would come after spending was cut. Yesterday he disclosed he would try to cut personal taxes by increasing the amount of the personal exemption.

"That is why, when we cut government spending, I will fight for an increase in the personal income tax exemption so more Americans can afford to build and strengthen their families," Mr. Bush said.

THE BEST OF BUSH

Some of the applause lines from President Bush's stump speech.

- "The last thing this country needs is a rubber-check Congress and a rubber-stamp president."

- "I believe in families that stick together and fathers that stick around."

- "While I bit the bullet, he [Clinton] bit his nails."

- "I trust the parents, not the government."

- "I believe our government is too big and spends too much of your money."

- "I happen to believe that all human life is precious, born or unborn."

- "I held out my hand to Congress and those old mossbacks bit it off."

- "Let's clean House!"

- "Don't let anybody tell you America is second-rate."

- "He [Clinton] defines rich as anyone who has a job."

- "Our policies haven't failed. They haven't been tried."

- "More people took their first breath of freedom in the last four years than in all of history."

- "We are not in a sunset. We are in a sunrise."

The Washington Times

CLINTON

From page A1

eral elections," Mr. Goldberg said.

Political observers say Mr. Clinton, who has close personal ties to television producers Harry Thomason and Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, has managed to bridge the gap between liberals and moderates. They attribute part of that success to a fundamental Hollywood change.

"In prior years, people were more likely to organize around a certain issue, like nuclear concerns or ending the war, or around a particular presidential candidate. Now I think there's a trend toward ongoing, institutionalized political activism," said

Patricia Duff Medavoy, a Hollywood political activist.

Still, some say they will vote for Mr. Clinton without much fervor. "The stakes are very high. . . . We're worried about a lot of things, and it would be nice to have somebody in there who didn't have so many IOUs," said Pat Kingsley, a prominent publicist.

The most visible show of Mr. Clinton's support will come through a parade of stars on the hustings.

Clinton campaign officials have held briefings with prominent Hollywood people to get celebrities on board, said Margery Tabankin, executive director of the Hollywood Women's Political Committee.

"There is a sense this time . . . that

the Democrats really can win, and I don't know if that was there in '88 or people just didn't feel it the same way," she said.

Ms. Tabankin's group is arguably the entertainment industry's most powerful political organization, an elite group of women committed to raising cash for select candidates and matching celebrities with causes.

It is unabashedly liberal, with a pro-choice, women's-rights, nuclear disarmament and environmental agenda. Observers say its endorsement is significant because it has opposed some of Mr. Clinton's philosophical allies, such as Louisiana Sen. John Breaux.

On Sept. 16, the committee is

sponsoring what has become the hottest ticket in Hollywood: a \$1,000-a-person event that includes the singing of Barbra Streisand and a visit by Mr. Clinton.

The fund-raiser at the home of film producer Frederick W. "Ted" Field will be beamed by satellite to fund-raisers across the country. Because Mr. Clinton legally can no longer accept contributions, the funds will go to the Democratic Party and other candidates.

Mr. Clinton's drawing power was shown Aug. 13 at the Beverly Hills home of MCA Chairman Lew R. Wasserman, Hollywood's most powerful political mogul and a moderate. The event raised \$1.4 million from about 200 people, including ac-

tors Tom Cruise and Kirk Douglas and director Steven Spielberg.

Also attending were the heads or representatives of most production studios, including Walt Disney, Sony Pictures Entertainment, Columbia Pictures and Fox.

At the end of this month, Mr. Gore will be the attraction at a fund-raiser being orchestrated by Disney Channel President John F. Cooke.

Many activists said Mr. Gore's selection helped solidify Mr. Clinton's support. No one mentioned Tipper Gore's earlier fight with the entertainment industry over warning labels for records with obscene lyrics.

Just as entertainment figures rose then to cry censorship over Mrs. Gore's efforts, now they are

fighting Republicans, especially Vice President Dan Quayle, who are making an issue of family values.

In his speech at the Republican convention, Mr. Quayle said Mr. Clinton "can't fight for the traditional family because his supporters in Hollywood and the media elite won't let him."

"I was very offended," said Bruce Corwin, president of Metropolitan Theaters and a longtime Democratic activist who has supported Mr. Clinton for a decade.

"To have those comments directed at an industry that has been on the forefront of so many issues like the environment and AIDS and pro-choice was offensive," he said.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1992 *

Comeback by Bush would top Truman's

By Rhodes Cook
CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY

President Bush has taken to talking about mounting the greatest comeback since President Harry S. Truman in 1948.

By one measure, a Bush comeback this year would be greater than Mr. Truman's.

While most surveys showed Mr. Bush lagging more than 20 points behind Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton after the Democratic convention, Mr. Truman never trailed New York Gov. Thomas E. Dewey by much more than 10 points.

What made Mr. Truman's victory so stunning was that he was the first president to be an underdog in the relatively short history of modern polling, and pollsters stopped surveying several weeks before the election, missing a late surge for Mr. Truman.

Gallup stopped polling in mid-October 1948. Elmo Roper of the Roper poll stopped in early September. "Thomas E. Dewey is almost as good as elected," Mr. Roper said. "I can think of nothing duller or more intellectually barren than acting like a sports announcer who feels he

must pretend he is witnessing a neck-and-neck race."

The analogy between Mr. Truman's situation and Mr. Bush's is inexact on another point.

While Mr. Truman trailed Mr. Dewey in the polls through virtually all of 1948, Mr. Bush led Mr. Clinton by a substantial margin through most of the first half of 1992.

Only with the Democratic convention and the collapse of the candidacy of Ross Perot did Mr. Clinton assume a large lead.

Before Mr. Bush, the only other president besides Mr. Truman to mount a come-from-behind campaign was Gerald R. Ford in 1976. Way down in the polls in the summer, he fought his way back and lost by just 2 points.

"Having been through this election," Jimmy Carter's campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, said after the 1976 election, "I understand much better the 1948 Truman victory. There are a lot of people who think that when they vote for the president, they are voting for America, and to vote against the president is to vote against the country. That's very difficult to combat."

• Distributed by Scripps Howard.

High anxiety

Alan Caruba of the National Anxiety Center believes George Bush and Dan Quayle will lose the Nov. 3 election because "they create higher levels of anxiety about the future than the Democratic team."

Mr. Caruba tells us he thinks there was "an air of desperation" communicated to millions of people through the Republican National Convention, and he believes the Republican candidates' rhetoric and the party platform show that large segments of the population are being ignored. He cited "the working poor" in particular, the 30 million working couples who "are not making it."

Mr. Caruba thinks that the anxiety generated by the Republicans "will push for change" and that Bill Clinton and Al Gore will triumph because "most Americans fear total economic collapse."

There are two wild cards, in Mr. Caruba's opinion. "Gore is either significantly misinformed about environmental realities or he's the greens' point man for environmental policies that can cause even greater harm to an economy in big trouble already," he said.

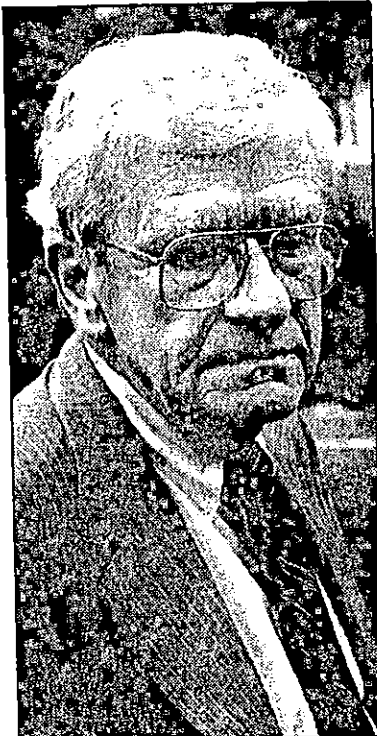
The other wild card? "Whether Americans will vote at all."

Deep feelings

Chronicles magazine passes along a recent research study by Market Facts Inc. revealing that a lot of people don't have much commitment to the presidential candidate who gets their vote. Nearly half of all respondents indicated a "shallow" sense of commitment to their candidate.

Market Facts has rated a lot of products, including cat litter, gasoline and underarm deodorant. Commitment level toward presidential candidates, the researchers found, was lower than the level for any other product category the company has ever studied.

INSIDE THE BELTWAY



An employee newsletter says the CIA is "neutral" on Clair George's trial but will answer workers' questions about it.

News for spies

Further proof that the Cold War meltdown has brought big changes in Spook City: a new employee newsletter called What's News at CIA. In an agency where workers wouldn't even admit to one another who employed them, the news now is about "family day," where about 8,000 family members are invited to tour the Langley headquarters.

Another article focuses on the

"CIA and the Trial of Clair George." As a matter of executive branch policy, the newsletter notes, "the Agency is obligated to be neutral, as are all agencies in the Executive Branch, and to separate official and professional conduct from personal views and feelings."

The article mentions that the "trial of a former Agency official is likely to raise both questions and concerns among our employees," and the Agency's Office of General Counsel stands ready to provide answers.

Get rich quick

Ever heard of the "qui tam provisions of the False Claims Act?" Well, it might pay to learn what that means. Basically it allows a private citizen who has discovered fraud against the government to file suit and collect a portion of any resulting monetary penalty. For example, Federal Express recently settled a qui tam lawsuit for \$950,000. The suit charged that FedEx had billed the federal government for special security protection, known as "constant surveillance service," on military shipments when in fact no such service was provided. The citizen who filed the suit and who will receive a share of the settlement amount appears to have gone into court holding a few aces — he's a former employee of Federal Express.

Any other name

Between the Lines newsletter picked up a report in the Los Angeles Times on various spins the media has used to describe the 1980s. Working from a basic description of those years as the "dec-

ade of greed," the unbiased and objective pressies devised:

- Decade of greed and selfishness.
- Decade of greed and cynicism.
- Decade of greed, grab-it-yourself 1980s.
- Decade of greed with a capital G.
- Decade of greed, cynicism and self-centeredness.
- Me-greed decade.
- Decade of greed and neglect.
- Decade of debt and unbridled greed.
- Decade of greed and excess.
- Decade of greed, glitz and growth.
- Decade of greed, waste and ostentatious consumption.
- Decade of greed, self-interest and dishonesty.
- Decade of naked greed and profit.
- Decade of indulgence, opulence, acquisitiveness and greed.
- Decade of greed and preoccupation with self.
- Decade of egomania and greed.
- Decade of greed and flimsy prosperity.

Historical note

A core tenet of socialism, according to Mikhail Gorbachev, is that its proponents want a better world for everyone. Of course, everyone might have to abide by the socialist definition of "a better world."

Anyway, here's a little trivia question. Who was the world's first socialist?

Stumped? Father Gommar De Pauw, president of the Catholic Traditionalist Movement, passes along an answer that is not his own — of course — but that of the aforementioned defunct Soviet president, Mr. Gorbachev. Speaking at Capernaum, along the Sea of Galilee, during a four-day visit to Israel, Mr. Gorbachev said: "Jesus was the first person in history attempting to achieve a better life for everyone. . . . He was the world's first socialist."

— John Elvin

Why doesn't government work? The legislative stalemates between President Bush and the Democrat-controlled Congress have been blamed on divided government. So what's the solution?

Let's put one party in charge

Norman Ornstein says both sides have become more interested in levying blame than solving problems.

George Bush laid down the gauntlet in his acceptance speech in Houston Thursday:

► Blame the Congress for years of gridlock and drift in domestic policy;

► "Clean the House," meaning end 12 years of divided government that have stymied the Bush program, by re-electing the president and giving him a Republican Congress.

Whatever the voters' partisan preferences, Bush has a point.

When we go to the polls in November, we will not simply be voting for a president; we will vote for a whole constellation of actors who together determine how the United States will be governed.

For 12 consecutive years, for 26 of the past 40 years, voters have opted to divide party powers in government, electing Republican presidents and Democratic congresses.

Divided government has always been a possibility in the American political system, and has often been a reality, but there has been no other period in U.S. history in which it has been as dominant.

To most Washington policymakers and close observers of politics, even those who are not hostile to divided government per se, 12 consecutive years of it have been corrosive.

The yearly difficulty of passing a budget or resolving our deficit woes, combined with deadlock over domestic issues ranging from crime to family leave to energy policy, underscore the sharp differences in viewpoint between the branches.

Each side has become more interested in levying blame on the other than on working together to solve problems.

Nobody has been willing to accept accountability for governance — as the Bush speech's "don't blame me, blame Congress" tone typifies.

Indeed, most Washingtonians would agree with the view of Sen. Warren Rudman, R-N.H., who said as he announced his retirement that he is more interested in having one party control both branches next year than he is in which party it is.

But there is no evidence that most American voters share that view or even any concern at all about the issue of divided or united government.

Frustration over government gridlock has not led rank-and-file voters to conclude that they need to let one party take charge; rather, it has reinforced for voters the notion that dividing government protects us by checking each party's excesses.

If voters decide otherwise and opt for united government in November, it can come about in two ways: giving a re-elected Bush a Republican Congress, or replacing Bush with Bill Clinton and a continuing Democratic Congress.

What would either outcome bring?

► A united government would not bring policy nirvana, but it would bring movement — substantial movement — in the first hundred days of the new Congress, especially on economic policy.

► A Republican government would mean that Bush's Houston economic proposal — across-the-board tax cuts, combined with sharp spending cuts, especially in entitlements — would very likely be enacted, along with rapid passage of the



By Web Bryant, USA TODAY



“
United government would move us from our collective funk and institutional inertia, jump-starting Washington and at least creating some temporary sense of collective accountability.
”

— Norman Ornstein

North American Free Trade Agreement.

Other Bush proposals, like tort reform, school choice and changes in health policy, would be a bit more problematic but would have their first real chance of passage in years.

► A united Democratic government too would mean a bold economic plan, one very like the plan Clinton released in June. It would include a tax-rate increase for those making over \$100,000 a year, an increase in corporate taxes, cutbacks in defense by perhaps \$30 billion a year more than Bush's, \$50 billion a year in spending on infrastructure like roads and bridges, paid for by a five-year, incremental increase in gasoline taxes, and a host of proposals to increase investment in research, development, job training and economic development, along with family leave and the Freedom of Choice Act protecting the Roe vs. Wade doctrine on abortion.

Clinton's plans in education and health care, including a form of public-school

choice and a "pay or play" health package, would not likely be ready for votes until later on and would face serious obstacles, but, like Bush's programs, would have at least some real shot at enactment.

No one should expect any miracles from government, whether united or divided. But united government would move us from our collective funk and institutional inertia, jump-starting Washington and at least creating some temporary sense of collective accountability.

There is no reason to believe that continuing the pattern of the past dozen years would do any of the above.

Voters should consider this fact as they weigh their options for November.

Norman Ornstein is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, specializing in the American political process.

► Campaign, 1A, 5A

Today's debate is on **MIDEAST PEACE TALKS** and how involved the United States should be in them.

Press on for Mideast peace

OUR VIEW The Bush administration must not let slip away this rare hope for peace in the Middle East.

President Bush took justifiable pride in his international accomplishments when he accepted the Republican presidential nomination last week.

But one of his potential accomplishments — a Mideast peace — could be endangered this week in the wake of Secretary of State James Baker's exit to take over as White House chief of staff.

It was Baker who skillfully and patiently cajoled Israelis and Arabs to begin the peace process. But as the latest round of talks begins in Washington today, his absence — and lingering questions about the U.S. role — could endanger the fragile effort.

Bush, Baker and his successor, foreign policy veteran Lawrence Eagleburger, must ensure this rare opportunity doesn't evaporate due to their inattention. The talks never have shown such promise. This round is the first since

moderate Yitzhak Rabin became Israeli prime minister in July. Already, he has curbed new Israeli settlements in Palestinian areas. Sunday, he also eased conditions for Palestinians and hinted more concessions would come in days ahead.

Palestinians, who have made their own concessions in the past, responded by hinting they'd offer more — opening the door for substantive progress.

That leaves one big — and unacceptable — unknown: the U.S. role in the process. Talks have advanced this far because Baker successfully portrayed the U.S. as an "honest broker" and persisted until all factions agreed to meet.

But Arabs question whether the United States still can play that role after giving Israel \$10 billion in loan guarantees this month. Both sides worry that Baker's exit could leave the talks rudderless.

Bush can ease those fears by seeing that Eagleburger devotes to this historically explosive area the same attention Baker did — and the same persistence.

► Talks resume, 1A

U.S. should back off

OPPOSING VIEW Let Israel and its neighbors negotiate without the U.S. hovering over them.

An election-minded Bush administration is playing host to yet another round of Middle East peace talks. Hopes are high after the victory of Yitzhak Rabin's Labor Party in Israel's election, but experience suggests that little is likely to come from the negotiations.

The most serious problem is that the issues between Israel and its Arab neighbors reflect thousands of years of painful history. Finding acceptable compromises is no easy task. Moreover, Rabin, despite his moderate reputation, is no peacenik. As Israel's defense minister, he developed the brutal response to the Palestinian *intifada* in the occupied territories.



By Doug Bandow, a senior fellow at the Cato Institute.

Of course, there would seem to be little harm in encouraging the parties to talk. But holding negotiations in Washington — especially so close to the election and in the midst of the incestuous Washington press corps — hardly seems conducive to the serious bargaining necessary to resolve the Mideast's myriad bitter conflicts.

In any case, there is little the USA can do to promote peace. The Bush administration hopes to buy results with \$10 billion in loan guarantees. Unfortunately, although that much money is not enough to get Israel to make politically sensitive concessions, it is more than enough to damage the overburdened U.S. economy. Additional subsidies aren't even really in Israel's interest, since it needs a freer market, not more debt, to help absorb new immigrants.

By all means, encourage Israel and its neighbors to talk. But let them negotiate in their part of the world, and without the USA hovering over them. Moreover, let's stop mulcting U.S. taxpayers in a futile attempt to buy peace.

Sugar-coated half-truths mask real economic needs

Don't be fooled; neither presidential candidate's economic plan is based on the whole truth.

Now is no time to start trusting either presidential candidate.

Both George Bush and Bill Clinton have sugar-coated their economic plans with half-truths. Don't be fooled. Repairing the economy will demand sacrifices from everyone — in tax increases, spending cuts or both.

Bush wants an "across-the-board" tax cut, but he won't say how much and he won't say which spending cuts will pay for it until the election is conveniently past. "Promise now, pay later" plans of the '80s gave us a \$333.5 billion deficit.

Clinton would raise taxes, but only on the rich. That wouldn't raise quite enough to pay for the \$219 billion in spending increases he's proposed, much less help reduce the deficit.

Poll results

Question: Who would better handle the economy?

Bush: 37%

Clinton: 52%

Source: USA TODAY/CNN/
Gallup Poll of 754 voters,
Aug. 22-23

Bush is promoting an income tax checkoff so taxpayers can target up to 10% of their taxes to reduce the national debt. The loss would be offset with spending cuts, again unspecified. And the plan is undemocratic: Those too poor to pay taxes would have no say, but their programs likely would be slashed.

Clinton promises to halve the deficit in four years. The plan relies only on rosy projections for spending cuts, economic recovery and taxes on foreign corporations in the U.S. The rest would come about even without his help, once the savings and loan bailout is paid for.

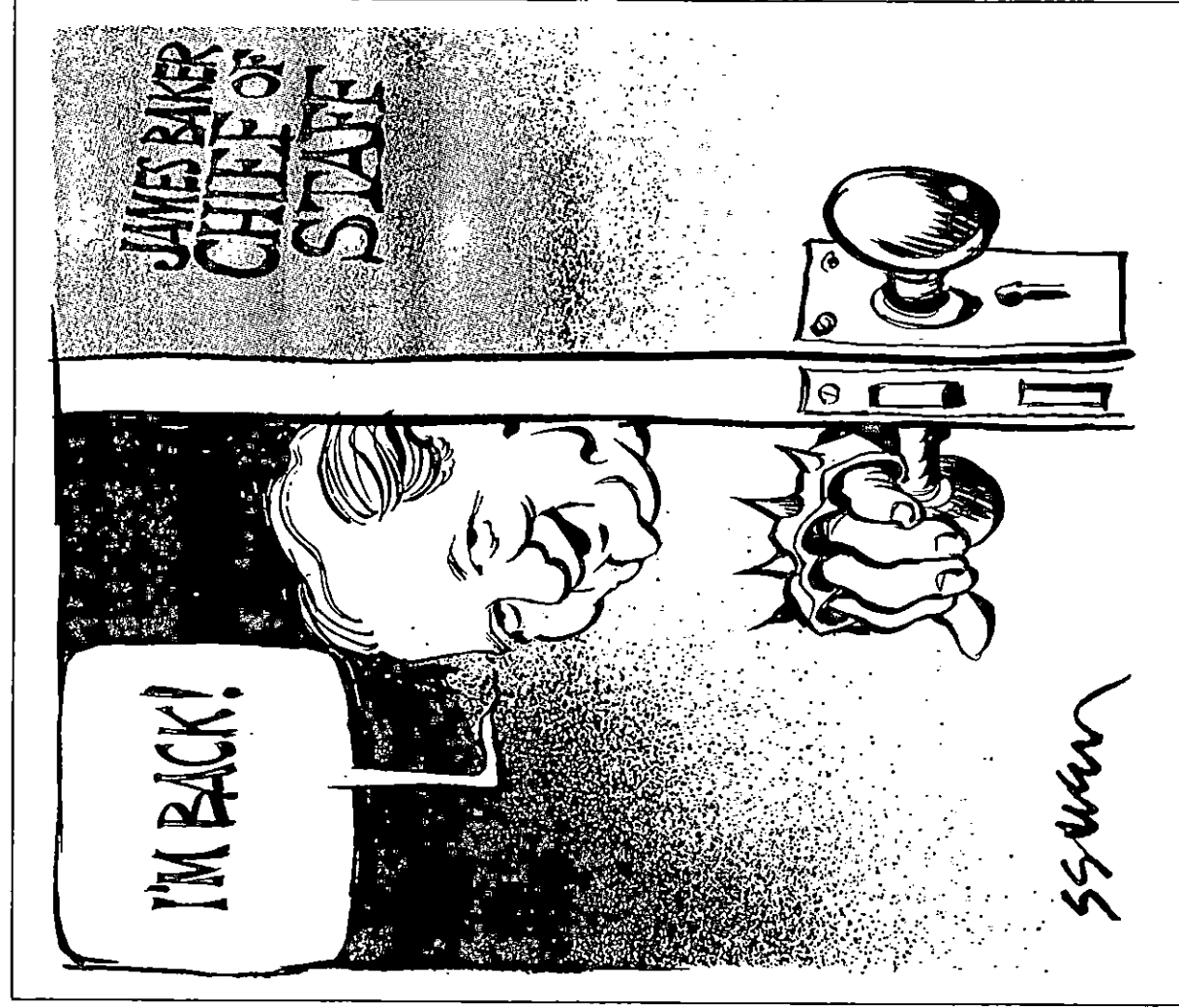
Both candidates have health-care plans, but with no convincing way to pay for them. Since health care is one of the fastest growing drains on the budget, specifics on cost control are critical.

While neither candidate has all the answers, they do offer voters a choice. Bush favors cuts in taxes and government spending. Clinton offers a mix of cuts and increases for both.

What they don't offer is the details we'll need to pick our poison.

► Poll, 1A; economic plans, 3B

THE EDITORIAL PAGE



By David Seavey, USA TODAY



Miami
Fla

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