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6:00 P.M. WIRES

Bush Declines to 'Get Bugged Down in Detail' of Tax Cut Plan By

MIKE FEINSILBER

Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Bush declined to specify Wednesday where he would cut spending to pay for the tax cut he proposed last week at the Republican National Convention. He said he did not want to get "all bogged down in a lot of detail."

"We already have specific spending cuts recommended up there in the Congress, and so how specific I'll be, I'm not sure," Bush told a news conference when pressed to elaborate on what taxes he wants to cut and what spending he would reduce to finance the tax cuts.

The Democrats later challenged Bush to be more specific. "We understand why George Bush doesn't want to get bogged down in the details," George Stephanopoulos, communications director for Bill Clinton's campaign, said in a statement. "Anybody irresponsible enough to promise everything to everybody would probably do the same thing."

Stephanopoulos said Bush "would have to find \$1 trillion in cuts" to meet his own deficit-reduction target without counting the additional cuts that would be needed to balance a tax cut. In his speech accepting renomination at the GOP convention in Houston, Bush pledged to offer a general tax cut next year

"provided we pay for these cuts with specific spending reductions that I consider appropriate."

Asked for details at his news conference, Bush said he preferred to stress his philosophical difference with Clinton.

"One side wants to raise taxes and raise government spending," he said. "My view is that we must cut taxes and cut government spending. So I want to keep it in that perspective and not get all bogged down in a lot of detail."

He said the details would come in the budget he submits to Congress in January if he is re-elected, but "much more important than the detail ... would be the philosophy."

A White House statement issued at the time of Bush's convention speech said that spending limits on entitlement programs could save more than \$300 billion a year to finance tax cuts. That implied limiting increases in the Medicare and Medicaid programs.

AP-DS-08-26-92 1708EDT

BUSH PLAN TO CUT DEBT DRAWS BOTH CHEERS AND JEERS

By Caren Bohan

WASHINGTON, Reuter - President Bush's proposal to allow taxpayers to cut the deficit by checking a box on their tax forms has been derided as "silly" and unworkable by some economists, while others say it's just what the country needs.

"I think it's silly," said Herb Stein, an American Enterprise Institute economist. He dismissed the idea as a way of slashing spending without mentioning that popular programs such as Medicare and Social Security would suffer from cutbacks. The plan Bush put forth in his acceptance of the Republican Party nomination last week would allow taxpayers to check a box to direct up to 10 percent of their personal income tax toward deficit reduction.

Bush also said he would seek supporting legislation requiring federal spending to be cut to match the tax dollars diverted to deficit reductions.

"It's part of the Theater of the Absurd," chuckled Gary Bass, executive director of the budget watchdog group, OMB Watch. "It's really a smoke-and-mirrors cover for not having the political will to make tough decisions."

For Heritage Foundation economist Dan Mitchell, however, the lack of specificity about Bush's suggestion is exactly the beauty of it.

The Congressional Budget Office has estimated that if all taxpayers marked 10 percent it could cause cuts of nearly \$50 billion -- or more than 3 percent -- from the government's nearly \$1.5 trillion budget.

With fast-growing entitlement programs such as Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security among the largest single items in the budget, many economists charge it would be tough to hack spending and leave those programs intact.

Mitchell acknowledged cuts would draw screams of protests, but the devout Reaganomics advocate said slashing government spending could only help the economy. And if it means passing taxpayers the knife, Mitchell was for it.

"Politicians are cowards. They can never vote 'no,'" said Mitchell, who noted forced spending cuts would give politicians an excuse for saying "no."

But Stein and David Wyss, an economist at Massachusetts-based DRI McGraw-Hill, said the issue is not so simple.

Getting Congress to enact a law that limits its power would be the first major hurdle. Making it binding would be the second, they said.

The added complication was that it might raise constitutional problems by giving wealthier taxpayers, who pay a larger share of income tax, the largest discretion over cuts in programs for the poor and middle classes.

Stein and Wyss also point to other failed schemes to mandate debt reduction without proposing specific spending cuts.

The current \$314 billion budget deficit has grown in the seven years since the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act proposed erasing the deficit by 1991.

"If you want to make cuts, you have to get some agreement about what should be cut," Stein said.

When it comes to paring down the debt, Wyss said the first step is curbing the growth of budget busters like Medicare. For his part, Paul Craig Roberts, political economist at the Center for

Strategic and International Studies, supported the checkbox proposal, but said, "It might be more productive to figure out a way to get the economy going."

REUTER

Reut15:31 08-26

BUSH NEEDS BIG SURGE IN SUPPORT TO WIN ELECTION

By Michael Posner

WASHINGTON, Reuter - President Bush's bounce upward in polls after last week's Republican convention seems to be losing its spring, meaning he needs a powerful surge this autumn to win re-election.

Public opinion surveys show that Democratic presidential challenger Bill Clinton remains comfortably ahead of the Republican incumbent, who has been behind the Arkansas governor in published polls since early July.

The last time, according to the Gallup Poll, that Clinton was behind in a head-on match-up was July 6-8, when Bush led 48 to 40 percent, with 12 percent undecided.

And after Texas billionaire Ross Perot abandoned a run as an independent presidential aspirant July 16, the day of Clinton's nomination acceptance speech at the Democratic convention, Clinton soared ahead of Bush.

Coming out of the Democratic convention, various polls put Clinton ahead by as much 30 percentage points and he generally held on to big leads but not by that much going into last week's Republican convention.

"Bush needed to boost his own (job approval) ratings coming out of that convention and he had very limited success," said Larry Hugick, an analyst for the Gallup polling organization which has been following presidential trends since the 1930s. "He can go after Bill Clinton and bring down Clinton's favorable ratings, but history shows that these races turn on images of the incumbent," Hugick told Reuters.

The latest polls show that Bush's bounce in polls, narrowing Clinton's lead, is softening.

The New York Times/CBS News Poll published Wednesday said Clinton leads Bush by 15 percentage points -- 51 to 36 percent with a margin of error of three percentage points either way --almost the same as before the convention.

On Sunday, the day before the Republican convention started, that poll showed Bush was 17 percentage points behind Clinton.

On the last night of the convention, Bush closed in on his challenger to almost a dead heat, 45 to 42 percent, in a smaller Times/CBS poll although pollsters questioned the survey's reliability.

Analysts said Bush must come out roaring this fall if he is to break a historical trend and come from behind to win.

Aside from the "horse race" polls of who is ahead on any particular day, there is an aspect in the surveys that pollsters say is more ominous for Bush.

It is how voters judge the job Bush is doing as president.

The Gallup organization said that for the first seven months of this year, Bush has averaged only about a 40 percent approval rate.

"No one has been able to overcome approval rates of below 50 percent and win election since Harry Truman in 1948," Gallup pollster Hugick noted.

In 1976, for example, the last time a Republican president lost an election, Gerald Ford had an average 48 percent approval rating.

In that November election, Ford only received 48 percent of the popular vote when he lost to Democrat Jimmy Carter.

Carter, who only served one term himself, had a job approval rating of about 41 percent in 1980 and finished with only a 41 percent popular vote.

Republican Ronald Reagan beat Carter, 50.7 percent to 41 percent. Independent John Anderson and others made up the rest.

"So, there is seemingly a strong relationship there between the approval rating and the popular vote," Hugick said.

"Bush's approval rating is virtually the same as Carter's," said Hugick. "That's why it's so ominous."

REUTER

Reut14:53 08-26

Bush Approves Liberalized Trade Relations With Albania

WASHINGTON (AP) _ President Bush on Wednesday granted most-favored-nation status to Albania, a move that normalizes trade relations with the Balkan nation.

In a statement issued at the White House, Bush said the liberalized trade status is a key part of a U.S.-Albanian trade agreement sent to Congress last June. He said the trade deal marked a "historic point in Albanian-American relations."

Albania, formerly one of the communist world's most reclusive nations, elected its first post-communist government in elections held last March. Bush said normalized trade relations "could provide an impetus to Albania's faltering economy and help the country's difficult transition ... to a free market."

In a related development, Bush said in a letter to congressional leaders Wednesday that he was keeping the former Yugoslav republics of Serbia and Montenegro off the list of nations with duty-free access to the U.S. market. He said he was adding all former Yugoslav republics to the list except those two.

Serbia and Montenegro together form what remains of a federal Yugoslavia. The Serbs are accused by the West of starting the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

AP-DS-08-26-92 1730EDT

Bush Authorizes Bigger Federal Subsidies For Public TV

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Bush on Wednesday signed into law a bill that sharply increases government subsidies for public television and bans the broadcast of "indecent" programs before midnight.

Congress approved the three-year, \$1.1 billion reauthorization for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting earlier this month and still must pass legislation appropriating the money.

The law signed Wednesday authorizes increasing the government's share of the corporation's budget from \$251 million this year and \$253 million in 1993 to \$310 million in 1994, \$375 million in 1995 and \$425 million in 1996.

The White House had threatened a veto because of the spending increases, but it backed off after Republicans mustered only 22 votes in the Senate on a proposal to freeze public radio and TV subsidies.

Senate Republicans had delayed action on the bill for months, complaining that many of the programs produced by local PBS stations with government subsidies had too much of a liberal bias and were aimed too much at upper-middle-class elitists.

Public broadcasting also was attacked at the Republican convention, which adopted a platform saying: "We deplore the blatant political bias of the government-sponsored radio and television networks.... We call for sweeping reform.... We look forward to the day when public broadcasting is self-sufficient."

Bush signed the legislation without public comment.

Richard Carlson, president of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, praised Bush for signing the bill, saying the funding is "critical for the stability of public broadcasting."

"We have had nine months of intense public scrutiny including both constructive and destructive criticism," Carlson said. "It is heartening to know we continue to have such strong nationwide support."

The government provides about 15 percent of public broadcasting's support. Most of the money public radio and television productions use for programming and operations comes from corporate and individual grants and contributions from the listeners.

The new restrictions on indecent programs added by Sen. Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., limit such shows to between midnight and 6 a.m. If a station goes off the air at midnight, it could begin airing such shows at 10 p.m. The restrictions apply to such programming by both public and private television.

AP-DS-08-26-92 1713EDT

Clinton In Gore Country for Cash and Votes; Appeal To Women Voters

By JOHN KING

AP Political Writer

MEMPHIS, Tenn. (AP) — Bill Clinton tapped running mate Al Gore's home base for campaign cash Wednesday as the Democrats reached out to female voters by celebrating the anniversary of women getting the right to vote.

Clinton and Gore, a Tennessee senator, raised some \$1 million in Memphis for the Democratic Party's fall warchest and delivered a strong defense of their commitment to family values. Then they headed for Texas to launch another campaign bus tour, hoping to free border and Southern states from the Republican electoral lock.

As the political terrain settled after last week's Republican convention, Clinton aides said they were convinced that President Bush got little bounce out of his week in the spotlight, except to shore up his support among hard-core Republican voters.

As a result, they said, Clinton plans no major changes in a campaign strategy that targets Bush's handling of the economy and fights back against GOP suggestions that Democrats don't stand for traditional family values.

The themes of the GOP gathering in Houston — including attacks on Clinton's wife, Hillary, and an anti-abortion platform plank — left them convinced the Democrats could increase their edge in support among women voters, aides said.

The Clinton camp this week began detailed state polling as it works to refine its electoral strategy. Among areas to be studied closely are New Jersey and Texas, states where Clinton had been faring better than his campaign expected prior to the convention.

At a sun-drenched rally in Memphis, Clinton mocked the Bush campaign's attacks on the family values issue by reading a sign in the crowd: "Ten million Americans in this country have family values but no jobs."

Clinton urged the crowd not to let Republican attacks steer the campaign debate away from economics and the need for what he called for pro-family policies including universal health care and family leave.

"I'm tired of excuses," Clinton said. "In the end, this race will be a race of hope against fear, of the future against the past, of new ideas vs. a tried and failed course."

Gore's job before the homestate crowd was to boost Clinton's Arkansas record at a time Republicans are bashing it. Gore stressed that Arkansas ranked second-lowest in per-capita taxes and first in the nation last year in private-sector job growth.

Both candidates made populist pitches aimed at voters worried about the economy. And they wove in counterpunches to the GOP on family values, the umbrella for Republican attacks on Democrats for supporting such things as abortion and homosexual rights.

"They respond to the wealthy and powerful but they are failing the average families of this country," Gore said of the Bush-Quayle administration.

Before the rally, Clinton and Gore announced a committee of prominent female Democrats who will lead their outreach to women voters, including former Vermont Gov. Madeleine Kunin and former New York Rep. Shirley Chisholm.

The event was held on the 72nd anniversary of the passage of the constitutional amendment giving women the right to vote. Tennessee was the state that put that effort over the top.

Also speaking at the event were Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore, but the show was stolen by Al Gore's mother, who lashed out at Bush

and other Republicans for questioning the Democrats' commitment to family values.

Pauline Gore read from a letter Pat Robertson sent out last month trying to rally opponents of an Equal Rights Amendment in Iowa. In it, Robertson said supporters were pushing a "feminist agenda" led by women who "kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism and become lesbians."

Mrs. Gore said she knew Bush's mother and Robertson's parents "and it's appalling to me that they left the family values they were taught."

From Memphis, Clinton and Gore headed to Nashville and then on to San Antonio, the starting point of their Texas bus caravan. Reaction to the two-day Texas bus tour will go a long way in determining whether Clinton and Gore go all-out for Bush's adopted homestate.

Clinton adviser Henry Cisneros, the former San Antonio mayor, said fighting for Texas would "force George Bush to defend his base. If you can challenge him there, then you've got an election being fought on our terms _ on Democratic terms."

San Antonio attorney Roy Barrera Jr., a co-chairman of the Bush-Quayle campaign in the state, said job-hungry East Texas would be "a bloody field" in the battle for the Lone Star state. AP-DS-08-26-92 1710EDT

Republicans to Respond With Elvis Impersonator

AUSTIN, Texas (AP) _ Republicans plan to respond to Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton's Texas bus tour this week by trailing him around the state with an Elvis impersonator.

Clinton and running mate Al Gore plan a two-day bus trip from San Antonio to the Louisiana border beginning Thursday.

Mark Sanders, a spokesman for the state Republican party's Victory '92 effort, said the Elvis impersonator would follow much the same route, singing and serving bologna sandwiches.

Sanders called the trip the "Don't Be Fooled Tour."

"Dead rock stars, dead policies," responded Land Commissioner Garry Mauro, who heads Clinton's Texas campaign.

"This is just about as serious as their plan for creating jobs in Texas," he said.

AP-DS-08-26-92 1727EDT

IRAQ SET TO USE ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS IF ATTACKED

By Leon Barkho

BAGHDAD, Iraq, Reuter - Iraq said Wednesday it would use its air defense system if it was attacked by Gulf War allies barring its warplanes and helicopters from the Shiite Moslem south of the country.

"When we are attacked we will reply in self-defense," Information Minister Hamed Youssef Hummadi told NBC News.

He was interviewed before President Bush announced that U.S. and allied warplanes would enforce the no-fly zone over the south starting Thursday.

"You can expect that Iraq has rebuilt the air defense system (since last year's Gulf War) but any air defense system will be used when a country is attacked," Hummadi added.

Asked how effective Iraq's defense system was, Hummadi said he could not answer as he was not a military man.

Asked whether the Iraqi people were prepared for another potential conflict just 18 months after the U.S.-led coalition forced Iraqi troops out of Kuwait, Hummadi said:

"They have no alternative. When they are attacked, they'll fight. And our resolve is as strong as ever."

U.S. military planners declined Wednesday to outline the exact rules of engagement for U.S., British and French warplanes enforcing the ban on flights by Iraqi planes and helicopters. Western reports have said Iraq has regained some of its air defense capability since the Gulf War by making surface-to-air missiles, anti-aircraft artillery and early-warning radars operational.

The minister said the United States had no right to declare a no-fly zone under U.N. Security Resolution 688 of April 1991, which demands Iraq immediately end repression against its civilian population.

"The U.S. has no right whatsoever. It is acting against the United Nations Charter and also against international law. I am very sorry that the American administration is not seeing the very dangerous results that will come out of this scheme," Hummadi said.

Resolution 688 was not adopted under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter which carries the threat of force.

An Iraqi spokesman said earlier the United States, Britain and France aimed to create a crisis to divide the south from the rest of Iraq and draw the whole region "into the fire of racial and sectarian conflicts."

"Should the climate become ripe for the new aggressive plan, despite the U.S. claims of not aiming at dividing Iraq, it would ... lead to this division and was indeed first conceived to serve this process," he said.

The spokesman, quoted by the official Iraqi News Agency, said such "maneuvers" were aimed at weakening Arabs who had rejected the Gulf War allies' scheme.

A similar aircraft exclusion zone declared north of the 36th parallel in April 1991 has kept much of Iraqi Kurdistan beyond Baghdad's reach.

The spokesman said the northern no-fly zone helped "create the present tragic situation in our dear northern part and caused havoc and disorder among the people." Diplomats say Baghdad has imposed a virtual blockade of areas held by Kurdish rebels.

The ruling Baath Party newspaper al-Thawra vowed that Iraq was ready for a showdown over the southern exclusion zone.

"Our great people ... and our valiant armed forces are fully prepared to confront the enemies ... and topple their imperialist and Zionist schemes," al-Thawra said in an editorial.

"We are ready to confront them and crush their criminal plan."

"We defy the charlatan (British Prime Minister John) Major, the cursed Bush," it said in a front-page banner headline.

"All potentials and capabilities must be mobilized to face this vicious colonialist plan. Every Iraqi should be given the opportunity to contribute to this holy war."

REUTER

Reut15:47 08-26

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 26, 1992

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT
TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

August 26, 1992

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

In accordance with the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report one deferral of budget authority, totaling \$17.6 million. Including this deferral, funds withheld in FY 1992 now total \$5.8 billion.

The deferral affects the Agency for International Development. The details of this deferral are contained in the attached report.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 26, 1992

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM
THE PRESIDENT TO THE SPEAKER OF
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND
THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

August 25, 1992

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I am writing to inform you of my intent to add each of the former republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, other than Serbia and Montenegro, to the list of beneficiaries under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP). The GSP program offers duty-free access to the U.S. market and is authorized by the Trade Act of 1974.

I have carefully considered the criteria identified in sections 501 and 502 of the Trade Act of 1974. In light of these criteria, and particularly the Balkan nations' ongoing political and economic reforms, I have determined that it is appropriate to extend GSP benefits to the former republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, other than Serbia and Montenegro.

This notice is submitted in accordance with section 502(a)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 26, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HEADS OF EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

SUBJECT: Administrative Dismissal of Employees Affected by
Hurricane Andrew

Our hearts go out to the thousands of Americans in South Florida and along the Gulf Coast who have suffered tragic losses at the hands of Hurricane Andrew. Many parts of the Federal Government have been mobilized to respond to this disaster and to begin a massive effort to recover from the ravages of this storm.

As part of this effort, I request heads of executive departments and agencies who have Federal civilian employees in the geographic areas designated as disaster areas because of Hurricane Andrew to use their discretion under OPM and agency regulations and where appropriate excuse from duty, without charge to leave or loss of pay, any such employee who is faced with a personal emergency because of the storm and who can be spared from his or her usual responsibilities. This policy should also be applied to any employee who is needed for emergency law enforcement, relief, or clean-up efforts authorized by Federal, State, or local officials having jurisdiction.

GEORGE BUSH

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 26, 1992

The President today signed the following legislation:

H.J.Res. 411, which designates the week of September 13, 1992, through September 19, 1992, as "National Rehabilitation Week."

H.R. 2549, which (1) makes technical corrections to title 5, United States Code, and (2) allows Federal agencies to use alternative dispute resolution techniques in certain cases.

H.R. 2926, which designates approximately 100 acres in East Saint Louis, Illinois, as a detached unit of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in Saint Louis, Missouri.

H.R. 2977, which (1) authorizes appropriations for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) and for grants for public telecommunication facilities; (2) alters the composition and terms of the CPB's Board of Directors; (3) requires indecent radio and television programming to be prohibited during specified hours; and (4) contains reporting and disclosure requirements relating to the CPB and public broadcasters.

H.R. 3795, which establishes three divisions in the Central Judicial District of California.

H.R. 4437, which authorizes the implementation of a settlement agreement between the Pueblo de Cochiti Indian Tribe and the Secretary of the Army to address seepage problems at the Cochiti Dam in New Mexico.

H.R. 5560, which extends for one year the National Commission on Time and Learning and makes technical changes to education statutes.

H.R. 5623, which waives the normally applicable congressional review period for seven District of Columbia enactments.

H.R. 5688, which establishes 35 new bankruptcy judgeships.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 26, 1992

The President today signed the following legislation:

H.R. 4312, which (1) extends until August 6, 2007, section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which requires voting-related language assistance to certain language minority populations; and (2) expands the circumstances under which this assistance must be provided.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 26, 1992

The President today signed the following legislation:

S. 544, which establishes Federal penalties for persons who commit certain acts against enterprises using animals, including research facilities, academic and commercial organizations and competitive or entertainment events.

S. 807, which authorizes the lease of certain lands in Salt Lake City, Utah, for purposes other than those for which the lands were conveyed by the United States.

S. 1770, which directs the Administrator of General Services to sell approximately 2.2 acres of surplus property in the Black Hills National Forest, South Dakota, to the Black Hills Workshop and Training Center, Inc.

S. 3001, which prohibits reducing benefits under the Food Stamp program in FY 1993.

S. 3112, which makes technical corrections and conforming amendments to the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration provisions of the Public Health Service Act.

S. 3163, which allows prescription drug wholesalers to continue to operate in States that have failed to meet certain licensing requirements of the Prescription Drug Marketing Act of 1987.

H.R. 5481, which (1) makes permanent the authority of the Federal Aviation Administration to impose penalties for violations of aviation laws and regulations; and (2) changes procedures for imposing such penalties.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 26, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Today I am signing into law S. 1963, which permits Members of the United States Sentencing Commission whose terms have expired to continue to serve until either a successor takes office or the next session of the Congress ends.

The legislation does not specify whether it would apply to the current Members of the Commission. Were the Act read to apply to the current Members, it would appear to violate the Appointments Clause of the Constitution by, in effect, permitting the Members to extend the terms of the office to which they were appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Accordingly, I sign this legislation based on my understanding that it applies only to appointments made after the date of enactment of the Act, so as not to infringe on my constitutional appointment authority. This is in keeping with the well-settled obligation to construe ambiguous statutory provisions to avoid constitutional questions.

I note that this interpretation of the Act is supported by the fact that the Senate deleted from the Act a provision that would have expressly applied it to current Members of the Commission.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
August 26, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 26, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Today I am signing into law H.J. Res. 507, approving the extension of nondiscriminatory treatment (most-favored-nation status) to the Republic of Albania.

The United States Government fully supports this resolution granting most-favored-nation (MFN) status to the Republic of Albania. The bilateral trade agreement between the United States and Albania, of which MFN is a key element, was transmitted to the Congress during Albanian President Berisha's visit to Washington in June and marks an historic point in Albanian-American relations.

Albania elected its first post-communist government in free and fair elections held in March of this year after decades of self-imposed isolation. Since then the country has been struggling to convert to a free market economy. The extension of MFN status to Albania could provide an impetus to Albania's faltering economy and help the country's difficult transition from a command economy to a free market.

The United States now enjoys a close, cooperative relationship with the Government of Albania, a government that is firmly committed to democracy and the free market.

We hope that with our assistance, and that of its other friends, Albania can transform itself from an underdeveloped, closed, centralized society to a democratic country with a free market. A freer and more prosperous Albania can also be a stabilizing force in the volatile Balkan region.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
August 26, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 26, 1992

NATIONAL D.A.R.E. DAY, 1992

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BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

Millions of young Americans who have wisely decided to stay off drugs, out of gangs, and in school are living testimony to the effectiveness of Drug Abuse Resistance Education (Project D.A.R.E.). Together with their parents, teachers, and teams of dedicated law enforcement personnel, these children are taking a firm stand against illicit drug use while also demonstrating their determination to make the most of their God-given talent and potential. At the same time, by setting examples of personal responsibility and respect for authority, graduates of Project D.A.R.E. are making an important contribution to the success of our National Drug Control Strategy.

Led by experienced law enforcement officers, Project D.A.R.E. equips students with basic facts about drugs and alcohol and about the devastating effects that these substances can have on the mind and body. In order that children might avoid the dangers of trying drugs and alcohol, D.A.R.E. also equips participants with practical decision-making skills, helping them to recognize that actions have consequences and that personal accountability and self-control are signs of strong moral character and maturity.

By befriending students and by helping them to grow in self-confidence, the law enforcement officers who conduct the D.A.R.E. program build strong bonds of mutual understanding and trust between themselves and young people in their communities. Yet the success of Project D.A.R.E. also depends on the cooperation of parents, who are encouraged to talk with, and to listen to, their children -- and to set positive examples for them. This partnership among parents, children, law enforcement officers, and educators continues to change lives for the better in all 50 States and at Department of Defense Dependent Schools around the world.

Through innovative public-private partnerships such as Project D.A.R.E., our Nation has made significant progress in reducing the demand for drugs -- a priority of our National Drug Control Strategy. Since we launched this strategy in 1989, overall drug use in the United States has dropped by more than 10 percent. Statistics cited by the Partnership for a Drug-Free America show a decline of 48 to 56 percent in drug use by juveniles between the ages of 13 and 17, and three separate studies indicate that adolescent use of cocaine dropped even more dramatically -- by 63 percent -- between 1988 and 1991. These trends are encouraging, and they offer reason to believe that our National Drug Control Strategy will continue to bear fruit.

more

(OVER)

Because Project D.A.R.E. brings drug abuse prevention to the classroom, it not only meets a key objective of our National Drug Control Strategy but also complements America 2000, our national strategy to achieve excellence in our schools. One of the six National Education Goals that form the basis of America 2000 calls for every school in the United States to be free of drugs and violence. If we are to achieve that goal, all Americans must work together to create safe, drug-free communities where learning can happen. Reaching an estimated 25 million young Americans every year, Project D.A.R.E. provides an outstanding example of cooperation among parents, educators, law enforcement personnel, business owners, and civic and religious leaders. On this occasion, we celebrate their efforts and congratulate each of the young Americans who have chosen to say "No!" to drugs and "Yes!" to opportunity through education.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 295, has designated September 10, 1992, as "National D.A.R.E. Day" and has requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim September 10, 1992, as National D.A.R.E. Day. I encourage all Americans to observe this day with appropriate programs and activities in celebration of Drug Abuse Resistance Education and in honor of the many dedicated professionals and volunteers who have made it possible. I also invite Americans to observe this occasion by joining in community-based partnerships in support of America 2000 and our National Drug Control Strategy.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-sixth day of August, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and seventeenth.

GEORGE BUSH

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FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

His Excellency Ardeshire Zahedi
Villa Les Roses
1820 Veytaux-Montreux
Switzerland



THE PRESIDENT

August 26, 1992

Dear Ardeshir,

Barbara and I want to thank you for those beautiful flowers and your most thoughtful note. We are going through an ugly political year and your strong support means a lot to us, as does your friendship.

Warm personal regards,

*Things are
moving well now.
I'm going to win.*

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "G. H. W. Bush", with a long, sweeping line extending from the end of the signature.

CC: (in & out)
✓ Rose Zamaria (lcc)
Charles Free (Gift
Unit)

WHITE HOUSE GIFT UNIT

ID 9231961 A INITIALS JHP

LOGGED 920825 ARRIVAL 920825 PRESENT 920825
ARRIVAL FORM M MAIL ROOM

PREF DONOR F PERSONAL FRIEND
NAME HIS EXCELLENCY
ADESHIR ZAHEDI

TITLE (FORMER AMBASSADOR OF IRAN)

ADDR VILLA LES ROSES

CITY 1820 VEYTAUX MONTREUX
CNTRY SWI SWITZERLAND

SALUT DEAR ARDESHIR;
ACKNOWLEDGE BY GB FORM PNL

CATEGORY INTEND B PRESIDENT AND FIRST LADY
9904
FLOWERS

DESCRIP BOUQUET OF DAHLIAS IN WHITE WICKERBASKET.

VALUE 000090
APPR VALUE PER FLORAL EVENTS, 301/585/2772.

DISP PR PRESIDENT TO KEEP PE
REMARK SENT TO PATTY PRESOCK IN

DEAR FRIENDS,

COMMENT -DONOR IS PCON 5, AND SEI
-OF 1992.

IT WAS A PLEASURE TO SEE YOU AND TO
HEAR YOUR ACCEPTANCE SPEECH ON TELEVISION,
IT WAS THE VERY BEST SPEECH OF YOUR
PRESIDENCY. CONGRATULATIONS, AND GOD
BLESS YOU FOR ALL YOU'VE DONE FOR YOUR
GREAT COUNTRY AND FOR THE WORLD. AND
GOD WILLING, YOU WILL HELP PEACE AND
PROSPERITY FOR FOUR MORE YEARS.
AS EVER,

TOTALU 0000090 GIFTS A

ARDESHIR ZAHEDI

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Emile J. Roy
7 Ridgeway Avenue
Sanford, Maine 04073



THE PRESIDENT

August 26, 1992

Dear Emile,

Barbara and I want to thank you for those wonderful "limited edition" campaign buttons. They have been added to our collection and will eventually go to the Presidential Library.

We appreciate your strong support and your freindship.

Warm regards,

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

cc: (in & out)
✓ Rose Zamaria (lcc)
Charles Free (Gift
Unit w/Pin)
Shirley Green (fyi)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 8/24/92

TO: *Patty Presock*

FROM: SHIRLEY M. GREEN
Deputy Assistant to the President for
Presidential Messages and Correspondence
Room 94, OEOB, x7610

*Emil Ray brought
by these "limited
edition" buttons and
wanted to be sure you
had one and that the
President saw them.*

pin

TO Pres.

↳ library



Ms. Margaret Noonan
Number C2004
200 East 66th Street
New York, New York 10021-6728

daily



THE PRESIDENT

8-26-92

Dear Peggy -

You are needed and
loved; and oh, by the way,
your Post piece was the
only positive comment

I've seen in that
wonderful (Not!) paper
in ages.

Read my lips:

I'm proud you're
my friend - Keep the
suggestions coming -
Con Afecto GPB

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria ✓
(2 cc)

Peggy Noonan

Dear Mr. President,

Aug 19, 1992 11:02pm
Don't think I'm amused that you
proved I'm not needed.

It's a race now. Win it.

x Peggy

(Read Sunday's Wash Post
for my review.)

daily

The Honorable Strom Thurmond
United States Senate
217 Senate Russell Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

(By Courier)



THE PRESIDENT

8-26-92

Dear Strom -

You're one of the most
loyal, thoughtful men I've
ever met. Thanks for that
great letter of August 25th
I can't tell you how much

I appreciate your
support — Sincerely,

By Bill

✓ cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)

(NOTE DELIVERY)
9:00 AM 8/27/92

STROM THURMOND
SOUTH CAROLINA
COMMITTEES

ARMED SERVICES
JUDICIARY
VETERANS' AFFAIRS
LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4001

August 25, 1992

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

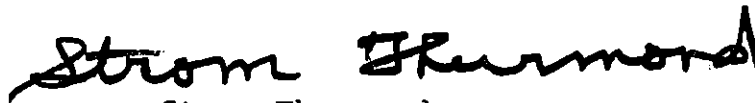
Dear Mr. President:

It was a pleasure to see you and your lovely wife last week at the Republican National Convention in Houston. I thought your speech was outstanding, and I know that it inspired a renewed commitment to Republican ideals in everyone present.

We are all ready to put our shoulders to the wheel and work even harder for your re-election, and I look forward to doing everything I can to help. As always, please do not hesitate to call upon me if I may be of service in any way.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Respectfully,


Strom Thurmond

ST/sp

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

daily

The Honorable John R. McKernan, Jr.
Governor
State of Maine
Station One
State House
Augusta, Maine 04333



THE PRESIDENT

8-26-92

Toch -

Jim. I discussed
your idea of his speaking out
at our domestic program. We both
like the idea. Thanks.
How about tennis & lunch
on Saturday at Kipport??
GB//

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)



STATE OF MAINE
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
AUGUSTA, MAINE
04333

JOHN R. MCKERNAN, JR.
GOVERNOR

FAX: (207) 289-1034
OFFICE: (207) 289-3531

OFFICE OF GOVERNOR MCKERNAN
TELECOPIER INFORMATION FORM:

SENT TO: Rose Zamaria
FROM: Cyndi Fortier
EXT. _____
DATE: 8/25/92 TIME: _____
NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING THIS ONE): 2

COMMENTS:

Rose -
Can you please see that the
President receives the memo from
Governor McKernan. Also, would you
mind making a copy and giving it
to Mr. Baker, as well. Thanks so
much!

Cyndi

If this page does not transmit properly, please contact the
Governor's Office as soon as possible. We will be happy to forward
another copy.

To contact the office directly, please dial (207) 289-3531.

GOVERNOR JOHN R. MCKERNAN, JR.
THE BLAINE HOUSE
AUGUSTA, MAINE
04330

Just in over the
President's
personal fax.
cc given to Baker

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: President George Bush
FROM: Jock McKernan *JM*
RE: Ideas on Campaign Strategy
DATE: August 24, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

What a great job you did in Houston. The four days were exactly what we needed; we are on a roll and I believe we have the momentum. As I said in my memo to you in June, I am convinced the key to success in November will be your drawing the distinction between what you've done and what you want to do over the next four years, and Bill Clinton's inexperience and big government, tax and spend approach to government.

I have an idea that I believe can enhance that contrast and drive home the fact that you have had a domestic program all along but that the Democratic controlled Congress won't pass it. Here is my suggestion:

Now that Jim Baker is on board as the new Chief of Staff, have him announce in the next week or so that he has just completed a review of all of the domestic proposals you have made to Congress in the last couple of years. He can then say, with justification, that the greatest fraud perpetuated on the American public in this election year has been the Democrats' claims that you have not had a domestic program. He can then go on to cite the proposals (Economic Growth, Education and Training, Healthcare, Trade, and the Balance Budget Amendment). After he finishes bashing the Democrats in Congress for not passing your program, you can follow-up his opening salvo for four or five days chiding Clinton about misleading the American people about your plans, and explaining the need for a new Congress.

In order to remind voters this campaign is about the future, you should also tie your new proposals to the ones you have already made as a way of indicating that, since Congress didn't pass your last proposals, even stronger medicine is necessary to put people back to work over the next four years. Again, you can tie this to your request for a change in the make-up of Congress to help you pass the programs. I am convinced the combination of your program of incentives for individual empowerment, choice, and opportunity will strike a responsive chord among the electorate when compared to Clinton's personal inexperience and big government, tax and spend approach.

Sorry to bother you again with a memo, but I believe there is a real window here to correct any lingering misperception that you have no domestic agenda.

Keep slugging!

cc: Jim Baker
Bob Teeter

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

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

8-26-92

Barbara Bush hits the hustings

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M. — Barbara Bush urged voters at a downtown rally yesterday to oust Democrats from Congress and "clean the House." Making a rare campaign-style appearance before a crowd of about 1,000, she drew boos as well as cheers as she defended her husband's policies and decried congressional inaction on his proposals.

She made no acknowledgment of anti-Bush hecklers who sounded off intermittently, one of whom called out "liar." Another shouted that Barbara Bush should "take some nuclear waste with you when you go," an apparent allusion a proposed federal repository in New Mexico for plutonium-contaminated waste.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

8-25-92

Comment

ON ENTERTAINMENT

GOP Throws a More TV Savvy Party

By RICK DU BROW

TV or not TV. . . .

T MY FELLOW AMERICANS:
The Republican convention was more TV savvy than the Democratic conclave.

Except for President Bush's acceptance speech, which seemed as endless as Bill Clinton's, the GOP generally knew best how to beat the clock with dramatic and snappy addresses in prime viewing hours.

It's all TV imagery, of course, and neither party deserved an Emmy.

But, because it's imagery, the smartest thing that the Republicans did was highlight their opening night with Ronald Reagan, who is pure ambrosia for a GOP pep rally.

As usual, it's hard to remember anything he said, but the guy is still magic as a TV presence and was in good form. On an imagery scale of 1 to 10, 10 being best, he was about a 9.

Clinton's acceptance speech seemed to speak more to specific issues than Bush's. And Clinton was also effective on Friday rebutting Bush in an address to the Detroit Economic Club carried in full by C-SPAN.

But Reagan's opener, Barbara Bush's family chat and Bob Dole's introduction of the President wove a cohesive fabric of the GOP's basic outlook, agree with it or not.

Dan Quayle, in fact, gave a more focused and hard-hitting acceptance speech than Bush.

As for Pat Buchanan, his fierce, slashing attack on the Democrats undoubtedly had the usual effect on his friends and enemies but probably galvanized hard-line conservatives.

Bush, in his speech, came out swinging at first, naturally talking up how communism has collapsed and taking credit for it, of course, like any politician. Funny, though—somehow Mikhail Gorbachev's role in all this seemed forgotten.

An accidental oversight, no doubt.

Still, despite Clinton's enlistment of Hollywood whizzes, the GOP harnessed its TV impact with sharper precision, from the moving remarks of the AIDS victim to the three women who seconded Quayle's nomination.

Let's face it: Both parties are shameless when it comes to doing anything to win. But me, I love a convention—bells, whistles and all. And especially now when I can miss some of the salvos and catch up later in the night in C-SPAN reruns.

Bush & Co., win or lose, successfully used TV to emphasize that the President is willing to risk all on the issues of traditional values and personal character in his race against Clinton.

With that in mind, if you think TV imagery has been important thus far, you ain't seen nothin' yet. Election Day is more than two months off.

O * N * T * H * E * C * O * N * V * E * N * T * I * O * N

Some of the letters "On the Convention" on Aug. 20 speak of Republican hypocrisy: The true hypocrisy is seen in the media coverage, with its constant leftist idiom. The voice of America is heard through Pat Buchanan's eloquence, the experience of America is heard through the voice of Ronald Reagan, and America's heart is seen in the concerns of Barbara Bush.

The term "politically correct" has become a poison. I, for one, do not understand the need for gay rights as long as the foundation of human rights is valued. While the Republicans are trying to put forth human rights, the Democrats are pushing them to the side by segregating rights. Why should a person's sexual preference alone bring him or her different treatment under the law? I thank Pat Buchanan for having the courage to speak up.

The Republican convention has brought this country to the truth and to the man who must lead us for the next for years, George Bush.

Gerald Mastrianni
Rockville Centre

Jimmy Breslin is right on the money in saying the Republicans can't buy an issue this election ["Cracks In The First Family's Facade," Aug. 16]. This time they've thrown up a smokescreen of family values, replacing the subtle and sinister racial rhetoric that worked so well in the past. Bush finds life without Willie Horton so difficult that he's resorted to preaching "clean" living. But we heard nothing about family values when Neil Bush and his friends used the Silverado

Bank of Denver as their private cash cow.

Maybe the Republican Convention should be renamed "Four Days of Pointlessness."

Brendan O'Hagen
Rockville Centre

* * *

Pat Buchanan's racist remarks were a national disgrace and deserved no place in any American convention. He says that we are "in a religious war." Who are the "non-Aryan" "subhumans" unfit to live in America? How pathetic that the party of Abraham Lincoln should have sunk so low. Whether Buchanan likes it or not, America is not vanilla, it is tutti-frutti — the more the merrier.

Considering the staggering debt acquired by the Reaganomics debacle — more than twice all 29 previous administrations combined — the cynical Republican carping on "Democrats tax and spend" (ignoring the 12 Reagan-Bush years in which America went from the world's largest creditor nation to the largest debtor nation in history) and the vicious attacks upon opponents' wives, then the transparent apologies are sheer cowardice.

Lorraine Stone
Oceanside

* * *

It is ironic that the Republicans placed their radical position on abortion in the "Women's Rights" section of their platform.

Apparently, the Republicans believe "Women's Rights" is an oxymoron.

Ralph A. Hummel
Huntington Station

8-26-92

Letters to the Editor

Ringin hollow

Barbara and George Bush's proud exhibition of family values at the convention must ring hollow for 85 percent of single-parent families, minorities, gays, feminists, for those who are denied proper health care or those who have lost their jobs because of 12 years of Reagan/Bush.

"Family values" - code words - are now used to justify both intolerance and government inaction. All the Republicans are saying is, "Look, we got ours!" The rest of us are asking, "How do we get ours, too?"

JAMES SUDMEIER, M. D.
Natick

8-26-92

ELECTION '92

A LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

Okla. voters oust 8-term incumbent

Oklahoma voters swept eight-term Republican Rep. Mickey Edwards out of office Tuesday, while early returns showed Democratic Rep. Mike Synar was forced into a runoff. Edwards, fourth-ranking Republican in the House, had appealed to voters to forgive him for writing 386 bad checks totaling more than \$54,000. With 91% of votes in, Edwards trailed two others. He became the 16th House incumbent defeated this year. Tearfully, Edwards conceded defeat: "They wanted to clean house and that had nothing to do with the House banking (scandal). They saw some new faces out there and they're not real happy with what's happening in Washington." In eastern South Carolina, candidate Jim Clyburn, looking to become the state's first black congressman in nearly a century, won the Democratic nomination for the state's new black majority district.



By Scott Andersen, AP
EDWARDS: Voters couldn't forgive him

BUSH TRAILING: President Bush's gains from the Republican National Convention have almost evaporated, a *New York Times*/CBS News Poll today shows. A survey Sunday and Monday of 903 registered voters showed Clinton leading Bush, 51% to 36%. Before the convention, a similar survey had Clinton ahead, 52% to 35%. Margin of error: 3%.

ON HER OWN: Barbara Bush, in a rare solo public appearance, urged voters to "clean the House." Before a crowd of

1,000 people in Albuquerque, Bush defended her husband's policies: "George Bush is fighting for change — real change — change that makes a difference in people's lives," she said. "He has asked the Con-

gress for enterprise zones to strengthen our cities, home ownership programs to strengthen our communities and welfare reform to strengthen our families. So far no action by Congress. Clean the House." After receiving a standing ovation, the first lady added, "I may get to like this."

Election coverage

► Bush, Clinton talk to veterans. 1A, 6A

George F. Will

Serious People Flinch ...

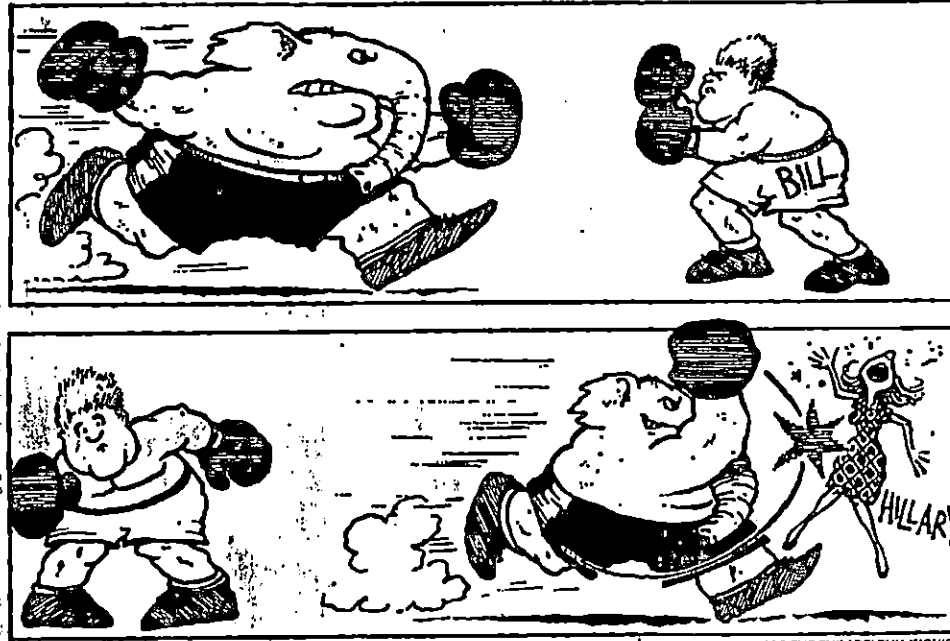
When George Bush's campaign slithered through Georgia, Rep. Newt Gingrich rose to the challenge of lowering still further the tone of it. Gingrich, whose high rank in the Republican leadership is the only good reason for hoping Democratic control of the House continues, told a Bush rally that Woody Allen is "a perfect model of Bill Clinton Democratic values" and that "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."

That would cost Gingrich his reputation for seriousness if he still had one, and it illustrates how cynicism at the top of the Republican ticket pervades the entire party. Gingrich did not, in any meaningful sense, mean what he said. He was just emitting the sort of noise that characterizes what Bush calls his campaign about "trust."

Gingrich's synthetic sincerity was further displayed as he hyperventilated about Clinton's joking remark, months ago, that maybe he should have inhaled that marijuana (thereby escaping the ridicule his "I didn't inhale" has evoked). Gingrich calls Clinton's remark "the single most destructive action by a politician in my lifetime." Gingrich's lifetime began in 1943. Make your own list of the evils Gingrich considers less significant.

After Gingrich regaled the crowd with his Woody Allen japes, a Bush aide said, "The president does not want to make Woody Allen an issue." There they go again, dancing the Bush Two-Step. The campaign always disassociates itself from the stream of dishonesty that is steady.

Nothing new here. In 1988, when Bush's Iowa campaign smeared Elizabeth Dole, Robert Dole asked Bush, on the Senate floor, if Bush had authorized it. Said Bush: Maybe I did and maybe I didn't. That is how Bush's various



BY AUTH FOR THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

campaigns have talked to the nation: down. Read my curled lip.

On television last Sunday Robert Teeter, Bush campaign co-chair, was asked about the constant attacks on Hillary Clinton at the Republican Convention. Teeter, two-stepping, said, "I personally don't think Hillary Clinton is much of—part of an issue of this campaign, and I've said that a number of times." And no doubt will have occasions to say it, piously, an additional number of times before November.

Can't Bush's people be honest about anything? Mrs. Clinton is an issue and should be. She is an experienced, outspoken advocate about various causes and she probably would

influence the tone and direction of a Clinton administration.

The problem is not that the Bush campaign obviously thinks she is an issue, but that the campaign is so mendacious when portraying what she has written. (A bulletin: She does not think 12-year-olds should be able to sue parents if asked to take out the garbage.) Peter Hart, the Democratic consultant, says this is Republican strategy: Instead of running Bush-Quayle against Clinton-Gore, Republicans want to eclipse their least popular and the Democrats' most popular candidate, running George and Barbara against Bill and Hillary.

Mrs. Clinton is being "borked." The verb "to bork" means to lie about the writings of a public

figure. There is rough justice in what she is undergoing. Lots of her friends participated in the borking of Robert Bork, and she no doubt enjoyed it. Still, Bush campaigners are lying about her record.

Soon Bill Clinton will have to say to Bush what Dole publicly said to Bush in 1988: "Stop lying about my record." Bush says Clinton has raised taxes 128 times. Bush says this even though columnist Michael Kinsley has demonstrated that the list of "tax increases" is a tissue of falsehoods. (Some taxes are counted several times; components of a tax are counted as separate taxes; minor fees, such as the \$1 court cost imposed on convicted criminals, are counted as taxes.) By the tendentious criteria used by the Bush campaign, Bush has raised taxes more often in four years than Clinton has in 12.

So, what does Teeter say of the 128 number? "We're not going to quit saying it about Mr. Clinton."

Bush operatives constantly whine about the media but Bush is benefiting from the mock sophistication of journalists who, striking a world-weary stance, say of his campaign dishonesty, "It was ever thus in American politics." Even if that were true, it would be no excuse, and it isn't true. This is extraordinary.

Today honorable conservatives feel the sort of fury felt by honorable conservatives 40 years ago when Joe McCarthy was giving anti-communism a bad name. There is a strong case to be made against Clinton concerning school choice, term limits, protectionism, automobile fuel efficiency standards, his ties to trial lawyers, his running mate's environmental hysteria and much more. But serious people flinch from being associated with the intellectual slum that is the Bush campaign, with its riffraff of liars and aspiring ayatollahs.

Bush calls his campaign "a crusade to bring back values." His campaign is powerful evidence of the need for such a crusade.

DAVID S. BRODER

Praying the voters don't notice the Bush campaign isn't focused on U.S. economy

The members of the White House advance team that set up President Bush's visit to the Atlanta, Ga., suburb of Woodstock the other day were probably sending a subtle message with the placement of his podium. It stood on the old-fashioned Main Street between store signs advertising "Jo's Vintage Resale" and the "New Image Hair Parlor."

Judging by the speeches Bush made on his first swing since the Republican National Convention, he's going to leave the "New Image Hair" trade to Democratic challenger Bill Clinton and work on the "Vintage Resale" of himself.

From the Gulf Coast to the Ozarks and from Atlanta to Dallas, Bush preached "traditional values" more than he proclaimed his "new" economic plan. The President never failed to argue that Clinton and a Democratic Congress would run up spending and taxes. But he and his boosters seemed more intent on seeding the fear of the Democrats' morals.

House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich told his Woodstock constituents in a pre-Bush warmup speech that he had discovered a "Woody Allen plank" in the Democratic platform, which said "people," not "govern-

Republicans have run well on "values" issues since 1968, but this year it's thin stuff. And the GOP's strategy obscures the real issue — the economy.

ments," raise children. Gingrich found it sinister and significant, sort of Woody Allen-like, that the platform didn't say "families raise children."

Well, the Bush folks weren't sure they wanted to equate Bill Clinton with Woody Allen, so press secretary Marlin Fitzwater told reporters, "It's a free country. He [Gingrich] can say what he wants. The President is running for president."

Come to find out, though, Gingrich is not the only one who has been doing close textual analysis of the Democratic platform. Shortly after Fitzwater had done his side

step, Bush was telling the fundamentalist faithful at the Religious Roundtable in Dallas: "I was struck by the fact that the other party took [thousands of] words to put together their platform, but left out three simple letters, G-O-D."

The next day, Clinton said he found it "deeply offensive" to suggest that he and his running mate, Albert Gore Jr., both church-going Baptists, are leading a godless band of Woody Allen freaks. But there you have it.

The Republicans, of course, have run on "values" issues in every election from 1968 through 1988, and usually with great success. But this is thin stuff, compared with the Pledge of Allegiance and Willie Horton issues they used four years ago against Michael Dukakis. Like them or not, those issues were rooted in Dukakis' public record as governor — bills he had vetoed, furlough programs he had endorsed. Last week's charges by Gingrich and Bush were a reach — and a feeble one at that.

More than that, they are a distraction from what everyone, including the Bush strategists, knows to be the central economic issues of the campaign.

That became obvious the day after Wood-

stock and Dallas, when Bush came to the Illinois State Fair. Illinois is as crucial and closely contested a state as you can find, in this and any other presidential election. Unemployment is 8.7 percent and the state budget picture is so desperate that the fair itself had to be cut short.

Before Bush arrived, I asked Rich Williamson, the Republican candidate for the Senate and a veteran of the Reagan White House, what issues the President needed to address. His answer was not ethics but ethanol. Illinois farmers are up in arms, he said, because administration regulators are denying them a huge potential market they could enjoy with wider use of the grain-based fuel.

What about family values?, I asked. "Family values, yes," Williamson said, "but in the end, this election will be a referendum on the economy."

A dozen people I interviewed in the partisan crowd, many of them Republican patronage employees, agreed. Asked what they wanted to hear Bush talk about, every one of them mentioned jobs and the economy first — and "family values" only when prompted by the interviewer.

Robert Powers, a white-collar worker from

a Chicago suburb, said he was leaning to Bush but "wanted more specifics." About what? "The Republicans talk about the importance of exports," he said, "but I want him to say specifically what the world wants us to make, so we don't end up just shipping jobs away."

What about family values? "Family values are very important," he said, "but both parties want family values. The only problem is when one side is not inclusive. As soon as you isolate some people as outside the family — like Pat Buchanan did with gays — or single mothers, you start losing the big picture."

"I liked what Barbara Bush said," his wife, Jennifer, declared. "Family values are what you say they are."

In his speech, Bush disappointed Williamson by saying nothing about ethanol and Powers by saying nothing specific about exports. On the other hand, he also left out the bit about the godless Democrats, and the next day in New Jersey and Connecticut, his message was jobs and job-training.

Forgive the pun, but that's the only way the Republicans have a prayer of winning.

David S. Broder, based at the Washington Post, won a Pulitzer Prize in 1973.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER
8-26-92

WOODY Allen is right about one thing. We shouldn't confuse Woody Allen, the man, with Woody Allen, the director-actor-writer.

In his fictional narratives, he's a nebbish, a clown, a witty neurotic Jewish intellectual, a moral dissector of all manner of trivia and temptation, a comedian who feels gully if he steals a kiss or second base. In real life, if we are to believe his interviews in Time and Newsweek, he's obtuse, unfunny, a Freudian dunce, devoid of shame, culpability or insight.

He talks about a sexual relationship with his long-time mistress Mia Farrow's adopted daughter, age 21, for whom he was a paternal figure from the time the child was 9, as though he never considered anything beyond the pleasure principle.

No one suffers from penance envy.

By these standards he's a

WOODY ALLEN, PSYCHOLOGICAL PYGMY



**SUZANNE
FIELDS**

psychological pygmy, an intellectual weenie, a moral monster. In his life scenario, his characters are in search of an author for a "A Midsummer Night's Sex Tragedy,"

COMMENTARY

that turns into a totem without a taboo.

When asked if he ever thought he was exploiting a daughter's resentment for her mother, Woody says, "I never thought of that." Mama Mia.

When asked if he found any moral dilemma in relation to the impact on Satchel, his biological son, and his two adopted children and their siblings who considered his new mistress their sister, he accentuates the negative. Without Mommy telling them how to react, he said, "I don't think they would have cared two seconds."

Oedipus, Shmedipus. Why should his children be affected if Daddy sleeps with one of Mommy's daughters?

Woody deconstructs. Woody

seeks a new id-eology.

In politically correct jargon he describes his new love affair as "an equal-opportunity relationship" with Cupid calling the shots: "The heart wants what it wants." This is not meant to be satire.

So why do we care? Is this really about family values gone amok? Not really, although we were tantalized by the irony of Woody Allen news bulletins during the TV coverage of the Republican National Convention, between the speeches of Marilyn Quayle and Barbara Bush.

It's hardly news for the 5-Star Final that Hollywood and New York celebrities think family values are something you shop for at Wal-Mart — where they've never

been. Nor should we be surprised that sexual tragedy titillates.

But the Woody Allen Story is about more than fascination for the most prurient details of the rich and famous, or even a craving for absolute standards by which to raise our children and ourselves.

It's about the way we invest our popular artists with a mythology they neither earn nor deserve. They become carnal icons who exploit perversely the sexual power of their own creativity.

Paul Johnson, the British historian, touched on this idea in writing about the growing influence of the secular intellectual that accompanied the disappearance of great religious leaders. "The collective wisdom of the past, the legacy of tradition, the prescriptive codes of ancestral

experience existed to be selectively followed or wholly rejected entirely as his own good sense might decide," he wrote of the secular hero in his book, "Intellectuals."

That's why men like Rousseau, Marx, Bertrand Russell, Jean Paul Sartre could pretend to speak with a generosity of creative spirit toward all mankind, while personally treating others, especially womankind, without a shred of moral etiquette.

Woody Allen rejects the most lucid perceptions of the post-Freudians and everything else he ever learned about the bonds of trust, the psychopathology of everyday life and intimations of incest.

"There's no downside to it," he says of his relationship with Soon-Yi. "The only thing unusual is that she's Mia's daughter. But she's an adopted daughter and grown woman. I could have met her at a party or something."

Or something.

8-26-92

A Woolly wonder

ALEX BEAM

The Republican National Convention was hardly the kind of event that Whitworth P. Woollyhead, professor emeritus of Dravidian linguistics at the World's Greatest University, would have bothered to watch on television. What with so many spellbinding new books available — everyone on Brattle Street was talking about the Oskar Kokoschka letters, or at least about the review — and with GBH rerunning those clever little Ken Burns shows for the fifth or sixth time, well, he wouldn't have given the convention a second thought.

But one thing led to another. Contingency, the French philosophers would call it (or would they?) and there he was, plunked in front of the Hitachi, watching the corpulent country-clubbers twirl their vinyl elephant noses in a manner redolent of the famous Queen of the Tassels ... ah, but that was another era.

Tabitha, who would never have allowed the Republican ether into her living room, was spending the week up at Squam Lake, preparing for the big Loon Preservation Society meeting. The Jet-Ski herd was acting up again; time for another restraining order. And the Kokoschka letters proved to be a disappointment. Woollyhead thought Oskar and Marlene Dietrich — well, never mind. Even Ken Burns lost his zip the sixth time around, and Videosmith had rented out all its Satyajit Ray tapes. Houston, ho!

The convention had its moments, especially Day One: The Return of the Living Dead. First came that Buchanan scribbler, fresh off the operating table, raving about the godless homos. You'd think he might have abandoned the Birch Society propaganda when he felt the epidural kicking in, but no. Hate springs eternal.

Medical resuscitation scored a second triumph when they wheeled out the Ronald Reagan replica, decked out in his kooky Pepperidge Farm shirt, as if he was hawking those spongy "homemade" cookies that use the same squooshy thickener found in fast-food milkshakes and embalming fluid. Funny how those two thoughts connected. Reagan compared favorably with his Audio-Animatronic double at the Hall of Presidents down in Disney World, where Woollyhead had been forced to escort the grand-Woollies the previous spring. Old Walt himself had been flash-frozen in some remote Orange County lab, hoping to be revived when the stock topped 100. But that's another story.

The second night was all a-jumble because the local TV stations kept cutting away from Jack Kemp for on-camera handwringing about finding a white superstar to replace Larry Bird, although they phrased the question more delicately. Woollyhead did catch a bit of the AIDS woman, metaphorically speaking, and he saw Bill glubbing out his two cents about abortion.

How young Bill got mixed up with those Neanderthals was as great a mystery as how the Business School could deny him, once a tenured professor at WGU, access to its sumptuous Shad gym. Wasn't the money supposed to fund an ethics program? Never mind.

Of course, it's better to be born lucky than to be born honest, and the Republicans proved the truth of that adage when Woody Allen decided to go public with his entirely normal and deeply loving cradle-snatching saga on Family Values Night. Fat pitch! And the Big Berthas of family values, Marilyn and Barbara, hit it out of the park.

The Quayle woman was hard to peg. Why Indiana's richest family couldn't spring for orthodontic care was beyond him. You wanted to slip a harness over her and ride her out of the arena. One wouldn't want to cross that Bush woman. She'd mud-wrestle La Clinton to the death and flash that brutal white smile while holding Hillary's peroxidized tresses under the muck for a hundred count. That's their code. Whatever it takes.

The final night wasn't much, although the long nights huddled over the synthroid cauldron finally paid off for the White House witch doctors. What will happen when the chemicals wear off in November? Woollyhead reached for his checkbook and fired off \$100 to Clinton-Gore. God knows they need it. Who rides buses any more?

Alex Beam is a Globe columnist.

SYDNEY H. SCHANBERG



Better Not Cast the First Stone, George

THE PRESIDENT MADE a big fuss the other day out of the fact that the Democratic platform didn't mention "God" once. What the president didn't know at the time was that this omission was the result of a direct request from the deity, who explained yesterday through a spokesman that he is sick and tired of having his name misused by political manure shovelers.

The Republican shovelers apparently didn't get this message of celestial annoyance, because last week in the Astrodome they gave "God" major billing in their platform.

Still, the Democrats weren't perfect. Bill Clinton used "God" four times in his acceptance speech, the same number of usages as in Bush's convention address. So I guess nobody won that particular contest — or lost it, depending on how you feel about throwing around God's name.

I actually don't think it's too classy a habit, unless you believe that you, and only you, have a personal "in" with the deity.

The reason politicians throw "God" around all the time (historically, the practice has come to be known as "God-ding") is because they think they just might get a few votes by portraying themselves as upright, which is pretty silly since up-

rightness is just about the last thing most people would imagine about a politician.

Another trouble with "God-ding" is that belief in a higher being is a very personal thing, and one person's idea of God may not be precisely the idea that his neighbor has. Which is what makes the United States an interesting country — the founding tenet that we as a society will be successful only if we can accept with understanding a multiplicity of beliefs and religions and points of view.

I guess that's why some of the Republican speeches troubled a lot of people. Such as the deliverances of Pat Buchanan and Marilyn Quayle. Those speeches seemed to say that if you don't believe in our God and our way of doing things, if you happen to be different from us — such as if you're gay or lesbian or black or a working mother or a woman who has had an abortion or if you're Jewish or the wrong kind of Catholic or Protestant — then you're probably Godless and not a good American.

I don't know if that's better or worse than the last time, in 1988, when Bush said that if you were a liberal, you weren't a good American. Maybe they think it's the same thing — liberalism and Godlessness. A lot of good people consider that to

be dangerous talk, the kind of talk that's akin to isolating certain groups of citizens and saying they're a threat to "family values."

George Bush says he's not a bigot, and I tend to give him the benefit of the doubt (certainly more benefit than was merited when Richard Nixon told us he wasn't a crook). But George went a little far when he claimed in his acceptance speech that "I have fought against prejudice and anti-Semitism all my life."

This claim is a little hard to square with George's real-estate policy. You may recall that George and Barbara in 1955 bought a house in Midland, Texas, whose deed contained a clause saying that the property could not be "used by or conveyed to any Negro or person of African descent." There was only one exception to Bush's restrictive covenant against blacks: The ban allowed the owners to hire and house "domestic servants of such race and descent" on the property.

The Bushes lived there for four years and then moved to Houston where they bought property in a housing subdivision that had a similar racial ban. And they did the same thing in 1981 when, a month after George became vice president, they bought a racially restricted undeveloped lot that they say is going to be the site of their retirement home.

George Bush never took any legal steps to have the exclusionary covenants removed. In fact, when these documents were uncovered in the press in 1987, as Bush was preparing his campaign for the presidency, an aide said that Bush had not known about the racial restrictions and considered such covenants "personally repugnant." One would think that the attorneys for a vice president would have informed so high a government official of the existence in his life of such "repugnant" racial restrictions.

Though such racial bars were ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1948, the restriction on Bush's "retirement" property remained in his deed until its expiration date in 1985. The neighborhood is still all-white.

Isn't it risky for a president with this exclusionary history to go around talking constantly, without a hint of personal fallibility, about faith and values and what is required to be a good American?

Example: "I believe in teaching our kids the difference between what's wrong and what's right, teaching them respect for hard work and to love their neighbors." Which neighbors, Mr. President? Only the Caucasian ones?

Such are the paradoxes of hypocrites who stand on rostrums and rain down on those below the hollow pretenses of men disguised as the commandments of a higher being.

Such are the paradoxes of those who go "God-ding" about America.

Selecting the Equal Rites Awards in the Year of the Woman presents special problems.

Potholes on the road to equality

ELLEN GOODMAN

Each year at the this time, I prepare for Aug. 26, the anniversary of the passage of women's suffrage, by recognizing those who have done the most in the past 12 months to set back the progress of women. The Equal Rites Awards are always a subject of intense competition. So many contestants, so little time.

The so-called Year of the Woman presented special problems for our one-woman jury. It was a time of so many mixed messages. Anita Hill became a heroine but Clarence Thomas became a justice. Running for the Senate became a favorite female sport, but the only woman running for president was in a Donna Karan ad. And she had her shirt unbuttoned to the waist.

Nevertheless, these awards were always meant as markers to show how far we have to go.

So, without further ado, the envelopes please.

The Patriarch of the Year Award goes to the real thing, Cecil Jacobson, a fertility doctor who meant it when he told one patient, "God doesn't give you babies - I do." He artificially inseminated at least 15 woman patients with his own sperm. To Dr. Jacobson, convicted of fraud, we send the traditional cigar. The exploding kind.

The Battle of the Sexes Award, which we had hoped to retire in the post-Cold War era, goes to those Navy pilots who turned the Tailhook convention into a sexual harassment maneuver. To these officers and gentlemen we send a courier who will collect all their tapes of "Top Gun." We will replace them with "Thelma and Louise."

Lest we think all our military woes are at sea, The Raging Hormonal Imbalance Award goes to Gen. Merrill McPeak, the Air Force chief of staff who admitted at a congressional hearing that his opposition to women in combat might not be rational but said, "I take some solace in thinking that not all human problems yield to strict logic." As a prize, the general will become a research subject for a treatise on male menopause and the military.

The Ms-Information Award for promulgating the anatomically incorrect news to the next generation is won this year by the makers of a Mommy-to-be Doll. This doll, Judy, gives birth when a child opens the door on the curved tummy, lifts out the baby and replaces it with a flat stomach. We send the manufacturers one complete set of varicose veins and an assortment of stretch marks.

Speaking of misinformation, The Double Standard in Sex goes to Roy Black, Willie Smith's lawyer, who joked to a New York State Bar Association meeting that Smith's testimony about his prowess in having sex with Patricia Bowman twice in 30 minutes "has certainly helped him with dates since then." We send Black a new joke writer and an all-expense-paid semester in sex education.

The Misogyny in Medicine Award, always a cliffhanger of a prize, will not go to Dow Corning, which has troubles enough with

Anita Hill became a heroine but Clarence Thomas became a justice.

breast implants exploding all over their reputation, but to Dow Corning's accomplices at the American Society of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgeons. The association described small breasts as "deformities" and "really a disease," requiring a surgical cure. Have we got an implant for them.

The Dubious Equality Award has always gone to the woman who struggled the most to match the least attractive male quality. This year it goes to Bush's deputy campaign manager, Mary Matalin, whose attack memos rival those of her late mentor, Lee Atwater. We offer her, as required reading, one copy of "In a Different Voice."

The citation for Short-Circuiting Self-Esteem. This wings its way to the manufacturers of Tums, who placed an ad for their tablets in a medical journal to promote it as a calcium supplement. Over a portrait of an attractive, stylish

woman of a certain age, they cutely bleat: "She's a Loser." What this age group is losing in bone mass it is gaining in consciousness. We send Tums a balance sheet bad enough for a Rolaid.

Needless to say, the first annual "They Just Don't Get It" bumper sticker went months ago to the Senate Judiciary Committee. But a special Knight in (Tarnished) Armor shield goes to the unregenerate-committee member Alan Simpson, who quipped on the occasion of his wife's birthday party, "I never thought I'd be sleeping with a 60-year-old woman." We send Mrs. Simpson a copy of "Lysistrata."

The Sexism in Song Prize, competed for in rap and rock, has to be awarded to Ice-T. If you think the Iceman's song about cop killing was bad news, you haven't read the lyrics about matricide in "Momma's Gotta Die Tonight" or impregnating the daughters of the KKK in "KKK Bitch." The proper prize is silence.

The Ms-Guided Media Award, a plaque suitable for framing, goes this year to all the newspapers who ran the Mike Tyson rape trial in the sports section. Yes, we know he's a boxer. But if Julia Child killed someone would we run it in the food section?

While we are in a feisty mood, The Entrepreneur with An Attitude Award goes again - is this becoming a habit? - to Donald Trump. This time the Donald offered a megabucks deal to keep Mike Tyson from jail. "If Mike Tyson sits in jail and his earning power is curtailed, it is punitive for him but beneficial to no one." To Don, we send by personal carrier a knockout.

Finally, the Fifties Feminine Nostalgia Crown goes jointly to Family Circle and those political operatives who had Babs and Hillary participate in the magazine's great chocolate chip cookie bake-off.

To the winner presumably goes the first ladyship. What's next, a bed-making contest for the White House? We send to these nostalgia buffs a true artifact of the Fifties to contain their enthusiasm: a Playtex living girdle.

Ellen Goodman is a Globe columnist.

Molly Ivins

... Not Your Normal Smear

AUSTIN—My first chance to catch up on Woody and Mia. What a wallow! Holy cow.

In this sunny political season, when the Republicans are working to make "family values" an issue—since they haven't got anything else going for them—poor Woody and Mia, on top of all their other problems, are now being sucked into the political vortex.

U.S. Rep. Newt Gingrich, a thoroughly nasty man, said in the course of introducing President Bush this weekend, "I call this the Woody Allen plank. It's a weird situation, and it fits the Democratic Party platform perfectly. If a Democrat used the word "family" to raise children in Madison Square Garden, half their party would have rebelled, and the other half would not vote. Woody Allen had non-incest with his non-daughter because they were a non-family."

I know, I know, the sophisticated media cynic is supposed to take a statement like that in stride, insisting it's all just your normal political exaggeration, innuendo and smear. I'm such a sissy, I was stopped cold by it.

There have been, in our great nation, murderers who were registered Republicans, child abusers who were registered Republicans and so forth. Are the Democrats now entitled to describe the Republicans as a party of murderers and child abusers? I don't think so. It's a logical fallacy, a reverse syllogism and also a really fetid thing to do.

I'm trying to remember anything like it: Democrats occasionally like to associate Republicans with Wall Street, on the theory that no one likes Wall Street, and when all those Nixonites were being sent to prison after Watergate, the Democrats used to put out posters with pictures of all the convicted ones on them.

I'm still stopped by Gingrich. He is talking about the Democratic platform that was both criticized and hailed in New York for being terribly moderate and inoffensive, isn't he? I guess we're supposed to accept Gingrich's version of the Democratic convention instead of what we actually saw.

Time magazine has a long thumb sucker this week about family values as though it were a real issue. Family values did not create the deficit: It was Ronald Reagan who cut taxes and spent \$2 trillion on the military. Family values did not create the health insurance crisis that plagues this country. Family values are not responsible for the recession. Family values didn't engineer the savings and loan mess.

Look, George Bush has not been the education president. He has not been the environmental president. He did not create 15 million new jobs (short by 14 million). We read his lips, and he raised taxes anyway. And this is not a kinder, gentler nation after four years of Bush. Unless you count Newt Gingrich, of course. Those are political issues.

I don't know why so many families fall apart. A lot of it is economic pressure, of course. I've always thought too many people got married in the first place: Now there's something we need to put a seven-day hold on. And most civilized countries do have a much better family-support system than ours—day care, natal leave, parental leave for when kids are sick and so forth.

Being a working mother is, I believe, the toughest job in America. Women work, not as Marilyn Quayle implied, because they "choose to have fulfilling careers" but because they have to. And most of us have lousy jobs for lousy pay. You can look it up in the census stats.

One popular notion is that the women's movement led to the decline of the family, that it caused women to leave their families to "find themselves" or whatever. Bound to be some truth to that, but if you look at Barbara Ehrenreich's early work on divorce trends in the '50s and '60s, what you see is the women's movement developing in response to men leaving their wives and children to go off with younger women. Hate to get into one of those men vs. women finger-pointing matches, but the numbers still say it is typically the man who leaves the wife and kids—and a lot of the louses never even send child support.

I still don't see what the Republicans are offering to help with any of this. They haven't

even mentioned any of the proposals to set up a national computer bank to track down fathers delinquent with their child support. Maybe they think we'll vote for them as role models. For eight years, we had the Reagans, one of the most dysfunctional families in America. The Bush children are absolutely average on divorce, and so what? Divorce is rotten, but a really bad marriage is even worse for the kids, not to mention the couple. The Quayles are an interesting counterpoint to the Republican contention that we should take alarm at the thought that Hillary Clinton will be advising her husband. Mrs. Quayle was her husband's campaign manager. Mrs. Quayle's office is right next door to her husband's, and, according to his staff, she is in there all the time. Compared with Marilyn Quayle, Mrs. Clinton fades into the woodwork.

The Constitution says the purposes of government are "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Not sure where family values fits in there. Perhaps it is just that I am offended by the idea that people's personal misery would be exploited for political gain—even Woody and Mia's.

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Hillary Clinton, Tipper Gore counter Republican attacks

ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON — Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore fired back yesterday at Republican assaults and painted the GOP as a party that wants to bash "other people's families" rather than solve family problems.

"They had their chance to talk about the future ... and instead they chose to make up stories and launch verbal grenades," Clinton said in her first detailed reply to attacks on her at the Republican National Convention last week.

Clinton and Gore gave a double-barreled response on the morning's talk shows, appearing on NBC's "Today" and "CBS This Morning" in interviews taped during the Democrats' weekend bus tour of the Rust Belt. Also yesterday, the two women were featured in a Cable News Network spot.

It was their first national exposure since the GOP convention in Houston, where President Bush's supporters focused on values and aimed much of their fire at his opponent's wife, a Yale Law School graduate.

Patrick Buchanan cast Clinton as a radical feminist who likens marriage to slavery; Marilyn Quayle got in a more subtle dig, saying liberals are disappointed "because most women do not wish to be liberated from their essential natures as women."

Clinton told CBS that Quayle's remark was "a bit of an insult to today's modern women, most of whom are working mothers and struggling very hard to balance their family's needs with the family's economic needs."

Told that an aide boasted that Marilyn Quayle was always home for dinner by 7 p.m., Clinton said: "Well, I'm very, very proud for her. And I wish that every family in America could have that kind of opportunity."

At the same time, Clinton said she did not want to get into a "rhetorical battle."

"There's no reason for us to be dividing women against women or men against women. This country needs people who want to reach beyond these boundaries and quit pointing fingers at one another," she said.

8-26-92

Mrs. Clinton gives prenatal plan

ASSOCIATED PRESS

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. - Hillary Clinton suggested yesterday that welfare benefits be withheld from women who do not get prenatal care as a "last resort" in encouraging such visits.

The wife of the Democratic presidential candidate, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, made the statement at a news conference announcing a program of financial incentives in Arkansas for pregnant women who visit doctors or health clinics monthly. Such medical care holds down the number of babies born with low weights or physical and mental

problems, state officials said.

Mrs. Clinton's statement was in line with her husband's efforts to demand accountability from people who receive government benefits. The Arkansas governor has said that as president he would control health care costs while making care available to all Americans.

Under the Arkansas program announced yesterday, a coupon book for baby care and family products will be distributed throughout the state. The coupon books, valued at more than \$100, are valid when stamped by a doctor during a monthly prenatal office visit.

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON

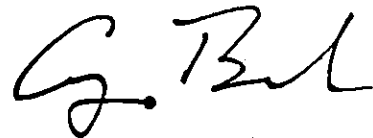
daily 8/26

Dear Doug,

Thanks for your kind letter. I am confident that the American people will support us, and that we will win in November.

Barbara and I are feeling great, and we send our best wishes to you and Jan.

Sincerely,



Mr. Douglas E. Coe
2817 Woodland Drive, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)
Patty Presock
(FYI)

This letter was given to OPA to be transferred to the Bush/Quayle Committee for mailing.

92 AUG 19 AM 9:32

2817 Woodland Drive, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008
(703) 522-0266

Aug 92

Dear Mr. President -

This note is to let you know that many
you will never meet — love you — pray for you —
and respect you and the integrity you display
in your personal life and office.

When you take time to help others — like
your letter to Cong Tony Hall about his son,
the good spreads beyond anything words
can say.

Please Your Friend do not let the polls
or your detractors move you from the
goal — The Lord is with you and will
always help and guide you!

You and your family are more than
ever in our hearts and prayers!

Always - 

Call if I can help!

daily 8/26

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 8/28

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 26, 1992

9

NOTE FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JABIII *JABIII*

RE: YOUR QUESTIONS RE: TOMORROW'S
ST. LOUIS SPEECH

- 1) The audience will be seated.
- 2) We have added an insert that meets the criteria "criticism" spelled out in the Steeper memo.
- 3) The campaign & the White House have signed off on this.
- 4) The event is not supposed to be a rally, therefore teleprompter delivery.
- 5) Purpose is to set up the contrast on open trade & open investment: Clinton & the Democratic Congress want to tax both. This will cost jobs & hurt economic security.

Adams

8-26-92

THE PRESIDENT



Dear Matt,
Rose Zauerman showed
me your note and gave me
the cards. Thank! It was
great having you at the
white house. I've put

out an all points bulletin
for the "lifting" picture -
so far no luck.
Good luck with your
operation. Sincerely,
G. Bush



cards for your use and the Presidents use for the grandchildren. I hope to hear from you. If you know if anyone took a picture of me lifting the President I'd love a copy. I'm leaving for Colorado Springs today to get my knee operated on for the third time. I hurt my knee prior to the games and it keeps getting worse. I should be back home in a couple of weeks. Thanks Again Sincerely

Mr. Gaffari

MR & MRS GHAFARI

4525 W. GARY DRIVE
CHANDLER, AZ 85226

28116 Green Mountain Westing
11 11 11

August 15, 1992



Dear Rose
Don
8/11

It was a pleasure meeting you and your son at the White House. It was great lifting the Presidents. One of my most remarkable moments of the Olympics. Please thank Mrs Bush and the President for their hospitality and being a good sport about it. I hope to see you in '96 if not soon. If I could help the President in any way please don't hesitate to ask. Enclosed are some baseball

8/26/92

Mr. President:

Jack Stein is looking for another ten minute meeting with you next week.

GUIDANCE - ANY INTEREST?

YES

*Spin him !!
Schedule etc.*

*then let's discuss when I see
what next week totals*

✓ 2) Ron Kaufman called to say that the MASON DIXON POLL for August 21-24 -- 814 likely votes/margin of error 3.5% shows you ahead 45/44

not back

rz



THE PRESIDENT

8.26.92

Dear Matt,

Rose Zamaria showed
me your note and gave me
the cards. Thanks! It was
great having you at the
White House. I've put

out an all prints bulletin
for the "lifting" picture -
so far no luck.

Good luck with your
operation. Sincerely,

Ly B

MR & MRS GHAFFARI
4525 W. GARY DRIVE
CHANDLER, AZ 85226



THE PRESIDENT

8-26-92

daily 8/26

Dear Terry,

I loved those loyal
post-convention comments. We
couldn't make it in life without
true and loyal friends. Thanks,
pat Love to Tom - Sincerely,
Cory

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Jerome C. Weintraub
Warner Brothers
Bungalow 1
4000 Warner Boulevard
Burbank, California 91522

✓ CC : (in/out)
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)

JERRY WEINTRAUB

Just in over the
President's
personal fax.
Mr. Weintraub
is also mailing
the original
Federal Express.

DEAR MR PRESIDENT,

JUST FOR YOUR INFO!

YOU'LL ALWAYS HAVE ONE
SUPPORTER IN HOLLYWOOD.

YOU WERE GREAT AS USUAL
AT THE CONVENTION, AND
I'M THRILLED WITH THE
POLLS. IT WILL END UP
53-47 NATURALLY WITH
YOU WINNING.

ALL MY BEST
AND LOVE

Jerry



THE PRESIDENT

August 26, 1992

Dear Jim,

Here is the letter I sent to the CEOs. In addition,
I talked with Steve Wolf, Larry Fuller and Ed
Brennan.

It was great being with you.

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable James R. Edgar
Governor
State of Illinois
Suite 210
444 North Capitol Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

apology
ltrs to
CEOs

Blind cc:
Gov Edgar

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 26, 1992

Dear Jim:

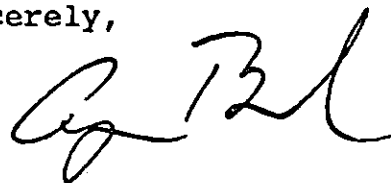
I am very sorry about yesterday's foul-up. I've gotten over being mad; and now I just feel very badly about the mix-up.

No excuses -- we just fouled up, and I apologize for wasting your time.

Things are moving now, and I am confident, with your help, we will win. Governor Clinton has been dishing it out, but now I'm taking the fight to him; and more importantly I'm taking my case to the American people.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

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

Mr. James C. Kenny
Vice President
Kenny Construction Company
Wheeling, Illinois 60090

Mr. President:

Reel ~~has~~ been
coordinated with
the campaign.
Thank you

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 26, 1992

Dear Jim:

As we discussed, I very much regret yesterday's foul-up. I've gotten over being mad; and now I just feel very badly about the mix-up. I have made some calls and have sent letters to all the attendees so I hope the matter is now behind us.

The good news is that things appear to be moving, and I am confident, with your help, we will win. Governor Clinton has been dishing it out, but now I'm taking the fight to him; and more importantly I'm taking my case to the American people.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

W. L. S. - 2

The Honorable James R. Edgar
Governor of Illinois
Springfield, Illinois 62706

W. L. S. - 2
W. L. S. - 2
W. L. S. - 2
W. L. S. - 2
W. L. S. - 2

Governor Edgar

Here is the letter I sent to the CEOs. In addition,
I talked with Steve Wolf, Larry Fuller and Ed
Brennan.

It was great being with you.

Sincerely,

R2

Yesterday we had a session up

on a CEO event at Chicago

I called Larry Fuller
and Steve Ball to apologize

Now please send the letter
to all who attended - "R2" paper
or card

Dear — ,

I am very sorry about
yesterday's fail-up. I've gotten
our bearings back! and now I just
feel very badly about the mix-up.

No excuse - we just fouled up
and I ~~am~~ apologize for wanting
you. Trust.

Things are really now over
I am confident, with your help, we will
win. Clinton has been crushing

it out, but now I'm taking
the fight to him; and now
urgently to do take my
come to the Russian people.
Warm Regards,

Presidential Event

NAME

TITLE

COMPANY

NAME	TITLE	COMPANY
~~Secretary James Baker~~		
✓ Mr. Edward A. Brennan	Chairman, President & CEO	Sears Roebuck & Company
~~President George Bush~~		
✓ Mr. William F. Cellini		New Frontier Management
✓ Mr. W. H. Clark	Chairman & CEO	Nalco Chemical Co.
~~Mr. Patrick F. Daly~~	Chairman	Daly Group
~~Honorable Jim Edgar~~	Governor of Illinois	
✓ Mr. H. Laurence Fuller	Chairman, President & CEO	Amoco Corporation <i>Larry</i>
~~Honorable Albert M. Jourdon~~	Republican State Chairman	Office of McHenry Co. Auditor
✓ Mr. James C. Kenny	Vice President	Kenny Construction Company
✓ Mr. Barry L. MacLean	President & CEO	MacLean-Fogg Company
~~Mr. Gene Reineke~~	Executive Director	IL Bush/Quayle
✓ Mr. John F. Sandner	Chairman	Chicago Mercantile Exchange
✓ The Honorable Robert D. Stuart, Jr.	Vice Chairman	Ameritech Corporation
✓ Mr. Ormand J. Wade	Chairman, President & CEO	R.R. Donnelley & Sons Company
✓ Mr. John R. Walter	Chairman and CEO	UAL Corporation
✓ Mr. Stephen M. Wolf		

OK OK

(11)

Edgar^{12.}
Jourdon^{13.}

*Start w/ Fuller
Wolf*

W. H. Clark (H)
Chairman and CEO
NALCO Chemical Company
One Nalco Center
Naperville, IL 60563-1198

~~James D. Kenney (Jim)~~

Ormand J. Wade (Orm)
Vice Chairman
Ameritech
30 South Wacker Drive
38th Floor
Chicago, IL 60606

John Walter (John)
R.R. Donneley and Sons
2223 Martin Luther King Drive
Chicago, IL 60616

Stephen Wolf (Steve)
United Airlines, Inc.
1200 E. Algonquin Road
Elk Grove Township, IL 60007

John F. Sandner (Jack)
Chairman of the Board
Chicago Mercantile Exchange
30 South Wacker Drive
Chicago, IL 60606

Robert D. Stewart (Bob)
321 North Clark Street
Suite 340
Chicago, IL 60610-4715

Laurance Fuller (Larry)
AMOCO Corporation
200 East Randolph Drive
Chicago, IL 60601

✓ Edward Brennan (Ed)
Sears, Roebuck and Company
Sears Tower
Chicago, IL 60684

B.L. MacLean (Barry)
MacLean-Fogg Company
1000 Allason Road
Mundelein, IL 60060

~~William Collins (Bill)~~

Pat w/ Mary Matelin
336-7109

James (Jim) Kenny
250 Northgate Parkway
Wheeling, IL 60090
708/541-8200

William (Bill) Cellini
424 North 4th Street
Suite 100
Springfield, IL 62702
217/523-7473

I am checking on whether or not Patrick Dailey attended, and getting the other addresses for you.

Al Jourdan does not need a letter. He is the State GOP Chairman for IL, but was not part of the CEO group.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 26, 1992

Dear Pat:

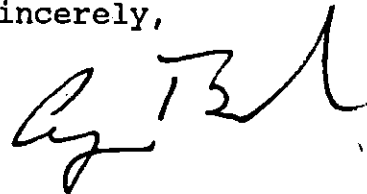
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No excuses -- we just fouled up, and I apologize for wasting your time.

Things are moving now, and I am confident, with your help, we will win. Governor Clinton has been dishing it out, but now I'm taking the fight to him; and more importantly I'm taking my case to the American people.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

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

Mr. Patrick Dailey
Dailey Group
18th Floor
142 East Ontario
Chicago, Illinois 60611

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 26, 1992

Dear Al:

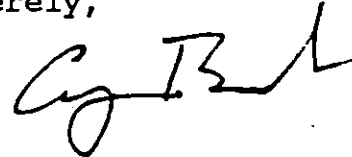
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Warm regards.

Sincerely,

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

The Honorable Albert M. Jourdan
State Chairman
Illinois Republican State Committee
223 South Third Street
Springfield, Illinois 62701

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 26, 1992

Dear Bill:

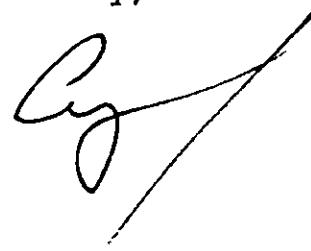
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Warm regards.

Sincerely,



Mr. William F. Cellini
1231 West Vine
Springfield, Illinois 62704

*Great seeing you down-state
All Best
Bill*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 26, 1992

Dear H:

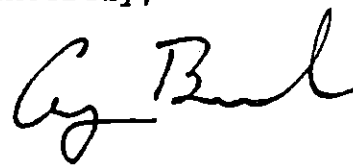
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Warm regards.

Sincerely,



Mr. W. H. Clark
Chairman and
Chief Executive Officer
Nalco Chemical Corporation
One Nalco Center
Naperville, Illinois 60566

P.S. It's a *thank you* all yours doing!



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 26, 1992

Dear Orm:

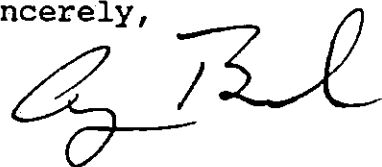
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Warm regards.

Sincerely,

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

Mr. Ormand J. Wade
Vice Chairman
Ameritech Corporation
30 South Wacker Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60606

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 26, 1992

Dear John:

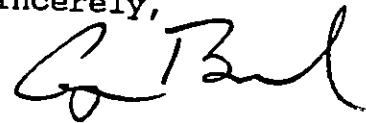
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Sincerely,

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Mr. John R. Walter
Chairman, President and
Chief Executive Officer
R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company
2223 Martin Luther King Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60616

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 26, 1992

Dear Bob:

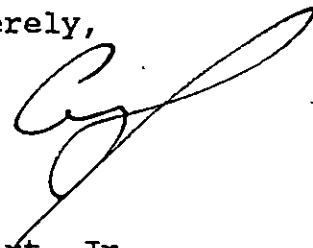
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Warm regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'R. Stuart, Jr.', written in a cursive style.

The Honorable Robert D. Stuart, Jr.
Suite 340
321 North Clark Street
Chicago, Illinois 60610

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 26, 1992

Dear Barry:

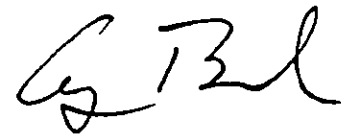
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Warm regards.

Sincerely,

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

Mr. Barry L. MacLean
Route 1, Box 48
Libertyville, Illinois 60048

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 26, 1992

Dear Jack:

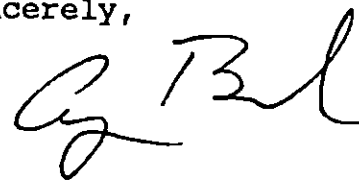
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Mr. John F. Sandner
Chairman of the Board
Chicago Mercantile Exchange
Chicago, Illinois 60606

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 26, 1992

Dear Steve:

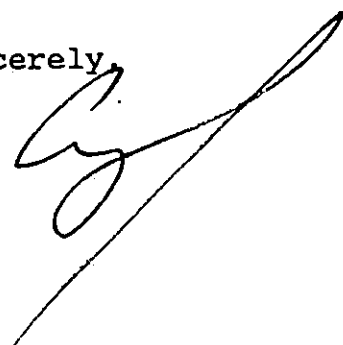
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Warm regards.

Sincerely,



Mr. Stephen M. Wolf
Chairman, President and
Chief Executive Officer
United Air Lines, Inc.
Post Office Box 66100
Chicago, Illinois 60666

enjoyed our chat.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 26, 1992

Dear Larry:

As we discussed yesterday, I am very sorry about Tuesday's foul-up. I've gotten over being mad; and now I just feel very badly about the mix-up.

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Warm regards.

Sincerely,



Mr. H. Laurance Fuller
Chairman, President and
Chief Executive Officer
Amoco Corporation
Post Office Box 87703
Chicago, Illinois 60680

I enjoyed our chat

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 26, 1992

Dear Ed:

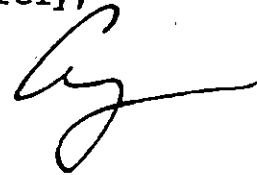
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Warm regards.

Sincerely,



Mr. Edward A. Brennan
Chairman, President and
Chief Executive Officer
Sears, Roebuck and Company
Sears Tower
Chicago, Illinois 60684

*Off to Louisiana now; enjoyed
our chat*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 26, 1992

Dear Jim:

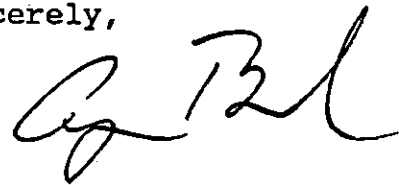
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Warm regards.

Sincerely,

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

Mr. James C. Kenny
Vice President
Kenny Construction Company
Wheeling, Illinois 60090

*Harrison Elmer
Louisiana*



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO 26A1292 DU P035031 -007



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO 26AUG92 DU P035032 -06A

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

U.S. Aide Resigns Over Balkan Policy

Administration's Handling of Civil War Decried as 'Ineffective'

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

The State Department official who was in charge of managing day-to-day U.S. policy toward the Balkans resigned from the Foreign Service yesterday to protest what he called the Bush administration's "ineffective" and "counterproductive" handling of the devastating Yugoslav civil war and to speak out for change.

George D. Kenney, 35, who had

been deputy chief of Yugoslav affairs since Jan. 31 and acting chief for the past month, said in an interview that U.S. policy has failed to deal with the growing crisis in the Balkans because "the administration at high levels in the State Department and White House doesn't really want to get involved." Senior career officers, he added, "have chosen to take the safest course" by not challenging their superiors.

Kenney, who vacated his office Sunday and submitted a letter of

resignation yesterday, charged that the current international conference in London called to consider how to bring about a negotiated solution among the former Yugoslav republics is "a charade" whose outcome is known in advance.

He said the conference, sponsored by the European Community and the United Nations and attended by Acting Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger, is doomed to failure in the absence of "very strong pressures, including military pressures, against Serbia

See RESIGN, A18, Col. 1

to stop its campaign of genocide in Bosnia." But the Bush administration is unwilling to consider applying such pressure, Kenney said, because of fear of public blame if it does not succeed.

Rather than realistically attempt to diminish or stop the killing, according to Kenney, U.S. policy is to continue to advocate "ideal political solutions" such as Serb withdrawal from Bosnia, while knowing current policies cannot bring this about.

State Department spokesman Joseph Snyder had no comment yesterday on Kenney's resignation. The administration has defended its policies as part of a serious international effort to deal with a complex conflict arising from age-old animosities without embroiling the United States in a new Vietnam-like quagmire.

Kenney, who wrote the first drafts of many of the State Department's public statements on the Balkans in the past six months, said strong language and graphic reports of suffering in Bosnia were often deleted or watered down by mid-level officials seeking to minimize the pressure for U.S. intervention.

On several occasions, however, former State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler restored some of the material that had been omitted by other officials, Kenney said. Kenney described Tutwiler, a veteran Republican political operative who was gripped this spring by the human tragedy in the Balkans, as "in reality, a bleeding-heart liberal who hated scenes of people being blown up."

Tutwiler became a major force pushing the State Department and her mentor, then-Secretary of State James A. Baker III, to engage U.S. policy in the Balkans, if only on an episodic basis, according to Kenney.

But in formulating U.S. positions, Kenney said, "I saw mostly reams of paper being churned out, policy incrementally being made on the fly and sometimes bursts of activity responding to the statements of Baker."

The U.S. approach to the violent breakup of the old Yugoslav federation has alternated between episodes of intense activity and long periods when the administration appeared to defer to the European Community and the United Nations.

Baker initially appealed last year to the disparate elements of the former Yugoslavia not to end their federation and, when that failed, encouraged the European Community to take the lead in resolving the crisis. After the Europeans proved unable to act effectively, Baker in May denounced the "humanitarian nightmare" in Bosnia and initiated a drive for U.N. sanctions against Serbia.

Recently, the United States took the lead in persuading the United Nations to endorse "all necessary measures" to deliver humanitarian aid to Bosnia. But this week the United States, Britain and France are reported to have abandoned plans for major military intervention to accomplish that goal.

Baker was for the most part "an invisible ghost" to lower-ranking State Department officials involved in policy discussions about the Balkans, Kenney said.

Eagleburger, who is considered a Yugoslav expert in view of his seven years in Belgrade as a Foreign Service officer and U.S. ambassador, was more in evidence as a policymaker. "His basic attitude was a pox on all their houses. He feels we should wait until they exhaust themselves [from fighting] and then move in," said Kenney.

Tutwiler's departure on vacation earlier this month and her recent transfer to the White House with Baker has put State's public pronouncements back in the hands of career officials. Since Tutwiler's departure, State has "become extremely cautious in news briefings in talking about the depth of the problem" in the Balkans, said Kenney.

Stronger statements "would prompt questions about what the United States is doing," Kenney said. "They don't want to have to answer those questions."

Kenney, the son of a career Foreign Service officer, joined the State Department in April 1988 and served as a consular officer in France, an economics officer at State and an economics officer in Zaire before joining the Yugoslav desk this January. He said he got the Yugoslav desk position largely through chance and without prior experience in the Balkans, but said that daily telephone discussions with the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade and the U.S. Consulate in Zagreb quickly made him feel a deep personal stake in the conflict.

A State Department official familiar with Kenney's work called him a hard worker who became emotionally involved in the issues of the Balkans and frustrated by the seeming lack of serious action while people are being killed.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

State Dept. Official Resigns Over Balkan Policy

Among his satisfying moments on the Yugoslav desk, Kenney said, was his role in introducing the term "ethnic cleansing" into the international lexicon after spotting it in a cable from the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade. He said he placed it in the draft of "guidance," the policy-approved material that the State Department spokesman uses as the basis for public statements. Tutwiler used it for the first time at a briefing on May 14.

Kenney was less successful in arguing within the State Department that Serb actions in Bosnia should be called "genocide." He said ongoing discussions over whether to use the phrase involve State Department lawyers because of the potential ap-

plication of the Genocide Convention, which calls on all signatories, including the United States, to prevent and punish such conduct.

Among his greatest frustrations, Kenney said, was his inability to persuade State Department officials to investigate vigorously charges that Serbs are guilty of systematic and well-organized "cleansing" of Muslim and Croat residents of Serb-contested Bosnia.

After receiving a copy of a July 21 Newsday report of forced deportation of thousands of unarmed civilians in sealed freight trains, Kenney said, he delivered copies of the report to key offices within the State Department and proposed organizing teams of volunteer U.S. diplomats

with local language skills to interview refugees, much as journalists had been doing.

"People seemed to like the idea but nobody did anything" except to ask neighboring countries to include some questions about abuses in routine questioning of refugees from Bosnia, said Kenney. He said the administration was telling the truth in maintaining recently it had no confirmation of Serb-run "death camps" in Bosnia, but it had not been trying very hard to obtain such confirmation.

The absence of urgency on this issue is "symptomatic of how the administration deals with information that it doesn't want to have," he said.

Another major frustration, Kenney

said, was his inability to persuade the State Department to begin major steps to prevent a catastrophe this winter, when thousands of Bosnians may die for lack of food. Only "limited amounts of planning" are going on now, according to Kenney. "I don't know how you can just sit back and watch," he said.

"I came to feel it was very unlikely that I could contribute very much within the State Department . . . [and that] the right thing to do was to leave the administration and speak out publicly to help focus attention on the great urgency and seriousness of the crisis," said Kenney in explaining his decision to resign.

Kenney said he had been considering resigning for several weeks and last weekend, in a quiet moment, "I realized that if I didn't leave, I wouldn't live up to my own standards." He went to his State Depart-

ment office for the last time on Sunday, cleared off his desk and took away his mementos—a Persian rug, an oil painting of an Indian scout on a horse and an African mask from Zaire.

He left a note for his superior officer saying that he was resigning, but without giving a reason. Yesterday morning, he said, he gave a State Department personnel official a brief resignation letter addressed to Eagleburger.

"I can no longer in clear conscience support the administration's ineffective, indeed, counterproductive handling of the Yugoslav crisis. I am, therefore, resigning in order to help develop a stronger public consensus that the United States and the West must act immediately to stop the genocide in Bosnia and prevent this conflict from spreading throughout the Balkans," Kenney wrote.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

Foley Calls Spendthrift Charge Against Congress a 'Big Lie'

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

An angry House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) labeled as a "big lie" Republican accusations against the "spendthrift" Democratic Congress and said President Bush has only himself to blame for what Bush has called "the gridlock" in Congress.

Responding to the president's anti-Congress campaigning, the normally even-tempered Foley pounded the table at a breakfast with reporters and said, "It is the biggest lie, in the institutional sense, that any political party tells when Republicans go around talking about the spendthrift Congress. We have appropriated less money consistently than the presidential recommendations in both the Reagan administration and this one—\$20 billion below since 1980, \$12.5 billion below this year."

Although figures supplied by the Republican staff of the House Appropriations Committee substantiated Foley's claim for this year, Tony Mitchell, a spokesman for the Bush-Quayle campaign, said, "Any reasonable analysis would show the president has been far more in favor of reduced spending and lower taxes than the Democrats."

Beyond what he called "the big lie" about

spending, Foley said the "gridlock" that Bush blamed on Capitol Hill Democratic partisanship is really the result of "a bystander president who has obstructed" congressional action with vetoes and the threat of vetoes.

As for Bush's domestic program, Foley said dismissively: "He has only one idea—and that a bad one—to protect the privileged tax status of the wealthiest Americans."

In his campaign appearances since the Republican National Convention, Bush has been calling for the replacement of individual Democratic senators and representatives who voted against the line-item veto, the balanced-budget amendment and use of force in the Persian Gulf.

Foley expressed defiance on all three issues, telling reporters the balanced-budget amendment was "a terrible idea" that "I worked very, very hard to defeat . . . and I'm happy with my work."

As for the line-item veto authority, which Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton also favors giving presidents, Foley said he had opposed it when President Lyndon B. Johnson sought it and "will oppose it no matter who is president."

And as for the gulf war vote, he said, "I said a year ago that not a single member of Congress will be defeated because of that vote, and I still believe it."

The Washington Post

Clinton Faces Draft Issue

SDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

Non-Veteran Presidents Invoked in Speech

By Dan Balz and Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writers

CHICAGO, Aug. 25—Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton today defended his draft record and his opposition to the Vietnam War before an audience of veterans and invoked presidents Lincoln, Wilson, Roosevelt and Reagan to assert that his lack of military service should not disqualify him from becoming commander in chief.

"If you choose to vote against me because of what happened 23 years ago, that's your right and I respect that," Clinton told the American Legion's annual convention. "But I hope you will cast your vote while looking toward the future with hope, rather than

remaining fixed to the problems of the past."

The Arkansas governor spoke two hours after President Bush had appeared before the convention to tout his successes as commander in chief the past four years—and to defend his decision to stop the ground war against Iraq when he did.

Bush, a lifetime member of the Legion who donned a blue legionnaire's hat when he finished speaking, recalled his own war service "50 years ago this summer" and added, "Foreign policy is not a footnote, a loose end that we wrap up and then safely forget. It requires steady, experienced leadership."

Bush made no reference to
See CAMPAIGN, A4, Col. 1

Clinton Defends Record On Draft Before Legion

CAMPAIGN, From A1

Clinton, but his campaign supplied reporters traveling with the president with a two-page memo outlining what it said were inconsistencies in the governor's statements about the draft.

Clinton won repeated applause from the audience of veterans with an expansive series of promises that he said showed he would "be a good president for America's veterans."

Recalling everything from his late father's service in World War II to his participation as a high school student in the Legion's Boys Nation, where he met President John F. Kennedy, to his signing of a bill in 1989 to outlaw flag burning in Arkansas, Clinton tried to bury the draft issue for the rest of the campaign by calmly confronting his doubters and then attempting to ingratiate himself with his audience of veterans.

During the primaries last winter and spring, Clinton survived a storm of controversy over suggestions that in 1969 he had manipulated the Selective Service System to avoid service during Vietnam. The Republicans made repeated references to his draft record during their convention last week.

Clinton reminded his audience that he had opposed the Vietnam War, saying it "weakened and divided America." But he added, "I was never against the heroic men who served in that war. I honored your service then and I honor it still."

The audience listened in silence. Clinton offered no new explanation of what happened from the time he was reclassified as eligible for the draft in the spring of 1968

until he eventually escaped service by receiving a high number, 311, in the first draft lottery in December 1969.

The Arkansas governor said that while he had received a draft notice in the spring of 1969, it had arrived late and his draft board postponed his induction. In the intervening time, he said, he joined an ROTC program at the University of Arkansas law school—although he never enrolled there—but later gave up the deferment he received.

"I changed my mind and decided I should take my chances by submitting myself to the draft," he said.

At the time he did that, President Richard M. Nixon had ordered reduced draft calls for the duration of 1969, and it appeared certain a lottery would be held. Clinton said he was "relieved" by his lottery number but added that had he received a low number, he would have served and gone to Vietnam if necessary.

Then challenging claims by his Republican opponents that he is a risky choice to become commander in chief, Clinton turned back to history for company. He said Lincoln had served only briefly in the militia and said the only blood he lost in defense of his country "was to mosquitoes."

Similarly, Clinton said, neither Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt nor Ronald Reagan served in the military and yet were successful leaders. During World War II, Reagan was a commissioned officer in the Army Air Corps and made movies for the military. "Every president in the last half-century has had to confront the fateful decision to send Americans into combat," Clinton said. "I do not relish this prospect, but neither do I shrink from it."

Clinton advisers said they hoped the speech would make it more difficult for Republicans to attack the Democratic nominee on the issue. "It's impossible for the Republicans to try to resurrect this issue again, given how warmly he was accepted by the Legion," one aide said. "What are they going to say, a position that was good enough for the American Legion is not good enough for the Republican Party?"

On defense issues, Clinton pledged never to allow "a hollow army" that could come from drastic defense cuts. After campaigning to



Bush recalled service "50 years ago this summer" in American Legion speech.

win the Democratic nomination by asserting that he would slash defense spending much more sharply than would Bush, Clinton today sought to assure the country that the difference between his and Bush's defense plans is trivial.

"My five-year defense budget... totals \$1.36 trillion compared to the president's level of \$1.42 trillion, a difference of only 5 percent over five years," he said.

For veterans he promised "deeds, not words," and embarked on a litany of promises that brought repeated applause from the legionnaires who earlier had booed Veterans Secretary Edward J. Derwinski.

Clinton promised to consult with the Legion before appointing a "Secretary for Veterans Affairs," pledged improved health care for veterans and opposition to merging "veterans medical centers into the welfare system," and called for streamlining the Veterans Affairs Department bureaucracy. He also pledged to open all files related to the issue of Americans held prisoners of war or missing in action in Southeast Asia.

Clinton said that in addition to signing a law outlawing flag burning, he and his state initiated "one of the finest flag education programs in the country" that instills "in our young students the deep patriotism that gives you and I a lump in our throat and a stir in our hearts when we see Old Glory go up the flagpole."

Bush was also applauded when he reminded the group of his admin-

istration's record on veterans issues—"the specialized health care centers we've created, the new outpatient clinics, the billion dollars more we've invested in veterans' health care every year"—as well as his new job retraining program announced Monday. But he devoted a portion of his speech to defending his decision to end the Persian Gulf War.

"Some who were faint-hearted and stood in the way of crushing [Iraqi President] Saddam's [Hussein] aggression now have the gall to say, 'You stopped the war too soon.' And some also say that General Norman Schwarzkopf wanted to march into Baghdad and get Saddam. False," Bush said, raising his voice for emphasis.

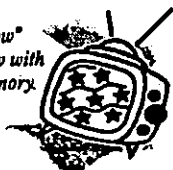
"I'll never forget—this is a true story and history has recorded it on film—sitting in the Oval Office on February 27, 1991." He said national security adviser Brent Scowcroft, Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney and Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Colin L. Powell recommended "to me as president... that we stop the slaughter, our mission was accomplished."

To make certain, Bush said, Powell called Schwarzkopf. "General Powell looked up at me after he talked to Schwarzkopf and he said, 'Mission accomplished. Stop the killing.' And it was right. We are not in the slaughter business, we were in the business of crushing aggression. And we did it and I don't like this historical revisionism. We did the right thing."

ON TV

GOV. BILL CLINTON
and SEN. ALBERT GORE JR.
■ Nashville Network,
9-9:30 p.m.

"Nashville Now"
Live interview with
host Ralph Emery



The Washington Post

The Dollar: Scenarios For Crisis

Continued Plunge
May Spur Economic,
Political Problems

By John M. Berry
Washington Post Staff Writer

For now, the plunging U.S. dollar is just a problem. It could become something much worse for the economy—and for President Bush's reelection hopes—if enough foreign investors lose faith in the American currency.

Three managers of large investment funds in Britain reached that point last Friday when, worried about where the dollar was headed, they dumped part of their large holdings of U.S. government securities.

Their actions were significant enough to catch the eyes of Wall Street financial analysts who fear this could be a precursor to a wave

of such sales, if the dollar's troubles get far out of hand.

A continuing sale of U.S. investments by foreigners could force interest rates up in this country, further damaging an already weak economy by making housing purchases and business investment more expensive.

The worst-case scenario would involve panic selling of U.S. securities by foreigners or Americans rushing to put their money in a stronger currency.

Experts aren't looking for that to happen. But to some analysts, the dollar's decline evokes some chilling if imperfect reminders of the last financial market crisis, the stock market plunge on Black Monday five years ago.

"There seem to be some parallels with 1987, and that I find scary," said F. Ward McCarthy of the financial markets research firm Stone & McCarthy in Princeton, N.J.

A falling U.S. dollar, a breakdown of economic policy coordination between the United States and Germany and sales of U.S. securities by foreign investors all contributed to a virtual collapse of stock markets

around the world in October 1987.

The essential problem with the dollar is that short-term interest rates are roughly 6 percentage points higher in Germany than in the United States, which has labored through several years of recession and stagnant growth. Germany's economy, by contrast, has boomed as a result of huge government spending programs brought on by the reunification of East and West Germany.

Furthermore, analysts said there is little prospect that the Bundesbank, the German central bank, will lower rates any time soon. Here, on the other hand, there is equally little likelihood that the Federal Reserve will raise them, given the faltering U.S. economy. That means that money invested in Germany earns a substantially higher return with little risk that part of it will be wiped out because of changes in currency values.

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But the rhetoric of the presidential election campaign has apparently done some damage too, analysts said. Last week's plunge in the dollar followed Bush's convention speech vowing to cut taxes, and even though he promised spending cuts too, some investors concluded that the outcome would inevitably be an increase in the already huge federal budget deficit. Other investors are worried the same thing could happen if Democratic nominee Bill Clinton wins the election. Investors know the bonds they buy today could be worth less in six months if the deficit does grow and the Treasury has to pay higher interest rates to keep on borrowing.

Joseph Wahed, chief economist at Wells Fargo Bank in San Francisco, said the dollar's fall already has harmed the American economy by making it all but impossible for the Fed to cut short-term interest rates again, even though domestic economic conditions call for such action.

"We now have lost control of our monetary policy," Wahed asserted. "Everything now hinges on German monetary policy. We are trapped."

Wahed predicted that pressure would continue on the dollar. "There is no sign of it stopping. We are in a free fall right now," he said.

Some interest rates already have jumped sharply since the dollar fell out of bed on Friday.

On Friday morning, investors were buying 30-year U.S. Treasury bonds at such high prices that the rate of return was down to 7.26 percent, the lowest level in years. By yesterday, bond prices had dropped far enough that the yield, which goes up when prices fall, reached 7.47 percent.

Even more dramatically, two-year Treasury notes were yielding 3.99 percent on Friday morning. Yesterday, the Treasury sold \$15 billion worth of new two-year notes at what McCarthy called a "horrible" auction. The new yield was 4.30 percent, an increase of more than a quarter of a percentage point in less than two trading days.

Foreign investors are being encouraged to trim their U.S. holdings because they ultimately are interested in getting a return on their money in

terms of their home currency. Whatever rate of return they are getting in the United States, a large drop in the value of the dollar compared with their currency could wipe it out and leave them with little or no profit.

Meanwhile, American investors, who face no such foreign exchange risk, may be encouraged to sell too, if they think enough foreign sales of U.S. securities will drive down the price of American stocks and bonds.

The worries around the globe are compounded by the fact that none of the governments or central banks of the major industrial countries appears able or willing to take steps to stop the dollar's slide, a number of analysts said.

"It's a tough one," said Scott E. Pardee, chairman of Yamaichi Securities International (America) in New York, "because at this point I don't see what the central banks can do about it."

Intervention in currency markets—coordinated buying of dollars by the Fed and other central banks—so far has had little impact, he agreed. The result is a sort of one-way market that currency traders love. When the dollar broke through its historic low of 1.45 to each German mark Friday, traders sensed they had scored a victory and could bet with impunity that it would continue to drop, Pardee said.

"The traders have the bit in their teeth," he said. With the key short-term rate set by the Bundesbank at 9.75 percent, compared with 3.75 percent targeted by the Fed here, "you can drive a truck through that differential," Pardee said.

A side effect of the dollar's fall is a deep cut in the buying power of oil exporting countries. Almost all of the 62 million barrels of oil produced in the world daily is paid for in dollars.

So when the dollar weakens against Japanese and European currencies, oil-exporting nations such as Mexico, Saudi Arabia, Russia, Iran and Venezuela can buy fewer yen or European currencies with the dollars they receive for their oil. This means they can buy less from those industrial countries.

Conversely, nations such as Japan, Germany and France, which import almost all their oil, are getting a bargain, because they are paying for it with ever-cheaper dollars.

Members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries have sometimes flirted with the idea of shifting from dollars to a "basket" of hard currencies, precisely to neutralize exchange rate fluctuations.

But Saudi Arabian officials say the idea is no longer under serious consideration, and cite their willingness to continue accepting payment in devalued dollars as evidence of their good intentions toward the United States.

— Thomas W. Lippman

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

Iraq Threatens U.N. Expulsions

By Trevor Rowe
Special to The Washington Post

UNITED NATIONS, Aug. 25—The Iraqi government has warned that it will expel all U.N. security personnel from its territory if the United States, Britain and France proceed with plans to impose a "no-fly zone" in the southern part of the country that would be off-limits to Iraqi military aircraft.

U.N. officials said they fear that such a move by the Baghdad regime could force a halt to all humanitarian aid programs currently underway in Iraq, since the U.N. security guards—now numbering about 120—are responsible for the safety of relief workers operating there. The officials also warned that if additional relief supplies are not stockpiled in Kurdish-populated re-

gions of northern Iraq before winter there could be another mass exodus of refugees from the area.

Diplomats said the Iraqi warning revived memories of desperate Kurds attempting to flee into Turkey and Iran as Iraqi troops moved to crush their separatist revolt in the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War. It also raised the possibility that the Western allies could be forced to resume "Operation Provide Comfort," which provided massive relief and military protection for the Iraqi Kurds after the war.

Washington and its allies say the ban on Iraqi military flights below the 32nd Parallel is needed to help protect Shiite Muslims in the south who—like the Kurds—have come under attack by Iraqi forces. A decision to implement the ban is expected to be announced soon by President Bush.

The Iraqi threat to retaliate by expelling the U.N. guards was revealed in a letter from Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to the Security Council. The letter also warned that international efforts to provide humanitarian aid to hard-pressed areas of the country are already faltering because of Baghdad's failure to renew an agreement governing the presence of U.N. guards and international relief agencies there.

The agreement, known as the Memorandum of Understanding, was signed by Baghdad in April of last year and has been renewed once. Iraq says now, however, that it wants to change the terms of the

See NATIONS, A14, Col. 5

Over Allied 'No-Fly Zone'

Iraq Threatens to Expel U.N. Security Contingent

NATIONS, From A7

accord to curtail U.N. activities on its territory.

Boutros-Ghali said Iraq's threat to expel the guards was conveyed last week by Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz, who declared also that allied implementation of the no-fly zone would prompt his government to escort all international aid workers in the south to Baghdad. Boutros-Ghali said in his letter that the last eight U.N. security guards in the south already had been recalled.

One Western official here reacted to the Iraqi threat by saying that it makes the need for a no-fly zone to protect the Shiite Muslims even more important. "It's clear," he said, "that by pushing [U.N. personnel] out of the south it strengthens the case for doing something . . . otherwise, they can bash the Shiites as much as they like."

In their negotiations with Baghdad, U.N. officials have been seeking to maintain the number of U.N. guards for all of Iraq at 500. Currently, there are just over 100 there because of Iraq's refusal to cooperate on visas and other formalities, and the Baghdad regime says it will

tolerate the present level on condition the guards are not replaced.

U.N. officials have said this is unacceptable because it would prevent normal personnel rotation and home leave. Moreover, they said, if the remaining U.N. guards are expelled, all U.N. humanitarian agencies would be forced to pull out as well because their safety could not be ensured.

In any case, Iraq has already barred non-U.N. relief agencies from operating there, and U.N. officials say relief programs there have come to a virtual standstill. In his letter to the Security Council, Boutros-Ghali declared that "the World Food Program's operations in the north will cease in their entirety in view of the ban imposed on" non-U.N. agencies." Kurdish communities, he said, "will be placed at serious risk if adequate food and fuel supplies are not pre-positioned by November. . . . Such a situation could well lead to a renewed and large-scale displacement of the population."

Boutros-Ghali's letter made no recommendations on a course of action, but one diplomat said relief operations in Iraq could perhaps be run from neighboring Turkey, as before the Memorandum of Understanding.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Channel 20 is moving those original episodes of "Star Trek: The Next Generation" from 6 to 7 p.m. on Saturdays starting Sept. 26...

Although "Next" is frequently rated No. 1 in its current timeslot, the station wants to anchor a revised first-run primetime lineup of dramas that night with the cult favorite...

That same night, the launch will include hold-over "Baywatch" at 8, followed by a new Stephen Cannell drama, "Renegade," starring Lorenzo Lamas as a cop-turned-bounty hunter, at 9 and "Street Justice," another Cannell product, starting its second season...

Captain Airwaves's first impression was that the "Next" move would affect audiences for the two public-affairs half-hours, Nine's "Inside Washington" and CNN's "Capital Gang," at 7 p.m. But yesterday, executive producers of both shows pooch-pooched the thought, although "Inside's" Tina Galland and "Gang's" Rick Davis were polite about it...

"We're building a strong four-house block on Saturdays," WDCA programming boss Sandy Pastoor said yesterday, explaining the time change, "and it makes sense to have our strongest show anchoring the primetime lineup"...

Independent WDCA's fall schedule has some other bright additions...

Those two CBS Monday night hits, "Designing Women" and "Murphy Brown," will show up Mondays through Fridays at 6:30 and 7:30, respectively, starting Sept. 21 and Sept. 14, respectively...

At 11 p.m., "The Whoopi Goldberg Show" will get a running start at the "Arsenio Hall," Jay Leno, "Nightline" mud-wrestle on weeknights starting Sept. 14. An hour version of "Whoopi" will debut on Saturday nights at 1 starting Sept. 19...

And in the morning, "Jenny Jones," a refugee from the revamped Channel 4 lineup, will air at 11...

Still to Come! Debuting Jan. 4 with a 2½-hour movie—the new "Star Trek" spinoff, the very hot "Deep Space 9," which will have the regular 8 p.m. Monday timeslot thereafter on WDCA...

For the week ending Aug. 21, "ABC World News Tonight" led the way with an 8.4 national Nielsen rating and a 19 percent audience share, compared with a 7.8/18 for "CBS Evening News" and a 7.4/17 for a bounce-less "NBC Nightly News." Each national rating point represents 921,000 TV homes. This week only!...

ABC News's "PrimeTime Live" tomorrow night will include profiles of Vice President and Mrs. Quayle. Chris Wallace interviewed the Second Couple on Saturday and will talk to the vice president again today...

And "Good Morning America" says it will air a live interview with entertainer Ben Vereen next Monday in the 8:30 half-hour. Vereen is still recovering from critical injuries suffered in June when he was struck by a truck while walking down the Pacific Coast Highway near his Malibu, Calif., home...

Arthur Kent, back in Calgary to visit his mother, sister and friends this week, says he's "determined to get my life moving again"...

The former NBC foreign correspondent, who was fired last week after he took his contract problems with the network public, said his lawyers are still pondering "the next step." NBC apparently cut Kent without severance pay...

In a telephone conversation Monday night, Kent said he personally is "still amenable to arriving at a decent kind of settlement" with the network if it can be arranged without going to court...

Otherwise he admitted he doesn't "know exactly what we're going to do yet," although his lawyers are considering several different remedies. Without spelling out job prospects—he's probably headed for his home in Great Britain in a few days—Kent said that with the help of supportive friends here and abroad, he's considering "a lot of different, imaginative approaches"...

After being bounced off "The Tonight Show With Jay Leno" Friday night by the NBC legal department, Kent says he fell asleep that night and missed some of the references Leno made on the broadcast regarding his absence...

Leno, by the way, offered an apology on the air Monday night for one of his Friday tricks. He had read from a fake legal notice, filled with lawyerly whereases, barring Kent from the show, but the phony carried the name of Anne H. Egerton, the real NBC lawyer who had signed the real cease-and-desist order NBC Legal had sent to the "Tonight Show" late Thursday...

An NBC insider explained yesterday that "Jay has a terrific relationship with Anne, and after it was over he said to himself it would be appropriate to apologize because it wasn't real clear it was a mock letter"...

Local sales manager Judy Williams has been

promoted to director of sales at WJLA. She replaced Joe DelGrasso, who resigned...

Interest in Hurricane Andrew Monday boosted morning network show audiences. ABC's "Good Morning America," which averaged a 4.4 rating over the four previous Mondays, did a 5.7 rating and a 21 percent share in the Nielsen big-city overnights. NBC's "Today" did a 5.1/19 (3.6) and "CBS This Morning" doubled its usual audience with a 4.2/15 (2.1)...

Locally, the story of the Florida devastation raised "CBS This Morning" to a 5.8/24 on Channel 9, compared with a 4.5/18 for "Today" on Four, a 3.9/16 for GMA on Seven and a 2.5/10 for "Fox Morning News" on Five...

The noon news on Nine averaged a whopping 18.2/53, while Nine's 4 p.m. hour news did a 7.1/21...

From 5 to 6 Nine news averaged an 11.3/27, compared with a 7.7/19 for both Seven and Four.

From 6 to 7, Nine news did a 13.4/27 and Four an 8.3/17. A half-hour of news on Seven did a 7.9/17 at 6...

At 11 Monday night, Nine news did a 13.4/32, compared with a 9.9/23 for Four and a 5.9/14 for Seven. Five's hour of news at 10 averaged an 11.5/20...

Each local rating point represents 18,199 TV homes. This week only!...

A Thought for Today: The four network affiliates in town are splitting a pie of about \$103 million in advertising revenues from their local news shows in calendar 1992...

The blowout on ABC's "Monday Night Football" drew a 9.4/16 national Nielsen count. Part II of NBC's "Switched at Birth" averaged an 11.7/20 (Part I did an 8.0/14 Sunday night to rank 38th for the week)...

The Washington Post

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Cable News Network reports that its audiences rose to an average 1.8 rating and a 6 share over the 24 hours Monday, including a 2.8/5 (or 1.6 million cable homes) from 8 to 11 p.m., audience averages higher than those attracted by Hurricane Hugo in 1989...

July averages for CNN, aside from the Democratic convention, were 0.6 for 24 hours and a 1.3 in primetime...

Channel 26 reports that after just four days of its late-summer fund-raiser, through Monday, sympathetic viewers had pledged \$57,501 toward a station goal of \$100,000 over 10 days... even though WETA picked up \$470,000 from pledges over just eight nights in July. We sure hope WETA appreciates its viewers...

TV Ratingzzzz

Following are the top 20 network prime-time shows last week, ranked according to the percentage of the nation's 92.1 million TV households that watched, as measured by the A.C. Nielsen Co. A share represents the percentage of actual sets-in-use tuned to a particular program when it aired.

Rank	Rating	Share	Network
1	16.1	28	CBS
2	15.5	26	ABC
3	13.7	29	CBS
4	12.5	22	NBC
5	12.4	21	ABC
6	12.1	21	ABC
7	11.8	24	ABC
8	11.6	20	NBC
9	11.5	21	CBS
	11.5	21	NBC
	11.5	19	CBS
12	11.3	19	ABC
13	11.2	21	ABC
	11.2	20	FOX
15	10.9	20	NBC
16	10.5	17	NBC
17	10.1	22	ABC
18	10.0	18	CBS
19	9.9	17	FOX
20	9.7	20	ABC

CBS Entertainment, which has already found two summertime series—"Bodies of Evidence" and "Raven"—that will get another chance during the 1992-93 season, may have stumbled onto still another candidate...

At a time primetime serials aren't all that popular, "2000 Malibu Road," whose heroine is a whore with a broken heart and a well-earned distrust of men (that Robert Foxworth is such a rat!), made an impressive debut on Sunday, leading the network to a win for the week ending Aug. 23...

CBS averaged a low, convention-driven 8.0/15 for the week, compared with a 7.5/14 for NBC and a 7.3/14 for ABC...

In other highlights, ABC got a surprise from its "Arresting Behavior" premiere, which tied for 21st place. The FOX movie "Bonnie & Clyde" tied for 29th...

Another episode of a live "Roc" on FOX tied for 39th, CBS's original "Freshman Dorm" tied for 49th and NBC's "Secret Service" was 66th...

Thursday night convention coverage by NBC and ABC managed to tie for 52nd, but that was the best any network political coverage could do during the Republican meeting in Houston. The CBS version of Thursday night was next, in 67th. The other three nights finished far down the list among 93 programs ranked during the week (CBS's Tuesday night coverage from Houston was 91st)...

HIGHLIGHTS

- "2000 Malibu Road" debuts on its regular night on WUSA.
- College football on WDCA.

Sports

College Football, Stanford vs. Texas A&M in the Pigskin Classic in Anaheim, Calif. (Channel 20 at 9).

Public Broadcasting

The Unforgettable Nat King Cole (R) chronicles the life of the legendary performer. One hour (Channel 26, approx. 8:30).

Great Performances: Unforgettable, With Love: Natalie Cole Sings the Songs of Nat King Cole. Natalie Cole performs in a concert taped in January. (Channel 26, approx. 9:40).

Series

Unsolved Mysteries (CC) (R). Stories include the search for a woman kidnapped while on the phone (Channel 4 at 8).

Beverly Hills, 90210 (CC) (R). Brenda takes the big step with Dylan (Channel 5 at 8).

The Wonder Years (CC) (R). Kevin heads to the lake to search for his love from the previous summer (Channel 7 at 8).

Freshman Dorm (CC). Joe becomes big man on campus (Channel 9 at 8).

Star Trek: The Next Generation (CC). At a special time; the Enterprise transports Adm. Jameson to Mordan IV (Channel 20 at 8).

Doogie Howser, M.D. (CC) (R) teams up with Wanda to battle Dr. Ross (Channel 7, 8:30).

Seinfeld (CC) (R) encounters a nude passenger on the subway (Channel 4 at 9).

Home Improvement (CC) (R). Tim gives Al some tips on love (Channel 7 at 9).

2000 Malibu Road (CC). Jade realizes that her powerful family may be her only way out of jail (Channel 9 at 9).

Wings (CC) (R). In Part I of two, Helen agrees to be Antonio's bride so he can avoid deportation (Channel 4, 9:30).

Arresting Behavior (CC). Donny and Pete come to terms with their sister's homosexuality (Channel 7, 9:30).

Law & Order (CC) (R). Cerrata and Logan's investigation opens up a 30-year-old missing child case (Channel 4 at 10).

Civil Wars (CC) (R). Eli represents a woman suing her husband, an organized crime boss (Channel 7 at 10).

48 Hours (CC). "Fakes" reports on counterfeiters passing off anything from T-shirts to works of art (Channel 9 at 10).

Late Night

The Arsenio Hall Show (CC) (R). With Kurt Russell, William Shatner, Leonard Nimoy and Shakespeare's Sister (Channel 9, 11:30).

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With director David Lynch, singer Michael Feinstein and comedian Norm McDonald (Channel 4, 11:35).

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

Phone Note Puts Bush Claim On Iran-Contra Into Dispute

By George Lardner Jr.
and Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Bush's claims that he was unaware of opposition by two top Reagan Cabinet members to secret U.S. arms sales to Iran were called into question by the disclosure yesterday of a 1987 note about a telephone conversation between the two officials.

In 1987, at the height of the Iran-contra controversy, which involved revelations that the Reagan administration had secretly sold arms to Iran for the release of U.S. hostages, then-Vice President Bush said he had supported the policy but might have had a different view had he known of strong opposition to it

by then-Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger and then-Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

A day after Bush's remarks in an interview with The Washington Post were published, Weinberger complained about Bush's assertions in a phone conversation with Shultz, according to a handwritten note dictated by Shultz to an aide after the Aug. 7, 1987, conversation. The text of the note, made by Charles Hill, was introduced yesterday in U.S. District Court here by prosecutors as part of a pretrial motion in the Iran-contra case against Weinberger.

"VP [Bush] in papers yest. sd [yesterday said] he not exposed to Cap [Weinberger's nickname] or

See IRAN-CONTRA, A28, Col. 1

A28 WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

Shultz Had Notes Made Of Phone Call

IRAN-CONTRA, From A1

my arguments on Iran arms," Shultz recounted. "Cap called me + sd [and said] that's terrible. He [Bush] was on the other side. Its on the Record. Why did he say that."

After Iran-contra became public in late 1986, Bush came under criticism for portraying himself as being "not in the loop" in the evolution of what became the most serious scandal of the Reagan administration.

In his interview with The Post published Aug. 6, 1987, Bush said he had not advised President Ronald Reagan against selling arms to Iran, in part because he never heard strong objections to the policy.

"If I'd have sat there and heard George Shultz and Cap express it [opposition] strongly," Bush said, "maybe I would have had a stronger view. But when you don't know something, it's hard to react.... We were not in the loop."

Bush added in the interview that he had no idea there had been anything like a "raging fight" between Shultz and Weinberger on the one hand and, on the other, top officials of the National Security Council and then-CIA Director William J. Casey over whether to undertake the arms sales.

Post staff writer David S. Broder, who conducted the interview, wrote in a subsequent column that he had asked Bush three times whether he was really unaware of the protests by Weinberger and Shultz. Each time, Broder reported, Bush said he did not attend the Dec. 7, 1985, White House meeting at which the two Cabinet secretaries expressed their vehement objections because "I was off at the Army-Navy football game" that day.

Additional arms sales were discussed at a full National Security Council meeting on Jan. 7, 1986, at

which Bush was present. Shultz and Weinberger continued to object strenuously to the sales at that meeting.

Bush, according to Shultz's testimony to congressional committees that investigated the Iran-contra affair, favored the arms sales as did Casey and then-national security adviser John M. Poindexter.

When questions arose after the 1987 Post interview about Bush attending the January 1986 White House meeting and still being unaware of the Shultz-Weinberger opposition, Bush's chief of staff said: "If he [Bush] was there for all of it, he doesn't recall it as a showdown session, and it's possible he wasn't there for all of it."

Subsequently, in January 1988, Bush told Post columnist Mary McGrory in writing that he had had concerns about the arms deals involving U.S. credibility, loss of life and "how it will be interpreted if cover is blown." Pressed on who had heard his concerns, Bush strongly implied that he had discussed his reservations at Reagan's morning national security briefings and that then-White House Chief of Staff Donald T. Regan was among those who heard him.

The Charles Hill note released yesterday was what tipped off independent counsel Lawrence E. Walsh to Weinberger's penchant for keeping his own notes, which have become a key element in the prosecution of the former defense secretary. Hill's note quoted Shultz as saying, "Cap takes notes but never referred to them [in statements to Iran-contra investigators] so never had to cough them up."

Weinberger was indicted in June on charges that he lied about having notes and about some aspects of the Iran-contra affair.

Prosecutors said yesterday they had reviewed Weinberger's papers at the Library of Congress in late 1990 and early 1991, concentrating on those indexed as "Classified." It was not until "much later," they said, that they inspected his unclassified papers and found "over 1,700 pages of daily diary notes and hundreds of pages of meeting notes for the years 1985 and 1986 alone"—the period in which Iran-contra occurred.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

Many Arabs Critical of Initiative

By Caryle Murphy
Washington Post Foreign Service

MANAMA, Bahrain, Aug. 25— Arab officials and press have greeted the U.S.-led initiative to restrict Iraq's airspace with a mixture of ambivalence and criticism, voicing fears that it could promote the breakup of Iraq. Some complain that it is an "electioneering gimmick" by the Bush administration.

The reaction is in sharp contrast to the full support given Operation Desert Storm by key Arab countries such as Syria, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Unlike that multinational military effort, the proposed "no-fly zone" barring Iraqi aircraft from southern Iraq would be enforced solely by U.S., British and French warplanes.

Arab unease over the initiative—

intended to protect the Shiite Muslim population from Iraqi military retaliation—stems from fears that it would eventually lead to a separation of southern Iraq from Baghdad's control and tempt Iran to extend its influence there.

With its energetic people, strategic location and oil wealth, Iraq is viewed as the Arabs' major counterweight to Iran, whose revolutionary Shiite government is still viewed with suspicion by ruling Arab Sunni Muslim elites.

More generally, the "territorial integrity" of states in the region is considered sacrosanct because of the artificiality of most borders in the area. This issue is possibly the only one on which all the governments—from Iran to Morocco—agree. Thus, Turkey and Iran, the two non-Arab states in the region,



also have demanded that Iraq's territorial integrity not be fractured by the Western air intervention.

But behind criticism of the no-fly zone, which appears intended to step up pressure on Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, lies a broad consensus among Arab, Iranian and

See ARABS, A14, Col. 1

Turkish officials that life would be much easier if he were toppled.

One Persian Gulf-based official said: "There is a state of imbalance and agitation in the gulf" since the end of the Persian Gulf War "that hasn't been the complete peace we had hoped for. People think only 95 percent of the job has been done."

An announcement from President Bush on the no-fly zone had been expected today but was postponed to give U.S. military officials in the region more time to work out details with French, British and Saudi allies, officials said. Pentagon officials said the details related to logistics and coordination and did not pose a major obstacle to implementing the ban. A White House official said Bush would likely make the announcement Wednesday.

A British source said that at the same time, Iraq's U.N. ambassador, Abdul Amir Anbari, will be given a letter stating the justification for the ban and giving Iraq 24 hours to halt its flying in the region.

Pentagon spokesman Bob Hall said U.S. intelligence reports show that over the past several days, Iraq has removed virtually all of the 30 fixed-wing combat aircraft that had been stationed in the area involved and some of its 40 helicopter gunships, although those that remain continue to support ground operations against Shiite rebel positions.

Reuter news agency, quoting Persian Gulf-based officials and diplomats, reported Monday that declaration of the no-fly zone had been delayed to address Arabs' concerns. "Things are not moving as quickly as we expected. Privately, the governments concerned are supporting the idea but practical details have still to be worked out," a Western diplomat told the news agency.

Egyptian political analyst Tahseen Bashir, expressing a concern voiced by others in the region, said he fears the Western air intervention could set off an unpredictable chain of events that could inadvertently fragment Iraq. They also

hold the potential of drawing in Western forces to finish what they have begun in barring Saddam's air power from the south, he said.

He and others are asking, for example, what the allies would do if Iraq observed the no-fly zone, but continued its military action against Shiite civilians with ground artillery and small arms. And if Saddam hangs on to power, will the south become separated from the central government under the allied air protection?

How will the mainly Shiite rank and file of the Iraqi army react? Will it defect to the opposition, and if so, to which group? If Saddam cuts off the state's monthly food rations still given to all Iraqis, who will replace this and how?

And if the allied air supremacy tips the psychological balance away from Iraqi government authority, and the Shiites rise up as they did last year, what concrete aid will the Western countries give? Some exiled Iraqi opposition sources said they are telling the Shiites not to repeat their uprising, but others say that the Shiites are ready to revolt again.

Hoshyar Zebari, a spokesman for the Kurdish Democratic Party, argues that despite these potential foils, the southern air ban will boost

the population's morale to resist Saddam, and demonstrate his weakened sovereignty in southern Iraq. In addition, it will show Iraqis that "the opposition can do something," Zebari said.

The air exclusion zone was among the measures urged on U.S. officials last month during a meeting with Iraqi opposition figures, including Kurdish Democratic Party leader Massoud Barzani.

Egypt, one of Washington's key allies, is not pressing to drop the no-fly zone plan, but is emphasizing that it must be handled so as not to impinge on Iraq's unity, an Egyptian official said. Addressing the issue last week, Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa said, "I demand respect for the unity of the Iraqi people, their established right to territorial integrity in the north, middle and south."

But, as in most of his comments on Iraq since the end of the war, Moussa also put responsibility for what happens there on Baghdad. "I hope the Iraqi government will realize how serious the situation is and act to spare the Iraqi people unnecessary further dangers by adhering to international legitimacy and respecting the rights of its people, of all sects, to live in peace," he said.

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Many Arabs Wary of 'No-Fly' Plan

Algeria, Yemen and Libya criticized the initiative, and Turkey has said that allied warplanes could not fly from its territory to monitor the no-fly zone.

Syrian Embassy spokeswoman Bushra Kanafani said in Washington Monday that "many of us in the Arab world, including the Syrians, have our fears that certain steps meant to help in this way or another way might create a de facto partition of Iraq, which all the Arab world stands against.... Iraq should remain united."

Jordan's media, which are among the most sympathetic to the Iraqi government, also lambasted the plan. But a Jordanian journalist called this "a lot of tactical maneuvering," adding that the overwhelming view in Jordan is that the initiative is related to the U.S. elections.

Most Jordanians "view the whole thing as more or less pushed by the American administration to win more votes for President Bush, so it is seen as an electioneering gimmick," he said.

So far, Kuwait is the only Arab state to declare support for the plan. Other gulf states such as Bahrain and Saudi Arabia have not said anything in public, but have agreed to let U.S. planes and warships use their facilities for the initiative.

Staff writer John Lancaster in Washington contributed to this article.

The Washington Post

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WASHINGTON POST

AUGUST '92

Bush Calls Clinton Threat to Auto Jobs

In Michigan, President Cites Democrats' Stand on Fuel Efficiency

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

CANTON, Mich., Aug. 25—President Bush today accused Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton of transforming himself from a threat to the environment into an extremist in support of it, telling a rally that his Democratic rival had become a "bright green" environmentalist whose policies would cost thousands of jobs in the automotive industry.

Banging his fist on the lectern, Bush attacked a proposal now in Congress—and supported by Clinton and his running mate, Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.)—to raise automobile fuel efficiency standards to 40 miles per gallon by the year 2001. He said that in Michigan alone "40,000 workers would go from the assembly line to the unemployment line" if the standards were enacted.

Campaign aides distributed a briefing paper that said the standards would "cost thousands of lives in traffic collisions" because cars would have to be lighter and would jeopardize between 150,000 and 300,000 jobs. The source of the job loss estimate was the Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Association, the trade association for U.S. automakers.

Bush supports keeping the standards at the current level of 27.5 miles per gallon, a position he hopes will win him votes in this critical state, where the automobile industry has been foundering in recent years and which has one of the highest unemployment rates in the country.

Citing reports of Clinton's environmental record in Arkansas, Bush said, "He's gone all the way over from that lousy record now to becoming bright green. He's turned that bright and if Clinton has his way Michigan auto workers are going to be turning green with illness."

The legislative proposal attacked by Bush is intended to cut U.S. imports of foreign oil and to reduce tailpipe emissions of carbon dioxide, the most important of the industrial gases blamed for global warming. According to proponents, the move

to 40-miles-per-gallon cars would save 2 million barrels of oil per day by 2008 and eliminate 300 million tons of carbon dioxide—5 percent of emissions from all sources.

The economic impact of the efficiency standards has been a subject of fierce debate between the auto industry and energy experts. Opponents argue that tough standards hurt U.S. carmakers because their fleets consist of a higher percentage of large, less efficient models. They warn that if the standards are tightened, manufacturers would move more production of large cars

Bush supports the current 27.5 miles per gallon standard. The Democrats back a proposal for 40 miles per gallon by 2001.

overseas to maintain a fleet average for domestic production.

Proponents counter that by the same logic, the production of small, more efficient cars would remain in this country, and since efficient cars have a brighter future than gas guzzlers, the auto labor force would be secure.

The United Auto Workers, with the most to win or lose on the issue, supports Clinton and improved fuel economy. "UAW workers aren't fooled by this transparent campaign ploy and we don't think other Americans will be either," UAW President Owen Bieber said of Bush's attack.

Clinton's communications director, George Stephanopoulos, disputed Bush's prediction that the higher standards would "throw American auto workers out of their jobs."

"The fact is, George Bush and his do-nothing economic policy have cost the people of Michigan and of all America jobs and wages and he's increased their taxes," he said.

After hitting Clinton on the fuel economy standards, Bush then

turned his sights to Gore and "his famous book"—a reference to "Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit" the vice presidential nominee's bestseller on the environment in which he states that "the automobile industry poses a mortal threat to the security of every nation that is more deadly than that of any military enemy we're ever again likely to confront."

"That is Clinton's running mate talking about the auto industry that means so much to our country," Bush said. One page later, Bush said, Gore calls for the elimination of the internal combustion engine.

"What kind of people are we dealing with here?" Bush asked in mock disbelief. "It would be funny if it weren't so serious, if one of out of six jobs in America today weren't in some way tied to the automobile industry, and if this philosophy of tax and spend, regulate and regulate, wasn't going to make it impossible for us to win the economic competition."

Gore said in an interview today that "we can pretend that the way to a strong economy is trashing the environment, but we're kidding ourselves. If that were true, Eastern Europe would be an economic powerhouse."

Contending that 250,000 auto jobs have been lost in the past 12 years of Republican administrations, Gore said that "one of the reasons is that we've faced competition from more fuel efficient cars. The idea that it's going to be 25 miles per gallon forever, while Japan and Europe are introducing cars that get 60 miles per gallon, is absurd."

Bush today fulfilled his pledge to name names of members of "the Clinton-Gore gridlock Congress" who had stood in his path, this time blasting the local congressman, Rep. William D. Ford (D).

"I'm a little tired of congressmen that talk one way in Michigan and vote different in Washington," Bush said. He assailed Ford's positions on the administration's education overhaul proposal, the Persian Gulf War, congressional term limits and the balanced-budget amendment.

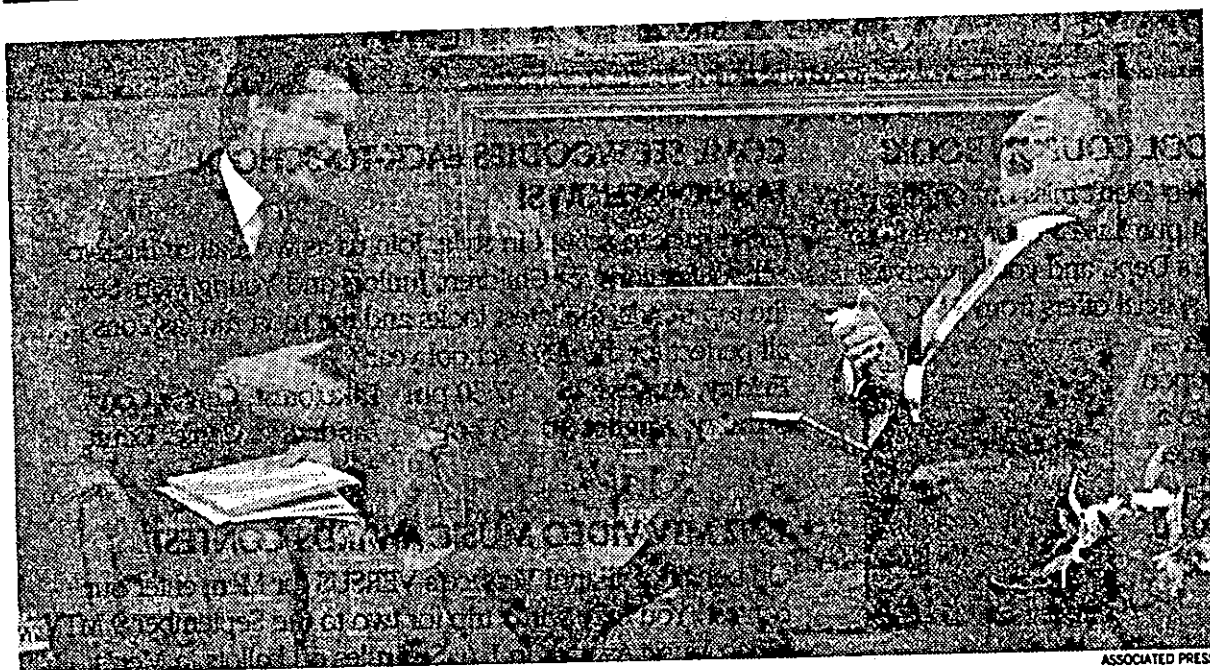
Staff writer Michael Weisskopf in Washington contributed to this report.

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THE WASH
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Ross Perot has laugh with Charles Gibson on ABC's "Good Morning, America," where he discounted new talk of candidacy.

Perot Spot on N.Y. Ballot Seen Assured

80,000 Signatures Collected in Drive Bankrolled by Non-Candidate

By Michael Isikoff
and Laurie Goodstein
Washington Post Staff Writers

Ross Perot's supporters have gathered about 80,000 signatures to place his name on the ballot in New York—more than five times the number needed to qualify—following a drive that included newspaper ads, radio commercials and the hiring of hundreds of temporary workers to circulate petitions, according to Perot associates.

New York had been identified by supporters as the top priority in their efforts to place Perot on the ballot in all 50 states and Perot has personally bankrolled the petition drive with more than \$200,000, the supporters said.

Those expenditures, most of them within the last two weeks, have fueled new speculation that Perot is plotting to jump back into the presidential campaign. But Perot yesterday appeared to dismiss the idea, saying on ABC's "Good Morning, America" that the chances he will enter the race are "very remote, not even worth talking about."

Asked by host Charles Gibson if that meant he was keeping his options open, Perot replied: "There's also an option that a hurricane will just go straight up in the air today."

Since he dropped out of the presidential campaign July 16, Perot has

said repeatedly that he still wants to be on the ballot in 50 states to give his supporters "leverage" in the November election. While saying any decision about reviving his bid would ultimately be made by his supporters, Perot said yesterday that "something far more important can happen here and that is to get the elected officials to listen to grass-roots America as opposed to trying to manipulate grass-roots America."

Yet Perot's willingness to continue spending large sums has encouraged many of his supporters. A Federal Election Commission report filed this week showed that Perot spent \$5,910,165 on his collapsing campaign in the month of July—more than half of which, \$3,020,000, was disbursed after he announced his decision not to run. All told, the report showed, Perot had spent \$12,271,802 on the campaign this year.

In New York, the Perot campaign has hired as many as 600 temporary workers in the last two weeks to gather enough signatures before this Thursday's deadline. The temporaries, paid \$8 to \$10 an hour and hired through 15 agencies, have fanned out all over the city with bright Perot signs mounted on boxes like small podiums, and set up on street corners asking passersby to sign.

Hays Kirby, a Perot coordinator

from Montana who was dispatched to New York to help with the petition drive, said the campaign needed to hire "temps" because so many voters were "angry" with Perot they were reluctant to sign his petitions. "It was a very difficult situation," he said.

The petition drive has been run out of a Manhattan headquarters where workers have been using computer programs to verify the names and other information required on the petitions. To assemble the programs, the Perot campaign paid each of New York's 62 counties "hundreds of dollars and sometimes thousands" to buy voter registration lists, said Steven Loglisci, Perot's campaign director in New York.

New York state requires 15,000 valid signatures. But state requirements are so stringent that candidates routinely submit 60,000 or more to be sure they will have enough if the filing is challenged and invalid signatures are subtracted.

Perot backers said yesterday they were confident that the estimated 80,000 signatures would withstand any challenge. "Surely, the state can't disqualify 65,000 people," said Orson Swindle, national director of United We Stand, the political organization recently founded by Perot supporters. "It would be a disgrace."

Goodstein reported from New York.

The Washington Post

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Borrow-and-Spend Republicans

THE TRUTH about the Bush administration's relationship over the last four years with Congress is that:

(1) The Democratic Congress has given the president most of the relative little he has asked for. The few things it has denied him, he should have been denied.

(2) More often than not the Democrats have tried to go beyond his skimpy domestic agenda, and he has been the one to resist. Some of the things he began by resisting he now cites as among his proudest accomplishments.

(3) He has used the veto power 31 times, each time successfully, but mostly around the edges of the main purposes of government. Seven of the vetoes have been on variations of the abortion issue; only three have had to do with the budget.

Mr. Bush in his acceptance speech drew a portrait of Congress as the roadblock to reducing the deficit and to reviving the economy. But it was the administration that asked that serious deficit reduction be deferred in its first year in office; it said it wasn't ready. The president then swallowed his campaign promises and agreed in Year Two to a combination of tax increases and spending restraint to which Congress has adhered but which he has felt compelled for intra-party political reasons to renounce as a mistake.

Congress for sound distributional and other reasons has steadily denied him the capital gains tax cut, whose potency as an instrument of likely growth he continues to exaggerate. This spring, however, it gave him most of the rest of the "growth initiative" he had hastily assembled in light of the continued weakness of the economy; he vetoed the bill because it was paid for by a tax increase on the better-off.

He complains that Congress has refused to pass a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution or give him a line-item veto. But these proposed constitutional derangements have always been rightly understood as attempted distraction on the part of a president who has never come close to submitting a balanced budget. He claims to have "asked Congress to put a lid on mandatory spending" for other than Social Security, but has not formally transmitted that, either, much less spelled out except in "illustrative" fashion the cuts in such programs as Medicare and Medicaid by which it would have to be achieved. On the budget, he has been mostly talk.

In other fields, where he has genuinely led, Congress has generally followed. The clean air amendments and extension of full civil rights

protection to the disabled in 1990 are the classic examples. Congress happily passed a major child care bill in that productive year as well. The Democrats had begun by proposing child care grants to the states; the president had countered by proposing as less intrusive an increase in the earned-income tax credit for the working poor with children, which the Democrats also favored; the bill included both. That's what the president meant last week when he took credit for having "passed a child care law, and we took a stand for family values by saying that when it comes to raising children, government doesn't know best, parents know best."

He claimed credit as well for the passage of last year's civil rights bill, which his administration had begun by saying was unnecessary, and which he signed only after Republican moderates threatened to join with Democrats and shove it down his throat. The administration was likewise more follower than leader in: extending unemployment benefits when it became apparent that the recession was not going to be as short and shallow as its economists first believed; cutting defense spending as it became apparent that the Soviet Union was collapsing; then giving aid to the former Soviet republics; expanding Medicaid so that by the turn of the century it will cover all poor children and, in the first Bush year, increasing the minimum wage that had been allowed to languish through the Reagan terms. To the extent that health care reform is an issue in this Congress (and election), that, too, is largely because the Democrats have tried to make it so.

On the vexing question of using public funds to help poor children attend private schools, Congress has indeed said no to the president. On the crime bill, about which he also complains, the Democrats have not said no enough. Most of the rest of the legislative business of government—the new housing, highway and higher education bills of the last three years, the annual appropriations process—has gone forward about as you would expect and as it usually does.

The president speaks of a "gridlock Democrat Congress," but the gridlock is over the budget deficit, which tends to infect and paralyze all else, and which he himself has miserably failed to propose a method for resolving. Tax-and-spend is what he calls the Democrats, but borrow-and-spend is what he has offered in its place. That is why the government is hung up just now.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

William Raspberry

Family Values Fare

"Just the man I wanted to see," the cabbie said. "I need someone to explain to me about 'family values'."

I was, of course, happy to oblige him. After all I've been a family man all my life—committed to my wife, determined to raise my children to be ethical adults (and parents).

And those things, I told him, are precisely what family values are about.

"I see," he said. "And Democrats don't care about wives and children and ethics?"

There's nothing partisan about it, I said, although I admitted the Bush-Quayle campaign has been taking potshots insinuating that Bill Clinton is soft on family values. "Democrats can have family values, too," I said. "Indeed, it seems to me that the whole idea of the Republican campaign is to reach out to non-Republicans who share their family values."

"I'm still not sure I understand," the cabbie said. "It sounds like the abortion issue all over again—you know how the right-to-life people make it seem like the pro-choice people take some sort of fiendish delight in killing babies."

"Well, they *do* favor killing the unborn..."

"Not as I read it," the cabbie said. "Sounds to me like they're saying it's up to the woman carrying the child to decide whether to carry it to

term or not. Now I might not agree with the decision she reaches, but to say she has the right to choose is not the same as saying I'm in favor of killing babies."

"That's how it seems to me with this family values thing. I don't know anybody who's against family values. It's just a question of who is going to tell people how to live their lives."

"Are you saying that beliefs of the people who run the country don't make any difference?" I demanded.

"No," said the cabbie. "But their private beliefs matter only to the extent that they affect government policy. It's not clear to me that the Republicans' beliefs even affect how they live their own lives."

"What are you talking about?"

"Bush and Quayle believe in family values, so they oppose abortion, right?"

"Right," I conceded.

"But both of them said if their own daughter or granddaughter had an abortion, they'd stand by her and support her decision..."

"Well, of course," I said. "That supportiveness is a prime example of family values."

"Sure, but how does that make them different from any other parent?"

"How did we get on this abortion kick?" I

asked. "There's a lot more to family values than opposition to abortion."

"I'm sure there is," the cabbie said. "Tipper Gore wants records labeled so parents can screen the music their children listen to. That's a family value..."

"That's censorship," I corrected him.

The cabbie tried again. "Increasing the minimum wage to the point where anybody who works full-time makes enough to take care of his family—that's a family value, isn't it? But Bush and Quayle..."

"... understand the importance of business," I said. "Keep making financial demands on entrepreneurs, and you put them out of business and reduce the number of jobs for everybody."

"How about first-class day care, so parents can go to work knowing their children are all right? Is that a family value?"

"And who pays for that day care?" I said. "If it's the employer, it'll drive him out of business. If it's the government, it'll drive up the deficit. How does that help families?"

"What about that family-leave bill Bush vetoed? Wouldn't that have helped family values?"

"Too costly," I explained.

"Well how about a special tax break or wage supplement for parents," the cabbie said. "I read

the other day about a man in Texas who pays heads of household an extra dollar an hour, plus 75 cents an hour for every child under 16. He says he wants to make it possible for the other parent to choose to stay home with their young children. Is that family values?"

"You're talking about Bill Watts in Como, Tex.," I said. "I read about him too. I think it's nice what he's doing, but surely you wouldn't want the government to compel all employers to do what he's doing. The cost would be ruinous."

"I'm not trying to compel anybody to do anything," the cabbie said. "All I'm trying to do is figure out what family values have to do with what Bush and Quayle would do if they got another four years in office."

"Sounds like you're telling me they wouldn't actually do anything—just talk about family values. If they're not willing to make any financial commitment to family values, why should I listen to them?"

"This is where I get out," I said, handing the cabbie his fare. "Regards to the wife and kids."

"You have the nerve to mention my wife and kids and then hand me a quarter tip?" the cabbie said. "Say hello to your buddies down at the Bush-Quayle headquarters."

A Ban on Chemical Weapons

TODAY in Geneva, negotiators of nations that have spent two decades trying to outlaw chemical weapons are due to approve a treaty. Not too soon, either. More and more countries have the industrial or financial capacity to go to chemical weapons. Iraq showed how these weapons of horror could be acquired by stealth and applied in battle. Treaties are no better than their terms and the means brought to enforce them, but the Chemical Warfare Convention plugs a gaping hole in the world's legal and political defenses against the most dangerous weapons. The 1925 Geneva Protocol banned only use of chemicals in war. The CWC extends the ban to their development, production, stockpiling and transfer. President Bush, who has already forsworn chemical use (even in retaliation) and undertaken to destroy all stocks, pledges "strong" support.

It took the end of the Cold War to unlock these negotiations, notwithstanding a common great-power interest in defusing the "poor country's nuclear bomb." Saddam Hussein's example provided a timely boost. Otherwise, two broad challenges have had to be met.

The first is how to get everyone aboard. Some of Israel's Arab antagonists, for instance, see a chemical warfare arsenal as an offset to Israel's nuclear bomb. India and Pakistan lack the requisite mutual trust. The nasties—Iraq, Libya,

North Korea—are in a class by themselves. The hard task remains to bring holdouts to a deeper appreciation of their own interest in a chemical-warfare-free world. As for China, its reluctance can only be taken as evidence of its unfitness for the respect it claims. Unlike the nuclear nonproliferation treaty's division of the world into haves and have-nots, after all, the Chemical Warfare Convention makes every country equal: All must renounce as one.

The other broad challenge is to make sure no one is cheating. Immersion in the subject has trimmed the fear that militarily significant production could go on in someone's garage. But extraordinarily intrusive inspections are still accepted as necessary. In 1984 President Bush proposed inspections "anywhere, anyplace, without a right of refusal." Mikhail Gorbachev's surprise acceptance caught Washington working its way back to a "realistic" formula that would protect its own "black" programs and industrial edge.

Something called mandatory managed access finally emerged at Geneva: The challenged state must devise an access procedure that answers the chemical weaponry concerns that provoked the inspection at that site. It sounds reasonable. The coming ratification debate should tell.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

George F. Will

Serious People Flinch ...

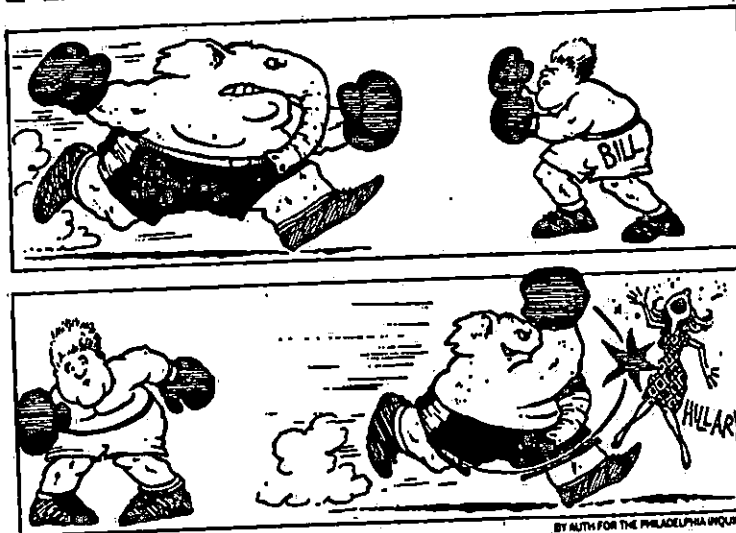
When George Bush's campaign slithered through Georgia, Rep. Newt Gingrich rose to the challenge of lowering still further the tone of it. Gingrich, whose high rank in the Republican leadership is the only good reason for hoping Democratic control of the House continues, told a Bush rally that Woody Allen is "a perfect model of Bill Clinton Democratic values" and that "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."

That would cost Gingrich his reputation for seriousness if he still had one, and it illustrates how cynicism at the top of the Republican ticket pervades the entire party. Gingrich did not, in any meaningful sense, mean what he said. He was just emitting the sort of noise that characterizes what Bush calls his campaign about "trust."

Gingrich's synthetic sincerity was further displayed as he hyperventilated about Clinton's joking remark, months ago, that maybe he should have inhaled that marijuana (thereby escaping the ridicule his "I didn't inhale" has evoked). Gingrich calls Clinton's remark "the single most destructive action by a politician in my lifetime." Gingrich's lifetime began in 1943. Make your own list of the evils Gingrich considers less significant.

After Gingrich regaled the crowd with his Woody Allen japes, a Bush aide said, "The president does not want to make Woody Allen an issue." There they go again, dancing the Bush Two-Step. The campaign always disassociates itself from the stream of dishonesty that is steady.

Nothing new here. In 1988, when Bush's Iowa campaign smeared Elizabeth Dole, Robert Dole asked Bush, on the Senate floor, if Bush had authorized it. Said Bush: Maybe I did and maybe I didn't. That is how Bush's various



campaigns have talked to the nation: down. Read my curled lip.

On television last Sunday Robert Teeter, Bush campaign co-chair, was asked about the constant attacks on Hillary Clinton at the Republican Convention. Teeter, two-stepping, said, "I personally don't think Hillary Clinton is much of—part of an issue of this campaign, and I've said that a number of times." And no doubt will have occasions to say it, piously, an additional number of times before November.

Can't Bush's people be honest about anything? Mrs. Clinton is an issue and should be. She is an experienced, outspoken advocate about various causes and she probably would

influence the tone and direction of a Clinton administration.

The problem is not that the Bush campaign obviously thinks she is an issue, but that the campaign is so mendacious when portraying what she has written. (A bulletin: She does not think 12-year-olds should be able to sue parents if asked to take out the garbage.) Peter Hart, the Democratic consultant, says this is Republican strategy: Instead of running Bush-Quayle against Clinton-Gore, Republicans want to eclipse their least popular and the Democrats' most popular candidate, running George and Barbara against Bill and Hillary.

Mrs. Clinton is being "borked." The verb "to bork" means to lie about the writings of a public

figure. There is rough justice in what she is undergoing. Lots of her friends participated in the borking of Robert Bork, and she no doubt enjoyed it. Still, Bush campaigners are lying about her record.

Soon Bill Clinton will have to say to Bush what Dole publicly said to Bush in 1988: "Stop lying about my record." Bush says Clinton has raised taxes 128 times. Bush says this even though columnist Michael Kinsley has demonstrated that the list of "tax increases" is a tissue of falsehoods. (Some taxes are counted several times; components of a tax are counted as separate taxes; minor fees, such as the \$1 court cost imposed on convicted criminals, are counted as taxes.) By the tendentious criteria used by the Bush campaign, Bush has raised taxes more often in four years than Clinton has in 12.

So, what does Teeter say of the 128 number? "We're not going to quit saying it about Mr. Clinton."

Bush operatives constantly whine about the media but Bush is benefiting from the mock sophistication of journalists who, striking a world-weary stance, say of his campaign dishonesty, "It was ever thus in American politics." Even if that were true, it would be no excuse, and it isn't true. This is extraordinary.

Today honorable conservatives feel the sort of fury felt by honorable conservatives 40 years ago when Joe McCarthy was giving anti-communism a bad name. There is a strong case to be made against Clinton concerning school choice, term limits, protectionism, automobile fuel efficiency standards, his ties to trial lawyers, his running mate's environmental hysteria and much more. But serious people flinch from being associated with the intellectual slum that is the Bush campaign, with its riffraff of liars and aspiring ayatollahs.

Bush calls his campaign "a crusade to bring back values." His campaign is powerful evidence of the need for such a crusade.

Molly Ivins

... Not Your Normal Smear

AUSTIN—My first chance to catch up on Woody and Mia. What a wallow! Holy cow.

In this sunny political season, when the Republicans are working to make "family values" an issue—since they haven't got anything else going for them—poor Woody and Mia, on top of all their other problems, are now being sucked into the political vortex.

U.S. Rep. Newt Gingrich, a thoroughly nasty man, said in the course of introducing President Bush this weekend, "I call this the Woody Allen plank. It's a weird situation, and it fits the Democratic Party platform perfectly. If a Democrat used the word 'family' to raise children in Madison Square Garden, half their party would have rebelled, and the other half would not vote. Woody Allen had non-incest with his non-daughter because they were a non-family."

I know, I know, the sophisticated media cynic is supposed to take a statement like that in stride, insisting it's all just your normal political exaggeration, innuendo and smear. I'm such a sissy, I was stopped cold by it.

There have been, in our great nation, murderers who were registered Republicans, child abusers who were registered Republicans and so forth. Are the Democrats now entitled to describe the Republicans as a party of murderers and child abusers? I don't think so. It's a logical fallacy, a reverse syllogism and also a really fetid thing to do.

I'm trying to remember anything like it: Democrats occasionally like to associate Republicans with Wall Street, on the theory that no one likes Wall Street, and when all those Nixonites were being sent to prison after Watergate, the Democrats used to put out posters with pictures of all the convicted ones on them.

I'm still stopped by Gingrich. He is talking about the Democratic platform that was both criticized and hailed in New York for being terribly moderate and inoffensive, isn't he? I guess we're supposed to accept Gingrich's version of the Democratic convention instead of what we actually saw.

Time magazine has a long thumb sucker this week about family values as though it were a real issue. Family values did not create the deficit: It was Ronald Reagan who cut taxes and spent \$2 trillion on the military. Family values did not create the health insurance crisis that plagues this country. Family values are not responsible for the recession. Family values didn't engineer the savings and loan mess.

Look, George Bush has not been the educational president. He has not been the environmental president. He did not create 15 million new jobs (short by 14 million). We read his lips, and he raised taxes anyway. And this is not a kinder, gentler nation after four years of Bush. Unless you count Newt Gingrich, of course. Those are political issues.

I don't know why so many families fall apart. A lot of it is economic pressure, of course. I've always thought too many people got married in the first place. Now there's something we need to put a seven-day hold on. And most civilized countries do have a much better family-support system than ours—day care, natal leave, parental leave for when kids are sick and so forth.

Being a working mother is, I believe, the toughest job in America. Women work, not as Marilyn Quayle implied, because they "choose to have fulfilling careers" but because they have to. And most of us have lousy jobs for lousy pay. You can look it up in the census stats.

One popular notion is that the women's movement led to the decline of the family, that it caused women to leave their families to "find themselves" or whatever. Bound to be some truth to that, but if you look at Barbara Ehrenreich's early work on divorce trends in the '50s and '60s, what you see is the women's movement developing in response to men leaving their wives and children to go off with younger women. Hate to get into one of those men vs. women finger-pointing matches, but the numbers still say it is typically the man who leaves the wife and kids—and a lot of the louses never even send child support.

I still don't see what the Republicans are offering to help with any of this. They haven't

even mentioned any of the proposals to set up a national computer bank to track down fathers delinquent with their child support. Maybe they think we'll vote for them as role models. For eight years, we had the Reagans, one of the most dysfunctional families in America. The Bush children are absolutely average on divorce, and so what? Divorce is rotten, but a really bad marriage is even worse for the kids, not to mention the couple. The Quayles are an interesting counterpoint to the Republican contention that we should take alarm at the thought that Hillary Clinton will be advising her husband. Mrs. Quayle was her husband's campaign manager. Mrs. Quayle's office is right next door to her husband's, and, according to his staff, she is in there all the time. Compared with Marilyn Quayle, Mrs. Clinton fades into the woodwork.

The Constitution says the purposes of government are "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Not sure where family values fits in there. Perhaps it is just that I am offended by the idea that people's personal misery would be exploited for political gain—even Woody and Mia's.

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WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

Brazilians Weigh President's Fate

Ouster Seen Likely as Politicians Try to Keep Process Orderly

By Julia Preston
Special to The Washington Post

BRASILIA, Aug. 25—In the wake of a damning report released by a congressional investigating commission that implicated President Fernando Collor de Mello in corruption, Brazilians are widely predicting that he will be forced to leave office before the end of his term. Indeed, political analyst Walder de Goes declared, "He has entered a terminal phase. He will not be able to turn it around." Others echo de Goes. But there is considerable uncertainty about how soon Collor's presidency might end.

A consensus coalescing among top leaders is that it may be wiser to proceed patiently through a formal impeachment, despite the paralysis of public affairs, than to risk the shock of the abrupt collapse of Collor's government. Both government and opposition leaders express desire to end the crisis without maiming Brazil's young democracy. Collor, 43, was inaugurated for a five-year term in 1990 as the first democratically elected president since a military coup in 1964.

"This will be a crisis of the government but not of the institutions," Ibsen Pinheiro, the speaker of the lower chamber of the bicameral Congress, pledged today.

The report released Monday concluded that Collor and his family and friends received \$6.5 million in hidden payments for personal expenses from a businessman, Paulo Cesar Farias, who it said ran an influence-peddling network inside the government. The report found that Collor had committed political and common crimes for which he could be impeached.

Nevertheless, Collor, a proud and tenacious politician, has made it clear he intends a fight. He dismissed the investigation as an attempt by the opposition to seize power and said he had a "trump" up his sleeve that would discredit the commission's findings.

Collor's fate as leader of this nation of 140 million now rests with a handful of political leaders. Among them is a group of ministers, called the "honest men" because they remain untainted by the scandal, led by Economy Minister Marcilio Marques Moreira.

Another central player is Antonio Carlos Magalhaes, governor of the state of Bahia and head of a center-right political party that provided four members of Collor's cabinet and 88 of the 503 seats in the Chamber of Deputies. If either the "honest men" or Magalhaes withdrew their support, Collor would have to resign.

Magalhaes has feuded openly with Collor's constitutional successor, Vice President Itamar Franco, and stands to lose influence if Collor leaves. Late Monday, despite several defections from Collor's camp by members of Magalhaes's party, the governor blasted the commission's report, indicating his allegiance was unchanged. "It's weak," he said. "It exaggerates with respect to Collor and is too kind to" Farias.

This evening, all of Collor's ministers signed a letter composed by Justice Minister Borja saying none of them would resign before "this episode is closed," considering it "their duty to continue working, with serenity, to assure the continuity of public administration."

Most opposition efforts focus on impeachment, a slow journey through a legal minefield. After the commission votes Wednesday on its final report—with approval predicted even by the government—impeachment petitions are to be presented to Pinheiro, as head of the Chamber of Deputies. Eventually two-thirds of the deputies must vote in favor of a petition to initiate the impeachment trial.

The opposition is not likely to present its petition until early September, and a vote to begin proceedings may not come before late September.

It is assumed that if Collor loses that vote, he will have no choice but to resign. Pro-Collor government leaders say they have 205 votes today, more than the 168 required to block the impeachment.

But Brazil is holding nationwide municipal elections in October and November, and popular anti-Collor indignation is likely to cause increasing defections from his side among political parties, including that of Magalhaes, that are battling for local seats.

Protests also could control the timing. Today in Sao Paulo, Brazil's biggest city, tens of thousands of mainly student demonstrators clogged the downtown in three separate marches that lasted all day.

Us vs. Them: The Buchanan Speech

After hearing Pat Buchanan's speech at the GOP convention, I'm persuaded that he needs to be muzzled and checked for rabies ["Buchanan Heaps Scorn on the Democrats," news story, Aug. 18]. I've never heard such racist, sexist, hate-filled bile expressed at a national political convention in my life. And if the rousing acceptance he received by the flag-waving delegates is any indication of the feelings of the American voter, then I am truly frightened.

As an African American, I cringed when Mr. Buchanan concluded, "so we must take back our cities, and take back our culture and take back our country." If George Bush needs this type of divisive rhetoric to defeat Bill Clinton in November, then this country is about to take a giant step backward.

America is a melting pot, full of people of all creeds, races and ethnic origins with diverse life experiences. The GOP with its "family values" theme is doing what it does best—thumbing its nose at those who don't fit into its idea of how people should live their lives.

ANTIONETTE CLEVELAND
Washington

Patrick Buchanan is not a conservative. He is a bigot. Mr. Buchanan is seeking to create an America in his own image, forgetting that even his ancestors, in search of the American dream, came from somewhere else.

True conservatives are not xenophobic. They do not advocate the exclusion of others from the rights of citizenship. Conservatives only state that reliance on government to right all of society's, or life's, injustices is not possible or practical.

Conservatives believe in self-reliance, instead of the poorly conceived programs of bloated government. True con-



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servatives rejoice in presenting programs that grant all people the opportunity to fulfill their dreams, with minimal government intrusion and certainly not at the expense of others.

Mr. Buchanan has done a tremendous injustice to the American ideals he so ardently claims to champion. As a nation we face tremendous challenges. If we are to rise to the occasion we will need the help of every citizen, regardless of race or national origin. Mr. Buchanan's exclusive rhetoric does nothing but pull apart the nation at a time when we must all unite to make the difficult decisions that are necessary if we are to remain a great nation.

It is in the best interest of the conservative movement to distance itself from Mr. Buchanan's exclusive views. The prime-time exposure given to Mr. Buchanan has done nothing but alienate sensible voters. The issue in this election is not "taking back our culture or country" (I was not aware that someone

had taken them from "us") but which of the two candidates can best revive the American dream for us all.

DOUG ROSEN
Falls Church

Pat Buchanan's speech at the convention had a chilling effect on this voter. Those narrow eyes and that darting tongue seemed frighteningly reminiscent of another era, but his strident and virulent message of hatred and fear and insult were sadly typical of a right-wing Republican.

It's clear that a deal was struck to get Mr. Buchanan—who swore never to give in to "King George"—to endorse Mr. Bush and that this convention might better be called the "Sell-out in Houston."

Mr. Bush is right when he says this election is about trust—and I don't trust this bunch a bit.

SEVA MOCK
Sterling

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Trade Questions for Clinton

On the day after the Republican convention ended, Gov. Bill Clinton went into Detroit to counterattack with the confident vigor that now typifies his campaign, but at the same time, he unexpectedly displayed his greatest political weakness.

In a brief question-and-answer session after addressing the Detroit Economic Club, Clinton put on a truly remarkable performance. He fudged twice: on his previous positions on the new trade agreement with Mexico and on auto fuel-efficiency standards. In both instances, he trimmed his policies to organized labor's.

Clinton's still-commanding lead against President Bush will not crumble because of those two questions, but the character issue could defeat him. He is threatened not by matters of personal behavior but by a public perception of Slick Willie moving into the White House.

What Clinton did Aug. 21 has to be placed in the context of grand strategy. This election figures to be determined in the industrial Midwest. The winner of Illinois, Michigan and Ohio will likely be elected. So, to quickly

drown out echoes of Bush's convention speech, Clinton headed for Michigan.

His Detroit speech slashing Bush's handling of the economy won cheers, after which Clinton said he would take a few questions. He took two too many—selected and read by his good friend and longtime supporter, former Michigan governor James Blanchard. They could well have been drafted by Bush's Clinton-baiter, deputy campaign manager Mary Matalin.

Clinton was asked about his promise to boost CAFE (corporate average fuel economy) standards for American cars. At Drexel University in Philadelphia on Earth Day, April 22, while still battling Jerry Brown for the nomination, he had acknowledged his shortcomings on the environment and tried to make amends.

He thereupon advocated raising the 27.5 mile-per-gallon standard to 40 miles by the year 2000 and to 45 by 2020. But the United Auto Workers opposes such draconian requirements, and the Bush campaign has placed newspaper advertisements that greeted Clin-

ton in the Great Lakes industrial states with the claim that 300,000 auto workers would lose their jobs.

So, the candidate retreated. "I don't think it's fair to impose a burden on the American fleet that has bigger cars than foreign competitors do," he said.

But he quickly doubled back: "I strongly believe we have to raise the mileage standard. But I have never said that I didn't think there was more than one way to do it. . . . I thought that the goal was a good goal. That's what I said in April, and that's what I still believe."

He did not do much better with the other question selected by friend Blanchard—on the North American Free Trade Agreement between the United States, Canada and Mexico. On June 15, with the nomination safely in his grasp, Clinton at the UAW convention seemed to flatly endorse the free trade concept. On Aug. 12, the day the U.S.-Mexican negotiations concluded, he endorsed the pact in principle.

But the UAW opposes the treaty, claiming heavy job losses in the Midwest. In Detroit

last Friday, Clinton virtually withdrew his endorsement in principle by saying he wanted to read the fine print. "When I have a definitive opinion, I'll say so," he promised. Clinton aide George Stephanopoulos said the next day that might not come until congressional hearings on NAFTA are completed, possibly at the end of September.

By then, with Election Day a month away, maybe everybody will have moved on to other matters. While it is understandable that Clinton wants to back away from his grandstand play on auto standards, the waffling on so basic an issue as free trade disturbs even his own camp.

His policy advisers strongly support NAFTA, and so do many of his enthusiasts. "This issue is a crucial test for Clinton," says the pro-Clinton New Republic. "He can go the way of past Democratic nominees and pander to the union vote, or he can tell the unions to go stuff it. We'll be watching." So will the rest of the country.

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Bush's Orange County Troubles Not Financial

■ **Campaign:** The Republican ticket is outpacing Clinton-Gore by a nearly 3-1 margin in contributions.

By ROBERT W. STEWART
and DWIGHT MORRIS
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—Despite the bad news President Bush has heard from Orange County—embarrassing Republican defections to Bill Clinton—the Bush-Quayle ticket still ranks first, by a country mile, with the locals who vote with their wallets.

Bush-Quayle '92 raised \$233,087 in direct contributions from Orange County residents between Jan. 1, 1991 and June 30 of this year, according to a Times computer analysis of records compiled by the Federal Election Commission.

During the same period, the Clinton campaign directly raised a little more than a third of the Bush total—\$86,677.

Bush did even better in the sweepstakes for national party money that can be used to assist his reelection effort, both directly and indirectly.

Orange County contributions to the Republican National Committee for direct aid to GOP campaigns, as well as voter registration drives and other party building work, totaled \$247,830. The Democratic National Committee collected \$41,950.

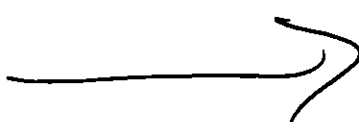
Comparable Orange County figures for the 1988 campaign were not immediately available. But both Republican and Democratic fund-raisers said local political giving appears to be down because of continuing problems in the local economy, especially in real estate and related industries.

"This has been a very difficult year for everybody," said Jack Flanigan, a former Irvine Co. executive who in May became co-chair and campaign director of the Bush-Quayle reelection campaign in California.

While Clinton has done well in Orange County, former Colorado Sen. Gary Hart did better in both his 1988 and 1984 campaigns, said local Democratic fundraiser Bernard Schneider. A Newport Beach attorney, Schneider had supported Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey in his unsuccessful bid for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Two GOP activists—home builder Kathryn Thompson and Western Digital Chairman Roger W. Johnson—formally jumped ship Friday and endorsed Clinton. They were joined by Orange County Supervisor Harriett M. Wieder, Robert Nelson, a public relations executive and Republican

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political consultant; Dana Point Councilwoman Judy Curreri; Harry Jeffrey, president of the local chapter of the California Republican League; Anita Mangels, a board member of the California Abortion Rights Action League PAC, and Del Weber, president of the California Teachers Assn.

"There is no greater value for a family than a sense of security," Thompson said in announcing her decision. "And there will be precious little economic security to pass around after four more years of a Bush presidency."

Calling themselves the Independent Americans for New Leadership, the group said that while they are supporting the Clinton-Gore ticket, they are not ready to vote for other candidates on the Democratic ticket and are not considering switching parties.

Local Republican leaders dismissed the group as "fair-weathered" party members and said their support for Clinton was not catastrophic.

"Those people basically have been Republicans of convenience and not of conviction," Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-Huntington Beach) said as he railed against the group outside their meeting room. "It's time for them to leave. We will be better off with them gone."

Thompson gave \$428 and Johnson \$429, in cash, to Clinton. Each reported to the Federal Election Commission making in-kind contributions which brought total giving to Clinton to \$1,000 apiece. Thompson also gave \$1,500 to Bush.

Last December, Thompson and Johnson scandalized the local Republican community when they co-hosted a "meet the candidate" breakfast for Clinton, setting off

widespread speculation that others in the GOP might for the first time support a Democrat for president. A month later, Thompson and Johnson sat at the head table at a fund-raising luncheon for Clinton in Santa Ana.

Despite the national attention the breakfast drew, "there's no widespread defection among the [Republican] finance community" in Orange County, said Stuart K. Spencer of Irvine, the longtime GOP political strategist who twice helped put Ronald Reagan in the White House.

"They got a good symbolic hit from that luncheon," Flanigan said. "The national press focused on this as a huge crack in Bush's base. [But] it doesn't appear as though it translated into a specific dollar hit."

But developer Howard Adler, chairman of the Orange County Democratic Party and the man who helped Clinton raise much of his local money, doesn't see things quite that way.

"The breakfast that Kathryn Thompson and Roger Johnson held was an incredible crack in the dike," Adler said.

Even though little Republican money flowed Clinton's way, Adler said, the suggestion by well-known Republicans that a Democrat might have something important to say about the nation's problems made Adler's fund-raising job easier.

Adler cited two \$1,000 Clinton donors—property manager Susan L. Naples of Orange and investment manager William F. Podlich of Irvine—as examples of local Democrats who had not previously been active in politics. Both, Adler said, have assumed major roles in

helping Clinton raise money locally.

"When you start seeing leaders in the business community saying your candidates have good ideas, and they are at least worth a forum, that helps when you go to your Democratic business leaders in terms of raising money," Adler said. "It's reinvigorated us."

Despite its reputation as a bastion of Republican orthodoxy, Orange County has not been a source of good news for Bush in recent weeks. An independent poll conducted after the Democratic National Convention last month showed the incumbent trailing Clinton 43% to 22% in Orange County.

Although Bush handily bested Clinton's Orange County fund raising, he did not prevent defections, at least during the primary season.

Bush's chief Republican challenger, Patrick J. Buchanan, the conservative columnist and television personality, raised \$37,350 in Orange County through June 30. Among those who backed him were Caroline Heinz-Youness and her investor father, Clifford Heinz, both of Newport Beach. Each gave Buchanan \$1,000, the maximum contribution permitted for a primary campaign. Heinz-Youness' great-grandfather founded the Heinz food conglomerate.

Of Bush, Heinz-Youness said: "He just basically deserted the whole cause. He's not an ideologically committed man. He seems to be a fair-weather Republican." Buchanan, on the other hand, is a "very ideologically inspired man, whether you like him or hate him," she said.

Another Buchanan backer is Randall D. Hunt of Laguna Beach. "I was a Bush supporter in '88, but I'm not a Bush supporter in

'92. Bush has turned out not to be a conservative," said Hunt, who at 41 is retired from the garment manufacturing business.

Another former Bush supporter is Gene Potter, an electronics engineer from Santa Ana, who gave \$1,000 to former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas when Tsongas was challenging Clinton for the Democratic nomination. Tsongas collected \$17,555 from Orange County residents, largely from members of the Greek-American community.

"This was a brand new thing, it was my first adventure into any kind of political thing whatsoever," Potter said. "It was the first contribution I made to any candidate of any amount."

A lifelong Republican, Potter said he voted for Bush in 1988 but changed his registration last March, shortly before he wrote the check to Tsongas. The deteriorating economy changed his mind about Bush and drove him into the Tsongas camp, Potter said.

"Bush is the worst president the country has had in 75 years, at least from the financial viewpoint, so something has to be done," Potter said. He said he will probably support Clinton in November.

Two other early dropouts from the race for the Democratic presidential nomination—Kerrey of Nebraska and Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin—also raised money in Orange County. The Kerrey campaign took in \$13,000, while Harkin received \$6,300.

Between now and November, neither Bush nor Clinton is likely to directly raise substantially more money for their campaign organizations because of federal election laws that strictly limit fund-raising activities after a candidate has

accepted federal funds for the general election campaign. That usually occurs shortly after the candidate is officially nominated. Individual contributions are limited to \$1,000 per candidate for the primary campaign, and an additional \$1,000 for the general election.

Contributors remain free to give to party committees.

It is the economy, more than anything else, that has driven a wedge into Bush's once solid Orange County support, Republican leaders said.

"The movers and shakers in Orange County Republican circles have been very concerned for the

last two years that there hasn't been a domestic economic plan to meet the needs of the recession," said Spencer, the GOP strategist.

Several, including Donald L. Bren, who owns most of the Irvine Co., the county's largest landholder, made their views known during a private meeting with the President last year. But their concerns about Bush never upstaged their strong reservations about Clinton's planned-economy policies, which would include tax increases on the wealthiest Americans.

"They like Bush if he'd just get connected to the problem," Spencer said. "It's the weirdest thing I've ever seen."

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PERSPECTIVE ON FAMINE RELIEF

U.N. Agencies Are Incompetent



Somalia's suffering is a crime of bureaucracy—and worse. An inquiry at the highest level is in order.

By RAKIYA OMAAR

Imagine that half the children in a Los Angeles public hospital had died. Imagine that senior consultants had predicted this a year earlier but nothing had been done in the interim. Imagine also that a journalist had discovered that this was but the most recent in a long line of similar tragedies. The people would demand not just immediate measures to save the lives of the remaining children but also a public inquiry into what had gone wrong and the dismissal or prosecution of the guilty parties.

Change the hospital to Somalia and you have an accurate description of the disaster there and the United Nations' role in failing to prevent it. Perhaps one-quarter of Somalia's children have died this year, and a similar number face imminent starvation. This was predicted last year by experienced relief agencies, notably the International Committee of the Red Cross and Save the Children Fund (of Britain). The warnings were echoed by Africa Watch on this page in February. We all called on the U.N. humanitarian agencies—UNICEF, the World Food Program and others—to act. They did not, and disaster duly occurred.

The U.N. agencies have no excuses. The dithering in the Security Council need not have stopped them from following the lead of the Red Cross and starting humanitarian work in Somalia. The money was there, but they chose not to spend it. While sitting on their hands in neighboring Kenya, they did

not even draw up contingency plans. Six months after the U.N. secretary general ordered the agencies back in, they are still far from a proper operational presence. A "technical mission" of 31 "experts" recently spent 10 days flitting around the country in airplanes, refusing to consult with the staffs of the voluntary agencies that stayed in Somalia through the worst months of fighting.

Most damning of all, this is not the first time. Every experienced relief worker can tell horrifying stories of the incompetence, complacency and even corruption of the U.N. agencies. Despite the efforts of their public-relations officers, they are undoubtedly the most inefficient emergency-relief bureaucracy in the world. One of the untold stories of the 1984 Ethiopian famine was how the United Nations failed to respond to the signs of crisis as the catastrophe unfolded. At one point, the World Food Program scaled down an estimate of emergency food needs eight-fold.

During the famine in southern Sudan, the United Nations did nothing for three whole years. And the one UNICEF program helping voluntary agencies to fly supplies into the stricken area was actually closed down as the starvation approached its height.

These are only two examples from a very long list. Veteran relief officials responsible for these disasters are now heading up the U.N. operation in Somalia, calling themselves "experts." Until now, critics have stayed silent, fearing that governments and the public will stop contributing to humanitarian relief and also in hopes that the United Nations will be able to reform itself from within. These hopes were reinforced by the creation of the new position of undersecretary general

for humanitarian affairs at the start of this year. The establishment of the office was designed to ensure that the United Nations' response to humanitarian agencies was quicker, more efficient and better coordinated.

Somalia shows that adding more bureaucracy changes nothing. More radical reform is needed. The first step is to face the facts. Unless there is an open and honest appraisal of the past, there is no chance of doing better. The continuing failure to take the humanitarian and diplomatic initiatives commensurate with the disaster in Somalia shows that internal reform is not enough.

The second step is to recognize the fundamental principle behind all effective public service: accountability. In poor countries like India and Botswana the same principles of accountability have been applied to famine prevention, and both have excellent records in averting such disasters.

But the United Nations remains impenetrable. There is no *glasnost* there. An official responsible for allowing famine faces promotion, not prosecution. This is a scandal.

The secretary general must commission an independent inquiry into U.N. famine relief. Somalia must be No. 1 on the agenda. All files must be opened, and all responsible officials summoned to testify. The proceedings must be public. Those responsible must be called to account and punished, and if necessary, prosecuted. Only this can ensure that the situation is not repeated.

American citizens would demand nothing less if their children were dying; they must demand it on behalf of the children of Somalia, whose parents' voices cannot be heard.

The commission of inquiry must be able to recommend sweeping reform. Above all, it must institute lasting accountability

throughout the Kremlin of the U.N. bureaucracy. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has promised a new broom—the world must demand sunlight, the best disinfectant.

Rakiya Omaar, a Somali, is executive director of the New York-based human-rights organization, Africa Watch. Her co-author for this article, Alex de Waal, is associate director of Africa Watch.

Stop the Deceit, Mr. President

■ **Politics:** The snide and cynical attack on the Clintons frustrates Republicans who want to win on the issues.

By **GEORGE F. WILL**

When George Bush's campaign slithered through Georgia, Rep. Newt Gingrich rose to the challenge of lowering its tone still further. Gingrich, whose high rank in the GOP leadership is the only good reason to hope for continued Democratic control of the House, told a Bush rally that Woody Allen is "a perfect model of Bill Clinton Democratic values" and that "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."

That would cost Gingrich his reputation for seriousness if he still had one, and it illustrates how cynicism at the top of the ticket pervades the entire party. Gingrich did not, in any meaningful sense, mean what he said. He was just emitting the sort of noise that characterizes what Bush calls his campaign about "trust."

After Gingrich regaled the crowd with his Woody Allen japes, a Bush aide said, "The President does not want to make Woody Allen an issue." There they go again, dancing the Bush Two-Step. The campaign always disassociates itself from the stream of dishonesty that is steady.

Nothing new here. In 1988, when Bush's Iowa campaign smeared Elizabeth Dole, Robert Dole asked Bush, on the Senate floor, if Bush had authorized it. Said Bush: Maybe I did and maybe I didn't. That is how Bush's various campaigns have talked to the nation: down. Read my curled lip.

On television last Sunday, Robert Teeter, Bush campaign co-chair, was asked about the constant attacks on Hillary Clinton at the convention. Teeter, two-stepping, said, "I personally don't think Hillary Clinton is much of . . . part of an issue of this campaign and I've said that a number of times." And no doubt will have occasions to say it, piously, an additional number of times before November.

Can't Bush's people be honest about anything? Mrs. Clinton is an issue and should be. She is an experienced, outspoken advocate about various causes and would probably influence the tone and direction of a Clinton Administration.

The problem is not that the Bush campaign obviously thinks she is an issue, but that the campaign is so mendacious when portraying what she has written. (A bulletin: She does not think 12-year-olds should be able to sue parents if asked to take out the garbage.) Peter Hart, the Democratic consultant, says this is Republican strategy: Instead of running Bush-Quayle against Clinton-Gore, Republicans want to eclipse their least popular and the Democrats' most popular candidate, running George and Barbara against Bill and Hillary.

Mrs. Clinton is being "borked." The verb "to bork" means to lie about the writings of a public figure. There is rough justice in what she is undergoing. Lots of her friends participated in the borking of Robert Bork, and she no doubt enjoyed it. Still, Bush campaigners are lying about her record.

Soon Bill Clinton will have to say to Bush what Dole publicly said to Bush in 1988: "Stop lying about my record." Bush says that Clinton has raised taxes 128 times. Bush says this even though columnist Michael Kinsley has demonstrated that the list of

"tax increases" is a tissue of falsehoods. (Some taxes are counted several times; components of a tax are counted as separate taxes.) By the tendentious criteria used by the Bush campaign, Bush has raised taxes more often in four years than Clinton has in 12. So what does Teeter say of the 128 number? "We're not going to quit saying it about Mr. Clinton."

Bush operatives constantly whine about the media but Bush is benefiting from the mock sophistication of journalists who, striking a world-weary stance, say of his campaign dishonesty. "It was ever thus in American politics." Even if that were true, it would be no excuse, and it isn't true. This is extraordinary.

Today, honorable conservatives feel the sort of fury felt by honorable conservatives 40 years ago when Joe McCarthy was giving anti-communism a bad name. There is a strong case to be made against Clinton concerning school choice, term limits, protectionism, his ties to trial lawyers, his running mate's environmental hysteria, and much more. But serious people flinch from being associated with the intellectual slum that is the Bush campaign, with its riffraff of liars and aspiring ayatollahs.

Bush calls his campaign "a crusade to bring back values." His campaign is powerful evidence of the need for such a crusade.

George F. Will is a syndicated columnist.

Stop the Whining; This Is War!

■ **Politics:** The Hillary-bashing is as fair as four years of Quayle-bashing—so bring on the red meat; he's ready.

By **DAVID HOROWITZ**

One of the most grating noises of the current presidential campaign is the sound of the Democratic chorus whining about unfair Republican attacks. Republicans are mean. Conservatives are insensitive. They are taking the low road on the character issue. They are dividing the country. The only thing President Bush is good at is fear-mongering, especially about higher taxes if Bill Clinton is elected.

Journalists have jumped on this bandwagon, too. "Hitting on Hillary Is a Hate Crime," a liberal columnist griped on this very page.

Actually, hitting on Hillary is fun. Moreover, it is fair practice if Hillary wants to be taken seriously, and there is every indication she does. Presidential campaigns are about high stakes and ought to be tough. The nation is deeply divided on matters that are basic. Of course battles over such issues are bound to cause wounds. If Hillary Clinton can't take the heat, she should, yes, stay out of the kitchen.

Another feminist (but a conservative one) pointed out what's really wrong with Hillary's act. It's not that one day she presents herself as a shadow vice president and the next as a cookie baker with frosted hair. It's that she has injected herself into the campaign in such an obtrusive fashion.

Consider the reaction if Mr. Boxer announced, "Send Barbara to the Senate and get me, too." Feminists would be outraged. The trouble with the liberal whiners is that they can't admit that their opponents are sentient beings with intelligence and yes, even feelings, too.

Speaking of low-road, mean spirited character attacks, for example, how does four years of round-the-clock, everybody-gets-a-shot Quayle-bashing stack up against the tepid stuff directed at Hillary? And the Quayle attacks are the sport not only of liberal politicians, but journalists, comedians and even sitcom characters.

Isn't it time to give Danny a break? He's got his faults; even his mother might concede that. But

what has he done to deserve all this? To be the butt of the political gangbang of all-time? And that's before the coming revenge of Murphy Brown.

Of course it isn't time to give Quayle a break. Nor are Republicans asking for it, least of all Quayle himself. It's campaign time. Time to turn up the heat. This is politics, folks: war by other means.

That's why the scare tactics are perfectly proper. Are Republicans afraid that Clinton will raise taxes, just as he promises? You bet. And put regulations on business that will threaten the recovery? That's right. And unleash the radicals in his party to spread more political correctness in the culture? Uh-huh. Do Republicans not trust Clinton to be as conservative after he is elected as he is trying to sound in the campaign before? Count on it. That's what Republicans think and that's what this election is all about. So bring on the red meat.

Republican strategists would be irresponsible if they did not go for broke in an effort to win this campaign. After all, if the future of America and its children are at stake, as both sides claim, how could anybody justify giving less than the best?

'Republican strategists would be irresponsible if they did not go for broke in an effort to win this campaign.'

But don't Republicans sometimes overstep the mark? Of course. Who would claim differently? But in the matter of campaign tactics, as in the strategies themselves, Republicans have no monopoly on excess.

The next time liberals are tempted to whine about Republican attacks, they should con-

sider the spectacle at the Democratic convention, when a mother suffering from AIDS was welcomed to the podium. She had lost one child to the epidemic and might lose another. With all the political venom she could muster, she blamed George Bush for her terrible misfortune and said that neither she nor her child could probably survive if there were four more Republican years. Now, that's gutter politics, world-class, masquerading as liberal compassion.

Contrast this lamentable lapse with the generous plea for compassion toward homosexual Americans and victims of AIDS that Mary Fisher gave in Houston. The Republican audience fell silent and wept. Hold this image in your mind, and you will begin to appreciate the complexities of the politics that divide us as Americans. And perhaps the humanity that unites us as well.

David Horowitz is the editor of Heterodoxy magazine, published in Los Angeles.

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BUDGET WATCH

Deadbeat State

Gov. Pete Wilson is right. The "misery index" caused by the budget impasse, now in its 57th day, keeps rising. But he's in no position to blame the Legislature alone. The governor and the legislators are using that misery to pressure each other's views on the budget.

The fact is, of course, there's plenty of blame to go around. In the meantime, Wilson and others should support legislation by Democrat Rusty Areias of San Jose aimed at paying the state's July bills for services rendered by the state's vendors, firefighters, independent-living developmental centers and some contractors. Under current law, payments aren't allowed until a budget is adopted.

Consider the agony of the private, nonprofit Developmental Disabilities Center of Orange County. It distributes state funds to homes and services for 7,000 severely handicapped or retarded persons. The center says it will be forced to close up shop Friday if it isn't reimbursed, leaving thousands of families needlessly in the lurch. Numerous other operations in the state are also twisting in the wind.

Areias' measure has twice come up for a vote in the Assembly and twice fallen short by one vote after the governor's office arm-twisted GOP legislators who wanted to vote for it. The emergency measure needs a two-thirds majority in both houses.

Areias has vowed to bring the issue to the Assembly floor again this week. When he does, the people in the state Capitol, especially Wilson, need to get behind it so that the people who are hurting can finally get paid.

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Two Sides to 'One China' Policy

For 10 years the United States has forbidden the sale of most military equipment to Taiwan. But now the Bush Administration is reconsidering that ban—and rightly so. Allowing Taiwan to purchase as many as 180 F-16 aircraft should be encouraged, even though the action certainly won't help already strained Washington-Beijing relations.

The sale of F-16s, produced in Texas by General Dynamics, would renew the major arms supply relationship between the United States and Taiwan that was broken off after Washington recognized Beijing and severed formal relations with Taiwan in 1979. Taiwan wants the new aircraft to replace its aging Air Force fleet of F-5Es and F-104s to help maintain stability in the Taiwan Strait.

A sale would probably infuriate Beijing, which maintains

that the transaction would violate the 1982 U.S.-China communique limiting U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. In fact, Washington had been reducing arm sales to Taiwan, despite its 1979 commitment in the Taiwan Relations Act to provide Taiwan with "arms of defensive character."

Beijing has repeatedly said it will never renounce the use of force against relatively tiny Taiwan. Even so, it has acquired Russian-made SU27s and MiG31s and plans to co-produce MiG31s in China. The threat is always there.

Bush's review of aircraft sales to Taipei could be worth billions and many U.S. jobs. But whoever occupies the White House next year will have to address Taiwan's ambiguous standing with the United States. Taiwan has come of age politically and economically. It has moved

toward democratization. Its economy is now the world's 13th largest trading nation and its \$80 billion in foreign exchange reserves is second to none. Its \$300-billion public works program is attracting Europe, which—like America—once shunned Taiwan.

Washington, which has quietly helped Taiwan join the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation group independent of China, supports Taipei's bid to join another international group: the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The theory of the "One China" policy, as outlined in the 1972 Shanghai communique, has two aspects in reality. One is to placate Beijing; the other is to deal with an increasingly dynamic Taipei. For whoever is running U.S. foreign policy next year, that may involve a formal review of the "One China" policy.

No Longer in Anyone's Pocket

Times poll shows Orange County as worried as any place else

Orange County is one of those bellwether American places on the map—like Cook County in the Chicago area—that regularly tell us something about our national politics. This year, the traditional Republican stronghold in Southern California has gained a different kind of attention from the national press corps: Somehow in this perilous economy, it is not so entirely predictable anymore.

A Times poll released this week found that President Bush's post-Republican National Convention "bounce" now has brought him back from the nadir of some earlier well-publicized surveys taken in Orange County. Those polls had found that Democrat Bill Clinton was leading in a place where Republicanism always

enjoys home-field advantage.

The latest results do obviously show some recovery for Bush after he stated his case at the convention last week. But even the seven-point lead for the President that turned up in The Times' weekend polling contained its own warnings and messages about the public's mood: This year Orange County isn't just an indicator of Republican good feelings.

Many people feel strongly that the country is on the wrong track. They are worried about the economy, jobs and the deficit. They question the President's handling of the economy, despite his attempts to blame the problem on Democrats in Congress. And both candidates have high negative ratings.

The dominant GOP voter registration in Orange County still makes it Republican Country. But economic dissatisfaction has produced break-away Republicans this year such as home developer Kathryn Thompson and Western Digital Corp. Chairman Roger W. Johnson. And independents are defecting, too. These things fuel doubts that the President can carry California. They suggest some of the restiveness beyond the sunny GOP Gold Coast.

This year, instead of being a bellwether of certainty, Orange County is beginning to reflect a nation's uneasy mood and troubled economy. And that may say more about the how deeply the economy worries folks and less about the county's partisan politics.

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Seoul Deals, Pyongyang Reels

Stunning diplomatic initiative by South Korea

The establishing of full diplomatic relations between China and South Korea may lack the dramatic historical significance of the reconciliation reached by the United States and China in the 1970s, but its economic and political importance to the two countries and to the future of northeast Asia looms unmistakably large.

Forty-two years ago China intervened in the Korean War to rescue its communist ally in Pyongyang from military defeat at the hands of American-led U.N. forces and a resurgent South Korean army. That intervention saved the brutal regime of North Korea's dictator Kim Il Sung, who remains in power to this day, object of the world's most durable and ridiculous cult of

personality. It also worked to prolong the Korean War by more than 30 months, cost tens of thousands of additional American and South Korean lives, and brought China casualties numbering in the hundreds of thousands. It so poisoned the political atmosphere that it took more than two decades before Beijing and Washington could begin moving toward normal relations.

The new China-South Korea ties mark a further phase in the death of Cold War ideology. China remains, if increasingly nominally, a communist country, its economy a blend of exuberant capitalism and inefficient state controls, its politics still re-

pressive and authoritarian. But China has opted for pragmatism in its international relations, its major condition for diplomatic ties with old antagonists being only that they sever such ties with its rival Taiwan. Seoul, to the pain and disgust of its longtime allies in Taipei, has now done that.

The economic rewards of the new relationship could be large for both nations. Trade, for years indirect but now open and expanding, could reach \$10 billion this year. South Korean businesses eye

China as a market and an area for investment. China, seeking models for its own development, looks to booming South Korea.

Beijing retains its ties with North Korea, though it barely conceals its weariness with that hermitic regime's paralyzing ideology. Some South Korean analysts worry that the north, isolated, economically stagnating, but still pushing to develop its own nuclear weapons, might now become more unpredictable and dangerous. There is that chance. There is at least an equal possibility that the largely friendless north will also belatedly discover the virtues of pragmatism in its international relations, providing a new opportunity to reduce tensions on the divided Korean peninsula.

The message from Beijing to Pyongyang in any event is clear: So far as China is concerned, the Cold War in Korea is over.



Reuters

Lee Sang Ok, S. Korean foreign minister, left, with China's minister, Qian Qichen

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New Papers Tie Bush Closer to Iran-Contra Policy

By MICHAEL ROSS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Documents released by Iran-Contra prosecutors Tuesday indicated that, as vice president, George Bush may have had more knowledge about the secret sale of arms to Iran than he acknowledged at the time.

One document, a handwritten note taken by an aide to then-Secretary of State George P. Shultz, suggested that Bush strongly supported the arms sales. An account of a telephone conversation between Shultz and then-Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, the note quoted Weinberger as expressing dismay at Bush's public assertion, made a day earlier, that he was not aware of Shultz's and Weinberger's opposition to the arms sales.

The note, written by M. Charles Hill, Shultz's executive assistant, was included in papers submitted in federal district court by Iran-Contra prosecutors in preparation for Weinberger's upcoming trial on charges of perjury and withholding information from congressional investigators who were investigating the Iran-Contra scandal.

Indicted in June on five criminal charges stemming from the scandal, Weinberger is accused of withholding his notes from congressional investigators and subsequently lying about their existence to the office of the Iran-Contra independent special prosecutor. His trial is scheduled to start on Jan. 5.

The Hill note was submitted as part of the evidence because it helped to tip prosecutors off to the existence of more than 1,700 pages of notes that Weinberger took

between 1985 and 1986. The notes, found among Weinberger's papers at the Library of Congress, contain detailed information about the high-level debate in the Reagan Administration over the secret sale of arms to Iran, which Weinberger and Shultz both opposed.

The indictment charges that Weinberger lied to prosecutors when he told them that he took no notes during the 1985-86 period that had not already been turned over to Iran-Contra investigators.

The note from Hill was dated Aug. 7, 1987, and described a telephone call Shultz received earlier in the day from Weinberger, who apparently was disturbed by remarks that Bush had made to reporters the previous day.

Bush, asserting his truthfulness in the Iran-Contra affair, said that he never knew profits from the secret sale of arms to Iran were

being illegally diverted to help the Contras in Nicaragua. He also said that, while he did have limited knowledge of the arms sales, he did not object because no one else in the Cabinet was advising him or President Reagan against them.

"If I'd have sat there and heard George Shultz and Cap [Weinberger] express [opposition] strongly, maybe I would have had a stronger view. But when you don't know something, it's hard to react. . . . We were not in the loop," Bush said.

The note penned by Hill recorded, in abbreviated form, Shultz's description of Weinberger's reaction to the Bush statement.

"VP in papers yest sd [yesterday said] he not exposed to Cap or my arguments on Iran arms. Cap called me + sd [and said] that's terrible. He was on the other side. Its on the Record. Why did he say that."

Besides indicating that Bush was aware of the arguments against the sales but was "on the other side" in supporting them, the Hill note also suggested that Shultz knew that Weinberger had notes of his own that had not been turned over to congressional investigators looking into the Iran-Contra affair.

The note quoted Shultz as saying: "Cap takes notes but never referred to them so never had to cough them up."

It was that reference that eventually led prosecutors to the 1,700 pages of diaries and notes found among Weinberger's papers in the Library of Congress. They had escaped notice earlier because they were found not in Weinberger's classified files but in what one source close to the investigation said was "the last place we would ever look"—his unclassified and publicly accessible document files.

Bush and Clinton Leave No Doubt War of Words to Escalate

Candidates' attacks, counterattacks and flanking maneuvers have already intensified. And as Election Day nears, more waffling and inconsistency is expected.

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

With the battle for the White House officially joined, President Bush and Democrat Bill Clinton have quickly erased any doubts about its nature: This campaign is going to be fast, relentless, and mean.

Already, the attacks, counterattacks and flanking maneuvers have reached an intensity not typically seen until October. And in these rancorous engagements, the two sides have revealed an aggressive philosophy—both intend to constantly force the debate back onto one or two central arguments and quickly neutralize issues that threaten to distract from those core contentions.

Bush and Clinton "are each clearly trying to avoid letting the other frame the debate on terms unfavorable to themselves," said Thomas E. Mann, director of the governmental studies program at the Brookings Institution.

As part of that strategy, both men are moving to maximize their differences on issues where they perceive an advantage—and minimize them on questions where they feel vulnerable.

On the latter front, Clinton recently softened his support for tougher fuel efficiency standards for automobiles, and thereby moved a bit closer to Bush on an issue that sparks controversy in Michigan and other Rust Belt states. Bush, meanwhile, has echoed a key Clinton proposal to retrain American workers.

At the same time, both campaigns are trying to frame in the sharpest possible terms two contrasts with their opponents.

In Bush's case, the linchpin arguments are trust and taxes. Bush is portraying Clinton as a tax-and-spend liberal who would make the economy even worse by expanding government and is hiding his intention to do so as part of a broader pattern of misleading voters about his political agenda and personal life.

For Clinton, the centerpiece argu-

ments are trust and the recession. The Arkansas governor maintains that Bush, trapped in the grip of an obsolete laissez-faire economic theory, has failed to produce a plan to revive the economy and, in a desperate attempt to save his job, is unleashing both wild accusations and implausible promises he has no intention of keeping.

The efforts by the two sides to force the debate through these competing prisms is perhaps most visible in their skirmishing the last week on the economy and the federal budget.

In his acceptance speech last Thursday, Bush moved to reattach himself to the conservative economic agenda of restraining the scope and size of government. That required some artful stitching: Bush has been under fire from conservatives not only for raising taxes, but also for presiding over the most rapid increase in domestic spending since John F. Kennedy, as well as a resurgence in federal regulation.

On the podium in Houston, Bush reversed course on each of those issues. He promised to extend for another year an ongoing ban on most new federal regulations, and he again called for Congress to approve a balanced-budget amendment. Most dramatically, he called for an unspecified across-the-board tax cut and, as a further restraint on government spending, a new checkoff that would allow taxpayers to divert up to 10% of their bill toward deficit reduction rather than government operations.

Many economists quickly questioned those proposals because Bush offered little indication of where he would find the spending cuts to reduce the existing \$315-billion deficit—much less offset the revenue lost from his tax proposals.

Then on Monday, Bush followed his ringing call for fiscal restraint with the announcement of a new job training program that will cost \$10 billion over the next five years.

"There is no way these numbers add up," said Stephen Moore, director of fiscal studies at the libertarian Cato Institute. "You can't cut taxes, raise spending and balance the budget."

But summing the numbers economically may be less important than aligning them politically. By promising to cut overall spending and taxes, Bush underscores his differences with Clinton's proposals to increase taxes and spending on domestic programs.



Both [Bush and Clinton] intend to constantly force the debate back onto one or two central arguments and quickly neutralize issues that threaten to distract from those core contentions.

Seen through that light, Bush's surprising job training announcement comes into sharper focus as an effort to neutralize secondary issues—and shift the debate back onto his preferred battlefield.

Some observers, noting that Bush had earlier proposed to cut training programs for displaced workers, see Bush's new training initiative—like his proposal this spring to allow all Americans access to federal loans for college education—as an effort to deny Clinton a clear contrast on issues the Democrat has stressed.

But while announcing the job training proposal Monday, Bush also returned to his larger theme. Although promising to pay for his own plan only with unspecified spending cuts, Bush criticized Clinton for backing a tax increase to pay for his job training agenda. "We really do have a vast philosophical difference," Bush declared in New Jersey on Monday. "I believe we can pay for this new job training offensive without raising taxes . . . or increasing overall government spending."

To Clinton and his aides, these machinations stamp Bush as guilty on exactly

the charge he levels against them: trying to be all things to all people. "It's hard to imagine a more cynical approach to campaigning," said Bruce Reed, Clinton's policy director. "First they attack our philosophy; then they steal our ideas. One day they are accusing us of taxing and spending; the next day they are proposing new spending proposals without suggesting what the means are to pay for it."

That criticism typifies the response of Clinton and his aides to Bush's flurry of proposals in the last week: Their goal is to simultaneously dismiss Bush's tax-cutting and spending ideas as purely political and to question the President's sincerity and motivation in offering them.

As Clinton put it in an address to the Detroit Economic Club last Friday: "Across the country, people are eager for real answers about how we can create new jobs and save existing jobs, but the promises Mr. Bush made [in his acceptance speech] are intended to only save one job: his."

Still, Clinton in the last few days has

shifted his own feet in ways that allow Republicans to question his sincerity. In that same Detroit speech, Clinton moved to neutralize an issue the GOP was banking on in the Midwest when he pledged to be "flexible" in urging auto makers to increase the fuel efficiency of their cars.

Former Michigan Gov. James J. Blanchard—who is directing the Democratic presidential campaign in the state—says he believes the impression Clinton's answer left is that while he still backs the goal of greater efficiency "he will work with the industry to work it out," while minimizing the economic disruption.

The Bush Administration opposes increasing fuel efficiency requirements, arguing that insisting on them could wipe out thousands of auto-manufacturing jobs throughout the Rust Belt.

And to GOP critics, Clinton's response fits a pattern of strategic fuzziness: "There are few issues on which Gov. Clinton's instinct is not to waffle," said David Tell, the Bush campaign's director of opposition research. "I would say that he's waffling on this one and he will continue to waffle until he paints himself in a word corner he can't get out of."

Bush made clear on Tuesday that he is not going to let Clinton wiggle off the hook on the issue. Referring to the push to raise fuel efficiency standards—now at 27.5 miles per gallon—to 40 miles per gallon by the year 2000, the President said, "We've got to fight against that kind of extremism."

Observers like Mann expect quite a bit of waffling—and accusations of inconsistency—from both candidates between now and Election Day as they perpetually jostle for tactical advantage.

"My view is that for both of these guys, all of the details are negotiable," Mann said.

But even amid that fog, he adds, the two men continue to offer the voters starkly different approaches, with Bush insisting that the key to prosperity is restraining spending and taxes while Clinton pins his hopes for economic revival on often expensive government initiatives in education, training, scientific research, infrastructure and health care.

"There is a dramatic contrast on economic and social policy between these two candidates, and no matter what, that will come through loud and clear," Mann says.

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Bush, in Address to Veterans, Defends His Halt to Gulf War

By DOUGLAS JEHL
TIMES STAFF WRITER

CHICAGO—While jabbing at Bill Clinton with a pointed testament to the value of military service, President Bush also presented American Legionnaires here with an elaborate defense of his decision 18 months ago to halt the Gulf War.

On a day when aides hoped to exploit veterans' doubts about Democratic nominee Clinton's draft record, Bush's address to the group's national convention appeared to reflect concern that his own failure to oust Saddam Hussein could become a vulnerability.

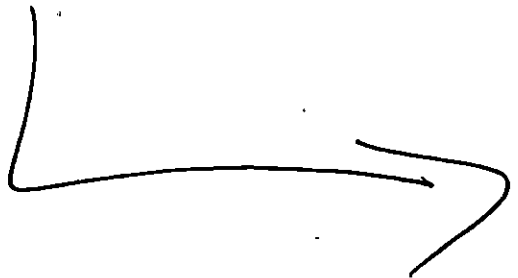
Bush was expected today to

order U.S. warplanes to step up pressure on a defiant Baghdad, and some aides said they were apprehensive that the allied imposition of a "no fly zone" in southern Iraq would also remind critics of what the war left undone. The zone is intended to keep Iraqi planes from being used against the Shiites.

As if to deflect such criticism, Bush used part of his 29-minute address to challenge those with "the gall to say" that he erred in halting Operation Desert Storm on Feb. 27, 1991—when U.S. forces remained well short of Baghdad.

He insisted that Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of all allied forces in the war, had urged

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him to "stop the killing" and painted a vivid description of the scene in the Oval Office as he reached his decision. "I don't like this historical revision," he said. "We did the right thing; we did the compassionate thing as well."

Bush said the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff picked up the phone in the Oval Office and called Schwarzkopf in Saudi Arabia to be sure that he agreed the war should be stopped. After the war, however, Schwarzkopf told an interviewer that he had recommended the allies keep fighting. He later apologized for those remarks and said he had concurred with Bush's decision.

The President has previously scorned as hindsight those who have criticized his Administration's support for Iraq before the Gulf War. But his rebuttal Tuesday marked the first time he has felt compelled to volunteer a defense of the way he waged the war itself.

Polls still show Bush holding an advantage over Clinton when voters are asked which candidate can best manage foreign policy. But that Republican edge has diminished in recent months.

And, in a sign that Bush may be once again slipping in the polls, a New York Times/CBS News survey showed Clinton regaining much of the ground he lost immediately after the GOP convention. CBS reported that Clinton now leads, 55% to 39%.

Wearing an American Legion overseas cap, Bush—a self-proclaimed member-for-life of Post 77 in Houston—reminded the Chicago audience that he had served in World War II.

In a reference that drew an obvious contrast with his Democratic rival, Bush said that when he ordered American forces into combat in Panama and Iraq, he kept his own experience in mind.

"As President," he said, "with that experience behind me and mindful of the trust of everyone who would serve, my sense of duty was magnified a thousand times."

Bush avoided direct references to Clinton. But he echoed earlier criticism of his rival's domestic-policy-oriented address before the Democratic Convention and said:

"Foreign policy is not a footnote, a loose end that we wrap up and then safely forget. It requires a steady, experienced leadership."

Bush received approving, but less than enthusiastic, applause.

The President sought to mute his tone during what he cast as a non-political address. But he turned more forceful at a campaign appearance later in the day.

Campaigning in Ypsilanti, Mich., near a sprawling automobile plant that General Motors has targeted for closure, Bush told a rally that Clinton's proposal to impose more stringent fuel efficiency standards would cost 40,000 jobs.

The GOP has been using figures from a study by the Motor Vehicle Manufacturers' Assn., which assumes that car companies would lay off all their workers and close all assembly lines making cars that do not meet the tougher standard.

Bush would preserve a current standard that requires manufacturers to ensure that the average automobile in their fleet travels at least 27.5 miles on a gallon of gas.

Clinton has said he favors a plan to tighten that standard to 40 m.p.g. by the year 2000, a proposal bitterly opposed by American auto makers. But he has also sought to assuage the fears. Last weekend, he said he was "flexible" and suggested he might set "separate goals for different sized cars."

That Bush devoted so much time to the Gulf War earlier in the day served as a reminder of the lasting discomfort that Schwarzkopf's postwar comments have caused the White House.

In a March, 1991, interview with David Frost, Schwarzkopf said that his "recommendation" to Bush was to continue fighting. "We had them in a rout, and we could have continued to reap great destruction on them," he said.

The general later apologized for his remarks and said he had concurred with Bush's decision to halt the fighting. He said his comments reflected "initial planning" to continue the war until Iraq's elite army units were destroyed.

But the reminder that allied forces could have imposed further destruction on Iraq inspired 18 months of second-guessing that intensified as it became more apparent that Hussein had consolidated his power. Some Democrats and Republicans have suggested that U.S. forces should have marched into Baghdad to ensure that Hussein—whom

Bush had accused of war crimes and compared to Hitler—was overthrown.

Bush painted an unusually precise scene of an Oval Office meeting on Feb. 27, 1991, in which he and his top national security advisers discussed whether to call off the attack. After Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Colin L. Powell had recommended that "we stop the slaughter," Bush said he had asked: "Are you sure our field commanders feel this way?"

He said that Powell picked up a secure phone and dialed Schwarzkopf in Saudi Arabia. "Gen. Powell looked up at

me after he had talked to Schwarzkopf and said: 'Mission accomplished, stop the killing,'" Bush said. "And he was right. We are not in the slaughter business."

But in the vast ballroom filled with Legionnaires, a series of random interviews found that Bush's choice left some veterans uneasy.

"I don't know whether he completed the job or not," said Winston Greene, 77, a World War II veteran from Mansfield, Ohio. "But if he didn't, he's going to have to."

Added Gary Harris, 40, of Toledo, Ohio: "He kind of let us down."

Baker Gives Bush Campaign Shot in the Arm

■ **Politics:** Staff members say his presence has given a once-floundering operation a new sense of direction.

By DOYLE McMANUS
and DOUGLAS JEHL
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—Call it the "Baker effect," although it may be as much illusion as reality: former Secretary of State James A. Baker III has barely unpacked his bags at the White House, but staff members say his presence has already injected a new sense of direction into a once-floundering operation.

Monday's decision to scramble President Bush to hurricane-ravaged South Florida in time to be filmed for the evening news was made in record time for this sometimes-stodgy Administration. Baker's phalanx of policy aides, imported from the State Department, are scouring the bureaucracy for new policy ideas to try to seize the campaign initiative. At Bush campaign headquarters, some staff members have even begun coming to work at 7 a.m. to keep up with the accelerated pace.

"There has been a real change in the atmosphere," said Torie Clarke, the campaign's spokeswoman. "You can feel a real step up in the intensity."

Other Bush aides say the new urgency isn't Baker's doing at all, but the natural effect of the real beginning of the campaign after last week's Republican Convention.

"Baker and his people haven't really begun running the place," said one mid-level aide. "They're still taking stock, still trying to figure out where to start."

And the main policy initiative that Baker has backed, the tax cut Bush proposed at the convention last week, has drawn as much criticism as praise—including some complaints from conservative economists.

But the psychological impact of Baker's arrival on campaign morale appears real.

Campaign insiders point to three places in which the former secretary of state has made a difference merely by arriving.

One is the White House's new-found ability to make tactical moves on short notice.

"It's already clearly more dynamic and quicker at making decisions," said Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), once a critic of the White House operation.

A case in point, several aides said, was Monday's quick decision to send Bush to Miami from a campaign stop in Connecticut without the usual number of days of preparation for presidential trips.

"In the past, there would have been a thousand reasons not to go," one official said. "But Baker just basically said, 'Do it.'"

After the Los Angeles riots last spring, Bush and his aides debated for days before finally deciding to visit the city—long after Democratic candidate Bill Clinton. By scrambling, Bush arrived in Miami in time for live coverage on the local news in a state that is one of the election's key battlegrounds.

A second area where Baker's presence has been felt is in tighter lines of

authority in both the White House and the campaign. "There used to be endless meetings that often reached no conclusions," one Republican operative said.

Baker, who managed Bush's successful 1988 campaign, appears intent on running the presidential staff the same way he ran the State Department for the last three years: through a small, close-knit team of personal aides.

He moved his entire State Department inner circle into the White House. Undersecretary of State Robert B. Zoellick is now deputy chief of staff, spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler is White House communications chief, congressional liaison Janet G. Mullins is White House political director, and policy planning director Dennis Ross—a specialist in Soviet and Middle Eastern affairs—is chief of domestic policy.

A third area where Baker's impact has apparently been felt is in policy initiatives. Campaign aides say they want Bush to announce a series of new policy ideas to "take the offensive," but the pre-Baker White House was better at holding up proposals than pushing them forward.

This week's proposal for a job-retraining program to help workers displaced by technological change was an example, officials said, although the decision to announce it was made last week, before Baker formally moved.

"We've been working on the program for months, but the obstacles were cleared away only last week," said one official.

Baker's most important effect, however, may not be easily measurable: the essential task of focusing his candidate on a single, consistent, steady message—something George Bush has not always

done well.

Officials say Baker, a Bush tennis partner, friend and aide for 35 years, is one of the few men who can talk tough to the President—and keep his eye on the ball.

"The first thing he did was to cancel all the meetings," one Bush aide said. In place of four daily White House meetings that were often large and unwieldy, Baker intends to hold only two high-level sessions each day.

White House officials said the attendance list at the meetings will be the key to who wields power in the newly remade White House.

The main daily meeting, at 7:30 a.m., will probably include Baker aides Zoellick and Tutwiler; National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, budget director Richard G. Darman and Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater, the pillars of the remaining White House staff. The only members from the reelection team will be campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter and campaign manager Frederic V. Malek.

An evening meeting may shrink to only two participants, Baker and Teeter.

That structure was described by Bush aides as a sign that Teeter would retain his role as the day-to-day manager of the campaign, despite the recommendations of some Republican officials that he be replaced. But one Bush aide said there was little doubt that Baker would assume the dominant role, and that Teeter would concentrate on his original jobs as pollster and strategist.

"I think the phrase for Teeter now is 'with greatly reduced responsibilities,'" the aide said.

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Comment

ON THE NATION

Two Bushes: One Foreign, One Domestic

Upbringing accounts for his strengths, weaknesses; he's stronger now, but could lose.

BY TOM BETHELL

There was an illuminating moment in George Bush's acceptance speech, when he sounded a note of real conviction. It came in what he called an "aside," but it shed unexpected light on his strengths and weaknesses as President. "This is a political year," he said, at the end of a discourse on foreign policy, "but there's a lot of danger in the world. You can be sure I will never let politics interfere with a foreign-policy decision. Forget the election: I will do what's right for our national security."

This was a promise that came from his heart, and you sensed he wouldn't even be tempted to break it. You felt also that it was the key to understanding what has been so baffling: that we should find in one man a facility and an ease with foreign policy, and the greatest of difficulty with domestic policy.

Bush grew up steeped in the gentlemanly tradition in which politics was seen as something inherently distasteful. Nonetheless, scions of wealthy families were regularly expected to enter "public service," mainly in order to "give something back" to the system that had given so much to a fortunate few. The understanding in such cases was that the gentlemanly officeholder would do the right thing, not merely the expedient thing. Cushioned by family money, he could cheerfully accept the possible consequence of such conspicuous virtue—electoral defeat.

This philosophy can often work out quite successfully with foreign affairs, because there is a tradition that "politics stops at the water's edge." In order to pursue foreign initiatives, Bush has not been obliged to do much in the way of politicking. He just went ahead and did what he felt was right, whether it was Mideast peace negotiations or launching an assault on Manuel Noriega in Panama.

In the case of Desert Storm, he did have to persuade Congress, and he was successful in doing so, almost certainly because he started out with the assumption that the war-making decision was his to make: Congress had no right to obstruct him. And so he prevailed.

In domestic affairs, of course, politics is inherent in any action at all. Bush knows it, and this has undermined his confidence. He knows, for example, that there are certain domestic imperatives for a Republican President: The growth of government must be restrained, perhaps cut back; taxes should not be raised, especially after a conspicuous promise not to do so. But these goals could not be achieved simply by phoning the Pentagon or the State Department. Achieving them would require political hardball—something the gentleman pol would really rather avoid.

Bush, then, pursued the distasteful business of domestic politics all too generously, conceding at the outset that his adversaries in the congressional leadership share his ultimate goals, which they do not (what they really want is to seize the White House back from the GOP). So Bush tried to work out deals and compromises with them, in the course of which he and the GOP got taken.

Where does this leave George Bush now? It has been my conviction since the late 1970s, when inflation moved the middle class into higher tax brackets without benefit of legislation, that presidential elections ultimately have been decided by the single issue of taxation. At the end of the GOP convention four years ago, when Bush promised "no new taxes," I was confident that he would win. As Bush said Thursday night, his decision to break this promise was, putting it mildly, a "mistake," a "bad call."

In that speech, Bush again sounded an uncertain trumpet on the tax issue. He "will propose to further reduce taxes across the board—provided we pay for these cuts with specific spending reductions." In other words, he will cut taxes—if Congress gives him permission to do so.

How will this play in November?

Assuming that the tax issue is really crucial, the undecided taxpayer has to choose between: a Republican President who irresolutely raised taxes when he didn't have to, but now says he made a mistake and will try to cut taxes; and a Democratic candidate who is actually promising to raise our taxes. Looked at this way, then, Bush may be the better bet to the undecided voter. I am not confident of the outcome this year, however. The result will be close, but Bush looks much stronger than he did a week ago.

Tom Bethell is a media fellow at the Hoover Institution.

Bush to Order Start of 'No-Fly' Zone Over Iraq

■ **Persian Gulf: Allies will shoot down copters, other aircraft to protect southern Shiites from attacks.**

By JOHN M. BRODER and DOUGLAS JEHL
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—President Bush will announce today that the United States and its allies will immediately begin enforcing a ban on flights by all Iraqi helicopter and fixed-wing aircraft in the nation's Shiite Muslim-dominated south but will stop short of offering broader protection, Administration officials said Tuesday.

The U.S.-led military operation will protect Iraq's 12 million Shiites from air attack but will not shield them from ground assaults or other forms of repression by the regime of Saddam Hussein, who has been waging a growing offensive against Shiite civilians and insurgents in the southern marshlands.

Bush will portray the allied action as consistent with U.N. resolutions that warn Baghdad against repression of its citizens and empower the victorious Persian Gulf War allies to enforce the cease-fire terms.

The United States and its allies will warn Hussein against using ground troops against Shiite civilians and rebels but are not prepared to attack them from the air or commit ground forces to stop the attacks, officials said Tuesday.

"We're not ruling out the possibility" of escalating allied action against Iraq, a senior Administration official said. "But there has been no decision to use ground forces."

According to the officials, Bush will say that the United States and its allies are acting now because of the increasing ferocity of Iraqi repression of the Shiites. The announcement will mark the conclusion of a long debate within the Administration and between the United States and its allies about how best to respond and how to increase pressure on Baghdad.

Anticipating charges that he is manufacturing a foreign crisis to enhance his reelection prospects, Bush said last Thursday in his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention that he would never allow politics to

dictate the use of American military forces overseas.

Under the ban, the United States, Britain and France will institute a round-the-clock combat air patrol in the skies over roughly the third of Iraq that lies south of the 32nd Parallel, officials said. The planes will fly from airfields in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman and other Gulf states, as well as from the aircraft carrier Independence, now sailing in the northern Persian Gulf.

Another senior Administration official said that the most important target of the ban would be machine-gun attacks by Iraqi helicopter gunships on Shiite villages in the marshy region along the Iran-Iraq border.

Iraqi warplanes that defy the so-called "no-fly" zone in southern Iraq probably will be shot down on sight without warning, a U.S. admiral said in the Gulf on Tuesday.

"I would guess that if the scenario plays out the way it is envisaged now, they would be given an adequate warning by diplomatic notice not to fly in that particular area," Rear Adm. Brent Bennett told reporters aboard the Independence.

"To me that would be sufficient warning. . . . I wouldn't anticipate any warning shots," the admiral said.

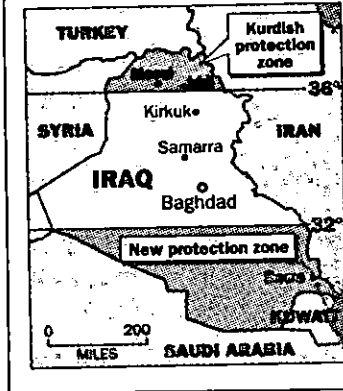
British and French officials announced their support for the plan last week. British Prime Minister John Major said it appeared that President Hussein was pursuing a genocidal policy in the marshes.

With Iraq conducting military operations in the region from both the air and ground, some officials argued that the imposition of the no-fly zone would not be enough to halt the regime's repression.

But the second senior official said that a review conducted at the highest levels of the Administration in recent weeks has concluded that Iraq's Soviet-made Hind helicopter gunships were "the main instrument of destruction" in the region.

Flight Ban Due

The flight ban over southern Iraq will prohibit helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft in the Shiite-dominated south.



Los Angeles Times

Virtually all of the 30 fixed-wing Iraqi aircraft that had been operating in the south were withdrawn north of the 32nd Parallel over the weekend, Pentagon officials said. In addition, many of the 40 helicopters spotted in the area in recent weeks also appear to have been withdrawn, the officials said.

According to U.S. intelligence estimates, Baghdad has deployed between 80,000 and 100,000 ground troops in the southern third of the country. The troops are a mix of regular army, elite Republican Guards and internal security forces, sources said.

Pentagon spokesman Bob Hall said the Iraqi military is conducting operations against the Shiites in units of battalion size (about 800 men) or smaller. "But they also maintain deployments that are large enough and structured in a way that they would be sufficient to launch large-scale operations on very short notice," Hall said at a briefing Tuesday.

The United States has more than 100 ground-based aircraft within striking range of Iraq, as well as the full complement of 72 attack, interdiction and surveillance craft aboard the Independence. More than 25,000 U.S. military personnel are currently in the region, including 2,400 Army troops in Kuwait for an exercise dubbed "Intrinsic Action."

Britain and France have sent much smaller air wings to the region to participate in the operation.

In London on Tuesday, Russian Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozyrev endorsed creation of a no-fly zone and the use of military force to protect residents of southern Iraq.

Emerging from a meeting with Acting Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger, Kozyrev said that force should be used if necessary to compel Iraq to comply with U.N. resolutions.

Broder reported from Washington and Jehl from Chicago. Times staff writers Norman Kempster in London and Robin Wright in Washington contributed to this story.



Clinton, Bush court veterans

By Adam Nagourney
and Judy Keen
USA TODAY

CHICAGO — Two hours after President Bush told cheering veterans here he was a "proud member of the American Legion," Bill Clinton took the same stage Tuesday to defend his maneuvering to avoid serving in the Vietnam War.

Confronting an issue that has plagued him since February — and which Bush's aides have targeted in the fall — Clinton urged veterans not to reject him because he didn't fight.

"I hope you will not base your vote on the fact that I didn't serve in Vietnam 23 years ago," Clinton told the Legion convention. "This campaign must be on the future."

Bush, wearing his own medal-bedecked Legion cap on stage, didn't mention Clinton's draft record, but reminded veterans of "the bond we share" and his naval aviation career.

Bush also defended his decision to end the gulf war with Saddam Hussein still in power: "We are not in the slaughter business."

Today, he's expected to announce the United States, Britain and France will impose a no-fly zone on southern Iraq.

Clinton told the veterans if he had gotten a low draft lottery number he'd have served.

"But I won't lie to you," he said. "I was relieved when I saw my number was 311, not because I didn't want to serve my country but because I believed so strongly that our policy in Vietnam was wrong."

COMMENT

Who's the better Bubba?

Attention all celebrities: If you are contemplating dating a member of the royal family or your own children, getting a divorce, plastic surgery or exploiting and expounding upon your innermost secrets, fears and neuroses, please refrain until Nov. 3. We've got serious business at hand.

The voters have to critically analyze the candidates and ultimately decide who is the *faux* Bubba. Families are especially valued in this campaign if you live below the Mason-Dixon line in a split-level ranch with weekly lawn care. And the candidates want your vote so badly they'll do anything to appear just like you. Call them virtual just plain folk.

Keep in mind who the players are: We're dealing with graduates of Yale, Harvard, Oxford and the Indiana National Guard. They've all been in government for years, though even the president is trying to run as an outsider. These men are more inclined to wear L.L. Bean and talk trade policy than don jeans and talk baseball.



By Robert Hirschfeld, a Washington writer and TV producer.

This is heating up as the uncivil war, both tickets battling for the Confederacy, and you won't hear any of that elitist stuff as they strive to establish proper cultural credentials.

Bush will resume munching on pork rinds with his splash of chablis while continuing to claim an empty lot in Houston as his official tax-free residence. Clinton made his target obvious when he spoke about taxes going up for those driving pickup trucks.

His esoteric references to a New Covenant, however, conjured up images of a tablet from his home state. Had he kept up the theme, he might have been known as the raider of the lost Ark. candidate.

The Bill and Al bus tour is a string of photo opportunities that look like two characters out of a road-buddy movie. Fortunately, their wives aren't acting like Thelma and Louise.

In Houston last week, Bush and Dan Quayle tried to come across like Andy and Opie. The flag-waving was accompanied by plenty of country music, though some performers didn't exactly personify family values (with their multiple divorces and children out of wedlock).

The Bush campaign blended its conservative slant into Randy Travis' *Light*, as in thousand points of. The lyrics promote volunteerism, as in the bulk of the president's domestic program. The Clinton folks won't respond with Tammy Wynette's *Stand by Your Man*.

Who needs celebrity gossip when you can watch a bunch of politicians go through the motions of trying to be like ordinary people? Don't look for much illumination on the issues. They'll be too busy bowling, eating barbecue and showing off their families.



Today's debate is on **IMPROVING OUR SCHOOLS**
and whether privatizing public schools is worth a try.

Don't reject private initiatives in education

OUR VIEW Private corporations could help the USA's public schools make higher grades.

When school bells ring this fall, hundreds of businesses will show up in the nation's classrooms. Corporations provide mentors, scholarships and equipment, from notebooks to computers.

A 1991 study found 65% of grade-school students surveyed were enrolled in districts that received a total of nearly \$1 billion in cash, materials or services from businesses.

Now a bigger experiment is in progress — contracting businesses to run public schools — and, despite misgivings, it's an experiment worth trying as long as public oversight is retained.

The private firms hire teachers, maintain school buildings and select subjects the students are taught.

Baltimore and Miami school officials have given Minnesota-based Educational Alternatives a contract to manage some schools. The company's new approach promises personally tailored study programs and smaller classes.

Entrepreneur Christopher Whittle's

Edison Project plans 1,000 for-profit schools that he says could replace publicly run schools.

With test scores falling and dropout rates rising, such new approaches should be welcomed, albeit with caution.

For-profit public education raises a daunting question. How will these schools make money for themselves without cutting educational corners?

For-profit schools must not be allowed to skim off highly motivated and affluent students, a guaranteed cost cutter that would hurt those most in need.

They cannot be permitted to skimp on the product they produce — education — the way a fast-food chain can cut down the size of a hamburger. The goal is not to churn out products driven by profit margins, but well-rounded students who can succeed in college, in vocational school and in life.

And the schools must not become an excuse to shift accountability away from public officials, parents and taxpayers.

School officials must assure that for-profit schools avoid those pitfalls. But they can't afford to rule out new ideas thoughtlessly. For-profit schools deserve a chance to make their case.



Keep out profiteers

OPPOSING VIEW Spend our time, money and efforts instead on improving our existing public schools.

No! No! No! Privatizing public education is not the answer to our educational ills.

Education is a new frontier for the profiteers. When disillusionment with education is high, it is not surprising that people are ready to embrace almost anything put forth as the answer. And it is very difficult to resist slick promotional techniques that promise success for all students.

However, how will privatizing education solve the economic and social problems especially endemic to at-risk students? The glitter of high tech will not change these children's home environment.



By Dorothy Rubin, a professor of education at Trenton (N.J.) State College and author of more than 40 textbooks.

Students' achievement in school is based on a number of educational and non-educational factors, such as home environment, ability level, motivation, television, illness, peers, teachers, curriculum, school plant, administrators and so on.

When the bottom line is profit, what kind of pressure will teachers be under to have their students achieve? How will this affect the teaching-learning environment?

It is possible that students may produce better results on standardized tests, but they may have grown to dislike the subject matter so intensely that they will avoid it in the future. These learned attitudes will remain with the students longer than the subject matter they have learned.

What kind of spin will private industry put out on students' achievement scores? Who will be the watchdogs for the privatized schools? Who will do the evaluating?

Privatizing schools may hide our problems rather than solve them. Let's spend our time, money and efforts on improving our existing public schools.



Soaked by Andrew

On another subject, USA TODAY argues the storm shows federal flood insurance should be junked.

Taxpayers will be lucky if Hurricane Andrew lets them dodge another bailout — of the federal flood insurance fund.

Flood insurance — sure to be soaked in claims by Andrew — is supposed to be self-funded but has been only since 1987. The fund now has \$359 million from premiums. But there is no certainty that will be enough.

Flood insurance

The federal flood insurance program:

► Was created in 1968.

► Insures 18,000 communities.

► Covers 170,000 square miles of coastal land — larger than Montana.

► Pays just 5% of claims for coastal damage; 95% goes for interior floods, such as river flooding.

Source: Federal Ins. Admin.

moving from the Gulf Coast to flood inland areas, the fund will be hard pressed. And this is only the first hurricane of the season.

If the fund runs out of money, taxpayer loans will be the only alternative to default.

That's a needless risk. Congress and Bush should consign flood insurance to the same scrap heap reserved for other storm detritus. Those who use it can buy insurance from private companies.

The federal fund puts taxpayers at risk to provide insurance for those who can afford to buy costly coastal property — 82% of all policies — or those who build in flood plains. Such unsafe areas now have 40% more structures than before the insurance began.

Structures for which taxpayers could be left footing the bill after the next "big one," unless Congress acts now.

If Hurricane Andrew does its worst,

► Flood insurance update, 1A

Should buildings in high-risk coastal areas be insurable?

Tell USA TODAY's 6.6 million readers your opinion of making federal flood insurance available for building in high-risk coastal areas. Or comment on other topics. Our opinions are reached in daily debates of our editorial board — people of many backgrounds and interests. But we value your views, too.

Send LETTERS TO THE EDITOR to 1000 Wilson Blvd., Arlington, Va. 22229

● Call in your views toll free, 1-800-828-0909

● Hearing impaired with TDD equipment, 1-800-331-1706

● Fax 703-247-3134

The most effective letters are brief and direct, as in today's paper. Include your name, address, day and evening phone numbers for verification and, if you wish, your photo for possible publication.



Vets cool to Clinton

Legion gives Bush a heartier welcome

By Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

CHICAGO — When Bill Clinton took the stage here, thousands of veterans who had cheered President Bush two hours before sat in chilled silence as Clinton defended not serving in Vietnam.

The American Legionnaires barely applauded as Clinton listed other presidents, including Abraham Lincoln, who never served in the military but still led the nation to war.

But that task behind him, Clinton proceeded to embrace virtually every issue on the veterans' agenda: From promising to consult them before appointing a secretary of Veterans Affairs to outlining his support for an Arkansas anti-flag-burning law.

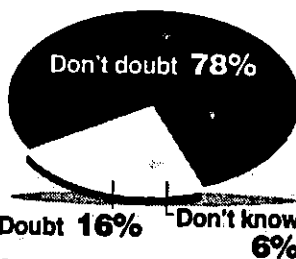
Between that and smothering the group with praise as effusive as any he has offered anyone during this campaign, Clinton might have made some steps in defusing a potent issue.

"He's explained his situation," said Jim Riffey of Pontiac, Ill., a Korean War veteran and Republican who voted for Bush in 1988. "He's done it over and over again. I haven't heard anything to make me think he's not telling the truth."

Bush and Clinton never men-

Rating Clinton

Voters were asked if they seriously doubted Bill Clinton's ability to serve as commander in chief, given allegations about his draft status during the Vietnam War.



Source: USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup nationwide poll of 754 voters Aug. 22-23.
Margin of error, 4 percentage points.

By Julie Stacey, USA TODAY

tioned each other's name and, respectful of the Legion's disapproval on outright politicking, shunned partisan attacks.

But that took nothing away from the drama of the back-to-back appearances, as the two candidates gingerly tried to deal with the volatile issue.

Earlier, Bush aides gave reporters a sheet on discrepancies in Clinton's evolving explanation of his draft history, headlined: "Inducted or not?"

Will Bill Clinton tell all about his draft record?"

Clinton said he initially avoided the draft in 1969 by joining ROTC. He said he then changed his mind and submitted to the draft lottery.

There have been repeated questions whether Clinton used ROTC to keep himself out of the draft while his prospects for induction were high.

Bush recalled his own service in World War II: "At the age of 18, I went off to fight. Like many of you, I was scared — but I was willing."

When he finished he was cheered, given a medal and photographed in a Legion cap.

Clinton, by contrast, likened his speech to one John Kennedy gave to Protestant ministers in Houston in 1960 to deflect fears about his Catholicism.

Afterward, Korea vet William Bond of Ohio said: "There are a lot of fathers here who have sons that didn't go because they had a deferment. Why pick on him?"

But George Bille of Vermont, also a Korea vet, said: "When you have friends ... who were crippled in Vietnam, how can you justify what he said to them? I have to give this a lot of thought."

► Legion speeches, 1A

Economy Appears to Be Big Concern of Veterans As Bush and Clinton Address American Legion

By DAVID SHIRIBMAN
And JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
CHICAGO — George Bush, the World War II Navy pilot and victor of the Gulf War, could hardly expect to find a friendlier audience than here at the national convention of the American Legion.

But after unusual back-to-back appearances with Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, the president found that some of the veterans were more concerned about their pocketbooks than the nation's military might. Bill Willis, a 56-year-old veteran from Miamisburg, Ohio, said he and other veterans were worried the president may be "cutting all the VA benefits." The administration has advocated deep cuts in government benefit programs.

"The economy's the thing on everybody's minds," added Duane Reither, 52, a Vietnam veteran from Perrysburg, Ohio. "You've got to take care of your own."

The comments reflect a problem that dogs Mr. Bush in his bid for re-election. Foreign policy is the area in which the public has the most confidence in him and the most qualms about Mr. Clinton, who avoided the Vietnam War draft. But the end of the Cold War, which Mr. Bush touts as his greatest achievement, may turn out to help Mr. Clinton by easing the nation's foreign policy concerns.

"In this period, nobody feels very threatened by the traditional foreign-policy concerns or by nuclear war," says Harold Brown, who served as defense secretary under President Carter. "Foreign-policy professionals worry about these things now, but the public generally doesn't."

"People just don't care," acknowledges a senior White House official.

The two men vying to become commander in chief put their emphasis on decidedly different parts of the job. Mr. Bush did his best to convince voters that national security policy "is not a footnote" to their presidential decision. He repeated his warning that even after the collapse of the Soviet Union "there are still plenty of wolves in the woods." He warned of the lingering danger of chemical weapons, terrorism, "terrible drug cartels" and re-

gional ethnic conflicts and said that before the Gulf War the specter of "nuclear apocalypse" hung over the Middle East.

The president also stressed that, in an era of global markets, foreign policy expertise will be critical to the nation's economic well-being. "It can make a difference in your hometown, your neighborhood, your life," he said, vowing to pursue free trade agreements around the world on the heels of the agreement among the U.S., Canada and Mexico.

Mr. Clinton, on the other hand, stressed domestic economic concerns by arguing that "a large part of our national security policy must be found in economic strength as well as military might." And while the general response to his speech was tepid, he won a big round of applause when he said he would give veterans "the kind of health-care system your country owes you." He said he would insure that the Department of Veterans Affairs "gets the funding it needs to provide the excellent and timely care our veterans deserve."

While Bush campaign officials recognize foreign policy doesn't count for much this election year, they continue to believe that by pitting Mr. Bush's wartime experience against Mr. Clinton's draft record they can raise questions about character. As reporters arrived at the American Legion's convention site, Bush campaign aides distributed a news release questioning the Arkansas governor's accounting of his draft record.

That heightened the tension later when Mr. Clinton made "one final statement" on the draft subject, "to set the record straight."

"In 1969, while studying at Oxford on a Rhodes Scholarship, I received a draft notice, which arrived late," he said. "My draft board postponed the induction date to give me time to finish my first year of study. That summer, I agreed to join the ROTC program and attend the University of Arkansas School of Law. But a few weeks later, I changed my mind and decided I should take my chances by submitting myself to the draft."

But Mr. Clinton didn't address certain questions, including whether his decision to "submit" himself to the draft was influenced by knowledge that a draft lottery was scheduled, whether he had received special dispensation to finish his second year at Oxford before joining the ROTC

program and whether he already knew he had drawn a high lottery number at the time he wrote a now-public letter to an ROTC recruiter.

He did acknowledge for the first time that he was "relieved" when he found out he drew a high draft number, 311, "not because I didn't want to serve my country, but because I believed so strongly that our policy in Vietnam was wrong."

In his speech, Mr. Clinton rhetorically asked: Can someone who has never served in the military be commander in chief? His answer, which received polite applause from the veterans, was: Yes, if you look at history's lessons.

Citing Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt and even Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, none of whom served in the military, Mr. Clinton argued that "competent commanders draw their wisdom and strength from our country, and our countrymen and women."

He asked the legionnaires not to vote against him because of his lack of a military record. "I hope you will cast your vote looking toward the future rather than remaining fixed to the problems of the past," he said.

"It still bothers me," said James Whelan, a Vietnam veteran from Evan, Ga. "I'd feel better if he served. We all did. He maneuvered his way out of it, the way it looks to me."

"We need a strong man as commander in chief," said Raymond Bigelow, a Korean War veteran and past head of the legion in Michigan. "Bush's past experience shows he has the guts to make a quick judgment. Why would I gamble with the other guy?"

Politics of Diplomacy

Registered voters were asked who would do the best job as president on handling foreign policy

	April 1992	August 1992
Bill Clinton	15%	23%
George Bush	63	52

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL/NBC NEWS POLL

However, Don Schrum, 72, a World War II Army veteran from Missouri Valley, Iowa, while saying Mr. Bush has done "a hell of a job" on national security issues, wasn't impressed by flyers handed out to veterans criticizing Mr. Clinton's draft record. "I don't think that should even have been brought up," he said. "It's old hat." The Bush campaign disclaimed responsibility for those flyers.

And John Nickoson, a World War II veteran from Xenia, Ohio, said Mr. Clinton's lack of military experience didn't matter because "commanders in chief don't have to know anything."

While Mr. Bush was on firmer ground than his opponent, he nevertheless signaled concern about vulnerabilities in his record. He denounced "historical revisionism" that has questioned his failure to remove Saddam Hussein from power before ending the Gulf War. He said that he decided jointly with Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and Gens. Colin Powell and Norman Schwarzkopf to stop the "slaughter" of retreating Iraqi troops and that going on to Baghdad would have risked a no-win quagmire.

Without specifically mentioning civil war in the former Yugoslavia, Mr. Bush also countered Mr. Clinton's charge that he has been timid on the issue by vowing not to involve U.S. forces in Vietnam-style conflicts that lack clear and achievable goals.

Keep Political Hands Off the Fed

By ROBERT J. BARRO

Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady has been complaining that the money supply is not growing fast enough to spur the economy. He thinks that matters would improve if a proposal like Rep. Lee Hamilton's were adopted to make the Federal Reserve less independent of the government. The Treasury secretary must believe that the government's policies have been so successful in other areas — taxes, spending, regulation — that it would be useful to extend this expertise to monetary policy.

Mr. Brady's complaint is especially odd because the Federal Reserve has been a source of sound policies for an administration whose ideas about the economy seem mainly to be confused. The hallmark of an effective monetary policy is price stability. The Fed has to avoid the kind of high and erratic inflation and interest rates that characterized the pre-Volcker/Carter administration, but it also cannot allow the sort of deflation that occurred during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Excellent Results

From this perspective, the recent results on inflation and interest rates — and, hence, on monetary policy — have been excellent. The inflation rate (based on the GDP deflator) was about 4% in 1989, rose only slightly despite the disturbances from the Gulf War in late 1990 and early 1991, and has since fallen to a fairly narrow band around 3%. The credibility of monetary policy can be gauged by the behavior of long-term nominal interest rates. Although long-term rates remain well above short-term rates, the yields of U.S. Treasury securities with a 10-year maturity have declined from 8½% in 1989 to 6½% today. Thus, the financial markets anticipate that low inflation will persist for a long time.

The behavior of monetary aggregates is, as usual, more difficult to interpret. The magnitude that the Fed controls directly, the monetary base, grew at 9% per year since the beginning of 1992 and has recently been expanding at a 7% to 8% rate. The conventional measure of the money stock, M1, has risen at a 12% annual rate since the start of the year, but only at an 8% rate over the last three months. The

broader aggregate, M2 — the target of Mr. Brady's attack — increased in 1992 at only a 0.5% annual rate and has declined since March.

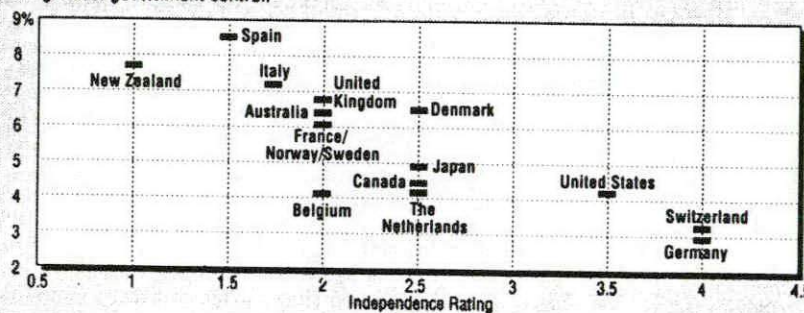
The recent fall in M2 reflects a sharp decrease in time deposits held at depository institutions. This behavior is symptomatic of the slow growth in the economy, especially of the reduced volume of commercial loans. The operative term here is symptomatic. The sharp decline in the real demand for M2 because of the sluggish economy means that the nominal quantity of M2 had to fall if the Federal Reserve maintained its policy of price stability. The only way to have achieved a rise in nomi-

the accompanying chart is drawn.) For example, between 1955 and 1988, Switzerland and Germany had the most independent central banks and had average inflation rates of 3.2% and 3.0%, respectively, whereas New Zealand, Spain and Italy had the least independent central banks and had average inflation rates of 7.6%, 8.5%, and 7.3%.

These results make sense because a less independent central bank is more subject to political pressures to inflate the economy in response to a recession. This kind of inflation tends to stimulate the economy (if it does at all) only when it exceeds the inflation that the economy has

The Freer the Bank, the Lower the Inflation

Average inflation rate vs. relative independence of major central banks; 0.5 represents the greatest government control.



nal M2 would have been to increase the monetary base at an even faster rate than 7% to 8% per year. Such an expansionary monetary policy would have caused a run-up in inflation and nominal interest rates. Moreover, there is no indication that it would have helped the real economy, even in the short run.

Mr. Brady is probably correct that the Federal Reserve would have carried out a more aggressive monetary policy if it were more dependent on the government. Studies of the major developed countries during the post-World War II period show that a less independent central bank tends to deliver higher and more variable inflation. (For a summary of the evidence, see a forthcoming article by Alberto Alesina and Lawrence Summers in the *Journal of Money, Credit, and Banking*, from which

gotten used to—that is, expected inflation. The politically dependent central bank therefore tries to set inflation systematically above expected inflation, an objective that violates Abraham Lincoln's famous dictum about the possibilities for fooling people and that leads on average to a high rate of inflation.

The higher and more variable inflation associated with government-dependent central banks might be worthwhile if it led to better real outcomes. But the degree of bank independence turns out to be unrelated to the average growth rate of real GNP and the average unemployment rate. There is, in fact, some evidence that a more independent central bank and a consequent lower average rate of inflation lead in the long run to a higher level of output. Thus, the kind of "reform" that

Mr. Brady and Mr. Hamilton have in mind would be predicted to cause higher and more variable inflation and a loss of real output in the long run.

The U.S. is lucky to have a chairman of the Federal Reserve, Alan Greenspan, who has a good understanding of the economy and is able to maintain a sound monetary policy despite political pressure from a beleaguered administration.

One has to wonder why we cannot have a Treasury secretary with the same level of economic expertise. The standard set by the first Treasury secretary, Alexander Hamilton, may be too much to expect, but why must we have a secretary who thinks, as he himself put it, that the way to assess the economy's performance is not to look at data but to ask a few average citizens how things are going?

Skilled Economists

Some countries that have undergone successful economic reforms in recent years have found that a capable finance minister with a background in economics and a staff of skilled economists can make a big difference. An example is Sergio De Castro, a Chicago Ph.D. in economics, who led a team that implemented an array of free-market reforms in Chile from 1975 to 1982. The current relative prosperity in Chile derives from the structural changes that Mr. De Castro put into place over a decade ago.

Similarly, Mexico's successful privatizations owe a great deal to the finance minister, Pedro Aspe, a Ph.D. from M.I.T. In Argentina, the stabilization and the beginnings of free-market policies are the ideas of the finance minister, Domingo Cavallo, an economics Ph.D. from Harvard.

Basically, the leading U.S. universities have been doing a great job of producing economists who successfully run other economies. The U.S. government could also benefit from this resource — for example, by choosing an economist, rather than a lawyer or a banker, as the next secretary of the Treasury. But then again, some economists are better than others.

Mr. Barro, a *Journal* contributing editor, is a professor of economics at Harvard.

The Nikkei—A Casualty of Japan's Outmoded Economy

By AKIO MIKUNI

TOKYO—Tokyo's roller-coaster stock-market ride shows that if the financial system is not to careen out of control, Japan needs to change direction. The choice is stark: Japan can continue its system of bureaucratically driven economic controls, and with it government fiddling of markets and outcomes, or it can work toward a market-driven system in which free competition, not ministries, moves the economy.

The case against continued bureaucratic control of the market is compelling. Recall that earlier this year, Tokyo monetary authorities were confident they could keep the stock market on an even keel. Hiroshi Yasuda, then deputy minister of finance, said in April that a Nikkei average of 24,000 should be considered "reasonable." In Japan, financial institutions regard such statements from official sources as strong hints to support the market. Implicit was that the ministry would ensure that the market didn't dip below this "reasonable" level. So investors did not sell out, because they believed that Japan Inc. would not let the market fall below 24,000.

It didn't work out that way. The Nikkei fell to a six-year low of 14,309 last Tuesday before rising at the end of last week. (It closed yesterday at 16,380.) Many of those who trusted to the wisdom of Japan Inc. have lost money on what they thought was a sure thing. They have started to yell that Japan's financial system is unstable, and should be fixed. They are right, of course, but the remedies should come in the form of liberalization and market access, not a better-tuned Japan Inc.

In important ways, Japan's wartime economic mobilization laws still rule economic policy today. Then, as now, the bureaucracy has almost limitless discre-

tion. For example, when the Finance Ministry decided to support the stock market last week, it simply changed stock-valuation reporting rules and suspended a requirement limiting dividend-payout ratios. In no other market are these principles changed so readily for short-term policy considerations.

During the war, Japan's economy was mobilized to build battleships, aircraft and swords. After the war, the wartime economic system changed its product mix to color TVs and automobiles. The wartime system, with its promotion of high savings and exports, helped Japan to build up its industrial power quickly because the bureaucracy was allowed to direct the allocation of scarce resources. This it did with gusto, with a "go for production" emphasis that barely considered such things as market forces or quality of life. This wartime economic system, which was supposed to be temporary, is now firmly institutionalized. Japan never demobilized its economy to adjust to peace.

Today, Japan's production capacities far exceed domestic and export demand. It is in the national interest to encourage consumer spending in order to support the country's production capacity. It is crucial that Japan understand what industries can be supported by domestic market demand, not by government subsidies.

To make this shift will not be easy. Business leaders and bureaucrats have made their careers out of the status quo, and they have been slow to admit that change is overdue—just look at the way the business community begged the government to intervene in the stock market. Nor is Japan's political system well-equipped to deal with such issues. From its establishment in 1890, the Diet has been a ceremonial rubber-stamp machine for any legislation placed in front of it by the

bureaucracy. This system worked when Japan had a national consensus—to catch up with the West—that the public approved. Now that Japan has caught up, we Japanese need a new goal. We need to dust, oil and ignite the engine of our democracy to create a new consensus of what our economic destiny should be. To start, the distorted representation of the Diet, in which rural voters are overrepresented and urban voters underrepresented, must be changed.

All this will require a sea change in the Japanese system. The key issue is whether Japan will open its markets. If it does, this would tend to reduce Japan's high savings ratio and increase personal consumption. Market opening would also tend to enhance economic and political stability by reducing trade friction and boosting world economic growth. This kind of market-driven economy would remove the bureaucracy from its central and active decision-making role.

To make this happen will require across-the-board revisions in economic policy. To start, ministries should be deprived of control over prices, production volume and capacity additions. Business and investment decisions should be left entirely to the private sector, with economic laws rewritten so that the profit motive is the primary consideration, not the public interest as defined by the bureaucracy. In the financial market, investors and players must accept the risk—and discipline—of bankruptcy.

Since the early 1980s, the Tokyo Stock Exchange has become more responsive to market forces. Financial institutions are not as dominant as they were; after Black Monday in 1987, for example, they propped up the market with ease. In the slow sinking since 1989, they have been unable to support the market at all. But it would be

premature to conclude that the Ministry of Finance is on the path of change. The ministry can be depended on to seize every opportunity to regain its control over the market.

Look at what has happened to the bond market. The proliferation of corporate bond issues abroad in the early 1980s caused the ministry to open the domestic bond market for Japanese borrowers. (In Japan, corporate bond issues are mostly limited to privileged corporations that bankers and brokers, under the guidance of the monetary authorities, deem suitable.) Participants in the bond market needed credit ratings, so the ministry designated three Japanese credit-rating agencies (mine is not one of them) to determine eligibility standards for bond issuers and investment grades for licensed financial institutions.

The ministry has given itself the authority to intervene with the three rating agencies to benefit the "public interest." What this means is that companies favored by the nation's industrial policy get the highest ratings, regardless of their profitability. It also means that the rating agencies are not as independent as they should be; they are beholden to the Ministry of Finance for their position, and what the ministry giveth, it can taketh away.

While Japan was copying the West to catch up, Japanese bureaucrats were able to direct the economy with some skill. Today's fluid economic environment, however, is too complex for such guidance, as the current turmoil in the financial markets shows. Japan would do far better to rely on the wisdom of the market. That means allowing bankruptcy and encouraging independent credit ratings.

More important, it means rethinking the role of regulators: Instead of controlling the marketplace, they should referee it—becoming umpires, not managers. Only then will the Japanese economy shake off its anachronistic wartime footing and set the stage for a new era of market-led economic growth.

Mr. Mikuni is president of Tokyo-based Mikuni & Co., the only independent credit rating agency in Japan.

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WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

The End of the Intifada

By MOSHE ARENS

TEL AVIV — This week Yasser Arafat told the press that "the intifada will continue." It is not surprising that the PLO leader is trying to use the civilian uprising in Israel's occupied territories as a political lever in the new round of talks opening in Washington between Arabs and Israelis. But such rhetoric obscures an important fact: The intifada itself is fading. This long contest of wills between Arab and Israeli is ending, and ending in the Israelis' favor.

To see the significance of this change it helps to recall the major shift the beginnings of the intifada brought to the international scene. It is now more than five-and-a-half years since the intifada's 1987 outbreak in the territories of Samaria, Gaza and Judea. Daily hundreds, or sometimes thousands, of Palestinian demonstrators in civilian dress confronted Israel's defense forces (in full uniform) before an international television audience. The intifada's organizers instructed commercial enterprises to close during most hours of the day, issued injunctions against celebrations of any kind and ordered strikes on an almost weekly basis.

The PLO and its supporters quickly realized that the intifada was an effective weapon, possibly the most effective against Israel at their disposal. It was better than waging war with Arab armies — that had, time and again, proven unsuccessful. It was more effective than acts of terror that aroused revulsion around the world. The intifada laid bare Israel's Achilles' heel.

As time passed, Israel's democratic society faced increasing difficulties from the intifada. A basic tenet of that society included limits on the use of force. But the

Palestinian population's mass disturbances pushed Israelis to their limits. The intifada's backers were fully aware of these limits and exploited these "weaknesses" in their Israeli "enemy" to the hilt. The roads became unsafe. Even Arabs holding Israeli citizenship were drawn into the struggle.

The Israeli response included mass arrests, closing of schools and universities, and, sometimes, the use of firearms. The outcome was growing international pressure on Israel to make concessions to the Palestinians, namely to end Israeli rule over these territories and return to demarcation lines that had existed prior to the Six Day War of 1967.

It is important to note that the intifada's leadership pursued its aims at great costs to its own population; some 2,000 Palestinians were killed (many of them by other Palestinians) and many thousands were injured. In addition came great economic distress and an almost total disruption of normal life. To most the price seemed worth paying if it led to Mr. Arafat's goals. Many in Israel concluded that there was no way of quelling the intifada. They said that only a political settlement with the Palestinians could bring its end. Others, on the right, insisted that only the large-scale use of force would put an end to the uprising.

The past two years have shown that neither of these positions was correct. The intifada has become a pale copy of itself. Today a visitor to Judea, Samaria and Gaza will find the entire school system — including the universities — open. Shops are beginning to keep regular hours. Tourists now fill the city of Bethlehem, once desolate. Tens of thousands of motorists make their way daily on the roads of Judea and Samaria. Injuries and fatalities result-

ing from disturbances have decreased by an order of magnitude. (It used to be that tens of Arabs died in a month; nowadays some months pass without any fatalities.)

In a very real sense these changes are a result of policy decisions taken by the Israel Defense Force over the past two years. Priorities for the IDF in this period included providing safety on the roads of Judea and Samaria; and locating and apprehending the "hard core" gangs engaged in incitement, enforcement of strike orders and the murder of Palestinians accused of "collaborating" with Israel.

The IDF also followed a policy of avoiding confrontations between the IDF and demonstrators whenever possible. It made a maximum effort to refrain from using firearms against demonstrators. Frequent interchanges were held with representative Palestinians. Economic reforms included a three-year tax exemption on all new factories in the territories and some tax cuts for business.

Altogether these events have provided a sad and painful lesson that has engendered considerable soul-searching among the local Palestinian leadership.

The intifada's fading has deprived Arab negotiators at the peace talks of a destructive tool. But for Arabs and Israelis, though, the struggle is not over. The change has for example been accompanied by an increase in terrorism, evidently committed in frustration. It is important to remember that the grievances and aspirations of the Palestinian population in Judea, Samaria and Gaza have not disappeared. They must be dealt with.

Mr. Arens has served as Israel's defense minister, foreign minister and ambassador to Washington.

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WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

Quit Feeding the Flab

Here's one of the iron invariables of U.S. politics: Someone will always come up with another reason to draw more money into Washington and parcel it back out to the governments back home. We of course have the limitless "unmet needs" of which state and local officials readily make us aware, but now our Keynesian economists fear that forced public-sector thrift during the recession could spiral into something more depressing for the whole country.

Sounds like something the Democrats might propose. But leave aside the doubtful theory and take a hard look at the premise: Where are the jolting cuts at the state and local levels? The broad, outrageous truth is that while nearly every other corner of American life has had to economize lately — even the Postal Service is downsizing, for heaven's sake — the governments closest to home have just kept growing and growing and growing.

To be fair, much of it is to attend to mandates from the next level up. A lot, however, is just nest feathering or the building of empires. Nor is this the first thing cut, either; that honor usually belongs to library hours. But before revving up the fiscal engines, consider our favorite measurement arrow, the payroll.

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) reports that growth in state and local employment—mostly the latter—actually accelerated between July 1991 and last month. As the rest of the nation cinched its belt, 250,000 more names were added to the 15 million on these payrolls, which include school districts. Seasonally adjusted numbers show this increase continued as spring became summer, when the start of an "austere" new fiscal year was finally supposed to cut into the ranks. And it's not all because of a youth-jobs program, either.

BLS has broken down the numbers by states, through June. In some instances, there's evidence of real tightening: in Massachusetts, New York and Illinois. Elsewhere, some progress on the state rolls has been undone at the various local levels, which are often adjuncts of state government; this mixed record is true in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, California and especially Florida. Finally, there are states growing fatter in both categories: Wisconsin, Arkansas, Washington, Hawaii and, most strikingly, Texas. While Ann Richards was wowing the

press corps, the public payroll grew by more than 30,000, or nearly 3%, over the past year in her strapped state.

An organization of conservative elected representatives, the American Legislative Exchange Council, this month fleshed out the municipal side of the story. The nation's mayors are constantly caterwauling about federal cutbacks, but ALEC found that though Washington is sending the cities less to administer, overall federal aid to urban residents increased in the 1980s.

More important, the statehouses and the tax bases of the cities themselves more than made up the revenue difference—\$3.57 for every federal dollar lost. New York City over this period gained \$7 for every \$1 it gave up.

Detroit and St. Louis lost ground in funding, but they also suffered huge depopulation during the 1980s. But some shrinking cities, Atlanta and Philadelphia in particular, made out like bandits, according to the ALEC study. And Washington, D.C., which lost a quarter of its population during the cunning Marion Barry years, not only collected considerably more locally, it *increased* its federal handle.

Denizens of the nation's capital know that the boodle didn't go toward improved public services. What was it spent on, in cities across the U.S.? ALEC found the biggest gainers, more than the woeful schools and hospitals, were the public-housing bureaucracies and mass transit. The culprit? Inefficiency. ALEC calculated that operating costs, adjusted for inflation and population changes, rose an average of 28% in the 1980s in 41 surveyed cities. The biggest leap was in the District of Columbia, but New York, San Jose and San Francisco were close behind.

The reason, according to ALEC, comes to down to having too many people on staff, and paying them too much relative to the private sector. Not only has this practice been unabated by the downturn, but specialists in public finance seem to think it will continue.

And why not? The Center for the Study of the States reports that state tax revenue was up 8.9% for the second quarter of 1992 over the same period a year ago. It attributes the bulge to the higher taxes enacted last year during the supposed fiscal crises. The payroll numbers nationwide confirm that this money is being extracted from gaunt taxpayers to perpetuate flabbiness in government. It lies with the voters to stop the bloat.

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WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

The Korea-China Calculus

It had to happen that South Korea and China would finally go public with their status as political bedfellows. The two announced in Beijing that they are normalizing diplomatic relations. Now is the time to start thinking about how to help Taiwan.

Ties between China and South Korea have been growing at North Korea's expense since the late 1980s. China's tyrants don't mind running their own communist state, but they expect better sense from their friends. And China's party leaders have apparently noticed that their old flame, gaunt communist North Korea, doesn't stack up to the rich, democratic-capitalist South.

So far, so good. We can all celebrate this Beijing-Seoul embrace as one more way of isolating communist North Korea, and so bringing Asia one move closer to polishing off the regional end games of the Cold War.

The dark side of this otherwise pleasant development, however, is that Pyongyang is not the only place in Asia where a government is waking up lonelier today for Seoul's tryst with Beijing. The other odd man out is the democratizing Nationalist Chinese government on Taiwan.

This is where the world's leading democracies would be wise to step in as a friend and escort, right away. It is not remotely in the interest of peace, stability or generally ending the Cold War in Asia to isolate Taiwan further. By virtue of its trade, investment and brilliantly successful economic example, Taiwan happens to be one of the most powerful forces engendering liberal change in mainland China.

Now, however, Taiwan stands alone as China's declared prey in the region, recognized by only 29 countries, while 197 others recognize the communist mainland regime. Notified last week of Seoul's imminent diplomatic shift, Taipei pre-empted the break by announcing that it would freeze out South Korea—cutting diplo-

matic ties, suspending all air links as of September 15 and ending preferential trade treatment.

The actions of both Seoul and Taipei are understandable. South Korea in recognizing China is seeking foremost to eliminate the immediate local threat posed by North Korea. And Seoul, in ditching the democratizing capitalists of Taipei for the communists of Beijing, is following a precedent set in the 1970s by many free countries that have pandered to China with far less to gain. On Taiwan, President Lee Teng-hui is under pressure to take some face-saving action against South Korea. Democratization on Taiwan has come far enough so that President Lee must answer to an electorate that is irate over this latest diplomatic defection. Taiwan's people have been throwing bricks at the South Korean Embassy in Taipei, and boycotting dealers of South Korea's Hyundai cars.

But the important fight here is not the current tiff between Taiwan and South Korea. What matters on a world scale is the basic fight to end the communism that continues to endanger the peace in East Asia. China is for South Korea a convenient bedfellow right now, but not a worthy one. The world's democracies could greatly lessen the blow to Taiwan by moving fast to show that they appreciate their natural friends.

America, instead of threatening to wall out China-made underwear in the name of supporting free trade and human rights, could more clearly and consistently penalize China's faults simply by showing support for Taiwan's virtues. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade could stop holding up Taipei's application pending Beijing's admission, and wave Taiwan through the gate first. The goal should be to ensure that South Korea's gain is a loss of status not for Taiwan and Chinese liberalism, but for communism in Asia.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992.

Infidelity Is a Valid Campaign Issue

By Phil Donahue

With my mother watching from her apartment in Cleveland, Gov. Bill Clinton leaned across the table on the "Donahue" stage on April 1 and said with a scowl that I was "the reason for the cynicism in America." This followed my several questions

Phil Donahue is host of the talk show "Donahue."

about his alleged affair with Gennifer Flowers. The exchange, uncomfortable enough, was made worse for me (and my mother) by what followed, a chorus of booing directed at me from the majority of my own audience.

Now that the Republican convention is over, I can confess to a guilty relief at no longer being alone in this year's cynic-making spotlight. Marj Tillotson of CNN and Stone Phillips of NBC took a full frontal blast from President Bush for daring to ask him about rumors of an affair involving him.

While media-bashing is hardly a new idea (see Republican convention, 1952), it is now more focused, better

planned and includes the modern art of T-shirts ("Lynch the Liberal Media Elite"), an innovation not available to the Eisenhower Republicans who were forced to make their case in the dull age when people wore clothes that bore no writing.

The in-your-face lecturing of undercorous journalists works. The chill of an angry, dismissive arm wave from the President and the challenger is palpable. The Republican war on interviewers has another swift sword that may be even more effective in the strategy to force reporters to sit down and shut up: access to the star.

The Bush team's petulant black-

balling in Houston of Dan Rather, whose sin of the past was to have asked, "Where was Vice President George Bush?" in connection with the Iran-contra affair, hardly puts a smile on the faces of the management team at CBS. It exerts even more pressure on a media industry already insecure with corporate debt and battered with public approval ratings as low as the President's himself.

The result is a press bus filled with anxious folk whose jobs are in the hands of powerful Media Bosses who dine in small groups at the White House, and, like the candidates they cover, reporters are concerned about their own employment future and may have no interest in risking a well-televised, "Shame on you!"

We thus begin the general election season with two Presidential candi-

The press
should not
cave in.

dates who have successfully inoculated themselves against any (G)Jennifer questions and are covered by a tentative press establishment caught between the responsibility to get the facts and the desire to be popular — not only in the ratings and circulation, but in the offices of their C.E.O.'s. Drew Pearson, where are you?

The same citizens decrying press probing of candidates' alleged monkey business are also telling pollsters that "character" is important in this year of "traditional family values." While most Americans may not find a past indiscretion evidence of irredeemable corruption, joining the incumbent and challenger in scolding the press pushes an already tentative mainstream media away from information that might make a difference in some voters' choices of who should occupy the most important office in the world.

With inquiries about marital fidelity off limits, the issue is left to inside chatter at the press bar and exaggerated speculations at suburban cocktail parties. Freezing the press in place on matters of sex cancels an informed debate on the "character" issue, promotes half-truths and rumor-mongering, and insures more "exclusives" for the creative writers whose work appears in "newspapers" available to impulse buyers at supermarket checkout counters. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992

The World Needs An Army on Call

By David Boren

Americans are not enthusiastic about having the United States stand alone as the policeman of the world. There is a feeling that we simply no longer have the resources, given the pressing need to rebuild our strength at home, to play that role any longer.

This does not mean, however, that Americans have been lulled by the dangerous siren song of the new isolationists. We understand more clearly than ever that our economic well-being and national security depend on developments and relationships outside our borders.

No American, for example, wants to allow Saddam Hussein to thwart United Nations weapons inspections and rebuild his military capability. No American can remain indifferent to the images of starvation and brutality in detention centers in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the hideous policy of "ethnic cleansing" is something many of us never expected would occur again in our lifetimes. It has filled our people with a sense of moral urgency and an overwhelming feeling that we must do something to stop it.

But while Americans want something done, they do not want to do it alone. For the United States to act, the burden must be shared. It is time to create a genuine multilateral mechanism that can deal not only with these crises but also those that inevitably lie ahead.

Instead of shrinking from the task, we should welcome the fact that we are the first generation, perhaps in centuries, to have the opportunity to act boldly in the absence of confrontation between great powers.

The opportunity for the United Nations is clear. In the aftermath of World War II, President Truman wanted to empower the new United Nations to create a new world order. Addressing the General Assembly at its opening session in October 1946, he said, "We shall press for the preparation of agreements in order that the Security Council may have at its disposal peace forces adequate to prevent acts of aggression."

David Boren, Democrat of Oklahoma, is chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee.

That promise was never realized because of the cold war and the Soviet Union's use of its veto power on the Security Council.

But under Article 43 of the United Nations charter, the Secretary General still has the authority to ask member nations to designate military units that can be deployed in the event of a crisis "to maintain international peace and security." In June, Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali asked member countries to make that authority a reality.

Richard Gardner, a professor of international law at Columbia University, proposes that 40 to 50 member nations contribute to a rapid-deployment force of 100,000 volunteers that could train under common leadership and with standardized equipment. Intelligence could also be shared to allow the United Nations to anticipate problems and take preemptive action.

It is time for us to create such a force, and the United States should take the lead in proposing it.

Of course, details would have to be

**For the U.S. to act,
the burden must
be shared.**

worked out. The War Powers Act would have to be amended to insure that the United States does not surrender its right to final approval of committing American troops to life-threatening situations. Members of the United Nations that lack veto power in the Security Council could condition their commitment to a rapid-deployment force on the right to withdraw units for their own urgent national security interests.

Still, the existence of such a force, uniformly trained and ready to act, would go a long way toward making the "new world order" more than just a slogan. It would help discourage regional conflicts, violations of basic justice, the proliferation of weapons and international terrorism.

History tells us that periods without confrontations and military contests between great powers are rare. We must seize this moment. History will hold us accountable if we do not. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992.

A Family Life Much Like Yours

By Cindy Rizzo

BOSTON
I read my son a fairy tale called "The Duke Who Outlawed Jellybeans." In the story, a young duke takes over a kingdom while its rulers are out of town. He starts issuing extreme decrees, telling his subjects they can't have jellybeans because he doesn't like them. This culminates in a final order: the rounding up of children who do not live with a mother and a father. "Since I grew up with a mother and a father," he reasons, "I decree that this is the best kind of family to grow up in."

A lot of politicians seem to be acting like the duke. In the guise of protecting our values, they are deciding which families are worthy of praise — and which are immoral.

Like most parents, I used to be concerned about how my children would respond to violence and sexism on TV. Last week, I was more concerned that when my oldest son went "channel surfing," he might stumble on the Republican convention.

As lesbian parents, my partner and I try to make our children understand that people may judge them on the basis of their family. Because they are very young, we are able to function as their "advance people," making sure that the day-care centers and schools

Cindy Rizzo is associate director of development Fenway Community Health Center.

we send them to are places that value diversity. But we also know that we have to prepare them for the day when they will run into the Pat Buchanans and Dan Quayles of the world, the grown-up versions of schoolyard bullies or the real world jellybean dukes, who will try to make them feel they are "less than" other kids.

Why do those who presume to value the family want to hurt my kids? Why do they want to tell them that their parents are inferior people, undeserving of rights and unequal in the eyes of God?

If I give these people the benefit of the doubt, I might say that they hate us because they don't know us. Often, familiarity can breed tolerance and not contempt. Perhaps if they got to know my family, they'd see that in many ways it is much like their own.

My partner and I have been together more than 14 years. We work full time and are rearing two sons, ages 6 and 6 months. We rise early to get our older son ready for school. We change, feed and dress the baby and pack his bottles and clothes for his day at child care. We then go off in different directions, each with a child.

After work, we pick up the kids and stare into the refrigerator, wondering how we can construct a nutritious meal. We play and read to our kids before they go to bed. (The baby will wake up during the night for a feeding.) After they go to sleep, we do laundry, pay bills, unclutter the house and sometimes watch TV. (I confess, we do watch "Murphy Brown.")

Our weekends are spent shuttling

our oldest to piano, soccer, Sunday school and play dates. We buy clothes and see movies and sometimes get a babysitter and go out.

We also care about our community. We go to meetings of organizations (from the P.T.A. to the lesbian mothers group). We see friends. Our oldest son is in an overnight babysitting group with the children from three other lesbian couples. In this way, he has made friends with children in sim-

Lesbian partners and their children.

ilar families. He has learned that he is not the only kid with lesbian moms.

In a world filled with violence and intolerance, it is hard enough to rear children when you have to worry if they're going to be safe each time you let them out to play. You wonder: Can I save enough money so my child can go to college, have proper health care, travel when he's older?

These questions preoccupy most American parents, no matter what their gender or sexual orientation. Why, then, would right-wing politicians be eager to impose an even heavier burden on us? Please now that you've gotten to know us a little better, can you give my family and those like it a break? Do it for the children, if nothing else. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992.

Dirty Tricks for Scholarships

By Claire L. Gaudiani

NEW LONDON, Conn. — In its April 15 issue, *Smart Money*, a Wall Street Journal magazine, passed along some devious advice from Doug Mollin, a financial planner, on how well-to-do parents can qualify for college scholarships based on financial need. One way to create a pauper's profile, Mr. Mollin said, is to move trust funds and other assets to grandparents, who can transfer them back "once college is out of the picture."

Smart Money also encouraged laziness. It quoted Ray Rusolillo, a senior tax manager at Coopers & Lybrand, as saying: "Strange as it may sound, it is almost better to tell your child, 'don't work.'" Employment, the magazine explains, is financially futile because students receiving Federal aid must use 70 percent of their income on college costs, meaning that colleges "bleed your children dry." Bleed? Whatever happened to sacrificing, saving for college, and working your way through?

Similarly, *Money* magazine's 1992 College Guide suggests that shifting debts from credit cards to home equi-

Claire L. Gaudiani is president of Connecticut College.

ty loans "will actually increase your eligibility for aid." The reason is that Federal formulas for financial aid eligibility subtract mortgage debt from net worth.

Suggestions like this typify a spreading corrosion in college finance and personal ethics. Each year at Connecticut College, among our 1,650 students we see about 25 schol-

The greedy
spoil things
for the needy.

arship applicants whose families show high incomes, significant future earning power and few younger children to support. Somehow they craft financial aid forms showing minimal assets and enormous debts. Other colleges report similar findings.

When we request further documentation, it often turns out that these families can afford to put nearly half their incomes into pension plans. Others reduce family assets on paper by investing heavily in life insurance or by making "loans" from personal savings to family corporations.

To be sure, families should be allowed to present a full picture of their financial pressures. But this type of duplicity teaches their children to cheat the system. It diverts money from the truly needy. It forces colleges to spend money on detective work. It is a slap in the face to scholarship donors, who expect their gifts to meet real needs. And it defrauds taxpayers, who foot the bill for Government aid.

Paradoxically, colleges that insist on equal opportunity suffer the most. Cheating is one reason many institutions have had to abandon "need-blind" admissions, the policy of accepting students regardless of their financial resources.

This summer Congress actually widened one loophole in the Federal formula. To help middle-class parents, amendments to the Higher Education Act of 1965 removed home equity from the list of assets that the Government assumes are available for education. A more judicious solution would be to place a cap on the exemption; home equity amounting to more than three times a family's yearly income should be deemed available.

Such reforms would move the country toward fairer judgments of a family's capacity to pay. But laws are never enough. We need to raise the expectation that parents, financial planners and even influential publications will act ethically. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992.

Bush's Gains From Convention Nearly Evaporate in Latest Poll

Public Wants Talk on Economy and Health Care

By ADAM CLYMER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 25 — President Bush's gains from the Republican National Convention have almost completely evaporated, as four days in the spotlight failed to establish his commitment to change or his ideas for ending the recession, the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll shows.

Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas re-established a strong lead, holding a 51 percent to 36 percent edge in the poll taken Sunday and Monday, or about the same margin he held before last week's convention. The poll showed the public had far more interest in hearing about his favorite issues, the economy and health care, than in topics featured at the convention, like family values and homosexuality.

The survey of 903 registered voters also provided fresh evidence of the loose allegiances of voters this year, showing that large numbers of men, young people, the poor and the financially comfortable all shifted back and forth in the last two weeks.

Turnaround Among Men

Men, for example, had supported President Bush by 47 percent to 40 percent in a Times/CBS News Poll taken last Thursday as the convention ended. By the time of this poll, they supported Mr. Clinton by 51 percent to 38 percent. Their shift accounted for most of the change between the two polls, as the earlier one favored Mr. Clinton, but only by 45 to 42 percent overall.

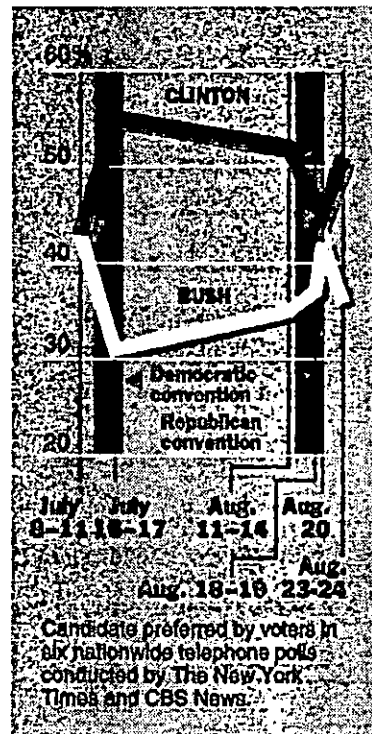
Robert M. Teeter, chairman of the President's re-election campaign and a leading Republican poll taker for a quarter century, said he thought the results were more favorable to Mr.

Clinton than was actually true. He said his campaign had done no fresh polling since the convention but added, "Usually you will not lose what you gained" from a convention.

"My view is the race is about 50 to 40," he said.

Stan Greenberg, Mr. Clinton's poll taker, said his latest data did indicate a double-digit Clinton lead that "re-emerged immediately after Bush's

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The New York Times

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992.

Bush's Gains From Convention Fade Quickly in Poll

Continued From Page A1

speech." He said Mr. Bush had created high expectations for his acceptance speech but did not meet them.

Despite four days of continual attacks, Mr. Clinton emerged from this poll with 36 percent of the public viewing him favorably and 28 percent unfavorably. The negative rating was up from 24 percent before the convention, a shift within the poll's margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points, but down from 34 percent unfavorable recorded last Thursday.

Mr. Greenberg said Mr. Bush "appears to have grazed Clinton but done nothing for himself."

Three Failures Found

After weeks of predictions that Mr. Bush would use his Thursday acceptance speech to re-establish his image with the public, the poll measured three striking failures.

First was the overall public answer to the question "Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?" While many questions were asked only of registered voters, that query was put to the 1,186 adults, registered or not, in the overall sample. Thirty-eight percent said they approved and 53 percent said they disapproved, exactly the same percentages that were recorded in a pre-convention Times/CBS News Poll. No incumbent has ever won a new term after having an approval rating that low this close to Election Day.

Martin Wattenberg, a professor of political science at the University of California at Irvine, called the approval rating "the most significant figure in the poll." If Republicans could not improve those figures at the convention and build broader support for Mr. Bush, he said, "They will have to run an incredibly negative campaign."

The poll also found that while 95 percent of registered voters said there should be "real change in the way things are going in this country," only 15 percent said Mr. Bush could bring it about. Indeed, only 34 percent of his own supporters said he could. Sixty-one percent of the public said Mr. Clinton would cause "real change."

No Questions on Houston

The survey also showed that only 24 percent said Mr. Bush "has offered specific ideas to get the United States out of the recession." That was up only one percentage point from the pre-convention poll. Forty-nine percent said Mr. Clinton had offered specific ideas, up from 48 percent.

The poll did not ask any questions directly about the convention in Houston, but it sought to find what subjects

How the Poll Was Conducted

The latest New York Times/CBS News Poll is based on telephone interviews conducted Sunday and Monday with 1,186 adults around the United States, excluding Alaska and Hawaii, of whom 903 said they were registered voters.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was selected by a computer from a complete list of exchanges in the country. The exchanges were chosen so as to assure that each region of the country was represented in proportion to its population. For each exchange, the telephone numbers were formed by random digits, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted numbers. The numbers were then screened so that calls would be placed to residences only. Within each household one adult was designated by a random procedure to be the respondent for the poll.

The results have been weighted to take

account of household size and number of telephone lines into the residence and to adjust for variations in the sample relating to region, race, sex, age and education.

In theory, in 19 cases out of 20 the results based on such samples will differ by no more than three percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by seeking out all registered voters in the country.

The potential sampling error for smaller subgroups is larger. For results based on men, for example, it is plus or minus five percentage points, while for women it is four percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the poll. Differences in the wording and order of questions, for example, can lead to somewhat varying results.

the public wanted the candidates to spend a lot of time discussing. Nine Americans in 10, regardless of whom they favored, wanted substantial discussion of how the candidates planned to improve the nation's economy and how they would improve the country's health care system, subjects Mr. Clinton discusses in almost every speech.

Two subjects that were frequently raised at the Republican convention, "family values" and "legal rights for homosexuals," excited less interest. Only 23 percent wanted to hear about homosexuals' rights. Forty-nine percent of registered voters, including 63 percent of Bush supporters and 40 percent of Clinton supporters, wanted to hear candidates "discussing how they would uphold traditional family values."

One hopeful Republican interpretation of the survey came from Linda DiVall, a poll taker who said that Republican gains shown in the poll in the South and Midwest and among Roman Catholics were encouraging. Even fluctuations among young voters and men, she said, showed that the Bush campaign had an opportunity to win them. She said this race was distinguished by low intensity and low levels of support for both candidates, and by frequent shifts in support.

Mr. Clinton, for example, went from a 43-to-43 percent tie with Mr. Bush before the Democratic convention in New York to a 55-to-31 percent lead immediately after, a lead that decreased a little to 52 to 35 percent just before the Republican convention in Houston.

Mr. Greenberg disagreed with her, saying, "This is the last time George Bush will have the stage to himself" to make his case. Another Democratic poll taker, Peter D. Hart, compared Mr. Bush to a slumping baseball player batting against second division pitching, and still not hitting: "It was his convention, his terms, and his own pitching machine and his average stayed the same."

Clinton Slows In South

In the South, the 49-to-38 percent lead Mr. Clinton held before the Republican convention was reduced, in the latest

poll, to a 46-to-41 percent lead. Among Midwesterners, his lead dropped from a 54-to-31 edge to a 52-to-38 percent lead. And among Roman Catholics, a 57-to-31 percent lead narrowed to a 51-to-38 percent edge.

Nationally, when undecided respondents were asked if they leaned toward either candidate, more said they preferred Mr. Clinton, and his lead widened slightly to 55 percent to 39 percent.

Mr. Greenberg and Mr. Teeter both suggested that the poll taken last Thursday may have exaggerated Mr. Bush's temporary gains from the convention by a couple of percentage points.

But it was clear to them and to others that there have been major fluctuations among men in this series of polls while women's support for Mr. Clinton remained more constant.

Barbara A. Bardes, a professor of political science at Loyola University of Chicago, said she believed "men just haven't decided which issues are most important to them in this election." Women, she said, have at least temporarily settled on the importance of the question of freedom of choice concerning abortion and are widely unhappy with attacks on Hillary Clinton, whether they like her or not.

Ann F. Lewis, a Democratic consultant in Boston, said "It really does seem these days that men are much more responsive to politics of emotion, especially certain kinds of patriotic symbolism, while women are more likely to focus on the family budget and the nation's well-being."

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992.

Mr. Bush, Crossing the Line

During the Republican Convention President Bush left the demagoguery to his surrogates, mainly Patrick Buchanan and the fundamentalist minister Pat Robertson. But he shed his restraint at a religious gathering in Dallas last weekend. Emboldened by the evangelical company he kept, Mr. Bush crossed a line he had observed in Houston, questioning the religious convictions of his opponents because the word "God" does not appear in the Democratic Party platform.

In the short term, such rhetoric threatens to divert attention from Topic A, the economy. But the graver danger is that the fundamentalist impulses at large in the Republican Party could divide the nation along religious lines.

The President owes it to the country not to exploit such an explosive division. Beyond that, it's up to moderate Republicans to assert themselves and pull their party back to moderation.

There's little question that the religious right is ready to take possession of the Republican Party. An entity called the Christian Coalition was one of the most visible and energetic groups in Houston. It emerged from Mr. Robertson's 1988 Presidential campaign and is dedicated to promoting its version of Christian doctrine in politics.

At that it has done very well. It claims 550 chapters in 50 states and 250,000 members, compared with only 100,000 a year ago. Coalition spokesmen say that 300 of the 2,210 delegates were members. In addition, Coalition members may have

accounted for as much as a third of the party's platform committee. They contributed mightily, by all reports, to the platform's absolutist position on abortion and its pugnacious position on homosexuality.

Asked how the Coalition became so influential so fast, a spokesman responded: "We're the Republicans who do the work. We're not the country club Republicans or the middle-class ladies who whine about choice. Christian Coalition members get the signatures, go to the caucuses, learn the rules and work the system."

President Bush and Vice President Quayle recognize the muscle of the religious right and court it assiduously. In Dallas Mr. Bush shared a forum with speakers who, according to The Times's Roberto Suro, "denounced Gov. Bill Clinton as a friend of pornographers, asserted that the ozone hole was an atheist ploy and warned that the Democrats would let militant homosexuals take over the armed forces."

And then Mr. Bush delivered his Pat Robertson-like line: "I was struck," the President said, "that the other party took words to put together a platform but left out three simple letters: G-O-D."

All this represents an unhealthy revival of the holier-than-thou religiosity America tried to put behind it in 1960. It also represents an immense challenge to Republican moderates and principled conservatives. They have every reason to worry about the drift of their party into the hands of those who would use faith as a cudgel.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992.

Chemical Ban Needs Global Backing

Gas warfare could become just a grisly memory as the result of a new treaty to ban chemical weapons from the globe. That treaty, eight years in the making, is now ready for submission to the United Nations. The sooner all nations sign and ratify it, the sooner stocks of these dread devices will be destroyed.

Holdouts like China and Pakistan complain that the treaty is too intrusive in seeking to verify that chemical plants are not producing weapons, and too restrictive in controlling the export of dangerous chemicals. But the treaty's language has already been compromised enough. Further loosening would leave the world unsure that these barbaric weapons had truly been eliminated.

Verification of a chemical ban is more demanding than other arms control accords because chemicals manufactured for pharmaceutical and other benign purposes can be used to make arms. That's why inspectors need to visit plants and storage sites.

The sheer number of such facilities around the world would tax any inspection system. Nevertheless the treaty assures that no facility suspected of arms-making will go unchecked for too long. It does so by providing for "managed access" inspections. Inspectors may go anywhere, but not necessarily at

any time — they have to negotiate visits to suspect sites. But the resulting delays may not impede the discovery of treaty violations: even a thorough cleanup of a site will leave telltale chemical traces that modern techniques can detect.

China and Pakistan complain about such inspections, and want these provisions relaxed. But further loopholes will only raise suspicions among signers who can't afford to have violations go undetected.

China and other potential holdouts chafe at the regulation of their chemical exports; the treaty allows supplier states to monitor the trade in chemicals, the best way to assure they not diverted to military purposes.

China participated fully in the negotiations along with 38 other members of the U.N. Committee on Disarmament. The treaty applies equally to all signatories, those who have chemical arms and those who do not, so China can hardly contend it is discriminatory. China will surely be better off not giving its neighbors any pretext for hanging onto such weapons of mass destruction.

This treaty deserves universal support. If China refuses to sign, it will find itself in the company of pariahs like Iraq — an uncomfortable position for a nation with pretensions to world leadership.

AIDS Obsession on the School Board

A new school year looms and there's plenty to worry about. For starters, will there be enough teachers, textbooks and classrooms to accommodate all students? Yet New York City's Board of Education seems able to focus on only one issue: AIDS.

Last week the board revised a pledge for guest speakers in schools, making them promise to stress abstinence as the preferred way to avoid AIDS. The pledge was intended to insure that outside groups complied with a resolution, passed by a 4-to-3 majority of the board in May, requiring all lessons in AIDS prevention to emphasize abstinence more than other preventive measures, such as condoms.

Clearly, abstinence is important. But if the board's emphasis on abstinence leads the schools to downplay the fact that many teen-agers are already sexually active, and need warnings about safe sex, the results could be tragic. Many who are now

suffering from AIDS, and many who have died from it, contracted the disease as teen-agers.

Individual board members are not oblivious to these realities, but the majority's preoccupation with the details of AIDS education has become an obsession. It's one thing to insist that anyone invited into schools to talk about AIDS understand and comply with board policies. But why get so bogged down in line-by-line oversight of the pledge form? And why revise the pledge at a special meeting called while Chancellor Joseph Fernandez and two board members were out of town?

The board majority's confrontational tactics are guaranteed to split the board and further antagonize Mr. Fernandez, who has been one of the most effective chancellors in years. The majority's relentless focus on the minutiae of AIDS education makes reasonable discourse on other important education issues increasingly difficult.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992.

Bush Criticizes Clinton as Hard On Car Industry

Says Many Would Lose Jobs Under Democrats

By RICHARD L. BERKE
Special to The New York Times

CANTON, Mich., Aug. 25 — President Bush ventured into the backyard of the American automobile industry today to depict his Democratic rivals as environmental extremists whose policies would throw hundreds of thousands of Michigan residents out of work.

Under rain clouds at an outdoor rally in this township that is home to both laid off General Motors workers and affluent executives, Mr. Bush strongly criticized Gov. Bill Clinton's support of a proposal to raise automobile fuel efficiency standards to 40 miles a gallon by the turn of the century from the current 27.5. He also contended that the Governor had started with a bad environmental record in Arkansas and then moved too far in the other direction.

"He's gone all the way over from that lousy record now to becoming bright green," Mr. Bush told thousands of cheering supporters at the Canton Township Heritage Park west of Detroit. "He's turned that bright, and if Clinton has his way, Michigan auto workers are going to be turning green with illness."

Citing figures from a motor vehicle industry group, Mr. Bush said that in Michigan alone, "40,000 workers would go from the assembly line to the unemployment line if we go from those ridiculous standards."

Going After Gore Book

Acknowledging that he does not usually single out Senator Al Gore of Tennessee, Mr. Clinton's running mate, Mr. Bush said he could not help himself today. While Mr. Clinton has praised Mr. Gore's best selling book, "Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit," Mr. Bush recited passages from it that he said were distressing.

Ridiculing "this famous book now that Governor Clinton talks about," the President went on: "On page 325 of the book, he makes an interesting comparison. He says that the automobile industry — and I quote right here, quotation, 'poses a mortal threat to the security of every nation, that is more deadly than that of any military enemy we're ever again likely to confront.' That is Mr. Clinton's running mate talking about the auto industry that means so much to our country."

Still mocking Mr. Gore's book, Mr. Bush then said: "And one page later, he calls for the 'elimination of the internal combustion engine.' What kind of people are we dealing with here?"

In a telephone interview from Ohio, where he was campaigning, Mr. Gore chuckled when told that the President was reciting from his book.

"This is simply one more effort by the self-proclaimed environmental President to divert attention from his total economic and environmental failure," he said. "What the auto industry needs is not political posturing but a strong economy and money in the pockets of consumers who can then purchase new cars and trucks."

Mr. Gore also disputed Mr. Bush's

figures about jobs that would be lost under the Democrats' proposals, saying there have been 250,000 jobs lost under the stewardship of the Bush Administration, with another 600,000 lost in related industries.

In another effort to portray the Democratic ticket as extremist, the President alluded to the bus trips Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore have taken around the country. "So when that Clinton-Gore bus goes off the left side of the highway onto the shoulder," he said, "we've got to guard against that, too."

With Bush campaign aides describing Michigan as a crucial battleground in November, Mr. Bush found a receptive site for his warnings about tighter fuel standards. The Congressional district that includes Canton has 25 plants of the Big Three auto manufacturers, and Michigan has one of the highest unemployment rates in the country, 9.4 percent in July.

Mr. Bush flew into the nearby Willow Run Airport in Ypsilanti, and his motorcade rushed by a sprawling plant that General Motors recently announced it would shut down, possibly next summer, leaving an estimated 4,000 workers without jobs.

The President came to Michigan for his offensive on the environment after

what he billed as a nonpolitical stop in Chicago this morning at a convention of the American Legion.

At that appearance, his aides passed out literature critical of Mr. Clinton's record regarding the Vietnam-era draft, while Mr. Bush stayed above the fray.

In a break from his pattern since the Republican Convention last week, in which he has attacked members of Congress at virtually every stop, the President praised a Democratic Congressman, Representative G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery, a friend of his who has long been close to veterans.

But he was not kind to Democrats here. As supporters wielded brooms with signs reading "Clean the House!" and opponents waved pink slips, Mr. Bush took on the Congressman here,

Representative William D. Ford, chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, for opposing his education proposals.

"I'm a little tired of Congressmen that talk one way in Michigan and vote different in Washington," the President said, his voice rising in anger. "I'll give you an example. One of those Democratic leaders that blocked this new proposal in education is named Congressman Ford, Bill Ford. He has stood against school choice and just about every education reform I have put forward. And what's worse, Governor of Arkansas agrees with him."

Turning to international affairs, Mr. Bush pressed on: "You want to stand up to a Baghdad Bully like Saddam Hussein? Governor Clinton waffled. Congressman Ford said, 'no way.' I say 'yes.'"

In another attack on the Democrats, Mary Matalin, the deputy campaign manager, distributed to reporters a four-page "counter-rebuttal on Clinton's tax-and-fee record." The paper was a defense of criticism of the Bush campaign's list of 128 purported state tax increases under Governor Clinton. It said, among other things, that it was "grossly dishonest" for the Governor to call Arkansas a low-tax state.

CHRIS EDWARDS

The Office of the U.S. Trade Representative goes through a peculiar exercise each year. It spends taxpayer money producing a 260-page report on how foreign governments have harmful trade policies that hurt people who live in other countries.

The name of the report is "Foreign Trade Barriers," and the policies it condemns include Italian government restrictions on what Italians can watch on television. It also reveals that Australians pay more for pacemakers because of an import tax. While foreign trade barriers may prevent U.S. exporters from garnering greater sales, Australians with poor hearts and Italians who watch television suffer the real damage.

Oddly, USTR's report contains no mention of the plethora of harmful trade laws our government imposes on Americans. But Japan, the European Community and Canada have filled the void. Each country has recently produced a report outlining restrictive trade practices of the U.S. government.

Japan's 16-page study, titled "Report on Unfair Trade Policies by Major Trading Partners," informs us that the "United States employs unfair trade policies and measures in 9 out of 20 areas cited in this report," a more "unfair" record than any other country examined. The Japanese report notes the damage done to Americans by U.S. government trade laws: "One study found that for 31 U.S. industries receiving protection, U.S. consumers had to bear a cost of \$53 billion."

The Europeans put together a more extensive indictment of U.S. government trade laws. Their 96-page report is titled, "Report on United States Trade and Investment

Chris R. Edwards is a policy analyst at Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation, a 250,000-member research and educational organization.

How fair a trader is Uncle?



Barriers 1992." The report spotlights the "American reluctance to recognize that the United States has its own trade impediments." As a result of this reluctance, "Europeans are perplexed and worried about the U.S.'s commitment to the open trading system, which has ensured the prosperity of the West for the past 40 years."

Among an extensive litany of complaints, the European Community notes the United States imposes heavy import taxes that gouge American consumers on some goods: certain clothing items, 20-35 percent; tableware, 26-35 percent; footwear, 37-48 percent; and glassware, 20-38 percent.

The EC also complains about a recent Senate bill that would have raised the import tax on some sport-utility vehicles from 2.5 percent to 25 percent. The Senate bill died, but a similar tariff increase on sport-utility vehicles and minivans resurfaced in the House. Citizens for a

Sound Economy estimates that, if passed, this legislation would increase the price on vehicles such as the Nissan Pathfinder by about \$3,700. The Big Three automakers would then raise prices on U.S. made sport-utility vehicles by about \$1,300. The report concludes that such a tariff increase is in "contradiction with international law."

As our largest trading partner, surely our Canadian friends have something nice to say about us? Not in their report, "Register of United States Barriers to Trade 1992." The Canadian complaints sound much like USTR complaints about Canada.

The USTR complains that the Canadian beer distribution system discriminates against U.S. beer makers; Canada complains that "state-mandated distribution systems impose added costs on importers of Canadian products." The USTR complains that Canada subsidizes grain exports and displaces U.S. grain sales abroad. The Canadians com-

plain the United States does the same thing through the Export Enhancement Program of the Department of Agriculture. The Canadian report notes that the EEP has "cost U.S. taxpayers \$4 billion," and "resulted in devastatingly low returns to Canadian producers."

The USTR also complains that Canada has "Buy Canadian" programs that discriminate against U.S. products; Canada complains we have a "Buy American Act" and other laws that discriminate against Canadian products. The list goes on, and clearly highlights both governments' hypocrisy.

It is safe to assume that no country is a free-trading angel. What then, is the best course for the United States to follow? Lowering trade barriers in all countries through international agreements is a promising course. This is the function of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which hosts trade negotiations among more than 100 countries. Past GATT agreements have succeeded in lowering world tariffs from the 40 percent average of 1947, when GATT was founded, to about 5 percent today. Unfortunately, non-tariff barriers, such as quotas, have risen in recent years and make further GATT negotiations more crucial than ever.

Are our trade policies really as "unfair" to foreigners as they say? Perhaps. But one thing we know for certain is that the U.S. government is unfair to American consumers. Institute for International Economics data indicates that trade barriers imposed by the U.S. government on Americans cost the average family of four about \$1,200 every year in higher prices. Some of the largest price increases are on food and clothing, and therefore hit poorer Americans the hardest. Now that's unfair.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992 • R

GEORGIE ANNE GEYER

Vision still lacking

President Bush's acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention was a disappointment — and one has to wonder why.

For weeks, both Republican politicians and nonparty analysts have repeatedly warned, "This speech must be the speech of his life." Occasionally, this was alternated with something like, "The president must now finally reveal his vision for the future."

And the unsettling reality behind his presentation this week is that Mr. Bush can indeed give good speeches. He did it during the Persian Gulf war; he has given elegant speeches on education; and in private he can be the funniest, most charming man in the world.

But when he stood up before the Republican Party and the nation in Houston, the president gave one of the most banal speeches in recent American party history. One does

not have to wish for even something as grandly elusive as the "vision thing" to wonder how his advisers could have loosed a speech so ineffective on the country at this watershed moment.

The references to transition and to vision just did not scan. "The world is in transition, and we are feeling that transition in our homes," the president said at one point in the speech. "The defining challenge of the '90s is to win the economic competition — to win the peace. We must be a military superpower, an economic superpower and an export superpower."

"In this election, you'll hear two visions of how to do this. Theirs is to look inward, and protect what we already have. Ours is to look forward, to open new markets, prepare our people to compete, to restore our social fabric — to save and invest — so we can win. We believe that now that the world looks more like America, it is time to America to look more like herself."

Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

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GEYER

From page G1

To be sure, the president did what virtually all politicians do at campaign moments like this one. He moved right down the list of his accomplishments. But in ticking them off — the Gulf war, the "Soviet bear gone," the Americans with Disabilities Act, the Clean Air Act — the president strangely enough did not seem to sense at all what the country today so deeply needs.

Even when, at the end, he compared himself so deliberately with Harry S. Truman, and compared his own speech with "the freedom to talk about what's right for America and let the chips fall where they may," one struggled desperately for just a touch of something grand, of something deep, of something profound, about America today.

Perhaps it is too much to ask even of a president that he be eloquent on order. Perhaps it is unfair to criticize one speech, particularly when his opponent, Bill Clinton, gave an even less consequential speech at his convention.

On the other hand, it was Mr. Bush's own people who themselves have been giving the Armageddon warnings about "the speech." After so many months of drift from the White House, by building up the speech, they left us only with a grievous disappointment.

The entire situation becomes even stranger when one thinks about James A. Baker III's eloquent little speech when he left the State De-

partment to take over the ailing Bush campaign. Mr. Baker spoke with feeling and scope about the necessary new era of domestic change that must come in the next four years, on the heels of four years of foreign policy accomplishment. How strange that none of that feeling came across in the president's speech.

There is, of course, nothing wrong in being urged to "look inward," or "look forward," or for that matter to even look more like ourselves (although some of us might wish to avoid this). We want to "open new markets, compete and restore our social fabric... save and invest."

But those are the kind of pat exhortations appropriate for a country at peace not only in the world but with itself. Alas, the nation is not exactly sated with confidence now; the nation is hungry with yearning to know how, and where, and why. At a relatively rare moment like this for America, we thirst not for grocery lists of accomplishments or calls to patriotism, but for those deeper connections between history and daily practice that make life in a nation comprehensible.

The president should have told us that, yes, the nation is troubled and unsettled, but that the tools of personal discipline and national authority can still be grasped; and that we can still reach into the wellspring of our great history for the unity that eludes us — if only we will.

It does not bode well for the nation, this season of its discontent, that both presidential candidates showed such small capacity for vision.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992 ★ R

MARTIN ANDERSON

Last of three articles

There are plenty of people who can be blamed for the decline of the American university. But there is one group who, far more than any other, bears the chief responsibility for the current sorry state of affairs. This is the group of men and women who constitute the governing boards of our universities and colleges — the trustees, the overseers, the regents.

These governing boards, not the presidents or the faculty, are primarily responsible for the scandals of recent decades. When Stanford was casting out of its curriculum some of the canons of Western civilization and cheating the taxpayer with phony research charges, it was James Gaither who was chairing the board of trustees, not President Donald Kennedy. When Harvard was violating the nation's antitrust laws by price-rigging of tuition fees and financial aid, it was Samuel Butler, not President Derek Bok, who was overseeing the overseers. When Dartmouth was infringing on the academic freedom of a student newspaper, the Dartmouth Review, it was George Monroe, not President James Freedman, who headed the trustees. When the University of California was substituting students for professors to teach its freshmen and sophomores, it was Roy Brophy, not President David Gardner, who chaired the board of regents.

The reason why we must blame the governing boards is threefold:

(1) They are the only people with both the responsibility and the authority to take decisive, effective action.

(2) By the very nature of the autonomy of most universities and colleges, they are the only people, barring some unlikely radical change in our entire system of higher education, who in the foreseeable future are going to have the power to do something.

(3) They have been derelict in

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.

Failure by the boards

their duties as trustees; it is they who have presided over the decline of the American university.

The trustees are the invisible men and women of American higher education. We may have heard of Presidents Kennedy, Freedman, Gardner and Bok — but who among us knows Messrs. Gaither, Monroe, Brophy and Butler? Yet it is these men, and all their colleagues on the governing boards of our colleges and universities, who presided over the scandals and corruption of the late 1980s.

There is no question about the importance of what is involved and the difficulty of resurrecting the integrity of the academic intellectual world. But there is no

justification for the deep pessimism that seems to pervade the intellectual ranks today. Much that should be done can be done.

The agenda for reform is not long, the changes proposed are simple in concept, and all the changes are entirely within the existing authority of the governing boards of our universities and colleges. We know what is wrong, and we know what must be done to correct it. The crucial question is whether the only people with the power to do something about it — the governing boards of academe — will have the wit to see what is wrong, the wisdom to figure out what should be done and the courage to do it.

There are 10 critical points that must be addressed if we are to restore the integrity of the academic intellectual world and make it a place of teaching and learning of which we can all be proud.

1. Prohibit student teaching. There is no other single change that could have as drastic and far-reaching effects as prohibiting teaching by students. In one thrust, we would free tens of thousands of graduate students from the teaching duties that so prolong their quest for the Ph.D., thus accelerating the production of new professors and at the

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**BLIGHT
IN THE
IVY**

The Washington Times

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ANDERSON

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same time making it necessary for current professors to do what they were hired to do. The biggest winners of all would be the undergraduates who once again would be taught, graded and counseled by mature, learned adults.

2. **Stop rewarding spurious research and writing.** Only if and when our universities and colleges begin to base academic promotions and salary increases solely on the quality of research and writing, instead of the quantity, will the mindless scramble for worthless publication cease. The real winners will be the best and brightest of our scholars, who can concentrate on truly important research subjects and forget about how many pieces they publish in their careers.

3. **Change the Ph.D. degree process.** As long as we insist that university teachers have a Ph.D., and that one must prove one can research and write a lengthy document in order to earn one, we will discourage many qualified men and women from concentrating on what might be their best capability: teaching. By giving one variety of the Ph.D. solely for mastery of a field of study, we could greatly expand the ranks of top-flight university teachers. And we won't cut down one bit on the number of people who are truly capable of producing original, important research and writing. The big winners will be the learned, natural teachers whose talents do not lie in research and writing, and all the students who will have the pleasure of their company.

4. **End faculty tenure.** Whatever tenuous justification existed for establishing tenure some 50 years ago is gone, and the corrupting influence of a guaranteed job for life far outweighs any arguments in support of the idea. Governing boards can easily establish policies that will protect against arbitrary dismissal for unpopular political or social views, or anything else that is deemed worth protecting, but which will allow dismissal for such things as incompetence or neglect. Perhaps professors who already have tenure will have to be "grandfathered" and allowed to keep their sinecure, but the future of American education belongs to those who are good enough to keep their jobs on the basis of performance.

5. **Reorganize faculty titles and responsibilities.** We need to reconcile the organization of academe with what it is supposed to do. We need an organizational structure that we can all understand. Let us call university teachers "teachers," pay them the highest salaries and grant them the respect and honor they will deserve if they do what their calling requires. For those who play an important role in the university solely through their research and writing efforts, similar to what the fellows do at our think tanks, let us call them "fellows," pay them according to the quality of their work and grant them the respect and honor appropriate to what they do. Sure, some university teachers will produce important research and writing, and some fellows may even teach a bit, but at least it will be clear to all what their chief responsibilities are and we can then judge them accordingly.

6. **Return to the four-year bachelor's degree.** To accept five years as

the normal amount of time spent in earning a college degree is unconscionable. To countenance taking six years or even longer is outrageous. Clear policies should be adopted to strongly encourage (except in cases of illness, financial hardship or other serious problems) all students to complete their studies for the degree in the allotted four years. To take longer is simply a waste of the students' time and the parents' (or the taxpayers') money.

7. **Take sexual harassment seriously.** It is unacceptable for any college teacher to have a sexual relationship with his or her students. The enormous difference in authority between the two parties lends itself to sexual extortion on the teacher's part, or in the reverse instance, sexual bribery. To condone sexual relationships of this nature is inherently corrupting to the relationship of trust and fairness that must exist between teacher and student. Governing boards should insist on clear policies prohibiting such practices and enforce them rigorously.

8. **Ban political discrimination.** We don't allow discrimination on the basis of race, sex, religion or sexual orientation in our universities, but political discrimination runs rampant. Today, it is the political left that discriminates, tomorrow it may be the political right. The governing boards of universities should adopt policies that strictly forbid political bias in either teaching or faculty hiring and promotion. Our universities should be places where all political views can be examined and discussed; there are more than enough forums outside the university for real political action, for voting, patronage and policymaking.

9. **Stop athletic corruption.** This is probably both the simplest and the hardest of all the reforms. The practice of giving unearned academic credit to student athletes deeply corrodes the integrity of the university. Most of us love the excitement of college football and basketball, but the governing boards must stop pretending that all those splendid young men and women who play so well meet the academic requirements for the degree. It's just a question of being honest.

10. **Crack down on institutional corruption.** Perhaps more than anything else, a university or college teaches values by example. When students view the sweeping corruption on the part of the university administrators — cheating the taxpayers by fraudulently charging up research expenses and conspiring secretly to fix tuition and financial aid — they take the lesson seriously. Of all the things wrong with our universities and colleges today, the issue of institutional financial corruption is one issue that governing boards should have no hesitancy in dealing with. As part of their fiduciary responsibilities, they should constantly audit the financial probity of their schools, insist on scrupulous operations, and summarily fire — and-or prosecute — those who violate these standards.

If we made only some of these 10 changes, it would go a long way toward restoring integrity in America's academic world. If we could make all of them, and soon, why then, we might live to see our colleges and universities become the temples of integrity and learning they should be.

It is time to clean academic house in America; it is time to drive the impostors from the temple.

B.J. CUTLER

To abet fracturing of Iraq ...

The demand by the United States, Britain and France that Iraq cease flying military aircraft over the southern third of the country has a stated purpose: To end the bombing and strafing of Shi'ite Muslim villages in the region.

It also appears to have an unstated purpose: To shrink Saddam Hussein from the fearsome dictator of all Iraq to roughly the mayor of Baghdad, hastening his downfall.

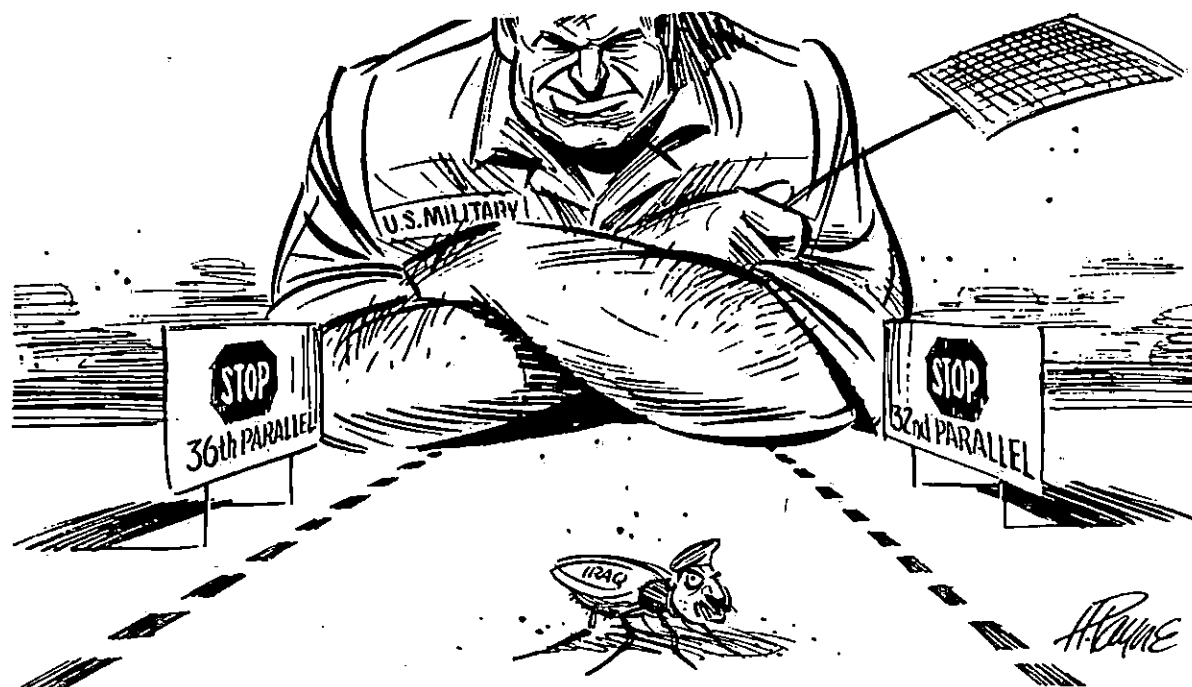
The three allies are acting under a March 1991 U.N. resolution, accepted by Iraq, that ended Desert Storm. Among other things, the resolution obliged Saddam to halt his repression of the Iraqi people.

To no one's surprise, Saddam then used the remnants of his defeated army to massacre northern Kurds and southern Shi'ites who revolted against his totalitarian misrule.

Also, unsurprisingly, policy-making mandarins in Washington, London and Paris reacted with the compassion of a Pontius Pilate. They averted their eyes from the slaughter.

It was only after television showed the horror of a million Kurds fleeing into Turkey and Iran that the allies acted. They sent planes and troops to establish a "protected zone" in the north, keeping Saddam's butchers at bay.

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Under protection, a de facto Iraqi Kurdistan came about. In June, the Kurds democratically elected a parliament and government. Saddam is trying to starve the Kurdish entity but will not unleash his army against it until the allies leave.

The Shi'ites, 55 percent of Iraq's 17.5 million people, were unluckier than the Kurds. There were no foreign TV cameras in the south. And nearby U.S. forces did nothing as Baghdad's troops blew up Shi'ite mosques and machine gunned residents.

At the time, Washington worried that if the Shi'ites broke away from Baghdad they would link up their co-regionists in Iran, strengthening fundamentalism. The deep thinkers have since learned there are differences among Shi'ites, that Iraqi Arabs have little desire to be ruled

by Persians.

More important, Saudi Arabia, which heavily influences U.S. policy, has had a change of mind. It used to see a united Iraq as a bulwark against Iran. It now sees it as a constant threat and happily contemplates three Iraqs: Kurdistan, a Sunni Moslem state in central Iraq and a Shiite one in the south.

So an ultimatum goes to Saddam: Iraq south of the 32nd parallel is a "no-fly" zone. If he complies, he loses control of the Shi'ites. If he defies the allies, his planes get shot down. If instead he uses tanks and artillery, they get bombed.

And if a self-governing or independent Shi'ite state emerges, will this be justified? Certainly. The Shi'ites are Iraq's persecuted majority, suppressed and used as cannon fodder by Saddam's Sunni Moslems,

who comprise only 15 percent of the population.

Oddly, a three-Iraq outcome would return matters close to what the British found when they defeated the Turks in World War I. Under the Ottoman Turks, Kurds in the north, Sunni Arabs around Baghdad and southern Shi'ites enjoyed considerable autonomy.

For their own colonial purposes, the British lumped the disparate peoples together in a centralized nation under a king who had ruled briefly in Syria until the French kicked him out.

If the British help undo their own handiwork of seven decades ago, it will be an irony of historic size. And if the coming Iraqs, or Iraq, adopt democracy, it will be better for them and the whole Middle East.

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DONALD DEVINE

Bush at bat: Solid

A bit short on trade

The Astrodome remains the toughest ballpark to clear the fence. President Bush hit a solid shot to right at the GOP National Convention, but wound up with only a ground-rule double — a solid bounce into the seats, but not over the big wall.

The Washington Post/ABC poll recorded a massive shift, but not enough to win. Mr. Bush moved from a 34 percent to 60 percent post-Democratic Convention deficit to a 40 percent-51 percent spread — only 9 points down from 26. The public mood is unstable, mostly people whose minds are not made up being swayed momentarily by one convention or the other. But Mr. Bush has put the Republicans on the field within striking distance.

This column was looking for a grand slam and only saw a sharp hit. Here we predicted a shift of the political axis based upon Ronald Reagan's 1976 "North American Accord" idea away from the sterile supply-side vs. deficit-reduction catfight to the higher ground of expanding trade — to extend the North American Free Trade Area to all of South America and then all of Central Europe that the Common Market will not admit, and to the market nations of Asia, too, if the Japanese will not let them play free trade ball.

In discussions with literally scores of cynical journalists and hard-bitten pols at the convention, they all agreed Mr. Bush would have won the day with such an agreement. What made such a move plausible was James A. Baker III's departure speech as secretary of State, when he said: "The key to America's growth, expansion and innovation has always been America's openness to trade, to investment, to ideas, and to people. Therefore, as we enact the North American Free Trade Agreement, we should also wrap up the global trade negotiations. Then we can build an expanding network of free trade agreements with the market democracies of Latin America that are turning to us, with the Eastern European democracies that want a special relationship with the

United States and with Pacific nations that want their future secure with America's. We can use the attraction of America, which, after all, is the largest fully integrated market in the world, to assure strong economic ties across the Atlantic and the Pacific. America will be an export superpower and a military superpower."

In his speech, Mr. Bush did call for making the United States an "export superpower," did say the world is "in transition" and that the "defining challenge of the '90s is to win the economic competition." He even said, "In this election, you'll hear two visions [this was the written text, but Mr. Bush actually said 'versions' — he really finds it hard to say that word] of how to do this. Theirs is to

look inward and protect what we already have. Ours is to look forward — to open new markets, prepare our people to compete, to restore our social fabric — to save and invest — so we can win."

From here, this is the beginning of the definition

of a Bush vision for a second term. When added to a platform and acceptance speech supporting virtually — there were a few lapses, but nothing's perfect — every social, economic and congressional reform on the Reaganite wish-list, delivered in a hard-hitting but fair manner, what conservative could complain? Yes, with the full vision in the speech, it could have been won in the seventh, but there are two innings to go.

What happened for the speech? Well, conservatism's Peck's bad boy, Richard Darman, got into the game between the Baker speech and the president's. Mr. Darman pushed his way into the speech-writing at the Houstonian Hotel with Robert Zoelick, who had written the Baker speech, and moderate Ray Price and newcomer Steve Provost. The latter two basically did the phrase-making, and the brawling was between protect-the-administration's-record Darman and protect-Baker's-new-directions Zoelick.

We had predicted that Mr. Baker would be smart enough to win the battle for the new vision in the speech. It turned out that he was smart enough, but not powerful enough — with speech drafts chang-

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ing almost to the convention floor and the "explanation" coming from Mr. Darman's office in the White House. The next time, the battle between the two old allies could turn out differently as Mr. Baker consolidates his power. Mr. Baker was strong enough to get the concept of trade expansion as one of the five major themes of the speech, to have it associated with vision and have it labeled as the defining challenge. For now, that is enough.

The campaign decision to give the conservatives the platform, rules and speeches worked. By the final day — even before the president's speech — the Houston Post-Hotline poll found that Mr. Bush had

achieved his first goal — he consolidated the Republican base and the South, the main reasons for the heavy social conservative emphasis, and the supply-side commitment to reducing taxes (although with deficit-reducing requirements for simultaneous spending cuts).

The polls also show the remaining challenge. The Illinois-to-New Jersey belt and the Reagan Democrats have not moved. After more consolidation of the base, it will be necessary to win these skeptical voters. The only thing that will do so — together with exposing Bill Clinton's record on taxes, spending, the draft, crime and welfare — is vision. Mr. Baker, whatever conservatives think of his past, has the answer; and only his ascendancy will guarantee both a winning vision and a sound policy base for the future.

Donald Devine, former director of the U.S. Office of Personnel Management, is a columnist and a Washington political and management consultant.

President Bush has said that he wants James A. Baker III to stay on after his re-election to oversee the economy. This role envisions Mr. Baker as Treasury secretary and budget director in addition to chief of staff, but in reality his role would be even larger. He would be the regent of the realm acting for a figurehead who does not know what to do or how to do it.

Mr. Baker's own presidential aspirations would be well served by his four-year regency, which would leave him positioned as the heir apparent. As Mr. Bush's second term from start to finish would be a de-

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Baker regency roller

facto Baker administration, Mr. Baker would have the advantage of incumbency, dashing conservative hopes of rallying around Housing Secretary Jack Kemp, Texas Sen. Phil Gramm or Vice President Dan Quayle in 1996.

As the conservatives' real prospects soak in, the energies infused by the GOP convention speeches of former President Reagan and Patrick Buchanan could dissipate, leaving Mr. Bush with little hard support.

Mr. Bush's convention speech offered the Reaganite core of the Republican Party very little beyond imitating the Gipper's Congress-bashing. It is, of course, refreshing

to see Mr. Bush in combative form even if it is just a political pose, but few conservatives believe his fighting spirit will last beyond the election.

Neither will Mr. Bush's tax cut talk excite conservatives. It's the ancient Republican promise that sometime in the future, after we have earned the reward with the pain and suffering of budget balancing, we will cut taxes. Republicans have been putting the deficit cart before the growth horse for a half century. Only Ronald Reagan put the horse before the cart. I know Ronald Reagan, and George Bush is no Ronald Reagan.

If the "new Bush" is to be con-

vincing, he has to do something besides talk. He should follow up his admission that the 1990 budget deal with its tax increase was a bad mistake by accepting the resignations of the three advisers — Budget Director Richard Darman, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady and Council of Economic Advisers Chairman Michael Boskin — who sold him on such a mistaken course.

If Mr. Bush wants the voters to clean out the Congress, he should show them that he is prepared to do something with a new Congress by cleaning out his own economic team. Jack Kemp would be a good Treasury secretary and one that would give conservatives some check on

Mr. Baker's presidential aspirations.

Then Mr. Bush should use his regulatory authority to index the cost basis of capital gains for inflation. The administration has refused to take this action, which I have advocated since January. Instead of looking into the matter, the Treasury secretary and White House lawyers have asserted they lack the authority. "We would if we could," said Mr. Brady, but "we have had no competent legal advice that we could do it."

This, of course, is merely an excuse for doing nothing. Thanks to the U.S. Chamber Foundation, Mr. Bush now has the legal green light to save his presidency.

Former Assistant Attorney Gen-

eral Charles J. Cooper has produced a 90-page legal brief for the foundation. After reviewing the Internal Revenue Code's capital gains provisions and the case law governing Treasury's interpretative discretion, Mr. Cooper finds that the Treasury definitely has the power to interpret cost to account for inflation: "We conclude that the legal basis for such a regulation is sound and would amply support its conscientious adoption by the Treasury. Indeed, we believe that a regulation indexing capital gains for inflation should and would be upheld judicially as a valid exercise of the Treasury's interpretative discretion under the IRC."

Mr. Cooper has enormous legal credibility. As one of the government's top lawyers, he produced the brief that concluded the president lacked the authority to exercise a line item veto, something the admin-

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istration very much wanted to do. Now that he has found a place where the president can act to save the economy from the gridlocked Congress, he cannot be accused of political partisanship.

There is another compelling reason driving Mr. Bush to take action on capital gains. The economy is poised for a triple-dip recession that

is exquisitely timed to blunt Mr. Bush's political comeback. There has been no money growth since last February-March. Indeed, money-supply growth as measured by M2 has been negative for sometime. There is actually less money in the economy today than at the end of last winter. With the typical six-month lag, we could see a triple-dip beginning any day.

Perhaps the relationship between money and the economy will not hold this time, but if it does, a thrice-

disappointed stock market could be in for a big fall that would send shudders through the economy and put Bill Clinton in the White House. By betting on lower interest rates to lift the economy, Messrs. Darman, Brady and Boskin have cooked Mr. Bush's goose. There have been 24 cuts in interest rates, and the money supply is shrinking. Without strong leadership on capital gains, the hopes that have kept the stock market up can evaporate overnight.

The international economy is bad

everywhere. The Japanese appear to have a real crisis. The extraordinary and lengthy decline in stock and real estate prices has wiped out vast amounts of wealth and left the massive Japanese banks in the same plight as our S&Ls. Britain, with an overvalued currency now tied to the German mark, has had to raise interest rates despite the fact that a tenth of all households with mortgages now owe more than the value of their property.

Germany, which is as deficit pho-

bic as the Republican establishment, is keeping all of Europe in the economic doldrums with its high interest rates. Italy, a member of the Group of Seven most industrialized nations, has reneged on a portion of the debt of its socialized enterprises — thus impairing Italy's standing as a sovereign borrower. The French appear poised to shake Europe to the core by voting down the unification treaty as a way of expressing displeasure with President Francois Mitterrand.

There is no foreign economic buoyancy to lift our recovery with exports. Indeed, the near-term global economy looks like a mine field of potential explosions that could deflate asset values further, thereby making debt burdens unbearable.

Mr. Bush is crossing his fingers and waiting; but if fear builds, indexing the capital gains tax will lose its punch. In the end, rhetoric is only rhetoric. The president needs to act: Put Mr. Kemp at Treasury and index the capital gains tax now, this week.

PAUL GREENBERG

As the Republican National Convention sank in the West, doubtless under the weight of its own oratory, a thought occurred: If it had lasted one more day, I would have emerged ready to vote for Bill Clinton. One can take only so much partisan rhetoric before the inevitable reaction sets in.

For the same reason, covering the Democratic National Convention last month left me a fervent Republican.

The sheer volume of Dan Quayle jokes have a similar effect; one begins to sympathize with the guy.

A few last notes on this convention from Hell:

- Presidential campaigns long ago ceased to be a battle of ideas and became an exchange of jibes. My nomination for the best line uttered at this partisan orgy goes to a pithy description of Bill Clinton's acceptance speech at the other convention. "Anyone who can speak for 53 minutes without saying a thing," Missouri's Sen. John Danforth told his fellow Republicans, "belongs in the Senate and not the White House."

The possibility of Mr. Clinton going to the Senate — should his current job application prove unsuccessful — must also have crossed the minds of a couple of Mr. Danforth's colleagues, Dale Bumpers and David Pryor.

- The presence of some 15,000 media persons at Houston demonstrated once again that the more re-

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The rhetorical power to repel

"Anyone who can speak for 53 minutes without saying a thing belongs in the Senate and not the White House," Sen. John Danforth told his fellow Republicans.

porters at any given event, the less news. The result was familiar: Deprived of any great news from the convention floor, the press was driven to inventing it.

The cultural chasm between the media and the rest of America was illustrated by the sincere puzzlement in the press corps about why a political convention should concern itself with family values. The foreign press seemed particularly bewildered. Conclusion: Family values must be a code word for something else.

It seemed quite beyond these sophisticates to grasp the anger many Americans feel at the trashing that the homemaker and the old litany of values (God, home and country) have been getting in pop culture, including pop government. But try to explain all this to journalists from Brussels or Chicago, and the only

reaction may be a blank stare. They can't believe the American voter would be more interested in certain antiquated values, or the esteem in which Mom is held, than in the latest unemployment figures. To repeat an overused phrase that should probably be banned from the language by now: They just don't get it.

- What does a Republican National Convention do with Richard Nixon? Very little. Some former presidents remain current embarrassments. The Republicans hid Herbert Hoover for a couple of decades after the Great Depression, and at their conventions the Democrats tend to treat Jimmy Carter like a bastard at a family reunion. Neither was a successful president, but neither had to resign or face impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors. Their failings were only political, not moral.

Mr. Nixon had sufficient tact not to show at Houston, but how could a Republican president be omitted from the official hagiography? The solution was to sneak him into the film that introduced George Bush to the convention, first as only a blur at Dwight Eisenhower's side, then as part of the space program, and proceed to ease him out quickly. It might have worked except that, as soon as the familiar visage became recognizable, a great cheer went up from the Nixon loyalists at the Astrodome. It was a curious reaction from a party planning to run on the character issue this fall.

- Mr. Clinton reacted to the Hillary-bashing at this convention with understandable but unnecessary anger. His spouse (and at times co-candidate) is perfectly capable of defending herself. Hillary Clinton can also play dirty, as when earlier this year she suggested that Vanity Fair start asking questions about George Bush's love life. Speaking of family values, that was a low, vile thing to do — but forgivable. This was Mrs. Clinton's first national campaign, the pressure was on and her own family had been subjected to more than the usual amount of sleaze.

Barbara Bush's response at the time was just right ("Baloney!") and should have ended the matter. It didn't. Sleaze has a remarkably long shelf life in this country. So it should not have shocked when the same rumor about Mr. Bush's private life was revived in time for the Republican convention. What shocked was a front-page story in the once reputable New York Times accusing the president of planning to bomb Baghdad in time for his acceptance speech at Houston. The story seems to have been made of whole cloth, also known as reliable sources, all of whom remained conveniently nameless.

Tiresome and tasteless as was some of the Republican rhetoric at Houston — Pat Buchanan's diatribe comes immediately to mind — it still remained a notch above much of the reportage.

The Washington Times

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FRANK GAFFNEY

Runner for peace or manipulation?

As the umpteenth peace conference on the crisis in the former Yugoslavia gets under way today, the U.S. and other delegations would do well to remember David Kaplan. In a sense, the ABC News producer's death in Sarajevo on Aug. 13 is — on several levels — a metaphor for the larger tragedy now befalling Bosnia and Croatia.

After all, hundreds, if not thousands, of innocent civilians in these erstwhile Yugoslav republics lie dead like Mr. Kaplan thanks to the cynical machinations of Milan Panic — the newly installed American premier of Serbia and Belgrade's representative at this week's peace parley in London. In none of these cases, of course, did he personally pull the trigger, fire the mortar or slit the throat of the victim.

And yet, Mr. Panic's campaign to portray himself as a man of peace intent on stopping the bloodshed was the reason David Kaplan came to be in a sniper's sights. When Mr. Kaplan was fatally shot, he was traveling in a press van in Sarajevo while preparing a profile of Mr. Panic for ABC's "Prime Time Live" with colleague Sam Donaldson. In an extraordinary interview with a Serbian marksman aired as part of the Panic episode, it was disclosed that snipers received cash bonuses for killing journalists — \$500 a head, substantially more than that given for hitting adult civilians (\$150) and children (\$75).

In other words, unbeknownst to Mr. Kaplan, there was in effect a bounty on his head as he toured the Bosnian capital in Mr. Panic's party. Under the circumstances, it was criminally irresponsible of the Serbian authorities not to provide better protection for accompanying journalists than an unarmored vehicle with "TV" — the equivalent of a bull's-eye — emblazoned on its side.

Worse yet is the fact that Mr. Kaplan and his associates were exposed to this danger by Belgrade to advance an agenda that has condemned innumerable other innocents to death at Serbian hands. That agenda involves cultivating the perception that Milan Panic is a legitimate alternative to Slobodan Milosevic, the brutal communist-turned-fascist/nationalist whose lust for a "Greater Serbia" has precipitated and animated the present conflict.

Toward this end, Mr. Panic has repeatedly expressed a determination to achieve peace and his willingness to countermand Mr. Milosevic's orders if necessary to stop the carnage. His preferred turn of phrase is a warning, with much theatrical bravado, that "God help him" if the Serbian dictator resists. Never mind that Mr. Panic would not last five minutes if he were genuinely crossing the ruthless Mr. Milosevic; when he asks — as he did on July 18 — for 100 days to achieve results, you can bet that they are the same results "Slobo" seeks: peace on Serbian terms.

Still, this stratagem has served to stave off mounting pressure in the West for intervention against Belgrade until the Serbs have finished Mr. Milosevic's program of territorial conquest and "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia and Croatia. No matter how hollow Mr. Panic's promises have proven to be — or the prejudicial effects of granting him the additional time he seeks, the U.S. administration and its allies have been most grateful for such a pretext for further inaction.

Mr. Panic apparently is personally disposed to this sort of dissembling and subterfuge. Consider the following items from his checkered career as an American entrepreneur:

- Mr. Panic is wanted by the Res-

olution Trust Corporation for defaulting on an \$8.4 million loan he assumed for the purchase of Budget Motel in Mission Valley, Calif., seven years ago.

- According to the Los Angeles Times, Mr. Panic also owes more than \$37,000 in unpaid taxes and penalties for his Budget Motel in Encinitas, Calif.

- Mr. Panic founded and serves as chairman of the California-based International Chemicals and Nuclear Pharmaceuticals, Inc. The company has been the subject of numerous investigations by the Food and Drug Administration and the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Notably, the FDA required ICN Pharmaceutical to pay \$600,000 in penalty fees for "false and misleading" statements concerning the benefits of an anti-viral drug named Virazole. The SEC sued Mr. Panic's company after it failed to support its claims that Virazole was an effective treatment for AIDS.

One might be forgiven for wondering how such a colorful U.S. citizen might have been able to become the prime minister of Serbia. It was, regrettably, no accident: Mr. Panic would not be in office in Belgrade today but for Washington's cooperation — if not its connivance.

For example, the Treasury Department gave Mr. Panic a waiver of any liability for penalties arising from his violation of current U.S. sanctions imposed on Serbia. For its part, the State Department evidently encouraged him to believe that he could retain his U.S. citizenship while serving as the premier of a foreign power — notwithstanding formal State Department guidance that says: "The premise that a person intends to retain U.S. citizenship is not applicable when the individual ... takes a policy-level position in a foreign state." Sources at State have contended that this unusual arrangement is justified since Mr. Panic is pursuing "our" policies.

In short, David Kaplan and all the other victims of a brutal conflict precipitated and dominated by Serbia's leadership have been sacrificed on the altar of official Western passivity and expediency. Those U.S. leaders who have connived to install Milan Panic in Belgrade have — intentionally or otherwise — helped to perpetuate the vicious regime of Slobodan Milosevic and to facilitate its ever more successful effort to carve out a "Greater Serbia."

In so doing, they have become accomplices to genocide in Bosnia and Croatia. History will contemptuously consign them and their behavior to the opprobrium reserved to date for those who ignored the unfolding Holocaust some 50 years ago.

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KEN ADELMAN

At the rate they're slugging, even before the campaign season "officially" opens on Labor Day, we'll all be knocked out by November. President Bush and Bill Clinton are swinging so ferociously, so early, that it got me thinking that they must have a lot in common.

For nothing so stirs conflicts as similarities. No fight is as ferocious as a family fight.

This insight was furnished by novelist Anthony Trollope, who saw how politicians fight fiercest when their differences are shallowest. Communists always fought harder against socialists than the conservatives.

The same holds on religion. "The apostle of Christianity and the infidel can meet without a chance of a quarrel," Trollope wrote. "But it is never safe to bring together two men who differ about a saint or a surplice."

Granted, each party convention was designed to highlight the contrasts. Those differences are sharper between the parties than between their candidates.

Regardless of how they're now posturing and what they're now saying, Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton are strikingly similar.

• Both, above all, are lifelong politicians. Neither did much else in life, unlike Jimmy Carter or Ronald Reagan. Mr. Bush's time in the private sector, though considerably more than Mr. Clinton's and which fur-

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Maybe they're too alike

nished some feel for business, was spent mostly marking time until he took up or resumed politics. Mr. Clinton lacked even these breathers, being out of politics only when the voters booted him out (after his first term as governor).

• Both steered their lives toward the White House. Granted, that's where politicians look longingly, since the presidency is the pinnacle of any politicians' career. Still, it's remarkable that both these men expressed a keen desire to be president relatively early and acted consistently to reach that goal.

• Both are ultimate pragmatists and compromisers. Mr. Bush's bobbing and weaving on budgetary matters matches much of Mr. Clinton's record in Arkansas. Sure, Arkansas lacks a civil rights act, but Mr. Clinton explains that's because the legislature there thwarted him. (Sound familiar?) Sure, Arkansas businesses damage the environment, but they provided much-needed jobs there. (Again, Mr. Bush's tilt precisely — though not Al Gore's.)

• Both have undisciplined minds.

That each spoke too long at their respective conventions — within two minutes of each other, and just a few minutes short of an hour in duration — is no accident. Neither has any three-pronged vision, as did Ronald Reagan with his "boost defense, cut taxes, hold down government." Rather, Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton relegate "vision" to a recital of their favorite, albeit familiar, litany of legislative initiatives.

• Both are doers rather than orators. Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton enjoy the mechanics of government — meetings with agendas to determine specific programs — rather than the oratory that can transform the national mood or character. Hence, neither is particularly charismatic on the stump, nothing like John F. Kennedy or Ronald Reagan, though Mr. Clinton holds a decisive edge here.

While Mr. Clinton talks way too much — 250 words per minute with gusts up to 320 (to paraphrase Barry Goldwater's quip about Hubert Humphrey) — he at least speaks in full sentences. Bush-speak can become mind-bending when unaided by a text and particularly when he gets fatigued.

• Both shy away from specifics and bold measures. Neither economic package makes much sense itself; each is indisputably incomplete and can be chided as deceptive. Nonetheless, they show direction: Mr. Bush toward lower taxes and smaller government; Mr. Clinton toward higher taxes and more vigorous government.

Neither man stepped up boldly to attack runaway middle-class entitle-

ments, which is federal budget problem No. 1. Entitlements — mainly Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid — will eat up \$766 billion in the coming fiscal year, more than half the entire federal budget. This mandatory spending, which has shot up from around \$600 billion a year since Mr. Bush entered the White House, constitutes by far the fastest-growing item in the federal budget.

For the first time ever, spending on entitlements is twice that on defense spending. And, for the first time, interest payments on the federal debt are more than all discretionary spending. Yet neither Mr. Bush nor Mr. Clinton will stir the political constituencies protecting such programs.

• Both are mainline internationalists in foreign affairs. Though there's no comparison on experience, Mr. Bush having gobs and Mr. Clinton having nil, there's a neat convergence of views. Both reject the isolationists in their parties, Pat Buchanan and George McGovern, to assume standard Establishment views on U.S. policies abroad.

Which leads into our final similarity:

• Both are Establishment figures. Though starting off on the opposite end of the economic and social divide, Mr. Clinton quickly joined the Establishment with his Yale Law School and Oxford-Rhodes scholar achievements. He then moved to Arkansas, just as Mr. Bush moved to Midland, Texas, to begin work that would shortly lead into politics.

And that's where we began this tale.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992 • 8

Children's rights and Mrs. Clinton . . .

Is it legitimate for a political party to criticize the wife of the presidential candidate of the rival party? In a word: yes. Wives influence their husbands, and even if the First Husband is not exactly putty in the hands of his spouse, people think the president's wife has influence. That means that officials and influence-peddlers will try to get to the president through the First Lady, and anyone conversant with the court history of the White House from Abigail Adams to Nancy Reagan knows this. When a candidate's wife is as active in politics as Hillary Clinton has been, it's perfectly legitimate, indeed important, to know what her ideas are and what influence she's likely to have if her husband is elected, and, if you don't agree with those ideas, to point out where you disagree and why the woman's ideas would not be good for the country.

In the case of Mrs. Clinton, the ideas she has espoused about the family are such that those who want to see traditional family relationships flourish and revive ought to be alarmed. You don't have to rely on Republican one-liners about her comparison of marriage to slavery and Indian reservations to grasp this. Mrs. Clinton herself has long been active in the field of what is known as "children's rights," serving as chairman of the Children's Defense Fund and writing a number of articles on the subject.

The general thrust of Mrs. Clinton's crusade for "children's rights" is to change and expand the scope of public law with respect to traditional parent-child and family-government relationships. In general, she and her allies in the children's rights movement have championed using legal force to support claims by or on behalf of children against their parents and against the sorts of obligations that traditional families require of their children.

This week The Washington Post devoted a full page to excerpts from Mrs. Clinton's legal publications on the subject of children's rights, and the line about slavery and Indian reservations pales beside what she wrote in other passages. Consider the following, less provocative but more alarming, passage from "Children's Rights and the Family":

"What is needed is a theory that adequately explains the state's appropriate role in child rearing and provides sufficient checks on the exercise of discretion to ensure that authority is exercised only in warranted cases. The law, unfortunately, is not an exact science and regardless of how careful one tries to be, mistakes will still be made. That is, I submit, a risk or cost we have to accept until we develop a family policy in this country that provides stigma-free assistance to families in trouble before their problems reach the extreme point of requiring wholesale intervention."

Decoded from the opacity with which Mrs. Clinton usually writes, what this passage seems to mean is this:

State and federal law today does not offer sufficient authority for the government to intervene against parents who treat their children in ways that some people (such as Mrs. Clinton and her allies) find unacceptable. What the law should do, however, is intervene anyway until we design a "theory" and a "family policy" that allows government to intervene in cases other than extreme instances of abuse or neglect.

Now the fact is that the only time the state should intervene against parents is in cases of clearly defined abuse and neglect. Much is made by her defenders of Mrs. Clinton's support of removing the child of alcoholic parents from their charge and awarding him to foster parents with whom he preferred to live. No one challenges that particular case because the abuse and the remedy were clear. What is at issue is not such clear cases but rather those that will follow it and use the same precedent the law, with Mrs. Clinton's prodding, might support. If a child's parents are not alcoholics but are deemed to be racists, homophobes, religious fanatics or any of the other categories regarded as villainous by Politically Correct child-righters, should the law and the state take action to curb parental authority? Mrs. Clinton would probably be inclined to say yes; most parents, most Americans, would say: Butt out.

The quest for "children's rights," like the quest for the "civil rights" of other groups (racial, gender, sexual preference, handicapped, etc.) has in fact moved beyond insistence on equal protection of the laws into a covert struggle for political power. In this struggle, certain groups claim rights (that is, special powers from the state) against other groups. But children, like the members of the supposed victim groups, already have rights, the same as those of every other citizen. Giving them special rights does not protect them any more than other citizens are protected, nor should it; but it does give them (and their self-appointed adult lawyers) more power than other citizens have or ought to have.

One of the fundamental problems of the social liberalism Mrs. Clinton supports is that it believes that replacing the informal, personal and social authority of social institutions by the formal, legal, and abstract power of government and law will resolve social crises when the former institutions sometimes fail. What it does in reality is weaken those relationships and institutions even when they work, and in the case of "children's rights" lay down a welcome mat by which the state and its judges, social workers and bureaucrats can invade the home, redecorate its functions and subvert the natural authority of parents and the natural affections of children. Voters need to consider this matter and reflect on whether they want Mrs. Clinton whispering in the president's ear in the four years to come.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992 • A

... and the 'Hillary' question

Sam Donaldson, talk-show talent and journalist, corners his prey on the Brinkley show:

Mr. Donaldson: "Mr. [Patrick] Buchanan, on the subject of women —"

Mr. Buchanan: "Sure."

Mr. Donaldson: "— you've been criticized in some quarters for your convention speech in which you talked of Mrs. Clinton, and not only did you attack her, but you talked about 'Hillary': 'What does Hillary believe? Well, speak for yourself, Hillary' Why didn't you call her 'Mrs. Clinton'? Why were you so contemptuous of her?"

Mr. Buchanan: "I'm not contemptuous. She is a very capable, intelligent, tough-minded woman who says she's going to be virtually co-president. She should not be attacked personally. Her ideas, however, Sam — when she says that 12-year-olds should have a right to sue their parents, that's the ACLU agenda. We have a right to say we disagree with that. And if she's going to be a real player in national politics, as she says, then her ideas should be subject to the same scrutiny as mine, and her writings should be subject to the same scrutiny as mine."

Mr. Donaldson: "Well, if that's true, though, doesn't she have a right to be called by some name that is respectful?"

Mr. Buchanan: "Well, I mean, you didn't hear the Democratic convention: 'Where is George?' Was that respectful of the President of the United States, Sam?"

Mr. Donaldson: "'Where is George?' — a chant."

Mr. Buchanan: "'Where is George?' Well, listen, you didn't — who is the keynote speaker at the Democratic convention in 1988 that got us all laughing?"

Mr. Donaldson: "Well, then why didn't you call Mr. Clinton 'Bill'?"

Mr. Buchanan: "I did. We said we're going to try to chase down Billy's bus."

"Go ahead."

Mr. Donaldson: "Mr. Buchanan, let me just apologize to you —"

Mr. Buchanan: "Sure."

Mr. Donaldson: "— for — I thought at some point you had called people by their full name."

Well, maybe. How about George Herbert Walker Bush?

Easy does it, Sam.

Fairfax on \$5 a day

SWEET DEAL: Two-story, red-brick home in Riverbend Park. Modern living in splendid isolation. Spectacular view of Great Falls. Rent for just \$153 a month. Non-Fairfax County Park Authority officials need not apply (not an equal-opportunity provider). Call Fairfax County Park Authority for details.

There's more to Fairfax County than luxurious government offices and high property taxes. There is also subsidized housing for those lucky enough to be employees of the county government.

Lynn Tadlock, a top park authority official, has lived in the Riverbend house for 11 years, paying a fraction of the \$1,139 that the park authority now claims is the house's real rental value. Ms. Tadlock, who pulls down a cool \$53,000-plus as manager of the authority's programming and marketing operations, admits she's getting a deal.

She's not the only one. It seems that 15 other county employees also enjoy subsidized rentals. Some of them make upward of \$44,000 a year, which is good for them — except that the taxpayers who actually own these houses don't actually have the luxury of big salaries and low rents.

A rough calculation shows that Ms. Tadlock and her \$53,000 are getting by on rent of something like \$5 a day. Forget the view of Great Falls. Paying a mere \$5 a day to live in one of the most expensive areas of the country is what's truly spectacular. You can't get a motel room for that kind of money around here — not

one with a roof or running water anyway.

Ms. Tadlock told Mark Grossman of the Fairfax County Journal, which gave the park authority's escapades front-page treatment the other day, that while her arrangement offers a nice environment, she pays for it by doing chores for the authority. She has hosted park authority interns at the house. She makes sure the southern end of Riverbend Park is "secure" at night. There's a "tremendous amount of invasion into your personal life," she told Mr. Grossman.

While Ms. Tadlock struggles under the weight of her load, park authority officials are taking a closer look at the situation. Recognizing that park perks for employees does have the appearance of a problem, they have come up with a solution that only a government could love. They will move out employees with paychecks of Tadlockian proportions. They will move in employees at the low end of the scale. And they will adjust rents in accordance with the value that the park authority places on chores that the new tenants perform.

If it all sounds a little complicated, a little like the system the park authority just got through abusing, that's because it is.

Here's a better idea. Get the authority out of the real estate business. Sell the houses. Return the proceeds to taxpayers (if the amount seems small, surely the county won't mind returning it). Contract out the "chores" to private bidders. Limiting big government and the fraud that comes with it would be the sweetest deal of all for taxpayers.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992 • A

Bush to critics: 'We are not in slaughter business'

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Here are excerpts from President Bush's address yesterday to the American Legion in Chicago:

And now some who were faint-hearted and stood in the way of crushing Saddam's aggression now have the gall to say you stopped the war too soon, and some also say that General Norman Schwarzkopf wanted to march into Baghdad and get Saddam. False. . . . We are not in the slaughter business; we were in the business of crushing aggression, and we did it, and I don't like this historical revision. We did the right thing. We did the compassionate thing in the end, as well.

. . . Today a whole new world of hope is dawning in the Middle East.

This very week, as Arab and Israeli sit down together in Washington, D.C., we are winning the peace. And that was made possible by the sacrifice of those involved in Desert Storm.

. . . It is my hope, it is my aim that before this year is out the nations of the world will unite to ban chemical weapons, to banish this scourge from the face of the earth.

. . . I make this promise: As long as I am president, our services will remain the best-trained, the best-equipped, the best-led fighting forces in the entire world. That is the way we guarantee the peace.

Here are excerpts from Bill Clinton's address yesterday to the American Legion:

You know that I never served in the military. You know that I opposed the war in Vietnam. But I want you to know this: I was never against the heroic men who served in that war. I honored their service then, and I honor it still.

. . . I was relieved that year when I saw that my [draft] number was 311, not because I didn't want to serve my country, but because I believed so strongly that our policy in Vietnam was wrong. I still believe that. . . . But I know many of you then and many of you today disagree with me, and I respect that.

. . . If any of you here choose to vote against me because of what happened 23 years ago, that is your right as American citizens and I re-

spect that. But I hope that you will cast your vote while looking toward the future rather than remaining fixed to the problems of the past.

. . . Can someone who has never served in the military be commander in chief? Lincoln might have thought that question odd. He used to joke about his lack of military experience, saying that the only blood he lost in defense of his country was to mosquitoes. As a congressman, he had been a passionate critic of the Mexican War, and the total of his military experience consisted of a few weeks as a militiaman called to service during the Black Hawk War, in which he saw no action. And yet he had the judgment and wisdom and strength of conviction to lead

America through its bloodiest and most painful conflict.

. . . As we scale back the force structure, we must restructure our forces to meet new and less predictable threats in the post-Cold War era. Our forces must be ready and sustainable. They must be more mobile, more precise and more flexible. They must have the technologically advanced weapons they need to get the job done. I will never allow a hollow army.

. . . I will honor your service by cutting the VA bureaucracy to make sure you get the benefits you've earned without a lot of red tape and delay. It shouldn't take longer to get VA benefits than it took to liberate Kuwait.

LEGION

From page A1

States would not seek full diplomatic relations with Vietnam and Cambodia until POW-MIA issues are resolved.

Speaking of the Gulf war, he angrily rejected "revisionists" who argued against intervention and now say the United States stopped too early: "We are not in the slaughter business. . . . We did the right thing."

Shortly before Mr. Bush spoke to the crowded and supportive convention, the Bush-Quayle '92 campaign issued a scathing attack on Mr. Clinton's foreign policy record and his efforts to win a draft deferment.

To counter Mr. Bush's widely perceived strength in foreign and defense policy, Mr. Clinton tried to convince his audience that he was trustworthy and to shift the focus to his plans for veterans aid.

"I know we must have the resolve to constantly deter, sometimes to fight, always to win. And as commander in chief, I will fight to ensure that our troops who must go to battle are the best-trained, best-equipped and best-supported in the world," he said.

"What makes a president fit to command, in my view, is faith in God, belief in the greatness of our nation and the goodness of our people, a commitment to keeping America the strongest nation in the world," he added.

Mr. Clinton, who spoke two hours after Mr. Bush's appearance, told the Legionnaires he may not have gotten to where he is today without their help; the group sponsored the Boys Nation program in which he became interested in politics as a high school student.

For veterans, he said he would give them health care, not merge the

veterans' medical system into the welfare system; strengthen ways of combating post-traumatic stress disorder; cut the Department of Veterans' Affairs bureaucracy; and take care of those who were disabled.

Mr. Clinton also said he stood for the American flag. He said that in 1989, when flag burning became a hot-button issue, he signed legislation in Arkansas making it a crime to burn or deface the flag.

With respect to his lack of Vietnam service, he said, "I would have served if I had been so ordered." Although opposed to the policy, he added, "I was never against the heroic men who served in that war. I honored your service then and I honor it still."

The issue of Mr. Clinton's military service first exploded during the Democratic primaries with reports that Mr. Clinton, as a 23-year-old Rhodes scholar at Oxford Univer-

sity, had received a draft notice.

Mr. Clinton originally agreed to go into a ROTC program to defer the draft but then decided to take his chances, partly because he was concerned about his political viability. He was never called for service.

While Mr. Bush has never made a direct attack on Mr. Clinton's draft history, some of his surrogates have and one of his top campaign officials referred to the Democrat as a "draft dodger."

For some of the about 3,500 people at the convention, Mr. Clinton's avoidance of military service was an issue. But they said it was a small factor, greatly eclipsed by economic, health care and veterans' issues.

"I don't think he's got the leadership," said Bert Tiemersma, a 60-year-old Navy veteran in the Korean War, who added that he voted for Mr. Bush in 1988 but was undecided this time. "Bush is a man who volun-

teered, while I think Clinton was a man who backpedaled."

"I like Bush because I like what he's done," said Joe Bucyk of Worth, Ill. "Clinton just hasn't got the get-up-and-go. . . . Times are tough, and we need someone with experience."

"I have a lot of confidence in Bush," added Henry G. Kozlowski, the commander of a Buffalo, N.Y., Legion post. On Mr. Clinton, he said: "I don't think he could do the job."

Gary Harris, a Vietnam veteran from Toledo, Ohio, said he supports Mr. Clinton because of the Vietnam service of his running mate, Sen. Al Gore. "The older guys will vote for Bush but we'll go for Clinton."

Kenneth Dowden, 75, however, had a reason for opposing Mr. Clinton that had nothing to do with the service: "He's just like my son would be, not dry behind the ears yet." Mr. Dowden's son is 45. Mr. Clinton turned 46 last week.

Speeches on a war footing Bush, Clinton address Legion

By J. Jennings Moss
and Paul Bechard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

CHICAGO — The presidential candidates dueling yesterday over military service.

Democrat Bill Clinton told the 74th American Legion convention he hoped veterans would judge him on his ideas, not on the fact he did not serve during the

Vietnam War.

Earlier, President Bush, wearing his Legion cap, recalled his days as a World War II Navy

flier and said, "At the age of 18 I went off to fight, and like many of you I was scared. But I was willing."

Not surprisingly, it was a tougher audience for Mr. Clinton.

"I have to tell you the truth," the Arkansas governor told them. "I was relieved that year when I saw that my number was 311, not because I didn't want to serve my country, but because I believed so strongly that our policy in Vietnam was wrong."

"If any of you here choose to vote against me because of what happened 23 years ago, that is your right as American citizens and I respect that," he added. "But I hope that you will cast your vote while looking toward the future rather than remaining fixed to the problems of the past."

The president never mentioned his opponent by name as he talked about his leadership in the Gulf war; his admiration for those who served in Vietnam and his own experience in World War II.

Mr. Bush, saying "foreign policy . . . requires steady experience and leadership," added that the United

see LEGION, page A8

Time gets took

Time magazine got taken for a wild ride by rogue journalist Lester Coleman on its April cover story, "The Untold Story of Pan Am 103," according to New York magazine. The Time "scoop" charged complicity by the United States in the Lockerbie bombing, a thesis previously put forward by ABC and CBS news. The source of the stories was Mr. Coleman, identified as a former undercover agent for the Defense Intelligence Agency.

The Time story indicated a government cover-up and contradicted Justice Department claims that the bombing was the work of two Libyan terrorists. According to the sensational story, a renegade unit of the Drug Enforcement Administration was involved.

In the view of New York magazine and other investigators, "the most generous possible reading of the story indicates that Time had very little to rely on" in documenting the tale.

Among others who have taken Time to task for falling for Mr. Coleman's fabrications is CNN investigative reporter Steven Emerson. Mr. Emerson, who is writing about the situation for Washington Journalism Review, has been following Mr. Coleman's escapades since 1989. That's when, Mr. Emerson says, Mr. Coleman attempted to plagiarize an article he had written for U.S. News & World Report and pitch it as a book proposal to G.P. Putnam's Sons.

Looking at the broad cultural implications of a prestigious national magazine getting spun around, New York suggests that Time has fallen on bad times because of budget cuts and reliance on the emerging media phenomenon of infotainment.

Maybe. Or maybe, like most of us, editors at Time just believed what they wanted to believe.

INSIDE THE BELTWAY



Conservatively put, David Keene is annoyed by a certain "snotty" quote.

Shame on Torle

David Keene of the American Conservative Union has called on Bush campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke to issue a formal apology for her remark quoted in the Evans and Novak column. Noting that President Reagan and Pat Buchanan had addressed the Republican National Convention, Miss Clarke allegedly said: "Well, now we've got the conservative crap out of the way."

Mr. Keene issued a statement saying Miss Clarke apparently "doesn't understand what politics is all about, and I can tell you it's not just about reeling off snotty quotes to the press. If she thinks what Ronald Reagan and Pat Buchanan had to say was 'crap,' what does she

think about the conservative speeches of Mrs. Quayle, the vice president, Jack Kemp, Phil Gramm and President Bush?"

In accordance with RNC policy on commenting on statements by others, we faxed a copy of Mr. Keene's statement to Miss Clarke's office. No comment so far.

Mining the memories

Steven Ford, the youngest son of former President Gerald Ford, says he'll draw on his experience at the White House when he hosts a new NBC series called "Secret Service." Mr. Ford, 36, was under the constant watchful eyes of Secret Service agents when he lived at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. as a teen-ager.

"First dates were always bizarre," the TV actor told People magazine. "They're hard anyway because you never know if the restaurant's right or if the conversation's going well, let alone having two guys wearing sunglasses and radios in their ears sitting next to you."

The new television series draws on Secret Service files to detail the agency's duties as presidential bodyguards, as well as its investigation of crimes such as counterfeiting and drug dealing.

Telling tales

Catherine Stahl of Huntington, Ind., entertained reporters Saturday with the story of how she whupped young Danny Quayle's backside back in 1950 when he threw sand in her daughter's hair while playing in a sandbox. Actually he did it three times, she re-

called, before her daughter Susie came bawling to her to complain.

Mrs. Stahl said she told the rascal that he'd get a spanking if he kept it up. He kept it up. And she made good on her threat. "That little fellow just ran right across the yard, bawling home," she recalled. "His mother never contacted me about that. She thought it was best to stay out of it."

Danny "never did anything after that," she added. "He was a cute little guy."

Having regaled reporters with the story, Mrs. Stahl, 75, also shared it with the veeep himself. "Tell them I didn't deserve it," said the vice president. "My mother always said I was a perfect child."

"You did," Mrs. Stahl insisted. "Well, don't tell them what I did to deserve it," countered Mr. Quayle, laughing.

She confessed she had already achieved her 15 — make that 30 — minutes of fame.

"You already did? It will be all over the press," lamented Mr. Quayle. Reasonable assumption.

Shot in the foot

A couple of callers busted on us yesterday for the item about the Jewish group that spelled God "G-d" in a press release. Seems the group has strict rules that you can't throw away anything that contains the name God. So they use the shorthand to avoid a lot of storage problems. While we abide by the rules set out in the Associated Press stylebook, which doesn't contain any such restrictions, we also do not wish to offend anyone unintentionally. Sorry.

The party united

"I always like it when the rich and the super-rich can get together and settle their differences," NBC's Jay Leno said after watching the Republican National Convention.

— John Elvin

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1992 ★ R

Bush calls Democrats threat to autoworkers

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

CANTON, Mich. — President Bush brought his search for blue-collar "Reagan Democrats" to the Rust Belt yesterday, warning that the Democrats are "environmental extremists" whose policies would destroy the auto industry.

Speaking to a wildly enthusiastic crowd of 6,000, Mr. Bush also charged that while Democratic opponent Bill Clinton has a "lousy record" in his state of Arkansas on the environment, he has now cloaked himself in "bright green" to win the powerful environmental vote.

"Listen to... his own chairman of the Arkansas Pollution Control and Ecology Commission who said that the Arkansas laws are so lenient that, 'If California was operating on the laws of Arkansas, you'd have to wear a gas mask,'" said Mr. Bush.

In a savage attack that is becoming typical on the campaign trail, Mr. Bush said the Arkansas governor "has gone all the way over from that lousy record now to becoming bright green. He's turned that bright and if Clinton has his way, Michigan autoworkers are going to be turning green with illness."

In his first two-pronged attack on the Democratic ticket, Mr. Bush chased Democratic vice presidential candidate Al Gore, who recently wrote a book that calls for radical changes to upgrade the environment.

Reading from pages 325 and 326 of Mr. Gore's book "Earth in the Balance," Mr. Bush said that Mr. Gore wants to outlaw the internal-combustion engine because of the pollution it causes.

"What kind of people are we dealing with here?" a shrill Mr. Bush asked to cheers.

"Whackos" answered Matt Hinchey of Canton.

"Bill Clinton's ideas will take away jobs," added Michigan's Republican Gov. John Engler in his warm-up talk that got the crowd in a frenzy.

Mr. Engler and many in the au-

dience said the Rust Belt vote will be decided by how the candidates address threats to the auto industry.

Brian Sample of Canton agreed. "You have to play up the auto industry here. That's what the economy is all about."

Walt Balcon of Coldwater, some 100 miles from this Detroit suburb, said the auto industry "is a big issue" in the northern Midwest and agreed with Mr. Bush that the Clinton-Gore proposals affecting the auto industry would "put a lot of these guys out of work."

Mr. Engler noted Mr. Bush's drive to sell American products overseas and said that the president is "fighting for cars" in the world market.

Added Mr. Bush, "He wants to turn inward and protect. I want to look out and expand."

Mr. Bush's motorcade, while traveling to the Willow Run Airport in neighboring Ypsilanti, passed by General Motors Corp.'s Willow Run assembly plant, which is slated to be shut down next year in the Detroit firm's recent decision to cut its size.

With car companies cutting back in light of foreign competition, the Bush-Quayle campaign has sought

to cast Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore as foes of the auto industry and smokestack industries in general.

The reason: with the Bush campaign moving to shore up its support in the South and the Clinton campaign ahead in the North, the so-called "Rust Belt" of states reaching from Pennsylvania to Illinois is expected to become the Electoral College battleground, according to senior Bush administration officials. The area is rich in so-called "Reagan Democrats" who are more conservative than other Democrats.

In a briefing paper stamped "internal campaign use only," the Bush-Quayle campaign laid out a scathing attack on Mr. Clinton for supporting new regulations written in congressional language that would require automakers to raise the average miles-per-gallon rate of their fleet to 40, up from 27.5.

Called Corporate Average Fuel Efficiency standards, or CAFE for short, the regulations are violently opposed by the automakers, who say it would put possibly 1 million workers in unemployment lines if forced to meet the requirements.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Gatlin Brothers
Gatlin Brothers Enterprises
7003 Chadwick Drive
Brentwood, Tennessee 37027



THE PRESIDENT

August 26, 1992

Dear Larry, Steve, and Rudy,

Your rendition of the "Star Spangled Banner" on Thursday evening at the Convention was really inspiring. You started that evening off on a perfect note and got me ready for my big speech.

Many, many thanks for being with us in Houston. Barbara and I are grateful for your friendship and support.

Warmest regards,

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

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Gerald McRaney
9200 Sunset Boulevard
Suite 330
Los Angeles, California 90069



THE PRESIDENT

August 26, 1992

Dear Gerald,

Many, many thanks for your participation at the Convention. Your introduction of Marilyn Quayle on Wednesday night was wonderful and I loved your skit at the Gala with Cheryl Ladd.

The convention was great and I'm fired up for the days ahead. Barbara and I really appreciate your coming to Houston to be with us. We will win in November!

With best wishes,

*You were
terrific!*

A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely belonging to George H.W. Bush, written in dark ink.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.



Mr. Emile J. Roy
7 Ridgeway Avenue
Sanford, Maine 04073



THE PRESIDENT

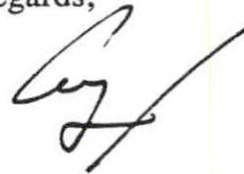
August 26, 1992

Dear Emile,

Barbara and I want to thank you for those wonderful "limited edition" campaign buttons. They have been added to our collection and will eventually go to the Presidential Library.

We appreciate your strong support and your freindship.

Warm regards,



cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)
Charles Free (Gift
Unit w/Pin)
Shirley Green (fyi)

Jan Burmeister



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