

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

FOIA Number:
2009-0166-S

FOIA MARKER

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

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

OA/ID Number: 90712
Folder ID Number: 90712-005

Folder Title:
Monday, August 31, 1992

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Memo	To President Bush, Re: President's trip to survey storm damage in Louisiana; redactions. (1 pp.)	08/31/92	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	
02. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redaction. (1 pp.)	08/31/92	(b)(3)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, August 31, 1992

Pinksheet Number: RML16029

OA/ID Number: 90712-005

Date Closed: 12/16/2024

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Processed by: Matt Lee

Processed by:

Processed by:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

AUGUST 31, 1992

MEETING WITH HOUSING AND CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY LEADERS
TO DISCUSS HURRICANE ANDREW RELIEF EFFORTS

DATE: AUGUST 31, 1992
TIME: 2:00 P.M.
LOCATION: THE ROOSEVELT ROOM
THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST
FROM: JEFF VOGT
WALTER HAZLITT

I. PURPOSE:

To discuss Hurricane Andrew relief efforts with housing and construction industry leaders. To hear what these organizations are doing to help in this effort and to encourage the private sector to redouble their efforts to help those in need.

II. BACKGROUND:

This meeting is the first of three meetings you will have today with private sector organizations to discuss Hurricane Andrew relief efforts. You will have two other meetings, including one with volunteer organizations, followed by an insurance and small business groups meeting.

The meeting provides a good opportunity to highlight the federal government's relief efforts. You will also hear how some of those organizations in attendance have mobilized to help residents in Florida and Louisiana rebuild. The National Association of Home Builders, for example, has a disaster relief team on the ground in Florida, helping homeowners rebuild. Meanwhile, the Manufactured Housing Institute, which manufactures mobile homes, is active in supplying needed housing for those left homeless by the storm.

Some of the organizations in attendance have not been active. You could encourage them to offer their assistance to serve as examples for the private sector around the country to "pitch in."

II. BACKGROUND: (continued)

Secretary Card, coordinator of the federal relief effort, is in Florida today. Transportation's Chief of Staff, Michael Jackson, will be in attendance to answer specific questions regarding federal efforts.

FYI: Organizations in attendance are generally very supportive of Administration policies. The Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC), however, were recently disappointed by the Solicitor General's (SG) "union only" ruling in the Boston Harbor Clean Up project. The SG had provided his interpretation of the applicable laws regarding such work, as requested by the Supreme Court. The SG ruling runs totally contrary to ABC's "open shop" credo.

III. PARTICIPANTS:

The President
Chief of Staff Baker
Secretary Kemp

Michael Jackson, Chief of Staff, Department of
Transportation

Approximately 14 homebuilding and construction industry
leaders (see list attached).

IV. PRESS PLAN:

Stills only.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

--You arrive Roosevelt Room.
--You make brief remarks.
--You open the meeting up for a general discussion.
--You conclude discussion and depart.

VI. REMARKS:

Talking points provided by Public Liaison.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ATTENDEES FOR MEETING WITH HOUSING AND CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY
LEADERS TO DISCUSS HURRICANE ANDREW RELIEF EFFORTS

National Association of Home Builders
Kent Colton, Executive Vice President and COO

Associated Builders and Contractors
Charlie Hawkins, Executive Vice President

Associated General Contractors
Bert Beatty, Executive Vice President

Association of Wall and Ceiling Industries
Gary McKenzie, President

National Lumber and Building Material Dealers Association
Allyn Howe, Director of Government Affairs

Manufactured Housing Institute
Jerry Connors, President

National Roofing Contractors Association
J. Dudley Miles, President

American Cement Alliance
Todd Quinsensberry

National Association of Brick Distributors
Dan Denston, Vice President, Director Member Service

National Association of Plumbing-Heating-Cooling Contractors
Allen Inlow, CEO

American Association of Nurserymen
Robert Dolibois, Executive Vice President

Associated Landscape Contractors of America
Debra Dennis, Executive Director

American Road and Transportation Builders Association
T. Peter Ruane, President & CEO

American Institute of Architects
Albert C. Eisenberg, Senior Director for Federal Liaison

National Association of the Remodeling Industry
Polly Evans, 1st Vice President

TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH HOMEBUILDING ASSOCIATIONS
2:00 P.M. Monday, August 31, 1992

Thank you all for coming on such short notice.

All of you are well aware of the devastation caused by Hurricane Andrew. Both Florida and Louisiana were hit hard, but the scenes in South Dade County, Florida, are particularly heart-wrenching.

A snapshot of what we're facing:

- 60-80,000 homes destroyed, 180-250,000 homeless

- 2 -

- basic services - water, power, phone, health, food distribution - still severely disrupted

Those elements of the private sector that are key to rebuilding communities- banking and financial services, construction supplies, insurance services, are particularly strained.

- 3 -

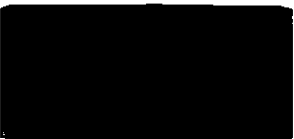
The federal government has a massive relief effort underway -- from providing three meals a day to 60,000 people to bringing in power generators, mobile hospitals and tent cities. We've provided you with a handout on the efforts of the operation that goes into more detail. I want to emphasize that we will continue to do everything we can to ensure that these relief and rebuilding efforts are strong and comprehensive.

- 4 -

The volunteers -- both from organizations and those who just pitch in on their own -- they've been remarkable. I believe that tragedies like this do bring out the very best in the American spirit and we've seen thousands of examples of caring this past week.

Many of you through your organizations have already galvanized your members to help. Whether it's sending technical teams down to help homeowners start rebuilding, or getting your members to send building supplies at a discount, your actions make us all very, very proud.

Later on today I'll be meeting with representative of volunteer organizations, as well as insurance and small business associations. But right now I'd like to hear about some of your efforts and make a pitch to the private sector both here in this room and around the country that others should follow your lead.



1:00 P.M. WIRES

Bush Says 'Real Progress is Being Made' in Hurricane Relief
By CHRISTOPHER CONNELL
Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) _ President Bush conferred today with the heads of the major federal domestic agencies on speeding relief to Hurricane Andrew's victims in south Florida. "Real progress is being made," said the president.

Bush, who cancelled a campaign trip to attend to the problems stirred up by one of worst natural disasters in U.S. history, was also meeting later with the heads of the Social Security Administration and the Postal Service to ensure that Floridians get their pension checks and mail.

Some Florida officials complained loudly last week that the Bush administration was slow to send the military in and help the thousands of homeless after Arew cuts its th of deuction acro Dade and Monroe counties.

But Bush said today, "As far as we're concerned, cooperation between the state and federal is good."

"I think real progress is being made, but there's still an awful lot of human suffering there. And what we all are going to try to do is continue to move forward as fast as we can to help alleviate that," said Bush as he conferred in the Cabinet Room with the secretaries of housing, education and health and the head of the Small Business Administration.

Bush said of his Cabinet officers, "We need to follow up with our agencies and departments in every way we possibly can to assist the victims of this storm."

Bush was also holding three separate meetings later today on the hurricane recovery effort with leaders of the National Association of Homebuilders, the heads of major volunteer groups, and insurance executives and small business leaders.

Bush, who cancelled a weekend vacation trip to Kennebunkport, Maine, said he had sen overe weekend with the city manager of Homestead, Fla., the Dade County director of public safety and a top Florida City manager as well as Gen. Gordon Sullivan, the Army chief of staff who inspected the disaster area Sunday.

Bush said cooperation between the National Guard and the regular Army was "in good shape."

The Army now has 11,510 troops on the ground engaged in the relief operation.

The Bush administration has freed \$300 million in aid to start the recovery, and Bush said Saturday that he will seek a special appropriation from Congress for "whatever amount necessary" to get the job done. Some Florida officials have said the losses are as high as \$20 billion.

Bush said he was prepared to move forward with that request "as soon as we get the estimates, which are pouring in every day. ... I don't have it now."

AP-DS-08-31-92 1209EDT

SALES OF NEW HOMES FELL IN JULY DESPITE LOWER PRICES

WASHINGTON, Reuter - Sales of new homes dropped in July the Commerce Department said Monday, despite cheaper interest rates and the lowest average prices in more than 3 1/2 years.

New-home sales declined 2.6 percent in July to a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 563,000 units.

The figures compared with a revised increase of 5.3 percent in June to a rate of 578,000 units. The department had previously reported a June rise of 7.9 percent.

Wall Street economists had expected sales of new homes to increase to an annual rate of 580,000 units in July.

Despite the fall, however, sales in July were still 11.5 percent higher than a year ago, when sales were at an annual rate of 505,000 units.

The average sales price of a new single-family home dropped by 6.5 percent in July to \$137,500, which department officials said was the lowest average price since \$137,300 in November 1988.

The biggest drop in July home sales occurred in the Northeast, where they fell by 16.9 percent to an annual rate of 64,000. In the South, they fell 10.1 percent to a rate of 231,000 units.

By contrast, in the Midwest, sales rose by 11 percent to a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 111,000 units while in the West they increased by 9 percent to 158,000.

REUTER

Reut10:27 08-31

578

Copyright (c) 1992 Reuters Information Services Inc.
All rights reserved.

ENVOY WANTS U.N. TROOPS TO PREVENT BOSNIA ATROCITIES

By Philippe Naughton

GENEVA, Reuter - A special United Nations investigator called Monday for a major expansion of peacekeeping operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina to give U.N. forces the power to intervene to prevent widespread atrocities.

The investigator, former Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, said in a report to the U.N. Human Rights Commission that massive rights violations were occurring across Bosnia. Although the atrocities were being perpetrated by all sides, he said Bosnian Moslems erconsistly suffng the most.

"There is an urgent need for immediate concerted action," Mazowiecki said.

Earlier this month, Mazowiecki was asked to carry out an emergency investigation of human rights in former Yugoslavia by a special session of the U.N. rights body.

Given less than two weeks to sort fact from fiction, he could spend only five days in Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia.

Because of those time restraints, Mazowiecki said, he concentrated only on the "most urgent" problems and particularly the conflict in Bosnia.

But his 20-page report, which has also been sent to U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the Security Council, covers all the most serious allegations. It was described by diplomats as an authoritative document.

In it Mazowiecki does not hesitate to make his own recommendations to curb abuses, the most controversial being to expand the mandate of the U.N. Protection Force, at present being used primarily to protect aid convoys.

Boutros-Ghali said after last week's London Cferen on Yugoslav that U. troop mbers wd be ineased, b that ir mission wod remain unchanged

Mazowiecki said a larger U.N. contingent should cover the whole of Bosnia, not just selected U.N.-protected zones. He proposed that the troops be allowed to react directly to human rights violations and to help victims.

REUTER

Reut10:33 08-31

580

Copyright (c) 1992 Reuters Information Services Inc.
All rights reserved.

VOTE OF NO CONFIDENCE AGAINST YUGOSLAV PREMIER PROPOSED

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Reuter - A vote of no confidence in Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic was proposed in the federal parliament Monday over his handling of international peace talks in London last week.

It was supported by 68 members of the ruling Socialist Party and its allied Radical Party. They accused Panic of going beyond his mandate at the conference.

According to parliamentary rules, three days should elapse between the introduction of a no-confidence motion and a debate on it.

Vojislav Seselj, a strong supporter of the former communist Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, said all 30 members of his nationalist Radi Party signed the motion.

A vote of no-confidence forcing Panic to resign would cause a fresh political crisis in Yugoslavia.

Panic, a Yugoslav-born American millionaire, took office last month pledging to restore peace between Serbia and the former Yugoslav republics which have become independent.

He has also urged economic reforms and the establishment of Western-style democracy in the rump Yugoslavia, whose political institutions are still colored by their roots in the postwar communist era.

REUTER

Reut09:39 08-31

571

Copyright (c) 1992 Reuters Information Services Inc.
All rights reserved.

U.N. Announces Big Increase in Food Aid for Somalia
By DANIEL J. WAKIN
Associated Press Writer

ROME (AP) — The United Nations today increased its food aid to Somalia by more than 100 percent.

U.N. officials told a news conference that the world body had decided to send another 79,200 tons of food to the starving country. It previously committed 75,900 tons, more than half of which now has been delivered.

A ton of food is considered adequate to feed about 2,000 people for one day. International relief officials have estimated that as many as 2 million of Somalia's people are threatened by starvation.

The new aid is worth about \$26 million and should be delivered over a period of three months, said Catherine Bertini, head of the U.N. World Food Program.

"A total collapse of the state" has made it difficult to make sure hungry people get the aid, said the U.N.'s chief in Somalia, Mohamed Sahnou.

On Friday, an armed gang backed by three tanks seized more than 230 tons of food in Mogadishu's port, wounding two U.N. peacekeepers.

Bertini said roughly half of the U.N. aid so far had been looted or stolen from distribution points. But most of the stolen goods are foodstuffs considered particularly valuable on the black market, such as sugar, vegetable oil and powdered milk, the two officials stressed.

Sahnoun said 80-85 percent of donated grains made it to hungry people.

He said the first of 3,500 U.N. troops promised to guard the food should begin taking up positions in Mogadishu and elsewhere in the country in the next few days.

"These will help us limit the looting. We will not be able to do away with it," he said.

The United States, Germany and Canada also are airlifting foodstuffs to remote parts of the country.

AP-DS-08-31-92 1137EDT

SECOND WEEK OF MIDEAST PEACE TALKS STARTS

WASHINGTON, Reuter - The second week of a month-long series of Middle East peace talks began Monday with Israelis and Palestinians still deeply divided over Palestinian self-rule in the occupied West Bank and Gaza strip.

Israelis and Palestinians held a morning meeting at the State Department after a weekend recess during which two Palestinian delegates flew to Tunis, Tunisia, to consult leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Israelis were due to hold separate meetings with Syria and Jordan Monday afternoon, delegates said. They said talks between Israel and Lebanon would resume Tuesday.

Israel proposed last week that Palestinians in the occupied territories elect an administrative council with limited powers, but the Palestinians demanded an assembly able to pass laws like a sovereign parliament.

Although the two sides are in Washington to negotiate a five-year-period of interim self-rule, Palestinian and Israeli proposals appear geared toward deciding now whether a final settlement will give the Palestinians an independent state. REUTER

Reut10:30 08-31

579

Copyright (c) 1992 Reuters Information Services Inc.
All rights reserved.

KUWAITI KILLED, SWEDE WOUNDED ON IRAQI BORDER

NICOSIA, Cyprus, Reuter - A Kuwaiti security man was killed and two people, including a U.N. officer from Sweden, were wounded in an exchange of fire between a Kuwaiti patrol and Iraqi infiltrators, the Kuwaiti news agency KUNA said Monday. The Swede, Lt. Col. Anders Westberg, told Reuters by telephone he was shot in the leg in Kalashnikov crossfire between the two sides in the incident Sunday. He was in good condition in a hospital in Kuwait.

Westberg is a member of the U.N. Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM), which monitors a cease-fire on the border. The Kuwaiti agency said the incident occurred when the Kuwaiti guards clashed with 21 Irs in civilian clothes and armed with machine guns on the Kuwait-Iraq border.

The other casualty was also a Kuwaiti security man.

The agency quoted an Interior Ministry statement as saying UNIKOM men had prevented the Kuwaiti patrol from arresting one of the Iraqis and taking him to a security center.

Westberg said he could not comment further on the incident, and the UNIKOM spokesman in Kuwait was not available.

REUTER

Reut09:55 08-31

574

Copyright (c) 1992 Reuters Information Services Inc.
All rights reserved.

Haitian Refugees Set Fire To Structures At Guantanamo

WASHINGTON (AP) — Angry Haitian refugees on Saturday set fire to temporary living structures at their camp at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, where many have been stranded after testing positive for the virus that causes AIDS.

About 50 of the refugees protesting camp security measures and demanding to be returned to Haiti took part in the incident, the Navy said in a statement today.

The y said y burned 12 temporary structures built to house 20 people each. The buildings were empty at the time and no one was hurt except a firefighter who sustained a minor injury.

The Haitians were protesting the segregation of 20 of their fellow refugees who were being housed in a separate area as a safety precaution for violating camp rules, the Navy said.

Of the 293 refugees remaining at Guantanamo, 233 have tested positive for HIV, the virus that causes AIDS. The others are family members.

All have been accepted as candidates for asylum in the United States, but have been denied entry because of immigration laws barring immigrants who are HIV positive. The court case pitting lawyers for the refugees and the U.S. government is expected to go to the Supreme Court.

Haitians began to flee their island in large numbers following a military coup last September, and as of May this year, before President Bush announced the forced repatriation of those picked up at sea, more than 11,000 were beng housed at the Navy b in Gutanamo while waiting Immigration and Naturalization Service rulings on their applications for asylum.

Since the coup, the Coast Guard has intercepted about 37,000 Haitians escaping Haiti by boat and returned 27,000 to the island. The INS has found grounds to consider political asylum for most of the rest.

AP-DS-08-31-92 1111EDT

1:30 P.M. NEWS UPDATE

HURRICANE RELIEF (Christopher Connell, AP) -- President Bush conferred with the heads of the major federal domestic agencies on speeding relief to Hurricane Andrew's victims in south Florida. "Real progress is being made," said the President. Bush, who cancelled a campaign trip to attend to the problems stirred up by one of the worst natural disasters in U.S. history, was also meeting later with the heads of the Social Security Administration and the Postal Service to ensure that Floridians get their pension checks and mail. Bush said today, "As far as we're concerned, cooperation between the state and federal is good. I think real progress is being made, but there's still an awful lot of human suffering there. And what we all are going to try to do is continue to move forward as fast as we can to help alleviate that," said Bush as he conferred in the Cabinet Room with the secretaries of housing, education and health and the head of the SBA.

(Steven Heilbrunner, UPI) -- President Bush, who postponed a campaign trip to coordinate Florida disaster relief efforts, said "real progress is being made" in helping residents recover from Hurricane Andrew. But having ordered \$300 million in emergency housing aid Saturday that will only scratch the surface of the deep needs in the devastated area, the President was unable to put a price tag on additional funding he would seek from Congress. "We are prepared (to ask Congress) as soon as we get the estimates," Bush said. "They keep pouring in every day."

(Miami/AP) -- Navy ships arrived in Miami with heavy-duty relief supplies, carpenters and electricians, as the governor increased the estimate of homes ruined by Hurricane Andrew to 85,000. The Army's long-promised tent cities began going up, free buses rolled through jammed rush-hour traffic and authorities lifted their order to boil drinking water in the northern half of Dade County. Health fears remained as uncollected garbage rotted in the open air, mosquitoes swarmed over the soggy ground, and about 150,000 people remained without adequate shelter.

WISCONSIN TORNADO (Wautoma, Wis./UPI) -- FEMA officials visited the site of a Saturday night tornado to determine whether the area should be declared a federal disaster area. At least two residents area dead and more than 100 are homeless after a tornado ripped just southwest of this central Wisconsin town of 1,745 people, officials said. About 25 to 30 people were injured, but only three were treated for serious injuries.

CLINTON AD (Little Rock/AP) -- Bill Clinton opens the air wars of the fall presidential race with a commercial pledging to create 8 million jobs, but Republicans say the spot lacks "truth in advertising." Clinton's campaign released a 60-second commercial Sunday that is set to begin airing in several targeted states. It pushes his achievements as Arkansas governor and says his economic strategy would create 8 million new jobs in the first four years. The Bush-Quayle re-election team said the Democrat's jobs pledge in the new broadcast advertisement "flies in the face of reality." "He has absolutely promised \$150 billion in new taxes and \$220 billion in additional government spending, which will wipe out jobs, rather than create them," said Torie Clarke.

-more-

(Little Rock/AP) -- ..."George Bush promised 15 million new jobs in the first four years -- he's 14 million-plus short," Clinton said, responding to Republican attacks that his new 60-second commercial lacks "truth in advertising." "They have no credibility to say anything about jobs," Clinton said of Republicans. "All they know how to do is give more money to the richest Americans, bankrupt the country and run the economy into the ditch."

PALESTINIAN PRISONERS/ISRAEL (Nahal Oz, Israel/AP) -- Israel began the gradual release of about 600 Arabs jailed for alleged roles in the Palestinian uprising as a gesture of good will coinciding with peace talks in Washington, the army said. The first 81 prisoners, all from the Gaza Strip, were freed just hours before the start of the second week of the negotiations.

NEW HOME SALES (AP) -- Sales of new homes fell in July for the fourth time this year, despite the lowest mortgage rates in 19 years, the departments of Commerce and HUD said. New homes were sold at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 563,000 last month, down 2.6 percent from the month before, the departments said. "We're off to a pretty lackluster beginning for the third quarter," said economist David Seiders of the National Association of Home Builders. "Clearly we have a tug of war going on between very attractive interest rates and the factors that are causing rates to be low: consumer confidence problems and the poor job market."

RUSSIAN TROOPS/BALTICS (Moscow/Reuter) -- Russia is ready to withdraw all its troops from the Baltic states next year, a senior foreign ministry official told Reuters. The official said he had "unofficial information" that Boris Yeltsin would make the offer of withdrawal to Lithuanian leader Landsbergis at a meeting Sept. 8.

###

DOOR

8/31/92
2:00PM

DOOR

Secretary Kemp

Albert C. Eisenberg
American Institute of ArchitectsDan Denston
National Association of Brick DistributorsPolly Evans
National Association of the Remodeling IndustryAllyn Howe
National Lumber and
Building Material Dealers AssociationAllen Inlow
National Association of
Plumbing-Heating-Cooling ContractorsJ. Dudley Miles
National Roofing Contractors AssociationRobert Dolibois
American Association of NurserymenKent Colton
National Association of Home BuildersDebra Dennis
Associated Landscape Contractors of America

The President

Todd Quinsberry
American Cement AllianceGary McKenzie
Association of Wall and Ceiling IndustriesJerry Connors
Manufactured Housing InstituteCharlie Hawkins
Associated Builders and ContractorsBert Beatty
Associated General Contractors

Michael Jackson

T. Peter Ruane
American Road and Transportation
Builders AssociationDirk Van Dongen
National Association
Wholesaler-DistributorsElaine Smith
Air Conditioning Contractors of America

Secretary Baker

The Roosevelt Room

DOOR

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 31, 1992

MEETING WITH MAJOR VOLUNTEER AND NATIONAL
SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

DATE: August 31, 1992

TIME: 3:00 p.m.

LOCATION: Roosevelt Room

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST *DD*

FROM: CECE KREMER *CK*
BETTINA BRENAN *BB*

I. PURPOSE

To meet with major volunteer and national service organizations to coordinate efforts with the disaster relief initiatives in Florida and Louisiana.

II. BACKGROUND

Because of the havoc and destruction created by Hurricane Andrew, many volunteer organizations have initiated programs to assist Americans in these disaster areas. By inviting representatives from the country's national volunteer and service organizations, the Administration can continue to unify these volunteer efforts. A White House briefing with you offers these groups an opportunity to come together to discuss relief efforts already in place, determine additional areas in need of focus and galvanize support from additional organizations. In addition, the groups will provide you with an update of their initiatives and plans for future assistance.

To date volunteer organizations have brought together thousands of volunteers and staff members to provide food and shelter to Americans affected by Hurricane Andrew. The Red Cross has enlisted the assistance of approximately 3000 staff and volunteers. Eleven National Disaster relief experts have flown in from across the country to provide relief. At the outset of the storm, the Red Cross provided 300 shelters serving over 100,000 Americans. To date the Red Cross has served 2 million meals and has opened 12 family service centers to provide vouchers where people can buy necessary supplies.

The Salvation Army has relief teams which are on-site to provide relief to ravaged areas in Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama. The Salvation Army has organized over 100,000 disaster workers and were one of the first on the scene. Warehouses are receiving and distributing tractor-trailer shipments from across the nation.

The United Methodist Committee on Relief has contributed financial assistance. Volunteers have installed a special Hotline telephone service, and continue to work to provide meals to those without food.

Catholic Charities has provided financial assistance as well as volunteers who have helped distribute food. In the future, the Catholic Charities USA Disaster Response Office will focus on helping people not covered by insurance and/or not eligible for government assistance.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Chief of Staff Baker
Michael Jackson, Chief of Staff, Transportation
14 representatives from volunteer and service organizations
(see attached list)

IV. PRESS PLAN

Stills Only.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

You arrive Roosevelt Room.
You make opening remarks and begin discussion.
You conclude discussion and depart.

VI. REMARKS

Talking Points Provided by Public Liaison.

PARTICIPANTS LIST

Quentin Remein, D.C. Liaison for the National Volunteer Organization Active in Disaster, Christian Reformed World Relief Committee

Kenneth Lutgen, Jr., Executive Director, United Methodist Committee on Relief

Robert L. Woodson, President, National Center for Neighborhood Enterprises

William Reno, Senior Vice President/National Operations, American Red Cross

Joseph Heiney-Gonzalez, Deputy Director, Catholic Charities, USA

Colonel Walter French, Director of Public Affairs and Emergency and Disaster Coordination, Salvation Army

Richard Schubert, President and CEO, Points of Light Foundation

Elaine Chao, President-elect of United Way

Carol Capps, Director of Washington Office, Church World Services

Ricardo Clarence Byrd, Federal Transit Administration Project Manager, National Association of Neighborhoods

Teresa Davis, President, United States Junior Chamber of Commerce

Kate Perrin, Director of Public Relations, American College of Emergency Physicians

Dr. Raymond Scalettar, Chairman of the Board, American Medical Association

Delton Franz, Director of D.C. Office, Mennonite Central Committee

Russell Shaw, Director of Washington Operations, Knights of Columbus

Mark Talisman, Director of Washington Operations, Council of Jewish Federations

TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS
3:00 P.M. Monday, August 31, 1992

- Thank you all for coming on such short notice.
- All of you are well aware of the devastation caused by Hurricane Andrew. Both Florida and Louisiana were hit hard, but the scenes in South Dade County, Florida, are particularly heart-wrenching. The human suffering has touched all Americans.

- 2 -

- A snapshot of what we're facing:
 - 60-80,000 homes destroyed, 180-250,000 homeless
 - basic services - water, power, phone, health, food distribution - still severely disrupted
- Those elements of the private sector that are key to rebuilding communities- banking and financial services, construction supplies, insurance services, are particularly strained.

- 3 -

- The federal government has a massive relief effort underway -- from providing three meals a day to 60,000 people to bringing in power generators, mobile hospitals and tent cities. We've provided you with a handout on the efforts of the operation that goes into more detail. I want to emphasize that we will continue to do everything we can to ensure that these relief and rebuilding efforts are strong and comprehensive.

- 4 -

- I can't say enough about the volunteers -- both from organized groups and those who just pitch in on their own -- they've been remarkable. I believe that tragedies like this do bring out the very best in the American spirit -- neighbor helping neighbor -- we've seen thousands of examples of caring this past week.

- 5 -

- Many of you through your organizations have already galvanized thousands of Americans to help. Whether it's organizing food banks, setting up emergency medical services, or just giving aid and comfort to people in need, your actions make us all very, very proud.

- 6 -

- We've got to ensure that our relief efforts are well-coordinated. All of you know that the Red Cross is the lead agency working with FEMA. I urge you all to continue working hand-in-hand to get the most help to those most in need.

- 7 -

- Remember, this has got to be a long-term commitment. It will take months to rebuild these communities. In many ways the hardest work is yet to come -- after the TV crews move on to something else, when the urgency of the moment seems to have passed. These will be the times that test our commitment to guarantee to the victims of this terrible tragedy that we're with them for the long haul. I know we'll be up to the challenge.
- 

- 8 -

- Earlier today I met with homebuilding private sector associations -- many of them are doing wonderful things. Later I'll be with some insurance and small business organizations. Now, I'd like to hear about some of your efforts. I know your resources are severely strained, I'm determined to challenge all Americans to help give you the kind of support you need.

2:00 P.M. WIRES

Gore Says GOP Pushing False Choice Between Jobs, Environment
By ROBERT NAYLOR JR.
Associated Press Writer

OAKLAND, Calif. (AP) — Al Gore said today that President Bush had "turned his back on the environment" and the Democrat insisted that America need not choose between creating jobs and protecting the environment.

Gore delivered his message while touring a foundry with environmentally safe manufacturing processes.

"The main issue in this campaign is jobs. Nothing else is going to work well in America until we provide jobs, jobs for Americans, until we put our people back to work and get our economy moving again," Gore told workers at American Brass and Iron.

"And whereas Bush and Quayle are saying we have choos between jobs and the environment, and they haven't done a good job with either one of them, you can create jobs and have economic success while protecting the environment and leading the way toward environmental responsibility."

Gore said Bush had failed to live up to his promise to be the environmental president, adding, "Now Republicans and Democrats alike really have to chuckle a little bit when they hear that 'environmental president' applied to George Bush."

Gore said Bush has "turned his back on the environment. He appointed at least one good person, but he appointed a lot of anti-environmentalists and he went about gutting the law." Aides said they believe the environment is an important issue to Americans, taking a back seat only to jobs, the economy and health care.

Gore also criticized the White House for supporting most-favored-nation status for China. Gore said he and Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton did not believe the special trade stat should graed to "one of the worst communist dictatorships in the world with a record of human rights violations as long as your arm, ignoring fair trade practices."

"We have supported measures that would tell China, look, we want you to come into the family of free nations. We want you to stop violating the human rights of your citizens, we want you to stop the unfair practices you are now engaged in and when you make those changes we will extend MFN status to you and not before."

Gore, campaigning Sunday in Monterey, Calif., said that Americans cannot depend on Bush to protect natural resources because the president has appointed people willing to "ravage and exploit" natural resources.

And the Tennessee senator said development of products that do not harm the environment will prove to be a source of new jobs and the United States must be a leader in what he calls the environmental revolution.

Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle have accused the Democrats of supporting envirmetal otections so strict that they would cost the jobs of millions of workers in such industries as automobile manufacturing.

But Gore said: "Bill Clinton and I believe deeply in our hearts that the United States of America can create millions of new jobs by leading the environmental revolution ... creating the new products and procedures that make it profitable to have products that won't destroy the environment."

The debate over whether Democrats or Republicans would formulate a more sensible environmental policy has become increasingly intense.

The Republicans have labeled Gore, author of a best-selling book on the environment, as an environmental extremist. He has been the primary spokesman for the Democratic presidential campaign on the issue.

Gore, using pristine Monterey Bay as a backdrop for his latest attack on administration environmental policies, said the White House had been dragged "kicking and screaming" into accepting federal environmental protections

AP-08-31-92327EDT

Bush Authorizes Bigger Federal Subsidies for Public TV

(AP) _ President Bush has 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 appropriate the money.

The law signed Aug. 26 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-middleclass 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 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.

Navy More Cooperative in Coverage of Confrontation With Iraq
ABOARD THE USS INDEPENDENCE (AP) When the major American television networks wanted to send film showing the first U.S. Navy pilots returning from missions over southern Iraq, the Navy took an unprecedented step.

A helicopter was diverted from one of the smaller vessels in the USS Independence battle group in the Persian Gulf to whisk the footage of the night landings to shore.

Such cooperation is a far cry from what happened during the Gulf War, when reporters complained bitterly about restrictions on news coverage.

When the war was starting, reporters aboard the USS John F. Kennedy were closeted in a stateroom and prevented from talking to the crew.

But when President Bush announced recently the United States would join France and Britain in enforcing the "no fly" zone in southern Iraq, reporters aboard the Independence were immediately assigned to the squadrons in their ready rooms.

"By comparison, it's stunning how much access we've been given. During the war we were initially barred from even sitting in the same dining room with the pilots," said Carol Morello, Middle East correspondent for The Philadelphia Inquirer and a veteran of the Gulf War Navy pool.

"Here, we've been given the opportunity to talk to pilots before they go into their mission debriefings," she said.

During the Gulf War, the military imposed blanket restrictions on the press and sought to control reporters through combat pools escorted by military officers.

Those who operated outside the pool system were refused access to operational areas and frequently clashed with military authorities. Some were detained.

Overall, military censorship and control of the press were probably more severe than in any other U.S. war.

Reporting on the current confrontation has been helped by savvy public affairs officers with enough press experience to understand deadlines and to avoid mixing picture-hungry television crews with print reporters seeking in-depth interviews.

During the Gulf War, dispatches were sometimes held up by a lengthy review process.

Reporters on the Independence are also asked to submit dispatches for review before transmission. But Cmdr. Steve Burnett, the 39-year-old Navy spokesman from Granby, Mo., said that's only to check for accuracy. So far, no material has been delayed. Some disagreement continues, however, over what constitutes operational information that cannot be reported under military censorship rules.

In many ways, the Independence is becoming the press hotel of the confrontation, because Gulf Arab states, less supportive of the action against Iraq, have limited or barred reporters from their territory.

About 20 reporters have been quartered in the carrier's infirmary. The reporters have satellite telephone lines, fax machines, and cellular phones from shore working almost 24 hours a day. The massive bills have yet to be worked out.

ISRAEL FREES ABOUT 200 PALESTINIAN PRISONERS IN GOODWILL GESTURE
By Taher Shriteh

NAHAL OZ, Israel, Reuter - Palestinian families embraced in tearful reunions Monday after Israel freed almost 200 prisoners as a goodwill gesture to coincide with Middle East peace talks in Washington.

Several busloads of prisoners were freed at the Nahal Oz checkpoint, an entrance to the occupied Gaza Strip where 750,000 Palestinians live. Others were taken to the occupied West Bank.

Gaza Strip residents, taken to Nahal Oz, were welcomed by exuberant relatives singing nationalist songs, dancing and cheering.

"By blood and spirit, we will redeem Palestine," they chanted. Others could only cry.

Many of the hundreds of anxious Gazans waiting at the checkpoint were disappointed when their relatives did not appear.

The army said 195 prisoners were freed Monday, including 13 who had completed their terms. Another 157 were to be released Tuesday, an army spokeswoman said.

An army statement said a total of 600 prisoners would be released over a few days as part of the government's peace gesture toward Palestinians.

"The released prisoners were jailed for all violations except murder and manslaughter and all had completed two-thirds of their terms," the spokeswoman said.

An estimated 10,000 Palestinians are in prison.

Some prisoners said they had been freed a few months early. But several said they were due for release now, and one said his release was even delayed by three days.

"The Israeli initiative to release prisoners and open some roads is an operation to win over public opinion and world attention," said Munzer Kasas, 23, of Gaza, who had 49 days left on his 28-month sentence.

The gesture was one of several by the new center-right Israeli government announced before a sixth round of Middle East peace talks began last week in Washington.

Others included cancellation of 11 Palestinians' expulsion orders and reopening roads and houses sealed during a nearly 5-year-old uprising against Israel in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Most prisoners freed Monday were residents of the West Bank. They were released at Dahariya near Hebron.

Faika Rajab from the Gaza Strip wept when she first embraced her son Zuheir, 30. He was freed two months before the end of a three-year term for throwing firebombs and distributing leaflets. Zuheir's three brothers remain in prison.

When Zuheir arrived home, he had a tearful reunion with his wheelchair-bound father, who was paralyzed by a stroke while he was in prison.

"I wish that a peace settlement would prevail and we will get our rights, our land. We don't want just autonomy," Zuheir said.

Israel has proposed giving Palestinians limited self-rule but rejects calls for an independent state.

REUTER

Reut11:18 08-31

587

Copyright (c) 1992 Reuters Information Services Inc.
All rights reserved.

DOOR

8/31/92

3:00PM

DOOR

Richard Schubert, Points of
Light Foundation

Delton Franz ☐
Director of D.C. Office,
Mennonite Central

☐ Kate Perrin
Director of Public Relatic
American College of
Emergency Physicians

Ricardo Clarence Byrd ☐
Federal Transit Admin...
Project Manager, National
Association of Neighborhoods

☐ Robert L. Woodson
President, National
Center for Neighborhood
Enterprises

Carol Capps ☐
Director of D.C. Office,
Church World
Services

☐ Colonel Walter French,
Director of Public Affai
and Emergency and Disast
Coordination, Salvation Ar

Dr. Raymond Scalettar ☐
Chairman of the Board
American Medical
Association

☐ The President

Elain Chao ☐
President-elect of
United Way

☐ Teresa Davis, President
United States Junior
Chamber of Commerce

Joseph Heiney-Gonzalez ☐
Catholic Charities, USA

☐ William Reno
American Red Cross

Kennith Lutgen ☐
United Methodist
Committee on Relief

☐ Quentin Remein
Christian Reform
World Relief-Committee

Mark Talisman
Council of Jewish Federations

Russell Shaw
Knights of Columbus

☐
James Baker

The Roosevelt Room

DOOR

SECURE

Presidential Phone Calls



DATE: 8-31-92 TIME: 12⁵⁴
Incoming/outgoing

WITH: Sec. Cheney

SUBJECT: 26 mill. for F-15's
can keep line open

Clinton says for it - but waffles
we need to make it clear

Houderdal - last time base
change - missed being closed

FOLLOW UP: Now select new commission
and '93 closings -

8 specific criteria =
officials have to say - no
political impact

SECURE
Presidential Phone Calls



DATE: _____ TIME: _____
incoming/outgoing

WITH: _____

SUBJECT: 3 39 minutes, Deployed

from 14:00 -

1000 civilians on base

400 personnel

other civilians, relocated

didn't know what Putin -

F told him H's head should

stay open - well talk

FOLLOW UP: to 10:00

① T & B on line with me to

Cheney

② F told Brent in -



THE PRESIDENT

To JABIII

File

From: GB

Re: Jack Stein and Jewish Community.

Stein called telling me of following concerns in community

1. Pat Buchanan viewed as a menace. Stay clear!
2. Separation of Church and state. Reacting to comments on GOD etc. Negative. Community strongly for separation church and state.
3. Big Tent on abortion. He encounters lots of criticism on 'bortion.
4. Free Trade with Mexico. Concern in the community about this. Fear job loss. I said "who is concerned". He said 'business people"
5. Scoring on loan guarantees important. Also " We see where Clinton has come out for F-15's. If you can hold off 'til post election so much the better.

He's got a full campagin schedule on our behalf. Three speeches tonight to Jewish groups in NYC. JUST FYI

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - GEORGE BUSH HANDWRITING

HHS INITIATIVES IN RESPONSE TO HURRICANE ANDREW

FLORIDA

- o Currently the Public Health Service has activated 6 Disaster Medical Assistance Teams (DMAT), representing 278 professionals that are capable of providing everything from emergency room services, to primary and acute care, to prescription filling.
- o The Public Health Service has detailed a preventive medicine unit to Florida, to insure water safety and mosquito control. Also, an NDMS Mental Health Team has been deployed to support active DMATs and the disaster field office in Miami. Additional mental health units stand ready to deploy as soon as mental health contacts on the ground can determine the extent of the needs.
- o The PHS has deployed a medical aid station at the Disaster field office at Miami International Airport. Additionally, PHS has provided a staff kitchen and water supplies for personnel operating out of the disaster field office.
- o In addition, FDA and CDC personnel are on the ground checking pharmaceuticals and insuring the safety of the food supply.
- o The Social Security Administration reports that procedures have been instituted to insure that all beneficiaries will receive their SSA and SSI checks in a timely manner. SSA staff, in coordination with FEMA and the U.S. Postal Service, will be on hand at all affected post offices with SSA computers to issue SSA and SSI checks to those who do not have mail delivery. SSA has aired public service announcements over local media outlets, as well as sound trucks and posted notices, to inform the public about these procedures. SSI checks are in Dade County and will begin be distributed beginning on Sunday, August 30. SSA checks will be ready for delivery on September 3rd (the normal delivery date).
- o In addition, SSA has worked closely with the U.S. Department of Treasury and the Federal Reserve to insure that all direct deposit checks (65 percent of beneficiaries) reach their destination on time.

- o The Secretary has granted accelerated payments (or Periodic Cash Advance Interim Payments) to hospitals who face significant cash flow problems. This immediate assistance is necessary in light of hospital costs pertaining to the transferring of patients, suspended billing procedures, and emergency repairs to hospital structures.
- o HCFA reports that 21 of 27 Hospitals in Dade County are operational. Patients have been transferred from the closed facilities to other institutions. HCFA has waived most restrictions on funds available for the transferring of patients, regardless of their Medicaid/Medicare status.
- o The Commissioner of ^{Aginc} AoA has granted \$200,000 in emergency funds. This money will be used to provide meals, temporary housing, and other assistance to elderly citizens.
- o The Administration for Children and Families reports that in coordination with State of Florida authorities and the U.S. Postal Service, AFDC checks, as well as child support checks, can be picked up at local post offices. ACF is working with SSA to include this information in the SSA public service announcements airing on local media outlets. Additionally, ACF and state authorities are evaluating damage to Head Start sites to identify necessary actions to insure that services are provided once the school year commences.
- o Support will continue to insure the continued delivery of health and social services. The primary threat to citizens is poor sanitation, water-borne diseases, and an unsafe water supply (use of bottled water alleviates this concern). CDC and NIH sanitary units have been deployed to evaluate the threats and institute preventive and educational measures to counter this threat. As necessary we will increase immunization funding, including possible emergency use of cholera vaccine, sanitation and environmental surveillance, injury prevention programs, and food inspection.

Other problems for local residents involve the emotional aftermath of the disaster. We have already deployed mental health evaluation teams and other mental health professionals who will be analyzing the needs and requesting additional staff.

Finally, we must insure that the community and migrant health centers begin functioning again, because they will bear the brunt of the medical needs once the DMATs depart. HHS is also prepared to increase support for violence prevention, child protective services, substance abuse treatment, meals for the elderly, and expanded head start capacity.

PROPOSED TALKING POINTS FOR THE BRIEFING ON HURRICANE ANDREW
Monday, August 31 -- 11:00 a.m.
The Oval Office

- I've just received an update from Secretary Alexander, Secretary Kemp, Secretary Sullivan, and our Small Business Administrator Pat Saiki on the efforts we are making to provide emergency relief to the disaster areas in Florida and Louisiana.
 - In the week since the Hurricane Andrew struck, we have seen a massive effort to provide medical care to the hurricane's victims.
 - Secretary Sullivan tells me that we have in place 6 Disaster Medical teams -- more than 300 medical professionals -- working around the clock to provide emergency care.
 - HHS has also arranged for preventive health and disease units to help protect public health and ensure the safety of food and water in the area.
 - I'm also assured that the Social Security Administration has taken steps with the Postal Service to make sure that Social Security checks will reach the people who need them in the area hit by the hurricane.
 - I know there is also a great deal of concern about the school situation in Florida. Many school buildings have been badly damaged or destroyed, and children are scheduled to start school next week.
 - Our Education Department will direct \$40 million (T) to local authorities to provide transportation to other schools for those students whose schools cannot open, or to assist in establishing temporary classrooms and buildings. We will also be setting up centers in Miami to respond to college students who may need additional assistance.
 - I've asked Lamar Alexander to travel to Florida at the end of this week to meet with the school superintendent and to help ensure that the children of South Florida can return to school with minimum disruption.
 - I've also asked Jack Kemp to work with the state and local officials to ensure that housing funds can be used to rebuild or repair the houses damaged and destroyed by the storm.
- SAiki In addition, our Small Business Administration will provide low-interest loans to homeowners, renters, and business owners whose property has been damaged or destroyed by the Hurricane.

- All this is just a part of the enormous effort being waged by the Defense Department, FEMA, state and local governments, and, of course, the thousands of tireless volunteers who are making a real difference.
- Last week's hurricane affected virtually every aspect of community life in South Florida, and today I simply wanted to restate my intention to assist those communities in every way possible.

8/31/92 11 AM Briefing - ~~to~~ Cab. Room

**ADMINISTRATION'S RESPONSE TO EDUCATIONAL
NEEDS OF VICTIMS OF HURRICANE ANDREW**

President Bush has ordered that emergency actions be put into place immediately to respond to the education needs of the victims of Hurricane Andrew.

The U.S. Department of Education is working to make available the following resources and special support services:

Helping Children Start the New School Year

- \$40 million will be made available, in consultation with Congress, to provide the following types of assistance:
 - Transportation of students to area schools and to new portable classrooms.
 - Providing funds for operating costs that school districts will incur, such as more intensive use of existing facilities.

Helping College Students

- To provide more new or additional federal grant and loan money to students affected by the hurricane, the Department will establish three disaster response teams at Florida International University, the University of Miami, and Miami Dade Community College for the tens of thousands of college students in the area whose family financial picture has changed, regardless of where they attend school. We are working to provide similar services to students in Louisiana.
 - The response teams, for example, will inform students how to obtain the maximum federal benefits and how to take advantage of special unemployment deferments of student loan repayments; assist students in completing the necessary forms; and expedite the processing of the applications. The teams will be staffed by counselors and technical experts with extensive knowledge in all areas of student financial aid.
- In addition, the Department will provide \$15 million in new funds for work-study, supplemental grants, and campus-based loans to all institutions nationwide that enroll students who have been adversely affected by the hurricane.
- The Department will ask all U.S. colleges and universities to exercise the utmost sensitivity in accommodating individual needs of students who were affected by the hurricane needs.
- \$5 million will be made available to provide grants to repair or replace damaged college and university facilities. The Secretary will use his legal authority to reprogram the funds after consulting with Congress. A survey of the colleges and universities is underway to determine what damage has occurred and to what extent replacement is not covered by insurance or other sources of funding.

Presidential Phone Calls



DATE: 8-31 TIME: 1:52
incoming/outgoing

WITH: Jack Stein

SUBJECT: share campaign thoughts

1) Bushman very negative in Texas
community - based better
Baker - Bush
keep Pat under control -

2) God fears people - but
fear in Tex community -
based on operation under-stand

FOLLOW UP:

3) Big Tent on abortion
even with differences

4) Free trade agreement Mexico
cause concern on jobs in Texas
Commun-

5) scoring on basic questions

fall schedule of
Bush campaign appearances

F-15 - Clinton
He came out in
favor - McD asked to
see Texas Community -

Presidential Phone Calls



DATE: 8-31 TIME: 1:40
Incoming/outgoing

WITH: Tina Griffin

Marjorie Bush

SUBJECT: _____

Aid to Cities - you've been great
affordable housing program -
We got #1 award

Get your message out on Aid

Frustrated by press -

Finished reading Truman -

50 to 0 - leady journalists

send with love

FOLLOW UP: Knoche Liberal Press

HR 5798 - Bill on Aid to Cities

would go directly

Give it direct to cities

We're hunting

on Pinochet - see you running on street

Presidential Phone Calls



DATE: _____ TIME: _____
incoming/outgoing

WITH: (get some Reps off your
ass in W.N.Y.)

SUBJECT: compare to Clinton
you can see who's the
fat ass, who's the asshole.
get him to take sweat off -
challenge

Pittman's twin
Puppy & reporter

"Puppy stop drug after
6 weeks"

FOLLOW UP: go after Perry

Monday, August 31, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

1) Your brother, Prescott, called and would like to talk to you today at a time convenient to you. He'll be in his office.

(White House Operators have the number)

2) The Mayor of Buffalo, New York, James (Jim) Griffin called. He would like a return call at your convenience.

He wants to talk to you about a couple of issues:

a) He has publicly endorsed you and your reelection effort, and he thinks the American public should know how the Federal Government has helped Buffalo with housing. The Federal Government has been very helpful.

b) How lousy the liberal press has been to you. It's not right.

c) He wants to let you know what some of the people in New York are saying.

d) Wants to be helpful in your campaign.

Office: 716-851-4841 (only till noon)

Home: 716-826-5768 (remainder of day)

(phone numbers passed to White House Operators)

3) Jack Stein returned your call.

Handwritten signature and scribble at the bottom right of the page.

11:36 AM

Monday, August 31, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

1) Sec Cheney would appreciate a SECURE phone call at your earliest convenience.

Got him!

Daily -

8/31/92

Mr. President:

Burt Lee called re your discussion with Larry Mohr.

He wants to know exactly what it is you want. They have a huge medical document but he doesn't think this is what you had in mind. Would you please shed some light on it.

He can be reached at (508) 627-9866. Before you do anything, let me brief you.

Doctors want one page saying exactly what they found - what medication they left and if any one page from additional resources of Amer. Today specialists are requested - Surgery Today

RZ

6 (6-

Based this on Burt Lee Mohr - 20
Pg 5

X 6029
X 2515

3:00 P.M. WIRES

President Clears His Calendar To Ensure Mail, Relief Gets to Florida

By ROBERT BURNS

Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Bush summoned top aides, insurance chiefs, building trade officials and humanitarian leaders to the White House on Monday to assess the hurricane relief effort in Florida and plan a long-term recovery.

"I think real progress is being made, but there's still an awful lot of human suffering there," Bush said as he sat down in the Cabinet Room with the secretaries of housing, education and health and the head of the Small Business Administration.

Bush had canceled a West Coast campaign swing to be in Washington to monitor the federal role in helping south Florida recover from Hurricane Andrew. His spokesman said the president would resume campaigning on Wednesday.

Marlin Fitzwater, the presidential press secretary, told reporters that Bush wanted to hear from insurance industry executives on how they planned to handle the flood of claims from victims of the costliest hurricane in American history.

"The insurance industry obviously has never seen anything like this in the history of the country," Fitzwater said, adding that residential and commercial claims against private insurers already top 100,000 and will "go upwards of 700,000 before this is over."

Bush also met with the heads of the Postal Service and the Social Security Administration. Fitzwater said delivery of benefit checks was a major concern, particularly because the south Florida population includes large numbers of retirees.

"The problem is the people in the region need to know where to get" their Social Security checks and other mail, Fitzwater said. He said trucks with loudspeakers were being used to deliver the word on mail service centers.

Some Florida officials have complained that the federal government's response to the hurricane was slow and meager, but Fitzwater defended Bush's role.

"We're satisfied that things went very rapidly; the response was very fast," Fitzwater said. "If you talk to those people" in Florida now, "I think they're pretty understanding and pretty grateful for what's been done and how fast it's been done." The spokesman blamed the perception of federal foot-dragging on "a lot of media second-guessing." He said, "The political fallout will be very good for the president. It will show that we reacted swiftly and responsibly and massively."

Bush, who toured part of the damaged region several hours after the hurricane struck Aug. 24 but did not send federal troops until Aug. 27, intends to make a return visit but no date has been set, Fitzwater said. He added that Bush is now starting to focus on the longer-term outlook for south Florida's recovery.

"We want to start taking a look at a number of those services that are going to be provided in the medium and longer term as we begin to emerge out of the short-term crisis," the spokesman said. Bush held talks in the White House with officials of several building trades, including plumbers, concrete makers and construction outfits, as well as executives of humanitarian organizations such as the Red Cross and the Salvation Army. Fitzwater said Bush was "quite sympathetic" to Florida Gov.

Lawton Chiles' plea to Washington to pick up the full tab for reconstruction, but no final decision had been made. Damage estimates range up to \$20 billion.

The administration also announced the Department of Education was sending \$40 million to help pay the costs of shifting thousands of children to new schools or temporary classrooms when school gets off to a belated start on Sept. 14.

Three major campuses, Miami-Dade Community College, the University of Miami and Florida International University, also will share a \$5 million grant to help repair storm damage, Fitzwater said.

Fitzwater said the number of federal troops now on the se in sh Florida stood at 11,500 on Monday, and in addition 6,500 members of the Florida National Guard are on duty. He said the combined total would top 20,000 in a few days.

Bush spoke today with Chiles and also spoke over the weekend with the city managers of Homestead and Florida City, as well as Dade County's public safety director and Gen. Gordon Sullivan, the Army chief of staff who inspected the disaster area Sunday. AP-DS-08-31-92 1445EDT

PRIME MINISTER SCRAPES THROUGH LEBANON VOTE

By Nadim Ladki

BEIRUT, Lebanon, Reuter - Prime Minister Rashid al-Solh narrowly escaped defeat in Lebanon's general election, in which Christians have refused to take part and pro-Syrian candidates have so far won the lion's share of seats.

Official results released Monday showed Solh, the Sunni Moslem head of Lebanon's Syrian-backed government, was a few hundred votes away from defeat.

Justice Minister Nasri al-Maalouf, a Christian, and Education Minister Zaki Mazboudi, a Sunni Moslem, both lost their seats Sunday in the second of three stages of voting in Lebanon's first general election in two decades.

Political sources said Solh's poor showing and that of his ministers reflected public distrust of his government, which has struggled to control a collapsing economy.

Former Prime Minister Selim al-Hoss won the most votes and political sources said he could get his old job back following the final stage of voting in the south next Sunday.

Suy's vote in Beirut and Mount Lebanon widened a gulf between the country's Christian and Moslem communities.

The once-dominant Christians are boycotting the polls, saying they are a ploy by Syria to strengthen its grip on the country.

Political sources said different groups in the Christian community, which surrendered its historic grip on power in the 1989 Taif agreement that ended 15 years of civil war, were considering forming a broad political front to lead opposition to the new 128-member assembly.

"Contacts are made to form a wide national front that would include prominent Christian and Moslem leaders to face the government which has lost the confidence of the nation," said a member of one Christian opposition group.

He said the front would denounce the new national assembly as illegal, oppose its decisions and call for a new election. The Christians say elections should only take place after some 40,000 Syrian troops, deployed now over two-thirds of the country, move the Bekaa Valley and hundreds of thousands of displaced and exiled Christians return.

A pro-Iranian Hizbollah official and two Sunni fundamentalists took three of the 19 Beirut seats in Sunday's vote, defeating pro-Syrian candidates who had been expected to win. Most of the remaining seats went to supporters of Syria. There were no major surprises in most districts of Mount Lebanon, with virtually all pro-Syrian candidates winning seats, among them Druze chieftain Walid Jumblatt.

Hizbollah, a rising force in Lebanese politics, won a landslide victory in eastern Lebanon in the first round.

REUTER

Rocky Flats Workers With Berylliosis Face Court Fight Over Compensation

GOLDEN, Colo. (AP) — The U.S. Department of Energy is challenging many of the compensation claims filed by workers at the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant who have been diagnosed with an incurable lung disease.

Between 18 and 25 workers have contracted berylliosis after exposure to beryllium, a metal used during the manufacture of plutonium triggers for nuclear bombs, a plant spokesman said. The Department of Energy is challenging at least 18 claims, forcing the workers to spend thousands of dollars to pursue the claims, said a lawyer who has represented two of the claimants and an official with the union that represents most of the afflicted workers.

"I think it's gross," said I.K. Roberts of the United Steelworkers of America. "We have an ongoing battle with them not accepting liability. There's something wrong here."

Energy Department spokeswoman Beth Brainard said most of the cases were challenged so the plant could obtain a second medical opinion. The plant no longer manufactures the plutonium triggers.

"You don't want to make yourself a worker's comp pushover," Brainard said. "To be sure the taxpayer doesn't get ripped off, we are following a process that's prudent."

The disease is characterized by shortness of breath, a dry cough, fatigue and loss of appetite. It is treatable but can in some cases be fatal.

Dr. Lee Newman of Denver's National Jewish Center, who diagnosed most of the cases at Rocky Flats, said the plant seems to have taken an unusually hard line in fighting the claims. "I don't think it's right," he said.

The center conducted a \$1.2 million, federally-funded study of berylliosis in 1989.

Rocky Flats spent \$17,200 on lawyers and expert witnesses to fight a claim filed by James Turner, court documents showed. Last week, a state administrative law judge ruled against the Department of Energy and granted the full \$37,560 worker's compensation claim to Turner. Turner said he had to pay his lawyer \$7,512 of the settlement.

Mike Patrick, a Boulder lawyer who represented two Rocky Flats workers who tested positive for berylliosis, said those two cases languished in appeals for 20 to 30 months before Rocky Flats admitted it was liable for medical benefits in both cases.

"It seems to me that when you've got one of the leading beryllium experts in the country doing the medical screening, and then you ignore the diagnosis and you make the workers go through another year or two years of delay, it's not right," Patrick said.

AP-DS-08-31-92 1341EDT

US Not Depressing Dollar, Fitzwater Says

WASHINGTON (AP) — The White House said Monday the United States is not trying to depress the value of the dollar as a means of spurring American exports.

Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater said the drop "largely reflects the fact that U.S. interest rates are 6.5 percentage points lower than German interest rates.

"German interest rates are at traditionally very high levels while the United States has reduced its interest rates to the lowest levels in roughly 25 years," Fitzwater said.

He said the United States "is not seeking a decline in the dollar and does not believe that a lower dollar is necessary for its export competitiveness."

The cheaper dollar has made U.S. goods less expensive and has spurred exports. On the other hand, it has driven up the cost of imports and made goods more expensive for Americans overseas. Fitzwater said the United States is the world's largest exporter and U.S. exports are at record levels, with an annual rate of \$440 billion.

The dollar was slightly higher today against most major currencies including the German mark in early European trading.

The dollar rose to 1.4093 German marks by midday in Europe, up from 1.4060 marks late Friday. Last week, the dollar sank to all-time lows against the mark.

Fitzwater, who was asked about the issue at his regular press briefing, said also he did not think there was any connection between the fall of the dollar and President Bush's proposal for across-the-board tax cuts next year.

AP-DS-08-31-92 1354EDT



THE PRESIDENT

8-31-92

daily

Feb -

Who's this guy?

Things ^{being} wrong
on Dade Cty now - mega
bucks, mega ^{hardship}. Keep
other suggestions coming. Devotedly
Dad

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. John E. Bush
Chairman
Bush Klein Realty
Penthouse Number 2
2 Alhambra Plaza
Coral Gables, Florida 33134

the fervor in the group's hit single, *Tennessee*. Here, Speech mourns the loss of two relatives and describes his pilgrimage to his ancestral home in Ripley, Tenn. He revels in his family history and the beauty of the rural surroundings: "[I] walk the roads my forefathers walked, / Climb the trees my forefathers hung from. / Ask those trees for all their wisdom, / ... He guided me to Tennessee ... home."

The talented Speech is no metaphysician, nor a messiah. But the ideas he and Arrested Development present, borne on soulful rhythms and profanity-free lyrics, are refreshing and intriguing. ■

BOOKS

The Last Communist

TITLE: *CASTRO'S FINAL HOUR: THE SECRET STORY BEHIND THE COMING DOWNFALL OF COMMUNIST CUBA*

AUTHOR: ANDRES OPPENHEIMER

PUBLISHER: SIMON & SCHUSTER;
461 PAGES; \$25

THE BOTTOM LINE: *This well-reported, entertaining read shows, despite the title, why Fidel remains in power.*

By CATHY BOOTH

REPORTING FROM A PARANOIA-mad communist country has never been easy, and these days Cuba is a more difficult assignment than ever. Most journalists do the prescribed, unenlightening rounds of officialdom in Havana, sneak off to see a few dissidents, then interview cab drivers or disgruntled locals in food lines. Honesty is like bread—a commodity on rations. Oppenheimer, a Pulitzer-prize-winning correspondent for the *Miami Herald*, found a way around this difficulty: he carried letters from Cubans in Miami to relatives on the island, thus gaining their trust. As a result, he captures a truer, if sadder, portrait of Cuba today.

His tale of a nation of "zombies" waiting for change makes it hard to gloat over the fall of communism. What he found was a Cuba that still respects Fidel as a well-intentioned grandfather who tried to bring equal rights, education and health to the island but is now behind the times. Oppenheimer was exhaustive in his research, which spanned two years, including five months on the hermetic island. He interviewed 500 people, from Castro's own disaffected daughter Alina to Cuba's "yummies"

(young upwardly mobile Marxists). Especially telling is the contrast between Che Guevara's eldest grandchild, Canek, a vocally unhappy heavy-metal rock fan, and Armando Hart, the Minister of Culture, who protests "I am a hard-liner!" when complimented for being an open-minded member of Fidel's circle.

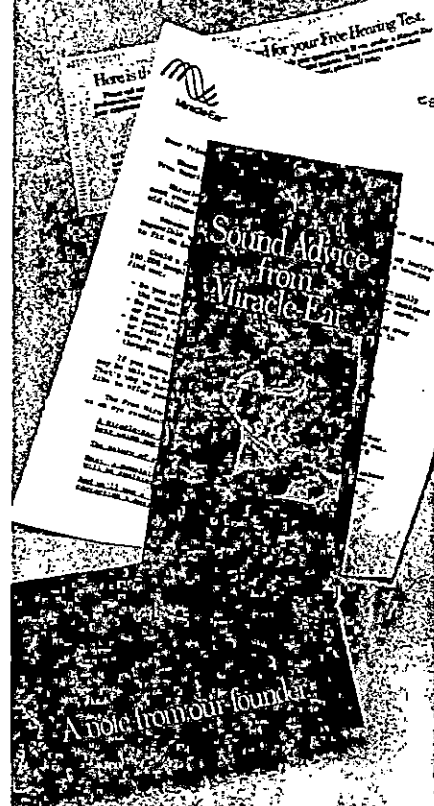
Oppenheimer, who somehow obtained secret Communist Party documents, reveals how close reformers came to approving a plan to ease Fidel into a Prime Minister's job and ease out socialism at the October 1991 Party Congress. His reporting is solid and engrossing, especially on the Ochoa-De La Guardia drug scandal and Cuba's involvement with Panama's now deposed Manuel Noriega. Oppenheimer claims that Cuba was set to begin running Panama's intelligence apparatus just before the 1989 U.S. invasion. He also deals with Cuba's silent issue, the black majority who are not eager to see the white exiles of Miami return. Though he adds few fresh observations, he offers a detailed description of the business ties of President Bush's son Jeb to the Cuban exiles in Miami and of Jeb's influence on U.S. policy toward the island.

There are funny passages (about the made-at-home shampoo that attracts flies) as well as depressing ones (Ping-Pong paddles used for oars by desperate rafters fleeing to Miami). The author's encounter with the grouchy Cuban TV chef Nitza Villapol, who teaches a country without food how to cook, is deliciously absurd. Oppenheimer adroitly picks up nuances: for example, how in a



CASTRO: A well-intentioned grandfather, but behind the times

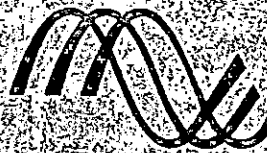
FREE!



12-Page Booklet on Nerve Deafness

Hearing, but not always understanding. Missing certain words or parts of words. Straining to listen in groups or noisy places. These are some of the common symptoms of "nerve deafness." If you'd like to know more, call for the free 12-page booklet, *Sound Advice from Miracle-Ear*. Call

1-800-247-7110



Miracle-Ear®

America's Better Hearing Centers™

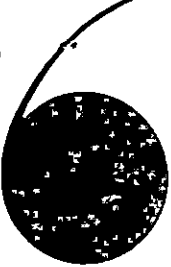
PRODOT

From the desk of
George Bush

h/s Daily 8/31

Steve Probst

This woman advises
people on speaking.
She sends in critiques
pro-bono four times
to him



LILYAN
WILDER
INCORPORATED

MEMO TO: President George
FROM: Lilyan Wilder
RE: August 21, 1992
DATE: August 25, 1992

212-988-2258
800-755-2258
FAX: 212-988-2706

210 East 68th Street
New York,
New York 10021

Your beginning was excellent. It was strong, describing all the accomplishments of the last four years. Your conviction was firm. Your belief in your work came through powerfully.

Your constant efforts to keep your speech on a serious level were laudable. You contained the crowd and controlled them well.

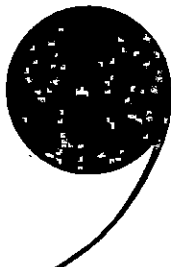
Your sensitivity of the remembrance of your youth compared to the youth you see in the audience was very moving. Your demands on Congress were very dramatic.

Your "one-liners" were delivered with punch. Your programs were expressed with great determination.

Though you started on a very high and fervent level of energy, you kept building throughout, and when you came to the "quiet civility of family", there was a big contrast in your delivery and you were quiet and serene.

Your beautiful, moving telling of your young life on the deck of the ship thinking of the girl you loved, Barbara, through to the veterans of today was very meaningful and deep.

You came up to the platform, as you said earlier in the day to reporters, with your adrenaline flowing, with all of your spirit and strength and humanity right out there. Try now in your speeches, short or long, with a TV audience or to audiences in person, to always keep your humanity and "the sense of your heart" underneath everything you say. You will have even more depth and more command.



It was interesting at the beginning of the week, that in your interview on This Week with David Brinkley, you literally said, "I must listen to my heartbeat". You were very bright, positive, "with it", forthright, and strong. Your phrases such as "get the record clear", "take the case to the people", "try to work with Congress", "make America better", were phrases that impact on your audience. You had excellent thoughts to leave with your listeners and you made them sound as if you were speaking directly to each person at home.

Reminder: You are speaking to one person at a time. Whether it's at a convention, a large conference, a group of school children or David Brinkley. That kind of believability and intimacy is powerful. Best wishes always. Keep your strength and your health.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

AUGUST 31, 1992

THE REAL GEORGE: When George Bush actually says something he believes in, it's remarkable how eloquent he sounds. His response to the idiot culture's inquiry into his private life was suitably dismissive: "I'm not going to take any sleaze questions. I gave you a little warning. You see, you're perpetuating the sleaze even by asking the question, to say nothing of asking it in the Oval Office," he told an uppity Stone Phillips of NBC News. And Bush's response to the question of his granddaughter's hypothetical abortion, while not grammatical, was also eerily coherent: "But do I, would I, support my child? I'd put my arm around her and say, if she were trying to make that decision, encourage her not to do that, but of course, I'd stand by my child. I'd love her and help her, lift her up, wipe the tears away, and we'd get back in the game." The question is why these admirable statements from George Bush, the man never find their way into the politics of George Bush the president.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

AUGUST 31, 1992

MEETING WITH INSURANCE AND SMALL BUSINESS GROUPS TO
DISCUSS HURRICANE ANDREW RELIEF EFFORTS

DATE: AUGUST 31, 1992
TIME: 4:15 P.M.
LOCATION: THE ROOSEVELT ROOM
THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST
FROM: JEFF VOGT
MOLLY OSBORNE

I. PURPOSE:

To discuss Hurricane Andrew relief efforts with insurance and small business industry leaders. To hear what these organizations are doing to help and to encourage the private sector to redouble their efforts to help those in need.

II. BACKGROUND:

This meeting is the last of three meetings you will have today with private sector groups to discuss Hurricane Andrew relief efforts. You have also met with housing industry leaders and volunteer organizations.

The meeting provides a good opportunity to highlight the federal government relief efforts. You will hear how some of the groups in attendance have undertaken measures to help the people of Florida and Louisiana. The insurance industry representatives, for example, are very active in assuring hurricane victims receive necessary aid as soon as possible.

Also, the National Federation of Independent Business has sent letters to Florida and Louisiana small business members, asking them to supply needed equipment and support for the relief efforts.

Michael Jackson, Department of Transportation Chief of Staff, will attend representing Secretary Card, who is in Florida coordinating federal relief efforts. Also, Administrator Saiki will be in attendance to address SBA's role in disaster relief, with emphasis on revitalizing small businesses who were damaged by Hurricane Andrew.

III. PARTICIPANTS:

The President
Chief of Staff Baker

SBA Administrator Saiki

Michael Jackson, Chief of Staff, Department of
Transportation

Approximately 14 small business and insurance industry
leaders (see list attached).

IV. PRESS PLAN:

Stills only.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

- You arrive Roosevelt Room.
- You make brief remarks.
- You open the meeting for a general discussion.
- You conclude discussion and depart.

VI. REMARKS:

Talking points provided by Public Liaison.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ATTENDEES FOR SMALL BUSINESS AND INSURANCE GROUPS
MEETING ON HURRICANE ANDREW RELIEF EFFORTS

Bob Bannister, Chairman
Small Business Legislative Council

Brenda Larsen Becker, Director of Congressional Communications
Blue Cross/Blue Shield Association

Francis Bouchard, Public Affairs Representative
Reinsurance Association of America

Dick Creighton, President
American Cement Alliance

Paul Equale, Senior Vice President for Government Affairs
Independent Insurance Agents of America

Jack Eriksen, Vice President
Aetna Life and Casualty

David Farmer, Vice President for Federal Affairs
Alliance of American Insurers

Charles Fritzel, Assistant Vice President for Government Relations
National Association of Independent Insurers

John Galles, Executive Vice President
National Small Business United

Rick Gustafson, President-Elect
Independent Insurance Agents of America

A. J. Harris, Vice President
Cigna

Patricia Harrison, President
National Women's Economic Alliance

Jessica Isaacs, Underwriting Division Manager
Allstate Insurance Company

Donald Kroes, Vice President
U.S. Chamber of Commerce

Marc Rosenberg, Vice President of Federal Affairs
Insurance Information Institute

Steve Woods, Vice President
National Federation of Independent Business

Lawrence Zippin, Executive Vice President and Chief Operating
Officer
American Insurance Association

**TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH INSURANCE
AND SMALL BUSINESS ASSOCIATIONS
4:15 P.M. Monday, August 31, 1992**

- Thank you all for coming on such short notice.**
- All of you are well aware of the devastation caused by Hurricane Andrew. Many of you are on the front line of bringing devastated communities back. Both Florida and Louisiana were hit hard, but the scenes in South Dade County, Florida, are particularly heart-wrenching.**

- 2 -

- A snapshot of what we're facing:**
 - 60-80,000 homes destroyed, 180-250,000 homeless**
 - basic services -- water, power, phone, health, food distribution -- still severely disrupted**

- 3 -

- Those elements of the private sector that are key to rebuilding communities-- banking and financial services, construction supplies, and with this group in particular -- insurance services, and small business -- all are stretched because of the magnitude of this disaster.

- 4 -

- The federal government has a massive relief effort underway -- from providing three meals a day to 60,000 people to bringing in power generators, mobile hospitals and tent cities. We've provided you with a handout on the efforts of the operation that goes into more detail. I want to emphasize that we will continue to do everything we can to ensure that these relief and rebuilding efforts are strong and comprehensive.

- 5 -

- The volunteers -- both from organizations and those who just pitch in on their own -- they've been remarkable. I believe that tragedies like this do bring out the very best in the American spirit and we've seen thousands of examples of caring this past week.
- Many of you through your organizations have already galvanized your members to help. Whether it's getting insurance checks cut on the spot or sending technical teams down to help communities rebuild their businesses, your actions make us all very, very proud.

- 6 -

- I wanted to hear about some of those efforts and make a pitch to the private sector both here in this room and around the country that others should follow your lead.

DOOR

8/31/92 4:15pm

DOOR

Administrator Saiki

Francis Bouchard, Public Affairs Representative
Reinsurance Association of AmericaDavid Farmer, Vice President for Federal Affairs
Alliance of American InsurersA. J. Harris, Vice President
CignaSteve Woods, Vice President
National Federation of Independent BusinessMarc Rosenberg, Vice President of Federal Affairs
Insurance Information InstituteBrenda Larsen Becker, Director of Congressional Communications
Blue Cross/Blue Shield AssociationBob Bannister, Chairman
Small Business Legislative CouncilPatricia Harrison, President
National Women's Economic AllianceCharles Fritzel, Assistant Vice President for Government Relations
National Association of Independent Insurers

The President

Michael Equale, Senior Vice President for Government Affairs
Independent Insurance Agents of AmericaDick Creighton, President
American Cement AllianceRick Gustafson, President-Elect
Independent Insurance Agents of AmericaJohn Galles, Executive Vice President
National Small Business UnitedLawrence Zippin, Executive Vice President and Chief Operating
Officer
American Insurance Association

Michael Jackson

Donald Kroes, Vice President
U.S. Chamber of CommerceJack Eriksen, Vice President
Aetna Life and CasualtyJessica Isaacs, Underwriting Division Manager
Allstate Insurance Company

Secretary Baker

The Roosevelt Room

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	To President Bush, Re: President's trip to survey storm damage in Louisiana; redactions. (1 pp.)	08/31/92	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Monday, August 31, 1992

Date Closed: 12/16/2024	OA/ID Number: 90712-005
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

8/31/92

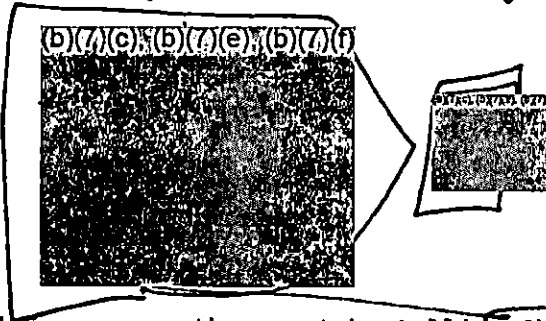
Mr. President:

You are flying into Lafayette, Louisiana, which is a one hour drive to Franklin where the damage is. You are going to have to drive because they cannot get the helicopters down there in time to support you.

They can't fly the helicopters on C-5 because no plane is available.

themselves to
If they fly the helicopters/to Louisiana, there is a concern over the safety of them due to no maintenance.

They were planning to take the C-20 --THE SMALLEST PLANE --
It seats 11 -- they could cut back to 9 by having the following



You could free up another seat by telling Cheney to meet you there or at Homestead, if he's not going to accompany you to Louisiana.

N.O.

no experience
with multiple lifts
no maintenance schedule
President's safety
communications
training schedule
very rigorous flight

8/31/92

Mr. President:

Many reasons why Coast Guard helicopters can't be used
among them are:

no experience with multiple lifts
don't have as stringent maintenance schedules
we'd be taking away crafts from search and rescue
no communications



RZ

3:50 PM

TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS
3:00 P.M. Monday, August 31, 1992

- Thank you all for coming on such short notice.
- All of you are well aware of the devastation caused by Hurricane Andrew. Both Florida and Louisiana were hit hard, but the scenes in South Dade County, Florida, are particularly heart-wrenching. The human suffering has touched all Americans.

- A snapshot of what we're facing:
 - 60-80,000 homes destroyed, 180-250,000 homeless
 - basic services -- water, power, phone, health, food distribution -- still severely disrupted
- Those elements of the private sector that are key to rebuilding communities-- banking and financial services, construction supplies, insurance services, are particularly strained.

- The federal government has a massive relief effort underway -- from providing three meals a day to 60,000 people to bringing in power generators, mobile hospitals and tent cities. We've provided you with a handout on the efforts of the operation that goes into more detail. I want to emphasize that we will continue to do everything we can to ensure that these relief and rebuilding efforts are strong and comprehensive.

-- I can't say enough about the volunteers -- both from organized groups and those who just pitch in on their own -- they've been remarkable. I believe that tragedies like this do bring out the very best in the American spirit -- neighbor helping neighbor -- we've seen thousands of examples of caring this past week.

Many of you through your organizations have already galvanized thousands of Americans to help. Whether it's organizing food banks, setting up emergency medical services, or just giving aid and comfort to people in need, your actions make us all very, very proud.

- We've got to ensure that our relief efforts are well-coordinated. All of you know that the Red Cross is the lead agency working with FEMA. I urge you all to continue working hand-in-hand to get the most help to those most in need.

- Remember, this has got to be a long-term commitment. It will take months to rebuild these communities. In many ways the hardest work is yet to come -- after the TV crews move on to something else, when the urgency of the moment seems to have passed. These will be the times that test our commitment to guarantee to the victims of this terrible tragedy that we're with them for the long haul. I know we'll be up to the challenge.

- Earlier today I met with homebuilding private sector associations -- many of them are doing wonderful things. Later I'll be with some insurance and small business organizations. Now, I'd like to hear about some of your efforts. I know your resources are severely strained, I'm determined to challenge all Americans to help give you the kind of support you need.

DOOR

8/31/92

3:00PM

DOOR

Richard Schubert, Points of
Light Foundation



Delton Franz ☐
Director of D.C. Office,
Mennonite Central

☐ Kate Perrin
Director of Public Relations
American College of
Emergency Physicians

Ricardo Clarence Byrd ☐
Federal Transit Admin.
Project Manager, National
Association of Neighborhoods

☐ Robert L. Woodson
President, National
Center for Neighborhood
Enterprises

Carol Capps ☐
Director of D.C.
Office, Church World
Services

☐ Colonel Walter French,
Director of Public Affairs
and Emergency and Disaster
Coordination, Salvation Army

Dr. Raymond Scalettar ☐
Chairman of the Board
American Medical
Association

☐ The President

Elain Chao ☐
President-elect of
United Way

☐ Teresa Davis, President
United States Junior
Chamber of Commerce

Joseph Heiney-Gonzalez ☐
Catholic Charities, USA

☐ William Reno
American Red Cross

Kennith Lutgen ☐
United Methodist
Committee on Relief

☐ Quentin Remein
Christian Reform
World Relief-Committee

Mark Talisman
Council of Jewish Federations

Russell Shaw
Knights of Columbus

☐
James Baker
Margaret Tutwiler

The Roosevelt Room

DOOR

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 31, 1992

MEETING WITH MAJOR VOLUNTEER AND NATIONAL
SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

DATE: August 31, 1992
TIME: 3:00 p.m.
LOCATION: Roosevelt Room

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST *AA*

FROM: CECE KREMER *Cece*
BETTINA BRENDA *BZ*

I. PURPOSE

To meet with major volunteer and national service organizations to coordinate efforts with the disaster relief initiatives in Florida and Louisiana.

II. BACKGROUND

Because of the havoc and destruction created by Hurricane Andrew, many volunteer organizations have initiated programs to assist Americans in these disaster areas. By inviting representatives from the country's national volunteer and service organizations, the Administration can continue to unify these volunteer efforts. A White House briefing with you offers these groups an opportunity to come together to discuss relief efforts already in place, determine additional areas in need of focus and galvanize support from additional organizations. In addition, the groups will provide you with an update of their initiatives and plans for future assistance.

To date volunteer organizations have brought together thousands of volunteers and staff members to provide food and shelter to Americans affected by Hurricane Andrew. The Red Cross has enlisted the assistance of approximately 3000 staff and volunteers. Eleven National Disaster relief experts have flown in from across the country to provide relief. At the outset of the storm, the Red Cross provided 300 shelters serving over 100,000 Americans. To date the Red Cross has served 2 million meals and has opened 12 family service centers to provide vouchers where people can buy necessary supplies.

The Salvation Army has relief teams which are on-site to provide relief to ravaged areas in Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama. The Salvation Army has organized over 100,000 disaster workers and were one of the first on the scene. Warehouses are receiving and distributing tractor-trailer shipments from across the nation.

The United Methodist Committee on Relief has contributed financial assistance. Volunteers have installed a special Hotline telephone service, and continue to work to provide meals to those without food.

Catholic Charities has provided financial assistance as well as volunteers who have helped distribute food. In the future, the Catholic Charities USA Disaster Response Office will focus on helping people not covered by insurance and/or not eligible for government assistance.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Chief of Staff Baker
Michael Jackson, Chief of Staff, Transportation
14 representatives from volunteer and service organizations
(see attached list)

IV. PRESS PLAN

Stills Only.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

You arrive Roosevelt Room.
You make opening remarks and begin discussion.
You conclude discussion and depart.

VI. REMARKS

Talking Points Provided by Public Liaison.

PARTICIPANTS LIST

Quentin Remein, D.C. Liaison for the National Volunteer
Organization Active in Disaster, Christian Reformed World
Relief Committee

Kenneth Lutgen, Jr., Executive Director, United Methodist
Committee on Relief

Robert L. Woodson, President, National Center for Neighborhood
Enterprises

William Reno, Senior Vice President/National Operations, American
Red Cross

Joseph Heiney-Gonzalez, Deputy Director, Catholic Charities, USA

Colonel Walter French, Director of Public Affairs and Emergency
and Disaster Coordination, Salvation Army

Richard Schubert, President and CEO, Points of Light Foundation

Elaine Chao, President-elect of United Way

Carol Capps, Director of Washington Office, Church World Services

Ricardo Clarence Byrd, Federal Transit Administration Project
Manager, National Association of Neighborhoods

Teresa Davis, President, United States Junior Chamber of Commerce

Kate Perrin, Director of Public Relations, American College of
Emergency Physicians

Dr. Raymond Scalett, Chairman of the Board, American Medical
Association

Delton Franz, Director of D.C. Office, Mennonite Central
Committee

Russell Shaw, Director of Washington Operations, Knights of
Columbus

Mark Talisman, Director of Washington Operations, Council of
Jewish Federations



THE PRESIDENT

8-31-42

Dear Stu,

My condolences. Your Dad
was a real inspiration to me and
to all who knew him. Even though
his life was long - full I expect it
must hurt. We Buckers are thinking
of you. Thanks for the Huffy

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Stuart J. Northrop
Chairman, Executive Committee
Huffy Corporation
Post Office Box 1204
Dayton, Ohio 45401

plum ~~town~~ after we
might just take you up on
it.

It's tough out there
but, yes, well win it. So
many thanks for your support.

Your friend

 P.S. In real life
your Dad gave me
an "A" not a "B" - just bragging!!

HUFFY CORPORATION

Stuart J. Northrop
Chairman, Executive Committee.

August 25th

Dear Mr. President,

Dad passed away last month just a few months short of his 99th birthday. He went peacefully and without pain. It was a blessing. We will hold a Memorial Service for him at Dwight Chapel on September 11th. Syd Lovett Jr., whom I am sure you know, will lead the service.

Among Dad's possessions

I found the enclosed clipping from the Exeter paper. I had never seen the article.

I thought Dad's comments might amuse you. At 98 one states things as they feel them!!

If there is anything I can do for you in the next few months please call on me.

If you are in Ohio and your staff feels a factory visit would be beneficial, we would enjoy hosting you at Bluffy.

a - All 4 million of the bikes we sell each year are made in this one large factory in Ohio-USA.

b - The plant is unionized - Steelworkers - and we have excellent relations with them.

Good luck and best wishes,

Stu

thanks

Thanks for inspiring this student?



Goodwin's of Exeter resident Professor F.S.C. Northrop, 98, got a visit from one of his former Yale students recently — one President George Bush.

Bush and his former Yale professor meet again during president's visit to Exeter

By Susan L. Wood
RCN Staff

EXETER — Professor F.S.C. Northrop, a resident of Goodwin's of Exeter, may be a little hard of hearing, but his mind and memory are sharp.

A teacher at Yale University — "I specialized in the history of scientific and philosophical theory," he remembers well one of his students, then known only as George Herbert Walker Bush.

President Bush last month took time out of a busy campaign swing through the Seacoast to meet for a few minutes with Northrop.

He was, "I guess, a good B," Northrop said of his former student. He explained that was the average grade for those who listened attentively and put an effort into what they did, but they were not considered the cream of the Yale crop.

Bush enrolled at Yale shortly after the end of World War II and graduated Phi Beta

Kappa in 1948.

Did the professor, as he is fondly called at Goodwin's, have any inkling that this student would one day become the 41st president of the United States?

"No, I had no idea about anything like that," the 98-year-old Northrop said.

So, Professor, what do you think of Bush's job so far?

"I don't think he's done a good job. He's not spectacular, but he's done a good job."

Northrop said.

Northrop taught at Yale from 1924 until his retirement in 1968. While teaching and after his retirement, he wrote books. He has had a total of five published.

When Bush visited Exeter last month, Northrop was one of the few people the president took special time out to see.

As Bethany Kenney, activity director at Goodwin's, explained, Bush and Northrop's son, Stuart, are friendly. It is her understanding that

See PROFESSOR, Page 8

Professor meets president

PROFESSOR

From Page One

standing the two met while attending Yale and have kept in touch since, she said.

About a week before Bush's scheduled visit, Stuart wrote a letter asking if it would be possible for the president to see his father while in Exeter.

The day before Bush's arrival, Kenney said, "I got into work and there was a message from the president's advance team."

Because Bush was unable to go to Goodwin's, arrangements were made for him and Northrop to meet inside the Exeter Town Hall.

The two met behind the stage curtains and chatted for a few minutes.

Bush knelt on the floor as he spoke with Northrop. He gave the professor his tie clip which has the seal of the president of the United States on it. It's a tie clip that Northrop proudly wears and shows his visitors.

Northrop, Kenney said, presented Bush with some golf balls.

After addressing the crowd inside Town Hall and on his way out, Bush again stopped to speak with Northrop before he was whisked away.

And what did the professor think of his meeting with the president?

"It was too cold to think anything," Northrop said of the day's frigid temperatures. He didn't have a coat with him that day and has

not yet forgotten his chilly wheelchair trip from the car to Town Hall, Kenney explained.

Recently wallpapered, Northrop's room at Goodwin's is void of pictures or paintings. Under his television set, however, there are a pile of beautifully framed pictures and letters just waiting to be hung.

One frame includes a letter from Bush to the professor and mentions "The Meeting of East and West," one of Northrop's books.

"I remember the book well and must tell you that your lessons in logic still linger," Bush wrote.

Under one of the pictures of Bush, there are the handwritten words, "Thanks for inspiring and teaching this student."

result in total



6-4-88

Dear Stu -

Thanks for the letter
and your comments on the
Environment speech.

I'm glad you talked

to Beckwith & Tim. Let's
now see what they
do -

What you wrote
me 4 years
ago.

The same
result will
occur in '92!

Tough times right now
but I remain calm &
confident. Sincerely

As



THE PRESIDENT

August 31, 1992

File

To: Kathy Super

The attached letter from Stu Northrop former CEO of Huffy, the bicycle manufacturer in OHIO is self explanatory. I note his plant is unionized but you could check to see how a visit would be received. They make one h--- of a lot of bikes.

Just a thought.

GB cc: JAB III

4:00 P.M. WIRES

U.N. Staff in Iraq Placed on Maximum Alert

By ANDREW KATELL

Associated Press Writer

UNITED NATIONS (AP) — U.N. workers in Iraq were placed on maximum alert after a bomb was found attached to a car used by three U.N. guards, a spokesman said Monday.

The incident on Friday reflected the rising tensions between Iraq and the United Nations on a number of fronts, including international inspection of Baghdad's weapons programs, alleged mistreatment of Kurds and Shiites and a dispute over the Iraq-Kuwait border.

The latest development stemmed from a disagreement over the presence of U.N. guards and humanitarian workers in Iraq. The guards protect U.N. offices and humanitarian operations in Iraq up to the Gulf War.

Francois Giuliani, U.N. spokesman, said the bomb was found affixed to the car after the three guards inside crossed into northern Iraq. The bomb did not go off and no one was hurt. As a result of the incident, "The security of the guards and U.N. personnel in Iraq has been raised to maximum security," Giuliani said.

Under the alert, the U.N. staff has been told to be on "constant lookout for possible threats to their security. ... For instance they have been told not to leave their vehicles unattended."

The U.N. secretary-general for humanitarian affairs, Jan Eliasson, protested the incident to Iraq's U.N. ambassador, Abdul al-Amir al-Anbari, the spokesman said. Al-Anbari made a response Sunday to Eliasson "rejecting responsibility for that incident and saying that it was an act of provocation from the allied powers," according to Giuliani.

That was a reference to the United States, Britain and France, which last week began patrolling Iraqi airspace in the south to guard against attacks by Iraqi government forces in Shiites. Eliasson visited Baghdad earlier in August to try to get Iraq to allow U.N. staff to remain, but Saddam Hussein's government refused. Giuliani said that of the 15 U.N. guards in Baghdad, Iraq wants 10 to leave. The United Nations has a total of 120 guards and 75 humanitarian workers in Iraq.

Giuliani reported that the windshields of two vehicles driven by U.N. personnel in Baghdad had been smashed on Monday and that there had been hostile phone calls at night to U.N. personnel. He also reported the slashing of tires of U.N. workers' cars.

"We are very concerned about it because it's making life pretty well impossible for our people there," he said.

AP-DS-08-31-92 1522EDT

PARTS OF MIAMI SEEK MONDAY NORMALCY, PARTS COPE WITH DISEASE
By Joanne Kenen

MIAMI, Reuter - Thousands of people in south Florida who withstood the wind and rain spawned by Hurricane Andrew a week ago were battling Monday to survive the health and sanitation nightmare left by the storm.

The first Navy ships, loaded with relief supplies, meanwhile arrived in Miami and Army troops began pitching long-awaited tents to begin housing thousands of people whose homes were flattened by the 160-mph winds.

In downtown Miami, skyscrapers reopened as less-afflicted parts of the area struggled to attain a degree of normalcy. Residents in the northern portion of Dade County were told they did not have to boil their water any longer.

But some 250,000 homes and businesses were still without power and commuters in vehicles with storm-shattered windshields drove cautiously through downtown streets still lacking traffic lights.

"We're open, but some of our tellers can't get in and employees are being moved around to other branches so they can try to open," said a bank teller in Miami Beach.

Doctors and nurses volunteering at makeshift field hospitals and first aid posts in the south Dade area said scores of people were suffering from badly infected mosquito bites, stomach disease and diarrhea.

There were few functioning bathrooms in the area, and gaagend ruin food roed in the streets and wreckage in 90-degree heat.

"There's a lot of dehydration and diarrhea," said Dr. Joe Greer, volunteering with the homeless. However, he said the intense efforts to get drinking water into the region has so far prevented nightmarish outbreaks of typhoid or cholera.

"Mosquito bites are getting badly infected, people are walking through water in streets and yards. Most everything can grow in that water," said a nurse.

The first Navy ships, including the destroyer Sierra from Norfolk, Va., carrying hundreds of repair experts and supplies, arrived at the Port of Miami Monday morning.

And the Army finally began pitching the long-awaited tent cities. Marine Lt. Jeff Jurgensen said the goal was to have 108 tents with room for 1,500 people operating by nightfall.

Far more optimistic authorities just a few days ago had been predicting tent cities housing 20,000 by this past weekend. Gov. Lawton Chiles said the most recent count found 85,000 homes royed, ving an eighth of the county's 2 million people homeless.

"We are still in emergency response stage," said Kate Hale, the top Dade County emergency relief official. A full week after the storm, the priorities were still getting food, water and medical help into the area.

"I think we're beginning to see some hope here," she said. Metro-Dade police reported one more death overnight, a 22-year-old man who died after being struck by a falling tree as he tried to clean storm debris.

That brings the total to 26 deaths -- 14 directly from the storm and 12 storm-related. The medical examiner is still investigating other recent deaths to determine whether they too were Andrew victims.

In north Dade, life was returning to normal although there was still a surreal sense of shock and grief even on relatively undamaged neighborhoods where water was finally deemed safe and

800,000 people were told they could stop boiling water to make it safe to drink.

"Everythi is getg back normal now." said Jane Tomescu, a Brazilian-American who owes the Rio Connection downtown, selling electronics, sporting goods, clothing and souvenirs to tourists.

"The first few days after the hurricane we all just stood around waiting for customers but today things are more like usual," she said as German, Spanish and Italian tourists perused jeans and sneakers.

Metro-Dade police said 122 people had been arrested overnight for curfew violations, bringing the total to 653 for the week. The 7 p.m.-to-7 a.m. curfew has been modified, starting at 9 p.m. in the southern part of the county and 11 p.m. in the north.

A loosely-enforced ban on alcoholic beverage sales was eased in the north.

Nobody knew how many people were injured in the storm or the aftermath, but the number was clearly in the thousands.

"People need to be extra careful," said Hale. "We have a large, large volume of accidents."

She herself was treated and released at a local hoital Sunday after sering an ectric shock. As she picked up a hairdryer, a generator powering the emergency headquarters had sent a power surge through a faulty wire.

The Miami Herald reported that 15 monkeys that escaped from a reseach laboratory had been captured -- but that 30 others were shot to death after some officials erroneously told people the monkeys carried AIDS.

REUTER

Reut12:59 08-31

605

Copyright (c) 1992 Reuters Information Services Inc.
All rights reserved.

-

Clinton Claims Jobs Issue For the Demats
By KAREN BALL
Associated Press Writer

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP) Bill Clinton on Monday dismissed Bush campaign efforts to ridicule the Democrat's plan for 8 million new jobs, saying Republicans lack credibility on the issue and ran the economy "into the ditch."

Clinton offered a reminder that Bush had promised to create 15 million jobs in his first four years "and come up 14 million short." The Democrat's proposal to generate 8 million jobs over the next four years is highlighted in a Clinton TV ad that began airing Monday.

Republicans "have no credibility to say anything about jobs," Clinton told reporters in Little Rock, where he was tending to state business and meeting with Hispanic supporters on get-out-the-vote efforts.

"They don't know how to create jobs. All they know how to do is give more money to the richest Americans, bankrupt the country and run the economy into the ditch," Clinton said. He noted that Bush four years ago promised 30 million new jobs over eight years. In Bush's first 3 1/2 years, the number of non-farm jobs inched up just 923,000.

Clinton said just 100,000 new jobs over the last four years had come from the private sector, adding, "we produced almost that many private-sector jobs in Arkansas."

The Democratic nominee brushed off suggestions that Republicans had successfully put him on the defensive in the last two weeks with their repeated attacks on his tax record.

"This week, we'll be talking about some different things," Clinton said. He noted that by some estimates, Bush would have to impose more than \$1 trillion in spending cuts to finance an across-the-board tax cut and other campaign promises. Bush has not stated what areas would be cut.

"They want us to wait til January with baited breath to see what they're going to do," Clinton said. "There are only a few options and ... I think we ought to explore that this week." The debate over taxes and jobs also surfaced elsewhere on a campaign trail Monday:

Democratic vice presidential candidate Al Gore, campaigning in California, said the Republicans were wrongly suggesting Americans must choose between jobs and protecting the environment. He added,

"you can create jobs and have economic success while protecting the environment and leading the way toward environmental responsibility."

Vice President Dan Quayle, campaigning in Alabama, repeated his assertion that electing Clinton would mean higher taxes, insisting the Democrat "thinks you create jobs by raising taxes."

Clinton said he welcomed a tax debate, because Arkansas voters had approved various tax increases for education and economic development.

"If they want to have this election on their tax record against mine, on whether people got their money's worth here as opposed to the national government, that's fine with me," Clinton said.

"Bush was a big spender," Clinton said, adding that Democrats in Congress had cut some of the president's budgets. "If they want to talk about it, let's just get it on."

AP-DS-08-31-92 1523EDT

Quayle Picks Fresh Fight With Hollywood
By JOHN KING
AP Political Writer

HUNTSVILLE, Ala. (AP) — Vice President Dan Quayle picked a fresh fight with Hollywood on Monday, accusing the participants in TV's Emmy awards presentation of lying about his views toward single mothers. "They said I attacked single mothers. That is a lie," Quayle told a small crowd that welcomed him to Alabama at the start of a three-day campaign swing. "They said that I believe single mothers and their children were not families. That is a lie."

Quayle was a frequent target of jokes during Sunday's nationally televised Emmy awards, as Hollywood returned fire for his criticism of TV character Murphy Brown's decision to have a child out of wedlock.

Quayle's retort was directed at the show's creator, Diane English, who addressed herself to single parents during the Emmy's program and said, "Don't let anyone tell you you're not a family."

Quayle rejoinder came as he began a campaign trip to small cities in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri and Oklahoma. President Bush won all five states in 1988, all but Missouri handily, and Quayle's goal was to rally small-town conservative voters.

Missouri is a tossup this year, with Democrat Bill Clinton now favored. Indignation over the Southern states, foundations of the Republican electoral base throughout the 1980s, are viewed as competitive because of the sour economy and the Democrats' all-Southern ticket.

"Alabama will be there, the South will be there and America will be there," Quayle told an airport crowd that consisted mainly of elementary schoolchildren well below voting age. "Because of your work, because of your dedication and because of your enthusiasm, we will win the election."

In criticizing "Murphy Brown," Quayle said the show and its lead character, played by actress Candice Bergen, were glorifying single parenthood in a way that discredited traditional family values. He has said repeatedly he was not criticizing single parents.

Ms. Bergen thanked Quayle when she accepted her Emmy, and the vice president had this response when he landed in Huntsville: "Now Murphy Brown, listen closely because I'm only going to say it once: You owe me big time."

Then, after responding to the criticism he received during the program, Quayle said: "Hollywood doesn't like our values. Hollywood doesn't like our beliefs."

Quayle attended a fund-raiser in Alabama before speaking to employees at NASA's Marshall Space Flight Center and then heading on to Mississippi and Georgia.

At the Huntsville airport, he repeated his assertion that electing Clinton would mean higher taxes. "Gov. Clinton thinks you create jobs by raising taxes," Quayle said. "You and I know you create jobs by cutting taxes, not raising taxes."

AP-DS-08-31-92 1537EDT

Quayle Announces Administration Review of Space Programs
By TOM RAUM
Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) — Vice President Dan Quayle announced a Bush administration review of space programs for the post-Cold War era Monday, and suggested space exploration would get high priority in a second Bush-Quayle term.

"President Bush and I are committed to building our common future in space. Space is in the world's security interest. It is our future," Quayle told an international forum on space.

He said he was directing his Space Policy Advisory Board to review space policy in the context of the end of the Cold War. The board is part of the National Space Council, an advisory group that is chaired by Quayle and whose advice Bush has often acted on.

"We will redesign the relationship between industry and government," Quayle said. "The time has come for of us move beyond the operatg principles dictated by the Cold War." He said the recommendations would be presented in mid-December.

As an example of new post-Cold War space programs, Quayle cited the need for cheaper launch costs.

"We need a lower cost launch system that's safe, reliable and responsive to military and civilian needs," Quayle told the World Space Congress. "Cutting launch costs makes space enterprise available to more users ... and new jobs as a result."

Quayle also talked about closer coordination in the future between the United States, Russia and other nations on civilian use of space.

The vice president said the advisory panel's purpose will be to "review our current space policies and to consider changes that make sense for a peaceful though competitive future."

Turning to U.S. space exploration goals, Quayle received warm applause when he told his audience:

"We want to go back to the moon, this time to stay. We want to begin the human explation oars. We want to send more robotic probes to other planets ... and bring back samples."

Quayle said Bush remains committed to a goal he set in 1989 of establishing a base on the moon and sending human expeditions to Mars by the year 2019.

Cost estimates range from \$400 billion to \$500 billion and the program has only received lukewarm interest in Congress.

On another controversial program, proposals for a manned U.S. space station, Quayle said:

"Let me be very clear on this point. Please, don't pay attention to the critics. We will build the space station."

AP-DS-08-31-92 1538EDT

QUAYLE SAYS GOVERNMENT COMMITTED TO SPACE RESEARCH

WASHINGTON, Reuter - The United States is committed to research in ce and ts to lead global efforts to peacefully use and explore it now that the Cold War is over, Vice President Dan Quayle said Monday.

Quayle, who heads the National Space Council, told the inaugural session of the World Space Congress he had asked his Space Policy Advisory Board to review current space policies and suggest changes needed in view of the new world situation.

"I'm here today to promise that the United States remains deeply committed to space. With the Cold War behind us, we want to lead a global coalition in a cooperative effort in the peaceful use and exploration of space," he told 4,000 civil and military space researchers and officials attending the meeting.

Major goals included improving the working relationship between civil and military space activities, increasing international cooperation and ensuring that global defense cutbacks did not jeopardize space-related industries.

"Our goal is to protect our people and to preserve critical skills, industrial capacitnd a cung-edge technology base for future space exploration and commerce," Quayle said.

Space researchers also needed to stretch scarce resources by finding faster and cheaper ways to launch space systems.

He said the United States was committed to building Space Station Freedom, a major international science and engineering project that has faced domestic funding resistance, as well as participating in other international space projects.

"Please, don't pay attention to the critics: we will build the Space Station," he said, winning loud applause.

The United States had also agreed to broaden contact with the space program of Russia, its former Cold War adversary, Quayle said.

"This is the late 20th-century version of turning swords into plowshares," he said.

He reiterated that the United States expected all its partners to comply with non-proliferation treaties and norms, including the Missile Technology Control Regime.

Future projects included clectingbital dis,establishing a rmanent research station on the moon, sending astronauts to Mars and more robotic probes to other planets, as well as collecting more data on global climate change.

The World Space Congress, which began in Washington Friday, brings together scientists, engineers, as well as top government and industry officials from 65 countries for nine days of meetings on space and related subjects.

REUTER

Reut13:39 08-31

612

Copyright (c) 1992 Reuters Information Services Inc.
All rights reserved.

Palestinian Spokeswoman Says Israel's Proposals Unacceptable By
BARRY SCHWEID
AP Diplomatic Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) — Israel's proposals for Palestinian self-rule are unacceptable and negotiations are virtually deadlocked, the Palestinian spokeswoman said today.

"There is, in a sense, a deadlock, and we are trying to find ways to end the deadlock," Hanan Ashrawi told reporters after talks entered a seco week ahe State Department.

The Israeli delegation presented its proposals last week. They are centered on the Palestinians electing an administrative agency to take charge of day-to-day life on the West Bank and Gaza.

"We told them we cannot accept it," Ms. Ashrawi said. "It is not acceptable."

She said the proposals do not recognize the land rights of the Palestinians who live in the territories and do not encompass Jerusalem.

To bridge the impasse, Ms. Ashrawi said, the Palestinians had proposed the two sides work on legal issues and on the human rights situation.

Three members of the Palestinian delegation were sent to Tunis for high-level consultations with the Palestine Liberation Organization, Ms. Ashrawi said.

"Everything that we present is approved by our leadership," she said. "As you know, high policy is made by the PLO."

MORE

AP-DS-08-31-92 1534EDT

TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH HOMEBUILDING ASSOCIATIONS
2:00 P.M. Monday, August 31, 1992

Thank you all for coming on such short notice.

All of you are well aware of the devastation caused by Hurricane Andrew. Both Florida and Louisiana were hit hard, but the scenes in South Dade County, Florida, are particularly heart-wrenching.

A snapshot of what we're facing:

- 60-80,000 homes destroyed, 180-250,000 homeless

Later on today I'll be meeting with representatives of volunteer organizations, as well as insurance and small business associations. But right now I'd like to hear about some of your efforts and make a pitch to the private sector both here in this room and around the country that others should follow your lead.

-- basic services -- water, power, phone,
health, food distribution -- still severely disrupted

Those elements of the private sector that are key to rebuilding communities-- banking and financial services, construction supplies, insurance services, are particularly strained.

The federal government has a massive relief effort underway -- from providing three meals a day to 60,000 people to bringing in power generators, mobile hospitals and tent cities. We've provided you with a handout on the efforts of the operation that goes into more detail. I want to emphasize that we will continue to do everything we can to ensure that these relief and rebuilding efforts are strong and comprehensive.

The volunteers -- both from organizations and those who just pitch in on their own -- they've been remarkable. I believe that tragedies like this do bring out the very best in the American spirit and we've seen thousands of examples of caring this past week.

Many of you through your organizations have already galvanized your members to help. Whether it's sending technical teams down to help homeowners start rebuilding, or getting your members to send building supplies at a discount, your actions make us all very, very proud.

DOOR

8/31/92
2:00PM

DOOR

Secretary Kemp

Albert C. Eisenberg
American Institute of ArchitectsDan Denston
National Association of Brick DistributorsAllen Inlow
National Association of
Plumbing-Heating-Cooling ContractorsRobert Dolibois
American Association of NurserymenDebra Dennis
Associated Landscape Contractors of AmericaTodd Quinsberry
American Cement AllianceGary McKenzie
Association of Wall and Ceiling IndustriesCharlie Hawkins
Associated Builders and Contractors

Michael Jackson

Dirk Van Dongen
National Association
Wholesaler-Distributors

Secretary Baker

Polly Evans
National Association of the Remodeling IndustryAllyn Howe
National Lumber and
Building Material Dealers AssociationJ. Dudley Miles
National Roofing Contractors AssociationKent Colton
National Association of Home Builders

The President

Jerry Connors
Manufactured Housing InstituteBert Beatty
Associated General ContractorsT. Peter Ruane
American Road and Transportation
Builders AssociationElaine Smith
Air Conditioning Contractors of America*The Roosevelt Room*

DOOR



Saily

THE PRESIDENT

August 31, 1992

Dear Larry,

The hectic pre-Convention schedule kept me on the go, and I did not see your letter till just now.

I appreciate your conveying to me your concerns. There are issues that divide various factions in the Party but, in my view, they are overwhelmed by the number of issues on which Republicans generally agree.

I appreciate your sending to me your deeply held convictions on the environment and on abortion.

My warm regards to all your family.

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Larry Rockefeller
Post Office Box 491
Grand Central Station
New York, New York 10163

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

278326 P6:47

August 25, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RON KAUFMAN *(initials)*
SUBJECT: Larry Rockefeller

✓
Apparently, Rockefeller submitted 10,774 signatures -- 10,000 are required by New York State -- to place his name on the ballot. Sen. D'Amato filed an official challenge with the State Board of Elections charging 6,021 of Rockefeller's signatures were invalid. D'Amato's challenge was successful; therefore, leaving Rockefeller far short of the 10,000 required signatures. Rockefeller has filed federal and state lawsuits asserting that due to reapportionment delays, the time period allotted for collecting signatures was shortened. According to Rockefeller, ✓ this abbreviated period "erected undue barriers for the rank and file Republicans to hold a contested primary."

While Rockefeller's lawsuits are still pending, it appears unlikely that he will ever be able to get his name on the ballot, and I feel it would be inappropriate to respond to his letter at this time.

OK 8/26/92

Larry Rockefeller
P.O. Box 491, Grand Central Station
New York, NY 10163 2 AUG 10 P 1: 06

August 7, 1992

The Honorable George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

As you perhaps know, I have recently submitted the nominating petitions required in New York to place my name on the Republican primary ballot in September. I will be running against Senator D'Amato.

Earlier in the year, I shared with you and your advisors some of my strong feelings about this country's current environmental policies. You wrote a kind personal note in response, for which I thank you again.

Now, as a candidate for the Senate, and as we approach our party's national convention, I want to communicate directly to you several deep concerns that I have, and which I now know are shared by a substantial majority of Republican voters in New York State. I am sending copies of this letter to the Republican National Chairman, Rich Bond, to the Platform Committee Chairman, Senator Don Nickles, and to your campaign Chairman, Bob Teeter.

It is my deep conviction that our party platform should state, in unequivocal language, a strong commitment to protect the environment, including an understanding that there is no conflict between sound environmental policy and economic growth. The notion that as a nation we must choose between environmental degradation and a strong economy is false. It should be specifically rejected in our platform in favor of an affirmation of the correct view that economic growth in this country and throughout the world can only be achieved and sustained if we move aggressively to adopt sound environmental policies and develop new technologies, particularly in the areas of energy efficiency and global warming.

- 2 -

Polling that I have undertaken in the past two weeks among Republican voters in New York indicated great support for stronger environmental measures. A public opinion survey just completed for my campaign indicates that 86 percent of likely Republican primary voters in the State of New York favor taking steps to provide greater protection of the environment.

A second area about which I am deeply troubled, as are millions of other Republicans, is the current platform language on the subject of abortion.

In the eyes of the overwhelming majority of Americans, the language of our party platform on this issue is seen as radical and extreme. Most Americans support reproductive freedom for women. They support a woman's right to choose, and they oppose government intrusion into this most personal and private sphere of a woman's life.

Our platform, on the other hand, calls for a constitutional Amendment banning abortion even in cases of rape and incest.

Mr. President, the current party position on this issue is wrong. Furthermore, it is supported by only one in ten New York Republicans. Our polling indicates that among likely Republican voters, 31 percent believe that the position stated in the platform is too extreme and should be changed. Moreover, 54 percent believe it should be eliminated altogether. I would urge you to return to your original position on this issue and call on the platform committee to act accordingly.

It is now abundantly clear that we are in for a very difficult struggle in November. I believe that both actions I have proposed herein would substantially enhance the chance for victory. I offer them respectfully and hope that they will receive serious consideration by you and your advisors.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Larry Rockefeller



THE PRESIDENT

type pls

~~BARON~~

Prepare in final please

Dear Larry,

The hectic pre-Convention schedule kept me on the go, and I did not see your letter til/ just now.

I I appreciate your conveying to me your concerns. There are issues that didvide varuious factions in the party, but in my view they are overwhelmed by the numbers of issues on which Republicans generally agree.

I appreciate your sending to me your deeply held convictions on 'the environment and on abortion.

My warm regards ot all your family.
Sincerely,

BAKER MAKES HIS MARK ON WHITE HOUSE

By Laurence McQuillan

WASHINGTON, Reuter - James Baker has moved swiftly to put his mark on the White House, clearly influencing President Bush's style of governing and campaigning within days of becoming the chief of staff.

Baker, who formally resigned as secretary of state last week, wasted no time in establishing firm control of the White House -- with its constant domestic and foreign demands -- and the sometimes conflicting needs of Bush's re-election drive.

"There's been a more energized atmosphere arouere" sin Baker ived, said one White House official. "We've all been energized and so has the president. The impact has been dramatic."

Since stepping down as the globe-trotting secretary of state, Baker has found himself trying to play down his own role. He has been avoiding news media interviews and trying to keep out of the spotlight -- an unusual role for him.

"He is quite sensitive to the role of the president and the role of the chief of staff, and I suspect he will not have a high profile," White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said. But Baker has left no doubt about who is in charge.

He took command the night of Aug. 23, the third major reshuffle of the White House in less than one year. Since then, Bush has quickened his pace.

The president, who took more than a week to visit the devastation in South Carolina when Hurricane Hugo struck in 1989, last week was inspecting the damage hours after Hurricane Andrew slammed into Florida and Louisiana.

hen fruated critics began complaining about the speed of the federal response to the storm Thursday, Bush was dispatching federal troops and equipment that night -- countering the complaints before they received prominent play in the next day's morning newspapers.

"Certainly our ability to react seems much quicker," said one White House official. "Before, we would build a consensus and then act. Now we just do it."

Bush's involvement in hurricane relief efforts has been far more visible than such activity in the past. He returned from Camp David Saturday to receive a White House update that in the past would have been conducted in the seclusion of the presidential retreat.

The White House Monday arranged a series of meetings involving Bush and those with a role in the emergency efforts -- generating publicity for his efforts.

The key to Baker's influence is his close personal ties to Bush, which span decades. He is better suited than anyone else to tell Bush what he needs to -- the frndship eliminating the need for Baker to be deferential.

"They know how each other thinks, what makes each other tick," said one official, noting that the relationship was unmatched by the other two chiefs of staff -- Samuel Skinner and John Sununu.

"And Bush trusts Baker completely," he said.

Baker's vast Washington experience has much to do with his ability to take charge. He was White House chief of staff for former President Ronald Reagan and served as his Treasury secretary as well.

He also served in key roles in the presidential campaigns of Bush, Reagan and former President Gerald Ford -- giving him solid credentials in political as well as policy circles.

The tone of Bush's campaign appearances last week reflected a marked change. The man who had espoused a "kinder, gentler" approach when he took over nearly four years ago was back in the world of rough-and-tumble politics.

Bush last week accused his Democratic rival, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, of being an "e-monger" who would raise \$45 million through taxes on foreign investments.

Bush, trailing in most public opinion polls as the Nov. 3 election nears, accused Clinton of trying to "exploit the darker impulses of this uncertain age -- fear of the future, fear of the unknown, fear of foreigners."

The stinging attacks on a political rival had been missing from Bush's rhetoric for a while. The last time Bush talked that way was in 1988 -- when Baker ran his campaign.

Baker has overhauled the basic way the White House functions -- slashing the size of the senior staff and making sure most of them owe their position to him.

Senior staff meetings -- which at times would be attended by dozens of officials wanting a place in the pecking order -- now typically have a turnout of just eight.

Participants include the five people Baker brought with him from the State Department and just three who were serving at the White House before -- Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser, budget director Richard Darman and spokesman Marlin Fitzwater.

The move follows the pattern Baker has used when he was at the State Department, and earlier at Treasury -- keeping his cards close to the vest and maintaining a firm hand on the decision process.

REUTER

Reut13:49 08-31

614

Copyright (c) 1992 Reuters Information Services Inc.
All rights reserved.

5:00 P.M. WIRES

Nicaragua Controlled by Sandinistas, Congressional Report Says
By MERRILL HARTSON
Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) — Violeta Chamorro is a figurehead president of Nicaragua while her son-in-law and a brother of former President Daniel Ortega apparently "hold the real power," a Senate Republican report said Monday.

In a scathing study of the Central American country 2 1/2 years after Ortega was defeated in a democratic election, the Republican staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said, "The evidence suggests that Mrs. Chamorro is merely the titular head of state."

"All real power remains with the Sandtas, who were supporteby only 40.ercent of the popular vote," investigator Deborah De Moss said in a forward to the 144-page report. Gen. Humberto Ortega and Mrs. Chamorro's son-in-law, Antonio Lacayo, the minister of the presidency, "hold the real power," the report said.

Ernesto Palazio, Nicaraguan ambassador to the United States, called the report "deceitful, misleading and unfair to the fledgling democracy and its people."

The report was prepared at the request of Sen. Jesse Helms of North Carolina, ranking committee Republican. Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island approved the investigation, which included staff visits to Nicaragua.

Helms, complaining earlier this year that the Chamorro government had failed to compensate some 450 U.S. citizens whose property was confiscated, demanded a freeze on \$116 million in U.S. assistance.

The Bush administration quietly suspended assistance to Managua last spring after Helms and other members of Congress, incding Rep. David Oy, D-Wis., voiced concerns about economic programs and continued Sandinista influence. Obey heads a House Appropriations subcommittee on foreign aid.

Obey subsequently wrote then-Secretary of State James A. Baker III in early July saying his concerns about economic stabilization had been met and urging the release of the money.

An administration official, asking not to be identified publicly, said, "We're equally concerned about some of the things, including property and police reform. We're working with the Congress and Nicaragua to answer those questions."

The investigation by the minority staff was laced with allegations of corruption and human rights abuses, including: Evidence of "a systematic campaign to assassinate former members of the Nicaraguan Contra resistance force."

"This staff investigation found that 217 former freedom fighters have been assassinated after they were demobilized, and since Mrs. Chamorro has been in power," it said, mening "the murder oNicaraguaresistce command Enrique Bermudez" and the "torture of resistance leader Aristides Sanchez."

Evidence that corruption is rampant "at the highest levels of the Chamorro government." Investigators said they had information indicating that "foreign aid funds were used by high-level officials to bribe Nicaraguan congressmen."

Palazio said in a statement, "Sen. Helms' staff is out there by itself hurling insults at people trying hard to mend a country. They are acting like loose cannons." He noted that 18 predominately conservative members of the U.S. House recently signed a letter urging release of the U.S. assistance.

Daniel Ortega said in Managua on Sunday that Helms and Bernard Aronson, an undersecretary of state for Latin American affairs, were "trying to govern Nicaragua" from abroad.

The report said no U.S. aid funds should be reinstated until all American property claims have been resolved, "the leadership of the Sandinista Popular Army is replaced" and "thorough and professional investigations and prosecutions have been carried out for the torture and murders of members of the Nicaraguan Resistance."

"Nicaragua is the second largest recipient of (U.S.) foreign aid on a per capita basis, just behind Israel. That's why it's scandalous," De Moss said. "... They can do whatever they want with their government, but not with U.S. taxpayers' money."

Mrs. Chamorro held informal talks with President Bush here on April 9, and the White House said Bush congratulated her on the success of her economic reforms and her national reconciliation efforts.

Vice President Dan Quayle flew to Nicaragua in April 1990 to help Mrs. Chamorro celebrate her victory over Ortega, calling the election "the miracle of Managua."

He declined to criticize her decision to retain Ortega's brother Humberto as head of the armed forces. "It shows she is trying to reconcile the differences in her country," he said at the time.

AP-DS-08-31-92 1617EDT

Marines Raise Tent City, Navy Ships Dock; Estimates of Damage Rise
By PATRICK REYNA
Associated Press Writer

HOMESTEAD, Fla. (AP) — Hundreds of Marines built the first tent city for hurricane victims Monday, a full week after Andrew left thousands homeless, and the first two ships of a Navy convoy arrived with heavy-duty relief equipment.

But while thousands of south Floridians remained without adequate food or shelter, state and federal officials bickered over who was in charge of relief from the worst natural disaster in U.S. history.

And throughout southern Dade County, people waited in line: for food stamps, for mail, for Red Cross vouchers, for checks from insurance companies and the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

Thousands of others fumed in traffic jams as Miami-area businesses reopened, some for the first time since the hurricane struck.

"There's no way you can do it all at once," Gov. Lawton Chiles said while touring the tent city on a baseball field in hard-hit Homestead, 30 miles southwest of Miami.

The governor raised the estimate of hurricane-wrecked homes to 85,000; Estimates of the number of homeless people have ranged from 10,000 to 250,000.

Chiles warned that if the federal government did not pay 100 percent of reconstruction costs, "the state of Florida will be totally busted."

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said Bush was "quite sympathetic" to Chiles' plea, but that no final decision had been made.

There was confusion about who was in charge of the enormous relief effort. An Army spokesman, Lt. Col. Bill Reynolds, said U.S. Transportation Secretary Andrew Card was in charge.

But Chiles' chief of staff, Tom Herndon, insisted the state and federal agencies were leading their own programs. "There is no single boss of all bosses," he told reporters.

Many people in the relief pipeline have complained of a lack of coordination.

"I'm shuffled here, there and there," said Mike Phipps, 49, who pedaled a bicycle to West Homestead Elementary School to collect Red Cross vouchers for food and clothing. "I go to the Army and ask for a test, they say go to City Hall. I go to City Hall, they say go to the Army."

The confusion has led to spoilage of donated food left outside and to clothing being dumped in the trash after sitting in mud puddles. Some have urged unified radio frequencies for all relief agencies and a high-profile disaster czar, such as retired Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf.

Card has acknowledged a slow federal response, and Chiles said Monday: "Nobody understood the depth of the devastation as we do now."

The first tent city was erected on Homestead's Harris Field by 450 Marines who had worked all night. Fourteen cots fit into each of the 108 tents.

The Marines said city authorities would decide when people could move in.

Some tents were to be placed in small clusters in neighborhoods, where residents have been reluctant to leave the ruins of their homes because they fear looting.

The Navy's USS Sierra, a destroyer tender from Charleston, S.C., arrived Monday with 15 tons of tools and a crew of 1,000, followed by the USS Opportune, a salvage ship fr Little Creek, Va. Fiveships were expected by Tuesday. Hundreds of Navy engineers, mechanics and carpenters were sent to Homestead and nearby Florida City to erect more tents. "These are my people and I want to come back and give them a hand," said Sierra electrician Ariel Herrera, of the northwestern Miami suburb of Hialeah.

The Defense Department said that by the end of the day, south Florida would have 11,510 federal troops, 4,600 portable toilets, 15,500 radios, 34 portable food kitchens, 638,600 ready-to-eat meals, 240,000 cans of insecticide and enough tents to hold 23,570 people.

It was difficult to confirm how much of that had arrived, in part because traffic was heavy and telephone service had not been restored to all areas. About 525,000 people still had no electricity.

Thunderstorms hit for a third straight day Monday and steady, seasonal rain was forecast throughout September.

The Fedral Emergency Management Agency started handing out relief checks Monday in Louiana, wre the storm caused an estimated \$400 million in damage.

More than 50,000 Louisiana residents still had no power. The Red Cross said 25,000 people there were homeless.

The number of deaths blamed on Andrew in Florida, Louisiana and the Bahamas stood at 35.

A relief worker struck by lightning while unloading a helicopter remained in serious condition, emergency officials said

In addition, many Floridians have been injured while removing fallen trees, falling off roofs, or stepping on nails and broken glass.

AP-DS-08-31-92 1611EDT

YEUTTER NAMED DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF BUSH CAAIGN

WASHINGTON, Reuter - Clayton Yeutter, a senior domestic policy adviser to President Bush, is shifting to the president's re-election campaign as deputy campaign chairman, the campaign headquarters said Monday.

Yeutter's departure from the White House staff had been widely expected following Bush's decision to shake up both his White House and campaign staffs by making Secretary of State James Baker his White House chief of staff earlier this month. Baker began his new job last week.

Yeutter, 61, has been White House domestic policy chief for the past six months.

Before that, he was chairman of the Republican National Committee and Bush's secretary of Agriculture.

Yeutter's government service began in 1966, when he helped elect Norman Tiemann governor of Nebraska and later served as Tiemann's gubernatorial chief of staff.

He also has worked in the private sector, serving as president and chief executive officer of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, the rld's secd largest futures market.

"He has served four presidents effectively and will be a great asset to the campaign," Bush campaign Chairman Robert Teeter said in a statement.

In an earlier campaign shakeup following Baker's shift to the White House, the campaign last week announced that former Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher, the campaign's general chairman, had left that post to direct all fund raising for the Republican Party.

That change came during the fourth day of Baker's reign as White House chief of staff -- a job he took to breathe fire into a sometimes disorganized Bush program.

REUTER

Reut14:44 08-31

627

Copyright (c) 1992 Reuters Information Services Inc.
All rights reserved.

IRAQ'S RULING PARTY SEEKS HELP IN DEFEATING NO-FLY ZONE

BAGHDAD, Iraq, Reuter - Iraq's ruling Baath Party appealed Monday for the world's support to defeat the Western no-fly zone over the south, saying it was the most dangerous part of a plot to partition Iraq and other Arab states.

In a statement, the National Command of the Arab Baath Socialist Party head by President Saddam Hussein accused Iran of providing the pretext for "the Western conspiracy" and called for the Iranian people to rise up.

"The decision by the United States, Britain and France to ban Iraqi flights below the 32nd parallel is the most dangerous chapter in the imperialist-Zionist coalition's plan," said the statement broadcast on Iraqi radio.

It said the plan by the Gulf War victors sought to partition Iraq and other Arab states and "replace them with even weaker and more artificial entities in the Arab homeland."

The United States, France and Britain say they are enforcing the no-fly zone to protect Shiite Moslem rebels in the south from attack by Iraqi warplanes and deny Baghdad's accusations it is the first step to tear apart the country.

"All world nationalists, Islamists, patriots and leftists ... professional unions and bodies, cultural, political and social forums are asked to intensify their struggle," the party sd.

Iraq says Iranian infiltrators, Iraqi army deserters and bandits are hiding in the marshlands of the south and denies using its warplanes and helicopters against them.

The Baath Party added that the Iranian people and forces in Iran should rise up "to check the deviation" of their leaders, otherwise in the near future they would be the target of the same scheme to fragment the country.

Iran and Iraq fought for eight years until 1988. Iraq also provides bases for the largest Iranian opposition movement, the self-styled National Liberation Army of the Mujahideen Khalq. REUTER

Reut14:11 08-31

619

Copyright (c) 1992 Reuters Information Services Inc.
All rights reserved.

5:00 P.M. NEWS UPDATE

HURRICANE/PRESIDENT'S VISIT (Reuter) -- President Bush said he will fly to Florida and Louisiana Tuesday to inspect the cleanup of damage caused by Hurricane Andrew. It will be the President's second trip to both states since the hurricane hit the U.S. "I'll be leaving at 5:45 in the morning, go back down there," Bush told reporters at the start of a White House meeting with insurance industry representatives.

HURRICANE RELIEF/CONGRESS (Reuter) -- Congress will start work on a bill providing billions of dollars in aid to victims of Hurricane Andrew, the costliest natural disaster in U.S. history, when lawmakers return next week from their August recess. Because Uncle Sam is broke, however, the government will have to borrow the money it needs to clean up after the massive hurricane that ripped through Florida and Louisiana. "Over the years we have provided assistance for the Mount St. Helens volcano, Hurricane Hugo, the San Francisco earthquake and now the victims of Hurricane Andrew," House Appropriations Committee Chairman Whitten (D-Miss.) said in a statement. Whitten is expected to introduce an emergency aid bill next week.

HOLLYWOOD/VICE PRESIDENT (Huntsville, Ala./John King, AP) -- Vice President Quayle picked a fresh fight with Hollywood, accusing the participants in TV's Emmy awards presentation of lying about his views toward single mothers. "They said I attacked single mothers. That is a lie," Quayle told a small crowd that welcomed him to Alabama at the start of a three-day campaign swing. "They said that I believe single mothers and their children were not families. That is a lie."

SPACE PROGRAMS/VICE PRESIDENT (Tom Raum, AP) -- Vice President Quayle announced a Bush Administration review of space programs for the post-Cold War era, and suggested space exploration would get high priority in a second Bush-Quayle term. "President Bush and I are committed to building our common future in space. Space is in the world's security interest. It is our future," Quayle told an international forum on space.

ENVIRONMENT/GORE (Oakland/AP) -- Al Gore said that President Bush had "turned his back on the environment" and the Democrat insisted that America need not choose between creating jobs and protecting the environment. Gore delivered his message while touring a foundry with environmentally safe manufacturing processes. "The main issue in this campaign is jobs. Nothing else is going to work well in America until we provide jobs, jobs for Americans, until we put our people back to work and get our economy moving again," Gore told workers at American Brass and Iron. "And whereas Bush and Quayle are saying we have to choose between jobs and the environment, and they haven't done a good job with either one of them, you can create jobs and have economic success while protecting the environment and leading the way toward environmental responsibility."

8/31/92

Mr. P. —

- 1.) 3:20 P.m. — ANDY CALLED ME
- 2.) IT'S A GO
- 3.) I'VE CALLED SUSAN PORTER ROSE 3:22 P.M.
- 4.) I ASKED ANDY THE HWY ONE QUESTION
THE POST OFFICE MAN ASKED YOU AND ANDY
SAID THEY ARE WORKING ON DESIGNATING
ONE LANE FOR OFFICAL.
- 5.) ANDY SAID YES SEND CABINET PEOPLE YOU MEET
WITH ON WED. — I'VE TOLD EDDIE TO
LET THEM KNOW —

ACTION COMPLETED

MDT

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 31, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be Members of the Chemical Safety and Hazard Investigation Board for terms of five years:

LEWIS S. W. CRAMPTON, of the District of Columbia. He will also be appointed Chairman. Since 1989, Mr. Crampton has served as Associate Administrator for Communications and Public Affairs at the Environmental Protection Agency.

JACK ROBERT WITZ, of California. Currently, Dr. Witz serves as Program Manager for the Radian Corporation. Prior to this, he served as Director of Environmental Programs at ICF-Kaiser Engineers.

ROBERT B. TAYLOR, of Tennessee. Since 1975, Mr. Taylor has served as Director of the State of Tennessee's Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

AUGUST 31, 1992

PRESIDENT BUSH

	TIME		DISC	NAME	ACTION
	PLACED				
OUT	8:59 AM			MR. JACOB STEIN OFC: HICKSVILLE, N.Y. 516-938-6012	TLKD-OK 1:48 P.M.
INC	PM	1:53			
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	9:17 AM	9:18		MRS. BARBARA BUSH OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 542	TLKD-OK 9:17 A.M.
INC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	9:44 AM			MAYOR JAMES D. GRIFFIN OFC: BUFFALO, N.Y. 716-851-4841	TLKD WITH MRS. ROBIN A. MAC LEAN 9:46 A.M.
INC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	10:17 AM	10:25		MR. PRESCOTT BUSH OFC: NEW YORK, N.Y. 212-599-1409	TLKD-OK 10:19 A.M.
INC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	10:41 AM	10:46		DR. BURTON J. LEE III OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-456-6029	TLKD-OK 10:44 A.M.
INC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	10:49 AM	10:51		MRS. KATHERINE SUPER OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 738	TLKD-OK 10:51 A.M.
INC	PM				

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

AUGUST

31

92

PRESIDENT BUSH

, 19

	TIME		DISC	NAME	ACTION
	PLACED				
OUTX	11:29 AM			SECRETARY RICHARD B. CHENEY OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 424	MESSAGE WAS PASSED TO MS. WENDY CORNNELL FOR SECRETARY CHENEY
INC	XX PM				
OUT	AM				TO USE SECURE PHONE (PER PRESUS) 12:13 P.M.
INC	PM				
OUT	AM			MRS. KATHERINE SUPER OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 645	
XXIX	12:26 PM	12:28			TLKD-OK 12:26 P.M.
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	AM			MAYOR JAMES D. GRIFFIN OFC: BUFFALO, N.Y. 716-851-4841	
XXIX	1:37 PM	1:46			TLKD-OK 1:38 P.M.
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	AM			MRS. BARBARA BUSH RES: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 543	
XXIX	2:58 PM	2:59			TLKD-OK 2:58 P.M.
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
XXIX	AM			MRS. BARBARA BUSH RES: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 543	
XXIX	3:04 PM	3:05			TLKD-OK 3:04 P.M.
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	AM			MR. ROGER AILES OFC: NEW YORK, N.Y. 212-685-8400	
XXIX	3:45 PM	3:52			TLKD-OK 3:50 P.M.
INC					

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

AUGUST

31

, 19 92

PRESIDENT BUSH

	TIME		DISC	NAME	ACTION
	PLACED				
OUT		XAM		REVEREND JESSE L. JACKSON MIAMI, FL. 305-343-3851	TLKD WITH MRS. ROSE M. ZAMARIA 4:07 P.M.
INC	4:06	PM			
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT		AM		BERNARD CARDINAL LAW RES: BRIGHTON, MA. 617-782-2544	TLKD-OK 5:55 P.M.
INC	5:54	PM	6:07		
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT		XAM		MR. ALVAH CHAPMAN OFC: MIAMI, FL. 305-376-3870	TLKD-OK 6:14 P.M.
INC	6:13	PM	6:29		
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT		XAM		MR. MAX MARLIN FITZWATER WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN.EXT. 686	TLKD-OK 7:08 P.M.
INC	7:05	PM	7:10		
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT		XAM		MR. JOHN E. BUSH CELLULAR PHONE 305-775-4221	TLKD-OK 7:16 P.M.
INC	7:11	PM	7:22		
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT		XAM		REVEREND BILLY GRAHAM RES: MONTREAT, N.C. 704-669-1971	TLKD WITH MRS. ROSE M. ZAMARIA 9:16 P.M.
INC	9:14	PM			

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

August 31, 1992

	TIME		DISC	NAME	ACTION
	PLACED				
OUT	6:37 AM		6:38	Mr. Nick Trotter Elm Command Post Camp David, Maryland Camp David Signal 4-1236	Tlkd-ok 6:38 AM
XINC	PM				
OUT	7:43 AM		7:44	CDR Joseph A. Walsh Laurel Lodge, Camp David, Maryland Camp David Signal 4-1670	Tlkd-ok 7:43 AM
XINC	PM				
OUT	7:46 AM			Mr. Alexander Muxo Emergency Operations Center Homestead, Florida 305-245-1801	PRESUS Cancel 8:08 AM
XINC	PM				
OUT	7:46 AM			Mr. Fred Taylor Office, Miami, Florida 305-471-2172	PRESUS Cancel 8:08 AM
XINC	PM				
XOUT	8:13 AM			Mr. John E. Bush En route Office, Miami, Florida 305-775-4221	WCB 8:14 AM
INC	PM				
OUT	8:21 AM		8:30	Mr. Fred Taylor Office, Miami, Florida 305-471-2172	Tlkd-ok 8:26 AM via Secure Satellite
XINC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Camp David, Maryland
Washington, D.C.

DATE 31 August 1992

TIME	MOVEMENTS
0817	Depart Camp David via Marine One
0843	Arrive South Grounds
0846	Oval Office
1106	Cabinet Room
1200	Oval Office
1403	Roosevelt Room
1436	Oval Office
1509	Roosevelt Room
1539	Oval Office
1624	Roosevelt Room
1702	Oval Office
1714	Barber Shop
1753	General Scowcroft's Office
1757	Oval Office
1855	South Grounds
1858	Residence
1900	South Grounds
1903	Doctor's Office
1905	Residence

Tuned in, turned off

FRANK MANKIEWICZ

The "bounce" turns out - at least for now - to be a quiver, a wiggle, a nudge. The 10- to 15-point gap in the polls that President Bush had begun to close right after the Republican Convention has opened up again, and the glow of Houston seems to be burning away like early-morning fog.

It's not hard to tell why. In 1972, the Democratic Convention that nominated George McGovern was thought to have been a refreshing draught of new politics - honest, small-d democratic, clean, even earnest. Delegates - for the most part first-timers - sat in their seats, listened to speeches, debated, voted and cheered.

Along the way, they demonstrated their hostility to the war in Vietnam and their concern for the young, the poor, the excluded. All in all, it was thought, it was a splendid show with which to start the campaign.

But it turned out that a different spectacle was conveyed by television to the nation's living rooms. TV showed hippies demonstrating outside the hall, loud ag-

**Those at the convention
were delighted. But the
TV public saw
something else.**

gressive young people with unpatriotic ideas. What had seemed "democratic" came across as out of control. Within a week, Nixon's lead was solid.

Much the same thing seems to have happened in Houston. Those at the convention - true believers for the most part - were delighted. Dan Quayle gave a great speech, they thought. Marilyn Quayle and Barbara Bush gave Hillary Clinton a going-over. Pat Buchanan and Pat Robertson provided good, raw GOP meat, and the platform was a solid consensus document.

What's more, the delegates kept saying, Bush stepped up and delivered a speech that laid out the record, manfully regretted the tax increase deal and signed up with the supply-siders for a tax cut and a deficit-reducing checkoff.

But the TV public saw something else, and that's why the Bush campaign is once again looking at a large Clinton lead and back-pedaling furiously. What came across the home screen was a hot-eyed, humorless anger and a mean-spirited assault on middle-American values, mainly those defined as individual choice, fair play and common sense.

Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin - ordinarily witty, moderate and reasonable - came across as strident, humorless, more than a little mean and so unaware of her audience that she asked rhetorically: "Are we better off than we were four years ago?" only to answer: "Of course we are."

Barbara Bush seemed too crafty by half and her use of the grandchildren manipulative; Marilyn Quayle seemed downright scary, and Pat Buchanan was a cross between Joe McCarthy and Charles Barkley. Pat Robertson may think of himself as an activist Billy Graham, but he seemed liked a bigoted Elmer Gantry.

The president's hypocrisy in pledging he would never allow the political campaign to have any effect on foreign policy - only days after pulling Secretary of State James Baker out of the Mideast peace process and the Balkan crisis to run the campaign - was an offense to many viewers.

The tax-break pledge and the deficit checkoff gave him some breathing room. But it turned out there was no tax plan and no deficit reduction plan; instead there was only paralysis because of the dollar's weakness. The positives from the convention began to disappear.

Without much left except to denounce Clinton for avoiding the war (just like Quayle) and no real issues except Hillary Clinton's headband (at least until "Murphy Brown" is back on the air), the Bush-Quayle forces seem to be playing for time, hoping for a blunder or a good war. It may be too late.

Frank Mankiewicz, who was a principal adviser to presidential candidates Robert Kennedy and George McGovern, is vice president of Hill & Knowlton.

Clinton talks tough in Texas

By Steve Daley
Chicago Tribune

AUSTIN, Texas—Democrat Bill Clinton staked a claim to President Bush's adopted home state, and its 32 electoral votes, as he began a two-day bus tour of Texas Thursday.

"I know I don't have a hotel room in Texas, or a plot of land for a retirement home," Clinton told a San Antonio rally in a reference to Bush's Houston connection. "But I care more about the people of Texas, the ordinary people, and the problems they've got and the challenges they face."

"I predict to you by Election Day we'll be able to prevail here," he told reporters.

The Democrats' buscapade set out for the dusty reaches of east

Texas but spent much of the day deep in the heart of academia, at the University of Texas in Austin.

There, before 15,000 at a raucous campus rally, Clinton heard Gov. Ann Richards and former Houston congresswoman Barbara Jordan excoriate Bush's record, Texas-style.

"Grandma Barbara is not running," Jordan said, alluding to the popularity of First Lady Barbara Bush.

Richards, owner of perhaps the sharpest tongue in American politics, mocked Bush's proposed 10 percent taxpayer checkoff for deficit reduction.

"I asked my advisers, how much am I paying now in taxes for the federal debt?" Richards roared. "They told me 41 cents on the dol-

See Clinton, pg. 5

Clinton

Continued from page 1

lar, for the interest on the national debt.

"This is a shuck-and-jive game they're playing, folks."

There is an edge to the fourth Clinton bus tour, a sarcastic tone that is partly a response to the withering criticism Democrats received at last week's Republican convention.

In recent days, Clinton and his running mate, Tennessee Sen. Al Gore, have sharpened their criticism of Bush and his vice president, Dan Quayle.

In San Antonio, Clinton spoke of an administration "out of ideas, out of energy and, soon, out of the White House."

He mocked Bush's new tax-cut promise, adding: "This administration's sole obsession is keeping taxes low on the wealthiest Americans."

Clinton said Congress had passed a bill providing a tax cut for the middle class and incentives for business, but Bush vetoed it because it raised taxes on millionaires.

"Don't you ever forget that," he told the rally. "Congress gave him a bill and he jumped in the tank for his wealthy friends."

Clinton was pumping up the volume in a state his strategists now believe is winnable in November. Texas has 32 electoral votes, the third biggest haul of all the states; California has 54 and New York has 33.

Before boarding the buses Thursday, Clinton bathed in a warm San Antonio riverside reception and in more of the vivid campaign rhetoric supplied by Richards.

She ridiculed Bush for his continual celebration of what many Democrats view as Ronald Reagan's foreign policy accomplishments.

"Some absolutely amazing things have happened since I became governor of Texas," Richards told the crowd. "Russia has been dissolved; the Berlin Wall has come down. I'm serious—I had as much to do with it as George Bush."

Clinton sustained the down-home, partisan mood, telling the crowd that Richards was "brighter than a tree full of owls."

When pressed on his record, Clinton said, Bush "moaned like a pig under the gate, as we say in Arkansas."

Campaigning on turf where national security and the defense industry are important, Clinton challenged Bush's assertion that the Democrat's policies would create "a hollow army."

"I will never leave the folks who won the Cold War out in the cold," he said.

Clinton went on to list a few of his favorite weapons systems, including the tilt-rotor V-22 aircraft, a popular project in Texas.

He compared his proposed defense cuts with Bush's, insisting his five-year rollback plan exceeded the president's by only 5 percent.

The combative tone adopted by Clinton and his running mate may have something to do with the fact that the campaign is now moving across the candidates' native South.

Clinton and Gore warmed up late Wednesday at a fiddle-playing rally before a crowd of nearly 5,000 at the Grand Ole Opry in Nashville. The Southern bonhomie was catching. A reluctant Clinton and his equally reluctant wife, Hillary, found themselves offering a rendition of the University of Arkansas Razorbacks' cheer on cable TV's Nashville Network.

"We're gonna call hogs, one time," Clinton told the audience.

On Thursday, between tour stops from San Antonio to Waco, Clinton responded to Quayle's charge that the Democrat was "in the pocket" of the American Trial Lawyers Association.

That group has been particularly generous in its financial backing of the Democratic ticket.

"If ever an administration has been in the pocket of the special interests, it's Bush and Quayle," Clinton said. "I mean, the Competitiveness Council [a business advisory group headed by Quayle] has become a home for anybody who gave money to Bush and Quayle to get done whatever they want done."

RICHARD REEVES

Republicans and the press have an understanding: They truly dislike each other

There's a special bond between politicians and press at a Republican convention: They don't like us, and we don't like them.

One of my formative experiences in covering politics came at my first convention, the Republicans in Miami Beach in 1968. I was in an elevator with another reporter at the Fontainebleau Hotel when two women who looked very like my mother — my father was a Republican politician in New Jersey — stepped in and soon began sniffing for something. It was us, I realized. One of the women said to the other, "Reporters."

It is nothing personal, at least that is what I have concluded over the years. And it is not ideological, either. There are attractive and personable people on both sides, probably more on their side than ours. And many reporters and editors are believing Republicans, or independent conservatives who vote Republican more often than not.

Part of it is cultural. More reporters relate to Ellis Island America than do the Mayflower Republicans, who see their mission as preserving Yankee values against whatever values are held by the huddled masses and other Giacomos- and Juans-come-lately.

This has been going on for a long time. It

*More reporters relate to
Ellis Island-America than
do the Mayflower
Republicans, who see their
mission as preserving
Yankee values.*

was Teddy Roosevelt who said the Episcopal Church is the Republican Party at prayer. Maurice (Mickey) Carroll of New York Newsday was once asked what the man he was covering, Mayor John Lindsay, then a Republican, really thought about the press — and he imitated Lindsay saying: "If you guys are so damned smart, how come you're not stockbrokers?"

Lindsay's early benefactor and later nemesis, Nelson Rockefeller, was the last politician I knew who called reporters "the boys." And those two guys were considered too close to the press by other Republicans. The delegates who cheered former President El-

senhower attacking the press in San Francisco in 1964 literally booed Rockefeller off the same platform.

No, nothing personal. The real reason we don't like them is because they don't respect us — or kowtow to us. They "dis" us, as they say in rap jargon. One Republican rapper, Sen. Alan Simpson of Wyoming, appeared at a media forum last Sunday to call the kettle black. "The public is just as fed up with you, as with us," he said, referring to "your craft" and "my profession."

I guess that puts us in our place. Well, we do tend to exaggerate our role and importance in the game of the great democracy. Republicans know that, and they don't like it one little bit. They understand instinctively and totally a fact of life best articulated by a reporter who went into politics, a Democrat, John F. Kennedy, who told his men the press could be fun, but never forget that in the end their interests are different from ours.

Even Vice President Quayle gets it. He is in the mainstream of his party, doing God's work, when he travels the country blaming his boss' problems on nasty reporters from Washington and New York.

We are an obstacle in the path of his party's vision thing — tainted by education at fancy-

pants universities and by dissolute lifestyles and unpatriotic tendencies — or so they think. (Actually, Republicans got to the best schools long before journalists.) I remember Sally Quinn of the Washington Post standing near the podium as the 1980 Republican convention ended, watching the delegates all waving American flags. "I wonder if they think it's our flag, too," said the daughter of an Army general who was Barry Goldwater's best friend.

They don't. They don't think it's sensible to consort with people who aren't on the team, as they used to say in Vietnam. Now they don't even let us watch the team — witness Grenada and Panama and Iraq. They simply do not recognize the legitimacy of the press as anything other than a profitable enterprise that regularly gives them trouble. Who needs it?

In general, Republicans have done quite well by scorning the we're-all-in-this-together camaraderie practiced by many politicians and reporters in the past — for better or worse. Instead, Republicans have adopted, with usually positive results, the media-management techniques of corporate America. Only one person, the designated spokesman, speaks to the press at a given time or on a

given subject. There is no internal contradiction, with the party line enforced by prepared statements and structured press availabilities. They consider all that, I'm sure, to be nothing more than prudence and self-defense — and sometimes they're quite right — but such techniques make it clear that press contacts are negotiations with the enemy.

Republicans avoid, for instance, one-on-one interviews, inviting in a third person to take notes and offer helpful party-line tips. I used to think the extra man was there to intimidate the reporter, but I realize now that he's there to keep his colleague in line.

The stage-managed interview with Barbara Bush — advocating a measured view of abortion with only one thing on the table next to her, a photograph of the Pope — was another good example of Republican technique. Just write down what the woman says. One of the things I remember about that woman and the press was her reaction four years ago when Michael Jackson, the great phone-in host in Los Angeles, asked her about abortion. "What do you think you're doing?" she snapped. "They told me you were friendly."

No, ma'am, most of us aren't.

Richard Reeves, a writer for The New Yorker and other publications, is based in New York.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER
3-31-83

1-14-82

Aides-de-camp

Manhattan: Memo to President Bush and Vice President Quayle: The American people did not elect James Baker, Barbara Bush or Marilyn Quayle to any office. *Robert O'Connor*

GOP Only Values Families When It Can Do It for Free

Male black widow spiders, arachnidologists tell us, are loving mates with highly developed family values, for all the good it does them.

Most of us liberals cherish our families, like to think that we raise our children better, beat them less often than conservatives and are less likely than Marilyn Quayle to force underage females to bear a child they might not want. What makes us liberals, perhaps, is an overdeveloped sense of family, a meddlesome, high-minded, sometimes misguided impulse to want for humanity some of what we want for our families.

So let's get this straight: There are all kinds of ways to love your family and raise your children and they don't, thank goodness, necessarily have to be the way Barbara Bush raised her Neil, however perfect his table manners may be. And when Doro Bush LeBlond and her Republican husband couldn't stand each other, there wasn't a liberal in the country who disparaged the president's daughter or tried to make her feel bad for getting a divorce, splitting up the family and marrying a Democrat.

Let Doro count herself lucky, though, that this is 1992 and not 80 years ago, when the same dark forces who wrote the Republican platform in Houston this year might well have inserted a plank calling for a constitutional divorce ban and statutory standing for that part of the marriage service where women used to promise to "love, honor and obey."

We have just been treated to a week in which family values have been militantly celebrated with such intemperate zeal that who of us, any longer, on hearing the phrase, sees the image of a silver-haired grandmother, a doting parent, a hearth, a home, a beloved brother or sister, a favorite aunt, a contented child at play? No, we see the snarling face of Pat Buchanan and Pat Robertson ranting breathlessly against wickedness, Phyllis Schlafly shaking an authoritarian finger at the women of America, George Bush and Dan Quayle telling the children of American liberals that, in effect, their mommies and daddies aren't raising them right, Republican National Chairman Rich Bond telling them that they belong to that subworld of "those people" who "aren't America."

All this howling about family values, punctuated by a little welfare bashing and super-patriotism, begins to sound ominously like a session of collaborationist politicians meeting at Vichy, as they did in 1940, to change the motto of France from "liberty, equality, fraternity" to "work, family, fatherland." Do these good people, relatively harmless most of them, have any idea of the tone they're setting, of the exceedingly fine line between their witless rhetoric, all in the competitive spirit of a campaign, and stark, raving, mid-20th Century fascism? Still, it goes on. Two days after the convention, Rep. Newt Gingrich welcomed Bush to Georgia with a lunatic speech suggesting that the Democrats had become the party of incest.

Curiously, I didn't hear any screaming about "business values" at the Republican Convention. But in 1990 when Congress passed the Family Leave Act, an inoffensive bill allowing workers to take *unpaid* leave to care for sick or dying relatives, Bush vetoed it, saying it'd be a hateful burden on employers, make us less competitive with Japan, hurt small business and blah, blah, blah. When family values clashed with business values, they didn't have a chance.

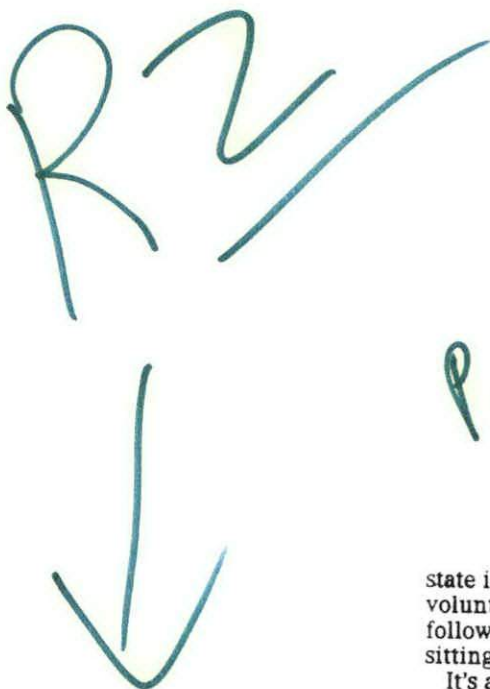


**Robert
Reno**

8/31/92

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

7-2-10-12



P.

Willis' GOP journey

■ Wonder how **Bruce Willis** ended up at the Republican National Convention, joining a host of other action-adventure heroes such as **Chuck Norris** and **Arnold Schwarzenegger** in the camp of **President Bush**?

The scenario begins in mid-August on the Pittsburgh set of Columbia Pictures' *Three Rivers*, a summer 1993 release, directed by **Rowdy Herrington** (*Gladiator* and *Road House*), in which Willis and **Sarah Jessica Parker** star as a couple of river-patrol cops. Willis puts through a call to the White House and asks to speak to Bush. The name rings a bell. The President gets on. After brief introductions and some pleasant chitchat, the superstar is invited down to Washington for a visit. Willis secures a private plane and heads for the capital. Observing the chief of

state in action for five hours, he volunteers to show up in Houston the following week, where he was seen sitting in a box with **Barbara Bush**.

It's a departure, on the face of it, for someone who doesn't wear his politics on his sleeve.

"Bruce is registered as an independent, but wholeheartedly supports President Bush's campaign," acknowledges a source close to Willis. "After educating himself in both arenas, he's chosen his path of support."

Willis refuses to comment on his forthcoming involvement or on speculation that he, like others in his income bracket, may be factoring his pocketbook into his politics. It's a good bet, however, that he'll surface on the campaign trail again after *Three Rivers* wraps in early September. "I wouldn't be surprised to see Bruce out there," says one source close to him. "The convention is probably not a one-shot deal."

GOV COOLS HIS GOP-BASHING

GOV. CUOMO yesterday called on his fellow Democrats to stop trying to blame Republicans for slow federal relief efforts in the wake of Hurricane Andrew.

Cuomo, toning down the hot political rhetoric that led him last week to link the GOP to racism, anti-Semitism and even the "cultural" policies of Nazi Germany, told The Post:

"From what I know, I wouldn't blame President Bush or [Florida Democratic] Gov. Lawton Chiles for what's happening.

"Chiles says he doesn't believe Bush is to blame, and if he and the president aren't blaming one another, I don't know why we should spend any more time blaming either one of them," Cuomo said.

"It would be a valid issue if President Bush had done something wrong, or Chiles, but neither of those conclusions appears clear."

Several Florida Democrats have sought to blame Bush for delays in getting federal aid to the hardest-hit areas of southern Florida, and Democratic presidential contender Bill Clinton has called for an investigation of the federal response.

While Cuomo said he supported "getting a report" on the federal response, he said politicians should

now focus on "the one word that's most significant in this entire period: work."

"We should be talking about how do we put people back to work," said Cuomo, who leaves tomorrow on a privately funded five-day visit to Israel, his first.

Cuomo, meanwhile, kept up his



FREDRIC DICKER

**INSIDE
ALBANY**

attacks on would-be Democratic U.S. Senate candidates Robert Abrams and Elizabeth Holtzman for their negative attacks on front-runner rival Geraldine Ferraro.

"I'm not happy about it," said Cuomo, who insisted he has yet to decide for whom he'll vote in the increasingly nasty Sept. 15 primary.

Cuomo appeared especially bothered by city Comptroller Holtzman's harsh television commercials linking Ferraro, a former congresswoman and vice presidential candidate, to a "pornographer" with ties to the Mafia.

Cuomo called the charge "a

Says don't blame Bush for slow hurricane relief efforts

smear" — the same allegation made by Ferraro in a new television commercial.

"That's eight years ago," said Cuomo, noting that the fact a pornographer had rented a building from a company owned by Ferraro's husband was disclosed in 1984 when she ran for national office.

Meanwhile, state Liberal Party leader Raymond Harding repeatedly refused yesterday to say if he expects Abrams to campaign actively as a Liberal if the attorney general loses the primary.

"Abrams is going to win, so I'm not going to answer any hypothetical questions," snarled Harding.

But top Democratic Party insiders say Abrams won't run an active race as a Liberal if he loses the primary so he can keep his options open for a future Democratic race — say, for governor in 1994.

"Bob won't allow himself to be the spoiler on the Liberal line who could be blamed for a victory by [Republican incumbent] Al D'Amato," said one top New York

Democrat close to Abrams.

Harding, meanwhile, had a private, 40-minute meeting with Clinton and Al Gore in Buffalo last week as the Democratic presidential running mates ended a whirlwind visit to the heavily Democratic upstate city.

Harding, a native of the Croatia region of what was once Yugoslavia, said he was startled by the knowledge the running mates possessed of the beleaguered region. "I was absolutely amazed," said Harding.

■
No, no, a thousand times no!

That's the word from nationally prominent New York-based Republican media consultant Roger Ailes as he continues to deny repeated press reports that he's rejoining Bush's campaign effort, which he helped steer to victory in 1988.

Ailes called The Post to say: "I'm not back in the Bush campaign."

"The bottom line is I'm launching a new TV show [hosted by conser-

vative radio talk-show host Rush Limbaugh]. I've signed a contract with Paramount for research and programming for the Maury Povitch show, and I'm expanding my corporate business.

"I've quit politics altogether.

"While I remain a friend of the president's, I'm doing no advising to his campaign whatsoever."

Ailes did, however, concede that if the Bush campaign seeks his advice, "I might talk to them on the telephone for three minutes."

■
It will be at least another week before Bush campaign operatives decide how much money to pump into New York on behalf of the national ticket.

"Prior to the convention there was a lot of talk about New York being targeted, but right now I just don't know," confessed former state Sen. Douglas Barclay, the head of the New York Bush/Quayle effort and a longtime friend of New York-based First Brother Jonathan Bush.

Bush campaign advisers have already decided to target two neighboring tax-revolt-oriented states, New Jersey and Connecticut.

But so far there's no strong reason to believe heavily Democratic New York will go to Bush in November.

1992 AUG 31 MON

Weld opens Bush office in Massachusetts

CAMPAIGN
92
ROUNDUP

Despite widespread projections that Democrat Bill Clinton will handily carry Massachusetts and its 12 electoral votes in November, Gov. Weld said yesterday he believes President Bush "has a very good shot" and touted his own potential to help

Bush carry the state.

Weld's comments came at a ceremony in Boston where he was joined by Lt. Gov. Paul Cellucci, Treasurer Joseph D. Malone, House Republican leader Peter V. Forman, state Republican Party chairman Leon J. Lombardi and the president's sister, Nancy Bush Ellis, in opening the state headquarters for Bush's reelection effort.

Weld said the others made up "the team that got 46 percent of the vote in this state for George Bush in 1988 against a sitting governor of this state, and that was without the big red-haired kid being a member of the team. . . . We think the president has a very good shot here."

PETER J. HOWE

7-21-92



BY RAY LUSTIG—THE WASHINGTON POST

Medication for Millie

Malcolm Gladwell's piece on Millie's drug problems [Federal Page, Aug. 19] was appreciated. But the levity and satirical description of the dilemma detracted from the serious problems that this issue present.

While no one can argue that all companion animals, like the Bushes' beloved Millie, should be denied therapeutic medications, the perceived threat of residues in food is threatening the health and well-being of our farm animals. If veterinarians are prosecuted for doing their job effectively, the effects on farm animals could be disastrous.

Most drugs used on farm animals are not approved for use in those animals. If veterinarians are forced, via threat of prosecution, to limit their armamentarium to labeled drugs, most tranquilizers, anesthetics, analgesics, antibiotics and euthanasia medications would be illegal. For example, if an animal requires a physical exam from a veterinarian, often tranquilizers are administered to frightened or aggressive animals to protect the veterinarian and the animal from injury. Without this method of restraint, a veterinarian may not be able to examine or treat an animal, leaving a sick or injured animal untreated and suffering.

Furthermore, any animal requiring surgery will be unable to have it because of the lack of a labeled anesthetic. Therefore, a cow with a displaced abomasum, a fairly common and painful condition in which a part of the cow's stomach twists upon itself, can usually be easily and quickly corrected by surgery. Without surgery, however, this cow will be forced to die slowly and painfully, because no euthanasia can be administered legally as well. The effects on the suffering of animals if analgesics are banned is obvious, as veterinarians would be unable to

ameliorate pain. The examples of animal suffering without extra-label drugs go on and on.

Veterinarians undergo the same grueling four years of post-undergraduate education that every physician does. Upon completion of the program, the veterinarian takes an oath, similar to the Hippocratic Oath, to prevent animal suffering through medicine. As Mr. Gladwell pointed out, physicians use human drugs in an extra-label manner all the time, yet their expertise and ability in practicing medicine are not constantly challenged. Yet veterinarians, who are the best trained and most knowledgeable about how to effectively treat animals while simultaneously educating the farmers on avoiding residues, are constantly being challenged and threatened by non-veterinarians.

ANGELA SCHOENING

Staff Member
American Humane Association
Washington

So, the First Dog is on an illegal drug. Wow!

Now I, too, can admit it: So is my treasured canine friend—prescription drugs that are keeping him alive. He has only one life, as precious and important to him as ours is to us. His contribution to maintenance of sanity and perspective in my life in this often weird world is essential to me.

As long as any valued pet can be maintained in a life that is viable and worthwhile to that animal, denying it access to necessary medications, many of which have already been tested extensively on animals, should not be acceptable as a means of controlling the chemistry of a consumer product.

JUNE KAPOS
McLean

3-50-50

THE WASHINGTON POST

CAMPAIGN '92



BY JAMES A. PARCELL—THE WASHINGTON POST

Casandra Allen and husband Ralph prepare family for work and school.

The 'Family Values' Debate Emotional Issue Viewed Here as Gimmick

By Sandra Evans
and Barbara Vobejda
Washington Post Staff Writers

Casandra Allen, happily married mother of five, living the suburban dream complete with brick Colonial and minivan, could evoke a Christmas card-perfect picture of "family." Susann Felton has a very different home life, piloting hang gliders rather than driving carpools on the weekends, because she and her husband have chosen not to have children.

But Allen and Felton share a similar reaction to the political debate over "family values." Both say it smacks of rejecting

people who do not live in a certain type of family. And, they said, it diverts attention from more important national issues, like the economy.

They were among a number of employees of Potomac Electric Power Co. interviewed on the issue last week.

Felton, who has voted for President Ronald Reagan and other Republicans in recent years, found fault with both parties but saved her harshest criticism for the Republicans' who devoted one evening of their national party convention in Houston earlier this month to family values.

See VALUES, A8, Col. 1

1063

Many Here See 'Family Values' Issue as Divisive Gimmick

VALUES, From A1

"The bogus issue came through loud and clear. They were trying to come up with a stereotypical family that just doesn't exist today," said Felton. "For the first time, I felt absolutely excluded. My husband and I don't have children. They don't want me. They don't like me."

Allen said the family values theme was intended to appeal to people like her but she said she found it offensive because it appeared to exclude urban Americans and single parents. And the Democrats, while not trumpeting family values as much as the Republicans, are also targeting a suburban audience when they do, she said.

"The image that I'm seeing, it's just not applicable to the majority of people," said Allen, 34, who works full time as employee benefits supervisor for Pepco.

President Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton have competed during this presidential campaign over who could capture the high ground on the loosely defined theme of "family values." But the emotions evoked among the electorate by the debate may not be what the political strategists had in mind.

In interviews at the downtown headquarters of Pepco, a large area employer with a diverse work force, employees in positions ranging from corporate officer to secretary said they were skeptical of the recent focus on family, viewing it as a political gimmick. People do worry about families: Why do so many parents get divorced? Why do kids take drugs? Who will take care of elderly parents? But the Pepco employees saw this season's political debate as empty rhetoric.

And over and over, they said they found the theme exclusionary, intended to enshrine one type of family, married couples with kids, unmarried by divorce or single parenthood. Many said they and their families simply did not fit the bill.

The Pepco workers most associated the theme with the Republicans. And although Barbara Bush made a point at the convention of including virtually everyone in her definition of family—from single mothers to "even the community itself"—many people heard another message from the convention.

"It screamed of bigotry to me," said Felton, 43, Pepco vice president of materials, who lives with

her husband in Rockville. "I may be going back toward my nice old family values, which are Democratic."

The family values theme nonetheless hit home to some.

"I think it's good that it's being discussed," said Peter Schaub, a Pepco manager who deals with independent power suppliers. "It's something everyone can relate to."

Schaub said family values are at the top of his list, along with the economy, as issues in this campaign.

"It's troubling to me to see traditional families not exist as much as before," said Schaub, 43, whose wife is at home with their two school-aged children. "I see that in my own neighborhood," he added, counting four or five couples within six houses of their Fairfax home who have divorced in the past decade.

Schaub, inclined to vote for Bush, said that "without being judgmental, I think it's a shame" when mothers who do not have to work do so "just to buy the BMWs." His mother had to go to work when his father's family business in Newark was destroyed, which he acknowledges may color his view of working mothers.

Fewer and fewer American households look like Schaub's. In 1940, nearly 70 percent of families in the labor force were made up of a breadwinner husband and a homemaker wife. Today, the figure is about 20 percent.

Dual-worker families have quadrupled as a segment of the labor force in the past 50 years.

And among American households, the segment made up of married couples has fallen from three-quarters in 1960 to just over half. Over the same period, the number of divorces and children involved in divorce climbed rapidly.

What the Census Bureau calls "non-families"—people living alone or with non-relatives—has doubled to nearly a third of all households.

Also, pollsters know that family arrangement is tied to voting.

Republican pollster Bill McInturff said his firm's polling a month ago showed Bush trailing Clinton by 24 points among families in which the father and mother work. But among "traditional" families, where the father is the sole earner and the mother stays home with the children, Bush trailed by just seven points.

While most people interviewed saw the family values theme as ide-

20f

whose husband died last year after spending more than five years in a coma. She is planning to remarry soon, and when she does, her family will include a stepchild, her fiance's son from a previous marriage.

"Half the country is divorced," said Cox, who is a registered Democrat but usually votes for Republicans. "It's real different now than in the '50s."

Tosha O'Neal, an audio-visual producer for Pepco, put it more bluntly. When the Republicans talk about family values, she said, she thinks they are advocating a society "where women wear chastity belts."

O'Neal, 30, is the single mother of a 16-month-old girl, Anastasia. The baby's father was living with O'Neal until recently, she said, and they may be reconciled.

"They're not talking about me," she said, when they talk about families. But she said she believes strongly in "family values," which she defines as morals and respect for parents.

O'Neal said she is a registered Republican, but would have supported Texas businessman Ross Perot had he continued his independent quest for the presidency. Today, she remains undecided, but doubts she will vote for Bush.

"I don't think family values should be an issue," she said. "They should be discussing the quality of life for families . . . more than what my values should be. You can't dictate my values."

Given the demographic realities of American society today, even those whose families now appear conventional often have family histories or experiences that belie the traditional image.

Cassandra Allen, the married mother of five, pointed out that both her parents and her husband's parents were divorced. Her father, she said, never paid the \$45 a week in child support he owed for his three daughters. And their mother, a school secretary, was told that her \$9,000 a year salary was too high to qualify for food stamps.

While Allen and her husband together have an income in six figures, her early experiences make her chafe at what she sees as an implicit Republican slap at parents needing government help.

"The fact that [some parents] are on welfare . . . doesn't mean they don't have family values," said Allen, a registered Democrat. "Life isn't perfect."

alizing such traditional families, they nonetheless did not read the message from either party as being critical of working women.

"I think both parties recognize the realities of the '90s, that you have both the male and the female out there working," said Ralph Allen, Casandra Allen's husband. "Neither one suggested that the ladies should be home. That would be political suicide."

But single mothers said they did hear an implicit criticism in the family values debate.

Betty Cauley, 41 and single, is an attorney for Pepco and one of the company's highest ranking women. Last year she adopted a boy from Romania. Although she said she believes that, in an ideal world, children should have a father and a mother, she also believes that even without a father, she can give her son, Alex, a much better life than he would have otherwise.

"They probably wouldn't like my situation," she said. "But I don't really care."

Audrey Cox, a 32-year-old secretary at Pepco, also believes the candidates are holding up as a model a family that looks nothing like hers. She is a single mother of two boys,

30F3

8-28-92

Hillary Clinton: Barbs a 'hit' on working moms

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP)—Hillary Clinton says Republican attacks against her are also "a hit on working mothers" in general.

In an interview with the weekly newspaper Arkansas Times, the wife of presidential candidate Bill Clinton was asked if there was an element of sexism in GOP criticism of her.

"I'm sure there is," she replied. "But I can't quite sort it out in my own mind.

"I view it as a hit on working mothers. I view it as kind of an attack on what's happening in the lives of most Americans today, as we balance families and work responsibilities," she told the Little Rock, Ark., newspaper.

Hillary Clinton is a lawyer, and her writing about children's rights has been an issue in the campaign.

Vice President Dan Quayle said this week that he feels sorry for Hillary Clinton and that some of the Republican attacks against her may have been unfair. But he also said she's fair game in the White House race.

Quayle and his wife, Marilyn, said Clinton should be flattered that her views are taken seriously enough to come under fire.

"This is to her credit and to the credit of women of her generation that have a profession, have a so-called paper trail," Quayle said.

MONA CHAREN

A new study indicates that babies, some as young as 5 months old, have an innate understanding of math, reports the New York Times.

Well, that puts most babies ahead of me.

Now you don't ask a 5-month-old how much two and two equals. But there are ways of figuring out that they understand addition and subtraction. (No one is yet suggesting that babies know algebra.) The researchers placed several Mickey Mouse dolls in front of the babies and then let the children see another doll being placed next to the visible ones but behind a screen. When the screen was removed, the babies stared longer (indicating surprise at the unexpected) if the total number of dolls differed from what they had previously seen. Get it? If not, I may not have explained it very well, or you may not stack up to your infant in braininess.

This research adds to our knowledge about the innate abilities of young babies, once thought to be in-sensate eating, sleeping and pooping machines. It has long been accepted in scientific circles that linguist (and

Mona Charen is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The math of babes and innate integers

loony leftist) Noam Chomsky was right about babies' innate ability to learn language. Mr. Chomsky said babies don't just imitate adults, they make sense of language according to rules. A fascinating footnote to his thesis was added recently. In studying children raised by deaf parents, scientists discovered that these children begin to sign babble at exactly the same age as hearing babies begin to make babble noises.

But it won't come as news to any parent that children are born with innate knowledge and abilities. There is, for example, the innate knowledge babies have that the stereo is one thing mom and dad do not want him to play with. Research by harried parents has also revealed that babies know VCRs are fun to destroy, as are remote controls and telephones.

In fact, there is a theory, yet to be tested in double-blind studies, that babies are actually motivated to crawl precisely to get at the VCR. A few months later, the impetus to begin walking comes from an innate desire to open the refrigerator and the oven.



Our son Jonathan has just begun to walk. And he doesn't just open the refrigerator, he tries to climb the shelves. He can grab two apples and take bites out of them in the time it takes me to find the milk. Or he'll go for the condiments on the door and have three on the floor in two seconds flat. My husband and I take almost diabolical pleasure therefore in those wonderful gadgets they make to defeat the plans of toddlers. After we had installed the Velcro

lock on the refrigerator, we smiled with glee when our son couldn't open the door. But then our smiles faded. "Gee," we said, "we've outsmarted a 10-month-old."

But of course, people don't have (or adopt) children to make their lives more orderly or their homes more beautiful. We do it for the humor.

Babies' first steps are always bathed in sentiment later. And I will

admit that I was so proud of Jonathan when he took six steps in a row (age 10½ months) that my face went red and my eyes welled. But after that, the spectacle became hilarious. At first, children just propel themselves forward until gravity takes them down. Jonathan would thrust both hands over his head and run, squealing all the way. (So much for the old saw about having to walk before you run.) But the fun really begins when they start compensating and attempting to maintain their balance. For the first few days, this technique took Jonathan in large circles, like a banking airplane.

Now, he steps forward in a mincing movement, toes first, eyes shining with pleasure at his accomplishment. No sooner had he mastered balance than we set him back a bit by buying shoes for him. His first forays in his baby Nikes resembled an adult attempting to walk on dry land wearing swimming flippers.

I'm sure the researchers are right that babies know how to add and subtract. But what is beyond counting is how much they add to your life.

5-11-82

Child Abuse Prevention

■ Aggressive programs to prevent child abuse are effective and can offset their costs but suffer from a lack of long-term funding, General Accounting Office investigators reported last week.

The GAO looked into prevention programs in eight states considered to be leaders in the field: Michigan, California, Hawaii, Illinois, Florida, New York, Oregon and Washington.

"Results from the few rigorous studies that have been done are promising," the report said. "A recent evaluation of a nurse home-visiting program showed that high-risk teen mothers who did not receive services had an abuse rate that was nearly five times the rate of those who received the services."

The federal government provides billions of dollars to states for foster care and for other assistance for abused children, while prevention dollars usually come in the form of short-term grants for demonstration projects.

"The most significant problems for all programs we visited were related to uncertain funding," the report said.

The GAO, Congress's investigative arm, said 800,000 cases of child abuse and neglect are verified each year in the United States. Between 1,100 and 5,000 victims die, mostly infants.

From staff reports and news services

UP FRONT

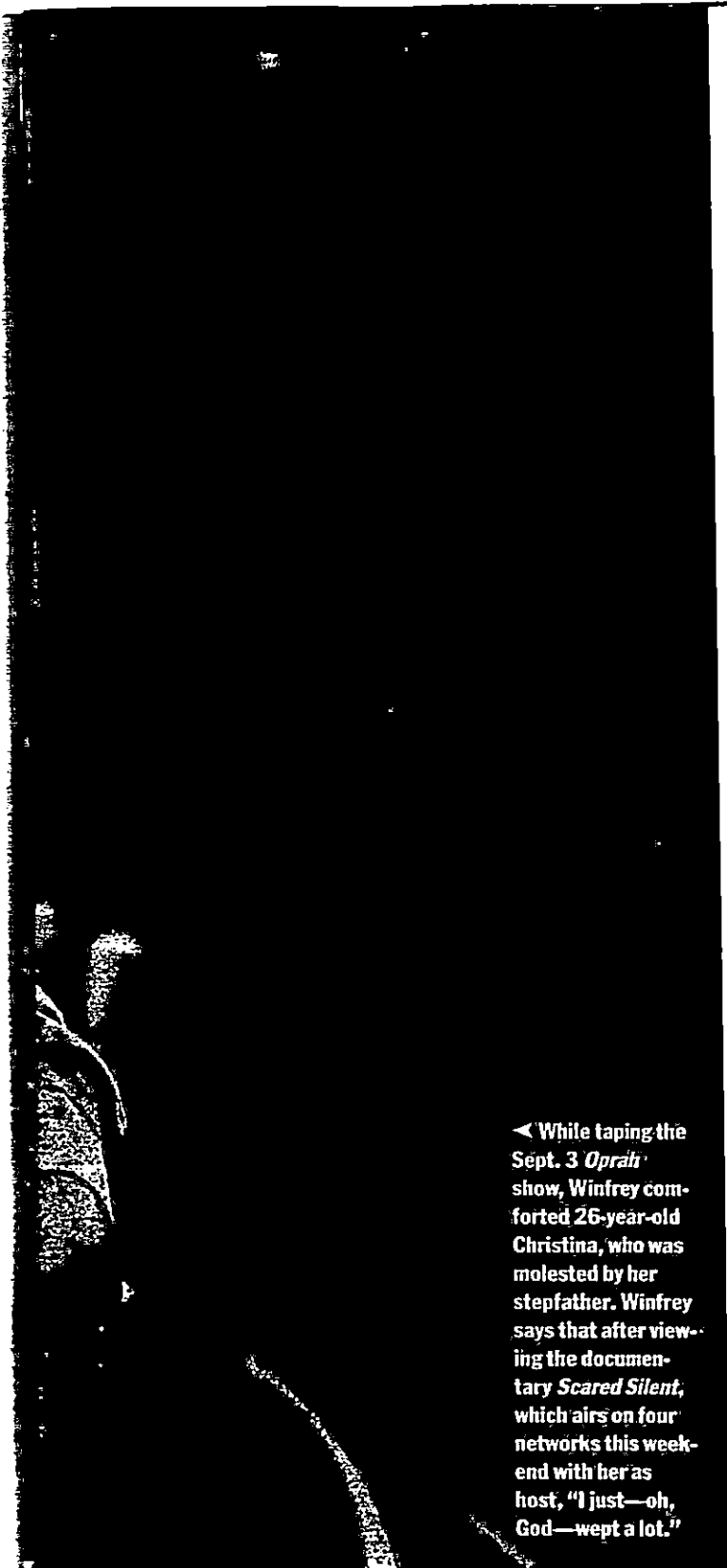


NOT SCARED, NOT SILENT

In her war on child abuse,
Opran Winfrey makes TV history

THE STORIES ARE CHILLING. TASHA, 15, ABUSED BY A BROTHER WHO probed her genitals with pencils and broomsticks, turns abuser herself, raping a 7-year-old boy. JILL, now 52, once choked to the point of unconsciousness by her father in a dispute over a pork chop, is enraged when her two sons scatter potato chips on her newly cleaned floor. She hurls a cucumber rod at her 3-year-old with such force that it pierces his eye and penetrates his brain, killing him.

Those made queasy by the mere outlines of these accounts might still want to turn their TVs on between 10



◀ While taping the Sept. 3 *Oprah* show, Winfrey comforted 26-year-old Christina, who was molested by her stepfather. Winfrey says that after viewing the documentary *Scared Silent*, which airs on four networks this weekend with her as host, "I just—oh, God—wept a lot."

and 11 P.M. ET on Sept. 4, when—in an unprecedented coup for a prime-time, nonnews show—CBS, NBC and PBS will simulcast *Scared Silent: Exposing and Ending Child Abuse*, a documentary in which both victims and perpetrators tell their stories. (ABC will air the program at 10 P.M. ET on Sept. 6.)

The show's host, who introduces each segment, adds her own story: "I'm Oprah Winfrey, and like millions of other Americans, I'm a survivor of child abuse. I was only 9 years old when I was raped by my 19-year-old cousin. He was the

first of three family members to sexually molest me."

It was in 1985 that Winfrey, now 38, first went public with this trauma while interviewing a guest on her talk show who was emotionally describing her own sexual molestation. Winfrey cried, then spoke of the horror she had concealed for more than 20 years. "I wanted to say, 'I understand,'" she recalls. "The same thing happened to me. I hadn't planned to say it. It just came out." Since that day, she has been approached by scores of strangers who whisper, "Can I speak to you?" before confiding their own stories of abuse.

In February 1991, Winfrey turned from private confessor to public crusader after hearing about the murder of Angelica Mena, a 4-year-old Chicago girl who had been molested, strangled and thrown into Lake Michigan by a convicted child molester who lived next door. She hired James Thompson, a former Illinois governor, to help her draft legislation that would create a national data bank of convicted child abusers, allowing child-care organizations to check on the background of prospective employees, and last November testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee. "This is not Geraldo Rivera," says an impressed Sen. Joseph Biden, the Delaware Democrat who chairs the committee. "This is something Winfrey does from the heart."

The bill sailed through the committee, but sank in Congress when it became part of a crime package that included the "Brady Bill" gun-control proposal, bitterly opposed by the powerful National Rifle Association. Winfrey takes little comfort in the legislation's having "almost" passed. "Almost," she says, "doesn't save a child."

And unspared children, she believes, go on to become scarred—and sometimes scarring—survivors. For years Winfrey was racked by self-reproach because, enjoying the attention, she had allowed the illicit fondling to continue. "A lot of the confusion and guilt," she has said, "comes to the child because it does feel good." Winfrey adds, "Every bad relationship I've ever been in is the result of my having been abused." But she doesn't worry that history would repeat itself should she have children. "What stops the cycle of abuse is awareness," she says.

It is her desire to heighten such awareness that led Winfrey to become involved with *Scared Silent* when she was approached through a letter by executive producer Arnold Shapiro (*Rescue 911*). Once he secured the networks' commitment to air the program, Winfrey, he says, was his "first and only choice" to act as host. She recalls: "I hadn't even finished the letter before I said, 'Yes.'" Shapiro had been able to offer the program free of charge because all its costs were underwritten by the financial services company USAA, whose chairman, Robert F. McDermott, is dedicated to the fight against child abuse.

If the ever combative networks can forgo competition on one weekend for the public good—"I'm so pleased they've decided to forget about ratings and all that stuff," Winfrey says—TV's activist host might even get Congress to enact her bill. Failing that, she plans to find "a million mothers" of children who have been abused, along with adult survivors of abuse, and mount a march on Washington. Coverage of that might reach an even bigger audience than the millions of viewers expected to see *Scared Silent*.

■ SHELLEY LEVITT

■ BARBARA KLEBAN MILLS in Chicago.

ALLAN FREDMAN in Washington, D.C.



REID HORN

'We'll never move forward until we bury the past': Kimble outside his alma mater

EDUCATION

Still Separate After 20 Years

Segregated reunions for an integrated class

In 1971, Captain Shreve High School in Shreveport, La., had been fully integrated for only a year, and black and white students eyed one another uneasily. It was still the Old South—symbolized by the Confederate monument that occupied a place of honor in the courthouse square. That spring, Captain Shreve students added their own chapter to the city's divided history. When no black girls were elected by

their classmates to the cheerleading squad, about a third of the school's 566 black students stormed out of the building. By the next day many of the 969 white kids were also at home. Their parents feared the protest might incite violence.

In the two decades since, the Old South has become New, and the students who once glared at each other across a barrier of misunderstanding are middle-aged. But

old wounds, apparently, have yet to heal: this summer, the class of 1972 is holding its 20th reunion. Or, more precisely, reunions—of the separate-but-equal kind. Black alumni scheduled theirs for Labor Day weekend, with a banquet at the Ramada Inn, a picnic in a city park and a family church service. Whites got together this month. They reminisced over hors d'oeuvres at the Elks Club and danced at an all-white country club while an all-white band, the Voodudes, played Motown. Organizers displayed a bulletin board covered with newspaper clippings about the separate reunions.

Members of the two organizing committees blame miscommunication, not racism, for the separate reunions: they say they were unaware of each other until it was too late. (Alumni organized the two affairs without help from school officials.) The whites, led by Richard Murov, found out about their other classmates' plans in February, when they saw a newspaper ad for the black party. Murov, who had already begun contacting alumni, talked to Jackie Harris Hollins, the chief black organizer, and asked her group to join his. The blacks decided not to. "People feel comfortable with their own," explains Hollins. "They don't know us and we don't know them. They already had their plans; we already had ours." Murov agrees. "They never had acquaintances with us, and we never had acquaintances with them," he says. Still, white organizers say they tried to contact everyone anyway.

int-

20P2

Some blacks don't believe that. Barry Kimble, a black graduate, should have been easy to find because his parents haven't moved, but he never received word of the whites' affair.

The segregation does not sit well with all class members—or with the city's main newspaper, which editorialized against the separate get-togethers as emblematic of "the mind-set that sometimes impedes progress in education, race relations, urban renewal in Shreveport." The 10th-year reunion also was segregated, and Joe Rhodes, a white alum who is now a journalist in Los Angeles, has had enough. He boycotted this year's party: "To find out 20 years later that we are just as separated, just as isolated as our parents—it breaks my heart." Some blacks see their reunion as a defense against a repeat of past injuries. In the early '70s, the black students were "treated like second-class citizens," Kimble remembers. But "we'll never move forward until we can bury the past. Here we are in 1992 and we're still digging up old bones."

No mixing: Shreveport isn't the only town that hasn't buried its past. In Arkansas, the Magnolia High School class of 1982 held segregated reunions this summer. "We don't mix a lot," explains Wendy Stuart, a white alumna. "When I went to school, it was blacks with blacks and whites with whites." When it came time to plan the reunion, she says, "I didn't want all of them because I knew there would be problems. Some of them were considerably rougher and into things we did not approve of, like drinking and getting out of hand. Most of them wanted to have their own reunion . . . They have their own music and their own kind of food. We have ours." Etta Mack, an organizer of the Magnolia black reunion, was more disappointed than angry: "I don't want to say it's because of racism, but what other reason is there? This is a small town. Things have always been black and white."

But in Shreveport, some younger Captain Shreve graduates say they've moved beyond black and white. Jodi DeHondt, a white 1982 graduate who had her 10th reunion in July, says her class would never hold separate events. "The thought of blacks not being included never crossed my mind, nor would it have been the same without them," she says. "We're certainly much more open-minded and more loving toward each other. I hope this gives us hope for the future." And even some of the older alums are trying to learn from the past. A few white 1972 grads say they're going to the black church service over Labor Day. Perhaps a class that prays together will, someday, play together, too.

BARBARA KANTROWITZ with
SUSAN MILLER in Shreveport

National Report

The New York Times

Minority Alumni Find a New Voice

By KAREN DE WITT
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30 — When Vincent Cohen graduated from Syracuse University in 1960, he didn't take away the fond memories that many of his white classmates did. Mr. Cohen, who is black, remembered racial slurs and discrimination. Once he had earned his degrees, he didn't care if he ever saw the ivied brick halls of his alma mater again.

But next month, Mr. Cohen and about 500 other black and Hispanic alumni will return to Syracuse for homecoming. There will be the usual sports events to attend, reminiscences and catching up to be done. But the prime lure at homecoming for the minority alumni will be the fourth edition of "Coming Back Together," a three-day series of workshops, seminars and career counseling given by black and Hispanic alumni for current students.

"We're not into nostalgia; we're about business, about bettering the situation for the next generation," said Mr. Cohen, a partner in the Washington law firm Hogan & Hartson, and chairman of the minority alumni event this year. In the last four years, the minority alumni group at Syracuse has raised \$1.4 million, mostly for minority grants and scholarships.

A Growing Force

Around the nation, from large public institutions like the University of California at Los Angeles to private universities like Syracuse and Yale, minority alumni groups are a growing phenomenon.

There are no data to compare their giving with that of white alumni groups, but it seems clear that they are making a big difference. Ron Joyce, vice president for development at Colgate University, said that before the formation of a minority alumni group in 1985, "less than one in 10 of our alumni of color was contributing." Today, he said, the figure is up to 22 or 23 percent.

At Syracuse, black and Hispanic alumni contributed 7.5 percent of the \$15 million raised in a fund drive from 1985 to 1991, even though they make up only 3 percent of all alumni. Twelve percent of all black and Hispanic alumni donated, as against 5 percent of all other alumni.

The minority alumni groups not only raise money but also help recruit and act as mentors for minority students.

Dr. Kenneth Shaw, Syracuse's chancellor, said, "Our alumni not only serve as role models but support our efforts

with their time, advice and financial contributions."

Part of the reason for rise in special alumni groups is that the number of minority students graduating from predominantly white institutions has increased sharply over the last several decades.

Many of these graduates are now professionals in their 30's, 40's, and 50's with the kinds of incomes that permit substantial philanthropy. And colleges and universities are discovering that, given the experience these students had while on campus, special-interest alumni organizations are more effective at fund-raising than traditional alumni groups.

Robert Hill, vice president for public relations at Syracuse University, start-

Colleges see benefits in groups for minority graduates.

ed the minority alumni reunion in 1983 when he was head of the school's program development office. The first of its kind in the nation, the reunion has become a model for other universities and colleges.

Mr. Hill said that before 1983 black and Hispanic graduates had no compelling reason to return to Syracuse for traditional homecoming. Because their experiences had included everything from benign neglect to racial slights, "They didn't have the same sense of ownership" of the university, he said, that white alumni did. So he created the program to get those alumni back on campus, and then made the financial pitch.

"What we showed the school and these alumni is that they can be a significant philanthropic resource," said Mr. Hill, who is black. "They can be generous with their own giving, and get matching grants from their employers or corporations which do substantial business in minority communities."

'I Pass On a Legacy'

At this year's gathering next month, Deborah Mercado, a 1982 Syracuse graduate, will run a workshop on careers in the music business. She is director of publicity for Ralph Mercado Management and RMM Records and

Video, distributed through Sony, and also publicity director for the musician Tito Puente. Ms. Mercado's sister, Damaris, and Mr. Puente's daughter, Audrey, are both seniors at Syracuse.

"A lot of the minority students who come through the university are first-time graduates," said Ms. Mercado. "I'm a first-generation graduate. My parents came over from Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo. They didn't have the opportunity to go to university. So by doing this, I help the next generation as my parents helped mine. I pass on a legacy."

Cornell University had a similar success when an alumni group for its Asian-American graduates was founded in 1990. Thirty-two Asian-American alumni returned to Cornell's homecoming reunion this year in contrast to negligible numbers in previous years.

"Everyone said they enjoyed it and were glad that they had come back, but they also said that they wouldn't have come back if it hadn't been for the Asian-American alumni association," said Alicia S. Torrey, associate director of minority affairs at Cornell.

This year, the group has raised \$18,000 of a \$25,000 goal to endow a scholarship for a student of Asian descent. Asian-Americans, the fastest-growing segment of Cornell's student body, account for about 12 percent of the university's undergraduate population.

Surveys indicate that the number of minority students nationwide is on the rise; figures from the Department of Education show that more than 2.6 million black, Hispanic, Asian and American Indian students were enrolled in college in 1990, an increase of 35 percent from the 1.9 million enrolled in 1980. Minority students made up more than 19 percent of the total college population in 1990.

At Syracuse, 28 percent of this fall's freshmen are from minority groups. Predictions are that as much as half its student body will come from minority groups by the year 2000.

In California, the demographic trend is more marked. Minority students make up more than half the freshman classes this year at many of the state's public colleges and universities. Even at private universities, the trend is noticeable. At Stanford University, for example, 42.8 percent of last year's freshmen were from minority groups. The school expects a similar percentage this fall.

"Universities and colleges are recognizing where their client base will come from, not only in terms of scholarship money and fund-raising, but enrollment," said Torrey Walker, who last

year became the University of Southern California's liaison to its black alumni group.

Fears of Separatism

But some college administrators voice uneasiness about special-interest alumni groups, fearing they may foster separatism. In a report on special-interest alumni groups in 1990, the Council for the Advancement of Support of Education, a nonprofit group that studies and lobbies for higher education, noted that the University of Texas at El Paso, discouraged such groups.

A "minority majority" institution, the university argued that special-interest organizations would dilute volunteer alumni time and interest. Its student body is slightly more than half

Hispanic, 11 percent international students and other minorities, and only about a third white, the council said.

But others concede that until society as a whole is more integrated such groups may help draw minority alumni into service of the university in general, particularly as the pool of future students becomes increasingly diverse.

Dr. Melvin Eggers, the former Syracuse chancellor, originally opposed the idea of sponsoring a separate homecoming event for minorities but came around to the idea.

"Real and true integration is a long range goal and, though it may seem like a contradiction, the first step toward closer integration was having a separate reunion," he said at the 1986 reunion.

Washington Could Help Us Fight AIDS

By Kathryn Anastos

Two weeks ago I stood alone at the bedside of one of my patients, a man for whom I held great fondness and who had previously expressed ambivalence about living. We locked eyes as I asked him if he wanted to live, and he answered with an unequivocal "yes." I arranged transfer to intensive care, where three days later he died. The morning after his death, I stood at the bedside of another man with AIDS with his weeping

mother and brother, and watched as his body shuddered with his last breaths, ending his mother's long vigil.

Two months prior I had watched as another patient, the mother of six young children, slowly relinquished her cognizance of her surroundings, including her sense that she was failing her children by dying before they were grown. She died a few days later. And shortly before that I had been called to the home of another woman, also with young children, to pronounce her dead so that her family could be spared the shame of having the police come to the home.

I am a primary-care physician —

that is, my patients are mostly those who seek care early enough that they can walk into my clinic. They know that they have one doctor (me) and that if they become acutely ill I or a covering physician am available to them at any time. I am responsible for all the medical care they need, and when they are sick enough to be hospitalized, I continue to be their physician, often until their death.

Because I work in the South Bronx, most of my patients are not accustomed to this kind of care, a standard that I and most middle-class Americans expect, even take for granted. I am proud to be a part of an institu-

tion, Bronx Lebanon-Hospital Center, that is committed to providing this standard of care to the South Bronx.

It is from this perspective that I am angered by the U.S. health care system and failure of the public health response to the AIDS epidemic. By June 30, 1992, 230,179 Americans with AIDS — more than 24,000 women, 200,000 men and nearly 4,000 children — had been reported to the Centers for Disease Control. Seventy-five percent of women, 72 percent of children and 42 percent of men with AIDS are African-American or Latino and live in inner cities. This is a heavy burden to carry in communi-

ties already struggling with poverty, homelessness, racism and drug use.

Recently our nation was gripped by the debate over whether we as a society should invest hundreds of millions of dollars yearly to test all health-care workers for H.I.V. Such an initiative could at best have prevented a handful of new cases each decade.

Those of us who work or live in communities ravaged by H.I.V. have not seen even a fraction of such resources devoted to prevention efforts in our neighborhoods, where hundreds or thousands of new cases could be prevented. What we have witnessed instead are multiple examples of social neglect.

We have yet to see adequate sex and H.I.V. prevention education for teen-agers and adults; or public

cont.

1. 5. 12

8-31-92

2 of 2

A doctor's plea from the South Bronx

health messages that are explicit in their recommendations for preventing sexual transmission of H.I.V.; or accessible health care for our communities; or serious consideration of needle exchange. Is it sound policy to consider spending millions to prevent a few middle-class cases of AIDS while thousands of new cases occur in low-income communities?

I was taught that to be an effective physician means to be an advocate for my patients, and that to advocate for them I must look at life and its choices through their eyes. It is the greatest source of satisfaction in my work, and also the greatest source of pain. As I try to view life through their eyes, as I picture myself dying in that hospital bed and leaving behind my own young children, I see a society that does not provide pre-natal care to pregnant women, nor immunizations for children. People making such choices must not be able to imagine themselves in my patients' circumstances. For if we all saw each other as equal human beings, how would we possibly choose to allocate our resources the way we do?

Dr. Kathryn Anastos is medical director of the Bronx Morrisania ambulatory care unit and H.I.V. primary-care services at Bronx-Lebanon Hospital Center.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

daily

Ms. Yvonne Hughey
Post Office Box 732
Point Lookout, Missouri 65726



THE PRESIDENT

August 31, 1992

Dear Yvonne,

Thanks for your thoughtful note. My only regret is Barbara and I didn't have the opportunity to spend more time at College of the Ozarks. Hopefully, we'll come back one day in the not too distant future.

The shirt will certainly be put to good use. Good luck and thanks from Barbara and me for keeping us in your prayers.

Sincerely,

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

From the desk of
George Bush

*We have UH pictures
of me, her, and
Pres & College*



To be mailed with
your letter to
her.

To Yvonne Hughey
With best wishes, Good Luck
C. B.

James Hickey
P.O. Box 132
Point Barrow, AK
65726

August 24, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for taking the
time to visit with President

Jimmy C. Davis and me
at College of the Ozarks.
As a political science

major, I was thrilled
to meet you. There

moments I spent with
you and Mr. Bush
will be a time in

my life I will never
forget.

The tour aboard your
helicopter was fantastic,
my dad was so excited

when I told him about it.

I hope you enjoy
the jogging shirt
President Davis gave you.

Thank you again
for taking the time to
talk with us, and
the tour of your
helicopter.

My prayers are with you.

Sincerely,
Yvonne Heghey



THE PRESIDENT

daily

August 31, 1992

Nick Calio

Re: Phone call from Mayor Griffin of
Buffalo

The Mayor asked me to look up HR5798. He's
for it. He says it gives money to citi4es,
bypassing State Gov't.

Please give me some dope on HR 5798.

cc JABIII

file

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 1, 1992

Aug 3)
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/3

07
11

2027 1 P3:19

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NICHOLAS E. CALIO *NC*
SUBJECT: Phone Call from Mayor Griffin

This responds to your request for information on H.R. 5798, which Mayor Griffin of Buffalo raised with you.

- o H.R. 5798, Representative John Conyers' (D-MI) Local Partnership Act, would reestablish a federal Revenue Sharing program. Mayor Griffin's description that the bill would provide money directly to cities, bypassing state governments, is correct.
- o Prepared as part of a Democratic package responding to your March growth package, the original Conyers bill proposed \$55 billion over five years in federal revenue sharing. A scaled-back, \$5.4 billion version, strongly opposed by the Administration, was defeated by Conyers' own Government Operations Committee on a tie vote in June.
- o Just before the August break, Conyers succeeding in getting the Government Operations Committee to report a further scaled-back, \$3 billion version. No floor action has yet been planned. We do not expect this legislation to reach your desk.
- o The Administration has objected strongly to Conyers' proposals on both fiscal and urban policy grounds. Attached for your information is a copy of a letter that Secretary Brady sent in June, indicating that your senior advisors would recommend veto.

cc: James A. Baker, III

1 cc daily 9/3
" " " 8/31

From the desk of
George Bush

daily 8/31

*

attach
Powell's
new statement
on this

THE WHITE H
WASHINGTON

Dear Mrs. Zaun:

Thank you for your kind letter supporting the course that America took during Operation Desert Storm. The decision to send Americans into battle is the most difficult one that a President is ever asked to make, and one that caused me a great deal of personal anguish. I know that, as a parent, it must have been terrifying to learn that your son had been taken prisoner and devastating to see the signs of mistreatment in the photographs of him that were released.

While challenges remain in our efforts to bring peace and stability to the Middle East, Operation Desert Storm itself was an unqualified success. As you know, the elimination of Saddam Hussein was never a goal of the international coalition that was assembled to reverse the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. By carrying out their mandate to liberate Kuwait and destroy the nuclear and biological weapons capacity of Iraq, quickly and decisively, the coalition forces demonstrated to the world that, in the post-Cold War era, aggression will be met with collective resistance. Your son's contribution to this endeavor will long be remembered by a grateful Nation.

Best wishes to you and your family.

Sincerely,

George Bush

Mrs. Marjorie Zaun
19 Whitman Avenue
Cherry Hill, New Jersey 08002

P.S. I thought you might be
interested in Gen Powell's statement
attached

M. J. H. E. - d. a.)

Maryanne Zann 800372
19 Whiteacre Ave
Cherry Hill, NJ
08002

W. J. H.

August 5, 1992

Dear President Bush -

C. HOWARTH

I am writing to express my appreciation for your decision to stop the gulf war when you did. I am aware that you are being criticized for not going into Baghdad and taking Saddam Hussein's regime out before you ended the war. I, for one, am grateful that you had the wisdom and the compassion to halt the carnage when you accomplished the goals you had agreed to.

I thank God that we had leaders who were not willing to sacrifice American lives and innocent civilians for a goal that had not been agreed to by our allies. We Americans are accustomed to instant success but instead of concentrating on what we wish we could have done - I congratulate you on what you did do.

As a mother I thank you for not entering Baghdad to take out Saddam Hussein. My son and the other POW's would surely have lost their lives and that would have been a dubious victory for me and I do not believe it would have solved the Gulf Crisis.

You did a near impossible job of getting the coalition of Eastern + Western cultures to agree

on being present and your administration
has followed up with facts that just may
bring the Arabs and Jews together.

I admit that a priority in the early war for
me was getting my son back alive but I believe
we would have lost many more Jews if we
had continued the war and I believe we would
have also lost the allies we worked so hard to
bring together.

I agree with you that had we gone into Baghdad
as some suggest we should have done we would
still be there - if not fighting a guerrilla war
we would be there as an occupation force. We
would have had to deal with the ethnic rivalries
that have existed for centuries. I do not believe
that we are the ones who can best realize these
internal fractures. The Arabs and the Jews the
Arab world has had an antipathy to our
western culture that goes back to before the
Crusades. Christian as well as Jews are not
trusted by the Arabs. our defense is against
helped to build a bridge to that world - an
invasion that Toplet Hussein would have
destroyed that trust.

the Kurds in the north are not trusted by Turkey or Iran - our supporting them would have weakened the coalition. The Shiites in the south have ties to the Iranians - to strengthen them may have given the Iranians more support than is good for us.

I believe that for us to have killed Hussein would have set a very bad precedent for our country and would have been resented even by those Iraqis who wanted Hussein out. It is my opinion that even if Hussein is killed there may be someone just as cruel to take his place. I suspect there are many more of his cronies who are just as evil as he is. Destroying one person is no guarantee that the problems have been solved. If the Iraqi people rise up themselves and force Hussein out we might be able to regain the respect and support of the Iraqi people. This would be a far surer road to peace in my opinion than any unilateral action on our behalf.

It is interesting to me that the congressmen who opposed the Gulf war to begin with are the very men who think you should have been more aggressive. ~~that~~ This hindsight sounds

My best wishes in an election year.

I want you to know that in your great
war leadership I believe you played the
war at exactly the right time for me
and for the best interest of the free world.

I salute you for a job well done

Sincerely

Myron Garry

COPY
daily 8/31

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 31, 1992

Dear Mr. Hunt:

The President shared with me your recommendation of Ken Pye for the National Security Education Board.

Although Mr. Pye's credentials are excellent, the selection process is too far along to warrant the consideration of an additional candidate. I will be sure to keep Mr. Pye in mind, however, for upcoming vacancies on other defense-related boards.

Thank you for the recommendation and for your continued support of the President.

Sincerely,



Constance Horner
Assistant to the President
and Director of Presidential Personnel

Mr. Ray L. Hunt
Hunt Oil Company
Fountain Place
1445 Ross at Field
Dallas, TX 75202-2785



OIL COMPANY

02 AUG 27 P 2: 59

Pending
sent to Phil Brady
7/31/92

Ray L. Hunt
Chairman of the Board
& Chief Executive Officer

Fountain Place
1445 Ross at Field
Dallas, Texas 75202-2785
(214) 978-8500
Fax: (214) 978-8888
Telex: 6829258

July 24, 1992

Ms. Rose M. Zamaria
Special Assistant to the President
and Director of White House Operations
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Rose:

Enclosed is a letter which Mr. Hunt is sending to President Bush regarding a recommendation for an appointee to the newly created National Security Education Board. I am forwarding this to you hoping that you can facilitate its delivery to the President.

I appreciate your assistance with respect to the above.

Sincerely,

Charlotte Simerly
Executive Secretary to
Ray L. Hunt

RLH:cs
Enc.



Ray L. Hunt
Chairman of the Board
& Chief Executive Officer

July 23, 1992

Fountain Place
1445 Ross at Field
Dallas, Texas 75202-2785
(214) 978-8500
Fax: (214) 978-8888
Telex: 6829258

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

Dear Mr. President:

I wanted to drop you this short note to recommend that Ken Pye, the President of SMU, be considered as one of your five "non-government" appointees to the newly created National Security Education Board.

As I understand it, several months ago Senator Boren introduced an amendment when the policy board was being considered by the Senate which had the effect of reallocating \$34 million each year of defense-related funding to a new fund whose purpose it would be to provide scholarships and fellowships to American students wishing to study abroad and to campus based international studies programs. Apparently because of various restrictions in the budgeting process, the scholarships will be handled as part of the defense appropriations process (as opposed to being handled by the Department of Education or some other more closely related agency). My further understanding is that various agencies within the intelligence community and the Pentagon appoint seven members of the Advisory Board with five coming from the private sector.

Ken Pye has a very strong feeling as to the importance of today's students having a firm understanding of the global society in which they will live their lives and students going abroad is very much a part of that process. He further feels (and I am in total agreement with him) that it's important to make sure that students from all geographical areas of the country are given an opportunity to participate in this program and not just those going to schools on either the East or West Coast.

Ken's academic area of specialty is international law and he has always been active in related areas (ranging from when he first got out of school and worked for the Ford Foundation in India to serving as Chairman of the Commission for the International Exchange of Scholars, and to having been a featured speaker in Tokyo a couple of months ago at the Japan-Texas conference). He has held Fulbright professorships in two countries and taught in two more.

Mr. President, this is not a recommendation borne out of friendship or a parochial interest in SMU. From my understanding of this program, I believe very sincerely that Ken Pye would make an absolutely outstanding appointee to the Advisory Board and if I can be of any assistance to your consideration of him for this position, please let me know.

July 23, 1992
Page Two

Again, Mr. President, I enjoyed very much having the opportunity to visit with you several days ago in Washington. Please give my best regards to Barbara and I look forward to seeing you again hopefully in the not too distant future.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Ray L. Hunt', written in a cursive style.

Ray L. Hunt

RLH:cs



Home Builders
Assoc.



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO 31AUG92 DU P035153 -002 —

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Regulatory Freeze Figures Disputed

Bush administration claims that its freeze on new government regulations will save businesses up to \$20 billion this year are merely "an election-year gambit," two watchdog groups have charged.

In a report released last week, Public Citizen and OMB Watch contend that "dozens" of health and safety, civil rights and environmental regulations have been seriously weakened or eliminated due to the 210-day-old regulatory freeze and that the administration has failed to substantiate its claims about the economic benefits.

In January, President Bush announced a 90-day moratorium on new government regulations as part of an economic package in his State of the Union address. In April, the moratorium was extended by 120 days, and at the recent Republican National Convention, Bush said he planned to extend the freeze for another year.

The administration "clearly stands by" its earlier claims that the freeze will save businesses \$10 to \$20 billion this year, said Jeff Nesbitt, a spokesman for Vice President Quayle's Competitiveness Council, which is overseeing the regulatory freeze. Nesbitt said the savings estimate is based on "painstaking" analyses by 24 federal regulatory agencies.

But, in response to requests filed under the Freedom of Information Act by the two watchdog groups, the agencies failed to provide justifications for their economic claims, the groups said. "None of the agencies provided information about 'cost savings' in a form even remotely understandable," the report said.

The report also accused the Bush administration of abandoning its regulatory responsibility during the freeze: "Despite the administration's rhetoric, consumer, public health and environmental regulations are not cre-

ated simply to bury businesses in paperwork. Instead, it said, they are developed because of benefits they will bring to society: cleaner air and water, safer products, a sounder banking system."

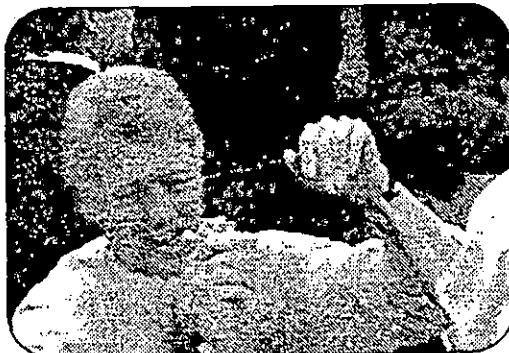
Under Bush administration policy, regulations that might cause "imminent danger" to the public are exempt from the freeze. The report charges, however, that several important regulations to protect the public health have been weakened or delayed by the freeze.

Nesbitt dismissed the report by the two nonpartisan groups as an effort to help the Democratic Party during an election year.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

30-SECOND POLITICS



Candidate: Bill Clinton
Producer: Clinton-Gore Creative Team
Time: 60 seconds

Audio: Something's happening. People are ready. Because they've had enough. Enough of seeing their incomes fall behind and their jobs on the line. Enough of a government that just doesn't work. They're ready for change. And changing people's lives—that's the work of his life. Twelve years of battling the odds in one of our nation's poorest states. Arkansas now leads the nation in job growth. Incomes are rising at twice the national rate; 17,000 people moved from welfare to work. That's progress.... Bill Clinton has a plan to rebuild America that invests in our own people—8 million new jobs in the next four years. A new direction. Those making over \$200,000 have to pay more. The rest of us get a break. It's a plan to put people

CLINTON ECONOMIC PLAN

Those making over
\$200,000 pay more

first again. And six Nobel Prize economists say it will work. But don't take their word, read it yourself.

Background: This ad has a more uplifting feel than Clinton's earlier commercials, with slow-motion shots of the candidate shaking hands and lingering pictures of hopeful faces at a rally. But Clinton recycles one old technique by flashing an address where people can write for his economic plan. He is placing more emphasis on an "Arkansas miracle"—Arkansas remains one of the poorest states, despite the statistics cited here—for an implicit contrast with President Bush's slow-growth record. The narrator's comment that those earning less than \$200,000 would get a "break"—although Clinton is no longer proposing a large tax cut—is meant to neutralize Bush's constant charge that the Democrat is pushing a major tax increase.

—Howard Kurtz

THE WASHINGTON POST

Clinton to Air Preemptive Bid for Votes

In the first move of what promises to be a lengthy chess game, Bill Clinton's presidential campaign is airing its first general-election commercial tonight.

Sources said the campaign is spending more than \$1 million to broadcast the ad in key states, but not on national television. Presidential candidates generally do not begin television advertising until after Labor Day, in part to conserve their funds because of federal spending limits.

The 60-second spot, the first made with input from the Madison Avenue executives who have joined Clinton's media team, invites viewers to write for a copy of Clinton's economic plan. It touts Clinton's record as governor of Arkansas and says he would create 8 million new jobs as president—a not-so-subtle reminder that President Bush has fallen far short of his 1988 promise to create 15 million jobs.

In taking to the airwaves before the president, the Clinton camp is mindful of the damage that Bush's negative ads inflicted on 1988 Democratic nominee Michael S. Dukakis.

Bush, who has proposed a tax cut without saying how he will pay for it, has repeatedly criticized Clinton for pushing a major tax increase. The ad pointedly notes that Clinton's tax hike would affect families earning more than \$200,000 a year.

Bush campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke yesterday called the ad "false and misleading," although she did not challenge any specific statements. She said Clinton failed to mention that he plans to raise taxes by \$150 billion, boost federal spending by \$220 billion and other proposals that she charged would "destroy" hundreds of thousands of jobs.

—Howard Kurtz

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Beneath the Rhetoric, an Old Question

Bush-Clinton Debate Frames Classic Choice: How Much Government?

By E. J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Beneath the 1992 campaign's festival of charges and counter-charges lurks what the campaigns of both President Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton see as the possibility of a real debate over what role government should play in American life.

That may seem a lot to expect after a week in which each candidate accused the other of being a "fearmonger" and during which each went after the other's record

with a fury usually reserved for mid-October stump speeches.

But in many ways, the argument over government has already begun.

"The Republicans have campaigned against big government for a generation," Clinton declared in his acceptance speech last month. "But have you noticed? They've run this big government for a generation and they haven't changed a thing. They don't want to fix government. They still want to campaign against it—and that's all."

Speaking in Detroit this month,

Clinton scored the "wrongheaded Republican notion that prosperity will trickle down if we just make the rich even richer and get the government out of the way." He added, "I don't believe in big government, but I do believe in effective government that promotes jobs and growth and gives people more choices and better services and inspires more personal responsibility."

In his acceptance speech, Bush went after government. "We have a clear choice to fix our problems,"

See GOVERNMENT, A8, Col. 5

NEWS
ANALYSIS



The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

GOVERNMENT, From A1

the president said. "Do we turn to the tattered blanket of bureaucracy that other nations are tossing away? Or do we give our people the freedom and incentives to build security themselves?"

Bush has been on this theme, off and on, all year.

"With a federal government that gobbles up a quarter of [gross national product], we can't really say we're as free as we should be," Bush told the National American Wholesale Grocers' Association in March.

The issue of "bigger" versus "smaller" government has been a perennial in political campaigns, and it is an issue that Bush especially is eager to join. By campaigning against government, the president is hoping to turn in his favor the very voter skepticism about Washington that has hurt him badly in the polls. And in doing so, Bush hopes to tie Clinton to the perceived failures of "big government" Democrats of the past—the sort who have lost elections steadily since 1968.

It is clear that Clinton believes in a far more energetic government than Bush. The Arkansas governor speaks constantly of using government to help "organize" the American economy, and he unashamedly touts new programs.

In a speech in Philadelphia earlier this month, for example, Clinton spoke of the \$50 billion a year he would spend—or, as he preferred it, "invest"—in "new environmental systems, new transportation systems, new communication systems."

In the same speech, he promised "a pre-school program for every child that needs it," along with "smaller classes in earlier grades and counsel for children in trouble so they can get a good start."

He pushed his "apprenticeship program for every young person who doesn't go to college so they can be trained for good jobs, not dead end jobs" and also called for "a national trust fund which will help educate every American . . . by saying to everybody, you can borrow the money to go to college. . . ."

The advantage for Clinton is that most of the programs he is pushing are for broadly popular goals. Health care, education, job training, transportation and cleaning up the environment tend to score well when pollsters ask Americans how they want government to spend their money.

But the Bush camp is counting on the other thing that the polls say: Americans these days do not trust government to get things right, and they do not like taxes. Bush and his allies say that Clinton will be unable to fund his programs without large tax increases. Yes, Bush said in a speech in Florida earlier this month, Clinton was for change, "but change is all you're going to have left in your pocket if you listen to them."

Bush faces the opposite problem from Clinton: With voters clamoring for action on a whole series of problems, the president has to state that he will provide solutions while cutting the size of government.

Sometimes, that has produced a mixed message. Even as he has been campaigning for budget cuts and lower taxes since the Republican convention, Bush also has put forward a five-year, \$10 billion job-training program and pledged to the American Legion that he will support federal veterans programs.

"They contradict each other every other day," said George Stephanopoulos, Clinton's communications director. "What they want to be for is Potemkin government. . . . When you lift the veil, there's nothing there."

But Bush has another line of argument that may prove more effective: that there are programs that can use government indirectly, rather than directly, to address social problems. He has proposed vouchers to make it easier for parents to send their children to private schools; help for residents of housing projects to buy their units; and tax credits to allow the uninsured to buy health insurance.

Nonetheless, Bush also has critics in the anti-government camp who argue that the president's claims to being one of them are contradicted by the substantial rise in federal spending as a share of gross national product during Bush's own term of office.

"People are writing campaign speeches for him in which he seems to believe in smaller government," said David Boaz, vice president of the Libertarian Cato Institute, "but he's been in government for 30 years, he's been president or vice president for 12 years, and except during the 1988 campaign, he hasn't shown any real commitment to smaller government."

Clinton himself is determined not to be an easy target on the "big government" issue. He cannot give a speech without criticizing bureaucracy, or distancing himself from what he referred to in Detroit this month as "the old Democratic" orthodoxy that there's a government program for every problem and that we can tax and spend and regulate our way to prosperity.

"We want the debate to be between action and inaction, between responsibility and neglect," said Stephanopoulos. "They want to turn it into big bureaucracy versus laissez faire. That's the caricature they want to create."

Not surprisingly, James P. Pinkerton, a Bush campaign adviser, saw the issue a bit differently. The Republicans, he said, want to argue that the successes over the last 12 years came in the private sector and contrast market approaches to what he called "the elaborate, gold-plated bankruptcy of the public sector."

Underlying the 1992 campaign and its debate over government, Pinkerton said, is an argument over whether the 1980s are seen as "a remarkable period of capitalistic creativity during which we created millions of new jobs" or if they were, as many Democrats would have it, "a period of greed, selfishness and ruthless individualism." Pinkerton added that the outcome of the election may turn on which of these "narratives," as he called them, proves more convincing to the electorate.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Gore Accuses Republicans Of 'Big Lie'

*Quayle Says Clinton
Will Hike Taxes on All*

By Kent Jenkins Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

MONTEREY, Calif., Aug. 30—Democratic vice presidential nominee Albert Gore Jr. accused his Republican opponents of employing the "big-lie technique" on taxes today, as Vice President Quayle charged that Democrats hope to raise taxes on everyone.

Quayle also continued a recent pattern of mixed signals from Republicans on abortion, refusing to embrace his party's call for a nationwide abortion ban. The GOP platform endorses a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion, but Quayle left some doubt about whether he opposes legalized abortion on a state-by-state basis.

Appearing separately on different television interview programs, the vice presidential contenders continued to escalate the campaign's already sharp rhetoric on taxes, with each saying that the other side cannot be trusted to protect average citizens. Gore went a step further and sharply questioned his opposition's integrity.

Gore, on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley", dismissed as "out-and-out false" the now-familiar charge that Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton has raised taxes 128 times as governor of Arkansas. But he said President Bush and Quayle have repeated the allegation "because it was politically advantageous for them, even though they knew it was false."

He also dismissed Bush's recently proposed across-the-board tax cut as "a classic example of the propaganda, big-lie technique to just try to make something real by constant repetition," said Gore, who later traveled to this coastal community to discuss the environment at a scenic seaside rally.

Quayle, on CBS's "Face the Nation", defended the tax cut as realistic but offered no details about how much taxes might be reduced or how the program would be funded.

"We are going to have an across-the-board tax cut, as the president said," Quayle said. "I don't have the number [specifying how much taxes would be cut] this morning.... Here's what's important: The president is for cutting taxes and Bill Clinton is for raising them."

Clinton has proposed a \$200 billion federal spending program to stimulate the economy, which he contends can be financed by raising taxes only on upper-income taxpayers. Quayle maintained otherwise.

"Bill Clinton has already promised the American people that he's going to raise taxes on them," Quayle said. "He will raise taxes on every single worker in America. That is a fact."

Both Quayle and Gore invoked Bush's famous "read my lips" pledge not to raise taxes and his subsequent decision to do just that, but they disagreed about what the incident means for the future.

Quayle said, Bush "went along with Congress and raised taxes once." He said the president regrets it and "won't do it again."

But Gore said that voters "know that George Bush was the person who said 'read my lips.' Now they can read his record. They know that this business of 'wait until January and then I'll give you the details and specifics [of a tax cut],' they know better than that."

On the subject of abortion, Quayle stopped short of endorsing an all-out ban and left unclear whether he might support some legalized abortion.

When asked whether the Constitution should be amended to ban abortion, Quayle said: "We support a human life amendment, and particularly what we are aiming to do is to overturn *Roe versus Wade* [the Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion nationally]. We do disagree with that decision."

Even if *Roe* is overturned, however, abortion is almost certain to remain legal in some states. Quayle did not voice any objection to that. He also stressed efforts to curb abortion by education rather than legislation.

"In this capital—Washington, D.C.—we have more abortions than we do live births," he said. "People want to say, 'Oh, well that's their choice, that's their decision.' Fine. That is their choice, that is their decision. But why don't we have more reflection upon the issue of abortion? And that's what we're trying to do—is to change behavior, change attitudes."

Quayle's statements marked the second time in recent weeks that he has appeared to waiver from his previous opposition to abortion in almost all cases. Last month, he said that if his daughter got an abortion, he would offer her support. Quayle's wife, Marilyn, later said that their daughter would not get an abortion.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Ken Craven

The Real Face of Kuwait

Contempt for Americans, continued cruelty to foreign workers.

Soon after the gulf war, U.S. newspapers raised concerns about democracy in Kuwait but mostly pictured Kuwaitis as having learned a great lesson: They would turn from their arrogant ways and learn to bake their own bread and sweep their own streets. No more, Kuwaitis said, would they depend on foreigners to run their own country.

What they meant was that they would no longer depend on the quarter-million Palestinians they began to harry from the country. After international condemnation slowed early "excesses," Kuwait's new "population balance" policy became a campaign to starve the Palestinians out, despite the numbers of them who fought in the resistance or risked their lives to save trapped Westerners.

By September 1991, a quarter-million domestics had been imported to serve 600,000 Kuwaitis, and more than 1.5 million foreigners were working in the country. While security police hounded Palestinians out (sample deportable offense: running a red light), the airport filled with Sri Lankans, Filipinos and Bangladeshis tagged like cattle. A member of the Kuwaiti ruling family, put it this way: "This is our country; we can do what we want."

That haughtiness characterizes Kuwait's postwar attitude. Little gratitude is expressed toward America, because "we paid for it," meaning Kuwait paid its operational costs. As for Desert Storm, many Kuwaitis rationalize, with good cause, that the West acted only in its own interest ("If we grew carrots, do you think you would save us?") and speculate that George Bush lured Saddam Hussein into a trap. Theories abound. The Americans have come to take over. The Americans set the oil fires to make money putting them out.

On the day the government announced its army would receive U.S. Patriot missiles, it prohibited an American-sponsored election seminar because it would "constitute interference in the internal affairs of Kuwait." In June the speaker of the national council accused the U.S. ambassador of interference and proclaimed that "our Arab brothers" saved Kuwait.

I found little commitment to rebuilding the nation. I did find under the

oil-rich smugness a frenetic self-doubt. Kuwaitis purchase 4-wheel-drive vehicles (for quick escapes) by the thousands and ship their dinars outside the country by the billions.

From March 1992 on, a wave of terrorist shootings and bombing—mostly unreported and directed largely toward foreign influence—rocked the country. In reaction, the government harassed long-term expatriates. Freedom of the press, ballyhooed in February, evaporated. According to a senior NBC correspondent, journalists are allowed less freedom in Kuwait than in Baghdad.

Arriving six months after liberation, I looked forward to assisting with the reconstruction of Kuwait University. Soon with other newcomers from countries that had supported Desert Storm, I experienced hostility and bureaucratic humiliation.

Outside the university, the two-thirds of Kuwaitis who returned from a year in Saudi Arabia, England, Nice or Monte Carlo ("My biggest problem during the war," one student wrote, "was filling my Mercedes in London. So expensive!") took up their old lifestyle with new callousness. They scrambled to produce oil at prewar levels without regard for warnings of environmentalists. They filled their army with stateless mercenaries. None spoke for the Palestinians or for human rights for imported labor. Fear of the national security police kept opposition down. On the campus, progressive student groups wasted away as more and more Kuwaitis bowed to Islamic fundamentalism and its hatred of the West.

Under American pressure, the emir scheduled parliamentary elections for October 1992. If they occur, only "first-grade" native-born male citizens will vote, and most of those by tribe.

In recent weeks, the news mimics the early postwar pattern. An AP story pictures Kuwaiti society as deeply attached to George Bush, appreciative of America's help and no longer interested in Arab support—all serious misreadings. The emir's speech on Liberation Day 1992 made Desert Storm sound almost exclusively Arab.

The United States has moved to prevent Saddam's air force from bombing the Shiites in the marshes of southern Iraq. The last thing either the emir

of Kuwait or the Saudis want is a strong Shiite resistance that can lead to an Iranian-style government in Iraq. The emir dissolved the Kuwait parliament in 1986 precisely because of strong Shiite agitation, and the Kuwait regime continues to fear Iranian infiltrators who might strengthen its Shiite minority.

A year ago The Post ran a report on postwar Kuwait with images of Kuwaitis hooked on country and western music and cowboy clothes. Arriving a few weeks after the story, I saw nary a Gary Al-Cooper. Most Kuwaitis were revolted by things Western. More women began wearing traditional clothing. When the dean of the Kuwait University Medical School ruled that women students could not wear the veil when seeing patients or working in the laboratory, the medical school was machine-gunned and the dean's car blown up.

Expatriates report that shortly after the war began, the emir canceled all contracts with non-Kuwaitis—many who had served for years suffered extreme financial hardship. After the war, medical personnel who had stayed in Kuwait to treat the sick could not obtain payment for their work. In the fall of 1992, the government announced a 25 percent increase in salary—for Kuwaitis only. Government compensation for war damage extended only to Kuwaiti citizens.

When I returned to America after an academic year in Kuwait, I was struck by the extreme discrepancies between what I had experienced and the images of Kuwait most people here seem to have. I suspect that the American people, bewitched by a few pictures of Kuwaitis clutching American flags, would not like the whole picture.

When I returned to New York, there was a Kuwaiti family on the shuttle bus to the Hilton—one man, three women, seven children, and 24 large suitcases. A young man sweated all the bags onto the bus while the Kuwaitis watched. When the bus was about to pull away, the young entrepreneur said: "Hey, man, ain't you going to give me something for loading your bags?" The Kuwaiti, who understood English well, responded with a familiar backhand gesture of dismissal and contempt.

The writer lives in Morgantown, W. Va.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Lally Weymouth

The World Through Weld's Eyes

Republicans in Houston were looking out for more than "family values." A pervasive convention hobby—among members of the media and GOP rank and filers—consisted of attempting to identify perspective 1996 nominees. Most of the names in circulation were familiar and logical: Kemp, Quayle, Gramm, Bennett and Cheney. But, already, there are dark horses: Gov. Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin, a welfare reform crusader with an affable, easy manner; and Gov. William Weld of Massachusetts, a firm fiscal conservative whose efforts to streamline state government have won him enormous in-state popularity.

But Weld, though willing to back the national ticket this year, is solidly pro-choice. Moreover, he even supports "gay rights" legislation. He makes it plain that he is proud of having appointed gays and lesbians to senior positions in government.

Does such a politician have a national future within the Republican party? Right-to-life hard-liner Phyllis Schlafly says no. Others, even avowed foes of Weld's stance on social issues, are far less certain. A number of senior party leaders take the notion of Weld as a 1996 national candidate very seriously.

Who is Bill Weld? The 47-year-old red-haired governor of Massachusetts—a Bay-State patrician—maintains in a recent interview that his central goal at the Houston convention was promoting the "big tent" concept of the GOP.

Weld insists, moreover, that he achieved a measure of success. He notes that the Republican convention was far more open on the question of choice than was the Democratic gathering in New York, where Pennsylvania's pro-life Gov. Bob Casey was barred from the platform.

According to Weld, many Republicans are prepared to "recognize that there are honest differences of opinion on abortion." The Massachusetts governor holds that 55 percent of the delegates to the Houston convention were actually pro-choice. But, he says, they didn't express their views openly for a simple reason: The delegates did not want to embarrass President Bush, who has, of course, embraced the party's pro-life orientation.

Unlike his Democratic counterpart from Pennsylvania, Weld was permitted to address his party's convention. In his speech, he told GOP delegates that he believes "individual freedom should extend to a woman's right to choose." He added, "I want the government out of your pocketbook and your bedroom."

Last year, Gov. Weld proposed a bill still pending before the Massachusetts legislature—it would permit abortions in the third trimester to save the life of the mother and would lower the age of consent from 18 to 16. For young

*He wants
government out of
your pocketbook
and your bedroom.*

women not yet 16, Weld's bill calls for the acquiescence of but one parent, rather than both. (In essence, the bill lifts most of the current restrictions on abortion that now obtain in Massachusetts.) The governor notes, however, that he personally is not enthusiastic about third trimester abortions.

On social issues—like abortion and gay rights—it's plain that Weld is animated by a highly libertarian sensibility. Excessive government intrusion into the private lives of ordinary citizens strikes him as inconsistent with fundamental American values.

As to his achievements in Massachusetts, Weld told the delegates in Houston: "We have cut taxes, cut spending and cut the state payroll. ... The Democrats taxing and spending habits remind me of that old definition of a baby: A huge appetite on one end and no sense of responsibility on the other."

How did Weld dig Massachusetts out of the hole in which the Commonwealth found itself after years of Democratic rule? Elected in 1990, Weld explains that the first two years amounted to a genuine nightmare: The state bond rating was at an all-time low—one step away from junk bond status. Weld managed, he says, to get a lot of cooperation from Democrats

in the legislature. (Meanwhile, there were enough Republicans in the Massachusetts Senate to sustain Weld's key vetoes.) "We repealed the sales tax on services, stopped the income tax surcharge and repealed the estate tax."

Every Monday afternoon, Weld made it a practice to sit down with the Democratic leadership. He found that such meetings made it harder for his Democratic opponents to stab him in the back. But a couple of times, he admits, he played brinkmanship. For example, in one heated confrontation, Weld won the right to trim some welfare benefits if and when the state lacked necessary funds.

In Weld's view this year's national election will revolve around two issues: foreign policy and what he refers to as "tax and spend." President Bush, Weld believes, can "run rings around" Clinton on foreign policy.

As for spending, Weld sees Clinton as highly vulnerable, having raised taxes persistently during his tenure as governor of Arkansas.

Is Weld himself a candidate for the GOP nomination in '96? He brushes off all such speculation, insisting that he's entirely focused on seeking a second term as governor in 1994. His chief national concern, he allows, is to ensure that the GOP does not head off in a direction with which he personally feels uncomfortable. It's clear Weld is referring to an effort by right-wing zealots—led perhaps by Pat Buchanan—to seize control of the GOP.

Weld isn't embarrassed to acknowledge that he personally has moved decidedly to the right over the course of his career. "I think I've gotten more conservative," he says. Years ago, Weld recalls he went to Washington "as a conservative young man." He left the nation's capital "a reactionary."

Yet Weld knows that he's no conservative by national GOP standards. He recognizes that to Pat Buchanan and to the religious right, the differences between his political orientation and that of the Democratic Party isn't particularly profound. But Weld believes a lot of Republicans, silent though they may have been in Houston, see the world roughly the way he does.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

William Raspberry

Nothing Inevitable About Democracy

The breathtaking changes on the international scene, including the demise of communism as an important idea, has Americans feeling vindicated and perhaps a little smug. If I could sum up the attitude that seems to be abroad, it might be: Democracy is sweeping the world, and we're not surprised.

Well maybe there always was reason to believe that, in the long run, a system based on freedom and capable of producing the world's highest standard of living would win out over a system based on repression and incapable of feeding its people. But to the extent that our nonsurprise is based on a belief that democracy is inherent in human nature, we may be misreading the revolution.

No matter how natural it seems to us, there's nothing automatic or inevitable about democracy. American democracy is as much a stroke of luck as the result of any innate expectation that the people will rule themselves.

It's a mistake that leads us to false expectations in the rest of the world. We view the crumbling of the Soviet Union as resulting from the irresistible urge to self-governance. (So what is the source of the nation-splintering mess in what was Yugoslavia?) We see our right to elect our own government as the magic that makes America work, and we take it as something close to a moral obligation to spread the magic of free elections.

I thought about all this several weeks ago, when I heard Owen Harries, editor of the *National Interest*, on a National Public Radio broadcast. Harries, a conservative, was supposed to be joining Erwin Knoll, the liberal editor of the *Progressive*, in a "search for common ground."

The program came a cropper, largely because Knoll, despite the good-humored cajoling of moderator Charles Bray, wouldn't play the game. But there was this nugget from Harries on what might be called the democratic imperative:

"Yes, there are more democracies today than there were two years ago, or 20 years ago. But the extent and reality of the democratic revolution may legitimately be questioned. In many countries, adherence to democracy is skin deep, merely formal and almost certainly fleeting.

"In some cases the collapse of communism is confused with the success of democracy. Yet to my mind, it is very doubtful that the pulverized, abused societies of the old Soviet Union can become functioning democracies anytime soon."

A glance around the globe lends credence to Harries' skepticism. From Haiti to South Africa to what was Yugoslavia, people have tired of oppression and are trying, with varying degrees of success, to claim power for themselves. Yet not much of what has resulted looks like what Americans think of as democracy.

Our prescription for curing problems from the Caribbean to the Persian Gulf is one-man-one-vote democracy. I used to marvel, back during the Cold War, how our leaders would look at political murder in Nicaragua, oppression and hunger in Haiti, un-

rest in Grenada, corruption in the Philippines or regional meddling in Cuba and prescribe the same remedy for them all: Free elections.

When the Haitians finally got rid of "Baby Doc" Duvalier and, in internationally supervised free elections, chose Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide, we allowed ourselves to expect miracles. Even now, we think the miracles would occur if only the army would go away and let Aristide return to office.

The miracles still could happen, but the ballot alone won't do it. As Haiti's interim foreign minister, Francois Benoit, said in a recent interview:

"Elections are not automatically the establishment of democracy. We have seen in history dictators come out of elections. We have seen very destructive forces unleashed by 'the choice of the people.'"

Now Benoit, as a representative of a military government that continues to *thwart* "the choice of the people," is hardly speaking from the high ground. His position may be indefensible, but his words make sense:

"Democracy is a *process*, painful to establish in a land that has never known democracy, where suspicions

are high, where absolutism has been the way of life, where everyone is waiting his turn to do what he reproached the previous guy for doing.

"In a way it's a cultural thing that needs to be based upon respect for human rights, for other people's opinions, for institutions, including the courts. . . . Elections are only a step—a necessary step—toward the goal of democracy."

That analysis is of no help in shaping U.S. policy, whether toward Haiti or Yugoslavia; no help in deciding what to do about, or in deciding what to do about Haitian refugees or Bosnia Muslims. But it might help Americans to appreciate what we have. This country has the *sine qua non* of democracy—the ballot. But it also has an array of other things that make democracy work: a broadly respected judiciary, social and geographic mobility, chance-to-make-a-buck capitalism, a relative classlessness (or at any rate relatively porous class lines) plus a variety of well-established institutions.

The pieces come together inconsistently and imperfectly, but often enough and well enough to make America a very special place.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Rabin's Syrian Move

Israeli diplomat Itamar Rabinovich's "new principle" that Israel will negotiate the return of its occupied land on the Golan Heights for true peace was a bombshell here that may send Syria's shrewd diplomatic mission back to Damascus for new instructions.

Israel's former hard-line government under the Likud Party was committed to a "Greater Israel" policy that excluded return of the Golan Heights, seized by Israel in the 1967 Six Day War. Prof. Rabinovich, heading negotiations here with Syria, dropped his big surprise as the sixth round of Arab-Israeli peace talks began last week. That signaled how serious Israel really is about a settlement with Syria.

Syrian diplomats, while praising Rabinovich, publicly played down the policy switch ordered by newly installed Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin as showing "no great difference" from the earlier, sterile talks that started in Madrid last year. Taking a hard line, the Syrians say in private discussions with Israelis there is no chance of peace unless every inch of the Golan—the 10-to-15-mile-wide plain

at Syria's western edge overlooking Lake Galilee—comes back to Syria. They rule out any preliminary deal on an "interim" or "partial" settlement.

But Syrian President Hafez Assad's secret intentions toward Rabin are as

Israel is serious about a settlement with Syria.

cloudy as Rabin's toward him. His envoys don't know, because Assad and only Assad speaks for Syria. Sources told us the Israeli offer was so dramatic that Syrian diplomats here may have to return to Damascus for new instructions before the end of the current round of talks next month.

The view of the Syrian strongman inside the American Jewish community is mixed. Assad is reviled by some pro-Israel U.S. politicians as a terrorist conspirator, comparable to Iraq's Saddam Hussein and committed to

the destruction of what he used to call "the Zionist entity."

Other Jewish American leaders disagree. They remain impressed by Assad's decision early this year to free Syrian Jews and say that Assad no longer uses the pejorative "Zionist entity." They were stunned by Syrian permission given two months ago to Washington Jewish Week reporter Larry Cohler to investigate the state of Syria's Jews—the first journalist's visa given by Syria to a reporter for a Jewish newspaper in the United States.

Like Assad's, Rabin's true intentions on the Golan Heights are shrouded. During his successful election campaign last spring as the Labor candidate ousting Likud's Yitzhak Shamir as prime minister, Rabin told us that Israel would never "come down" from the Golan. He did say he might give up a patch or two, an offer that Israeli wags labeled the "few centimeters" offer.

In fact, Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres regard Syria as by far the most important Arab state now negotiating with Israel. Signs are numerous that their new Israeli government is more willing than is understood to arrange a compromise with Assad to achieve true peace-with-security. Such a peace must be based on an exchange of territory, extent unknown, followed by demilitarization and security guarantees ensured by the United Nations, the United States and perhaps Russia.

Talking privately to reporters a few weeks ago, an Israeli official was asked why Assad would waste his time trying to negotiate a settlement limited to a "few centimeters." The official replied by placing a ruler on the map of the Golan, showing that even one centimeter covers a lot of land. He meant to convey that Rabin and Peres are in dead earnest about finally, after 25 years, settling the rancorous Golan dispute.

Syria's border has long been the most tightly controlled (and therefore most peaceful) border Israel has with the three belligerent Arab states that surround it. Few if any Arab terrorists sneak past Syrian border guards into Israel.

Moreover, Israeli defense officials admit that the long-standing claim that Jewish settlements on the Golan help protect the nation's security was undercut by the rush of all settlers back to Israel the moment the 1973 Yom Kippur War broke out.

These officials also privately belittle another old security argument: that control is necessary to defend against an invasion of Israel proper. That claim was weakened when Iraq fired Scud missiles across hundreds of miles of desert to hit Tel Aviv in the Gulf War.

The message from Israel's new leaders is that real security lies more in enforceable diplomatic agreements than in holding real estate. The next step is up to the man in Damascus.

© 1992, Creators Syndicate Inc.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

The Clinton Tour's Rocky Road

By Lloyd Grove
Washington Post Staff Writer

ON THE CLINTON-GORE BUS IN TEXAS

You could sense something brewing in some of the signs, something dark, big and furious—usually at the very back of an ecstatic crowd, but sometimes right up there in Bill Clinton's face.

It was the leading edge of what Republicans here are calling "September Storm," though some Democrats must now be thinking of naming it "Hurricane George."

"GO HOME, SLICK WILLIE," demanded a sign in Georgetown, about 20 miles north of Austin. On the reverse side was hand-painted the unforgiving message: "ADULTERY IS A SIN."

"YOUNG CONSERVATIVES OF TEXAS—DON'T INHALE. JUST SAY NO TO BILL," read a banner at Austin's Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, so huge that it required two college kids to hold it aloft, and so tall that it couldn't be blocked by a Clinton-Gore sign hoisted urgently in front of it.

"BILL CLINTON—IT WILL TAKE MORE THAN JUST FIG LEAVES TO COVER YOUR HYPOCRISY. GENESIS 3:7," yet another placard blared in the Bible Belt bastion of Tyler.

For the Democratic standard-bearer and his running mate, Al Gore—once again "On the Road . . . to Change America," as they've dubbed their grueling buscapades across the length and breadth of the electoral map—the free ride appeared to be over.

Last Thursday after sunup, the governor of Arkansas and the senator from Tennessee formally launched their bid for President Bush's adopted home state and its 32 electoral votes, a foray that lasted till the wee hours of Saturday morning. Starting in the Democratic stronghold of San Antonio, the vaunted "Gateway to South Texas," and ending in rural East Texas, where turkey buzzards circled the hot, flat highway, it was strikingly different from earlier road trips—not so much picture-perfect as what's-wrong-with-this-picture.

"We're on a bus trip through enemy territory and they know the route," said Bruce Reed, the Clinton-Gore issues director, as he waited to hit the road Friday afternoon at a gas-fired power plant near Waco, where Clinton had suddenly sched-

See TEXAS, B4, Col. 1

The Washington Post

TEXAS, From B1

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

uled a rare press conference to complain about the Bush camp's "cynical" and "distorting" tactics. "Their bombers are strafing us at every opportunity," Reed added with a tight smile.

The Republican Guard, apparently, was finally on the move. But instead of Saddam Hussein, the enemy was Elvis. Taking its cue from the president's acceptance speech in Houston—where Bush had derided his challenger's programs as "Elvis economics"—the state party had hired an impersonator of Clinton's patron saint to shadow him through Texas, advancing his route in a Winnebago and passing out baloney sandwiches.

So far, however, "the King" had yet to be sighted—though there had been ample rumors here and there of the royal presence.

"Now where is Elvis?" Reed wondered aloud. "Where is Elvis?"

Quick on the Drawl

Under the simmering summer sun, Clinton's face has turned the color of a beefsteak tomato. Sweat coursed down his cheeks, fringed his shirt collar and left a dark, wet stain (of which he was clearly unashamed) at the small of his broad back. He had the look of an aging athlete—bounding gracefully from rope-line to rope-line to accept crushing handshakes and suffocating hugs—and also a wide-eyed, open-mouthed smile that suggested a perpetual state of awe, as well as a g-droppin' country cadence that suggested his deep bond with The People—Oxford and Yale Law School be damned.

"I do not have a hotel room in Houston, and I don't have a plot o' land about the size of this platform that I'm claimin' I'm gonna build a retirement home on," he huskily told a tumultuous rally in Waco, alluding to the oft-mentioned Bush as he built to one of his sure-fire applause lines. "But I tell you what [pronounced "whut"]. My daddy was born here [in Sherman, Tex.]. I got kinfolks here. And I'm a whole lot more like you than he is."

At another stop, Clinton described the president as "moanin' like a pig under a gate, as we say in Arkansas," about the Democratic Congress, and at still another, ventured with a grin that "Ol' Bush looked like Pinocchio at the Republican convention talkin' about taxes. I was surprised his nose didn't grow and dump him right over in the orchestra pit"—here, a hearty laugh—"the way he was talkin' down in Houston sayin' how much I raised taxes and how little he did."

"I want to be clear with you," he told a huge crowd gathered on banks of the San Antonio River, a crowd that seemed to swoon to his every word after he alighted like Caesar from a barge. "In the end we should not be judged on our ability to lay bare to you the terrible record of this administration"—though here he paused, at some length, to enumerate a welter of seemingly dismal statistics—"but our claim to this election, in the end, must rest on our ability to offer new hope and new vision and new opportunity to the American people, to bring us together and to move us forward."

Clinton, no question, is the Compleat Campaigner—Hubert Horatio Humphrey with a drawl.

Vice presidential nominee Gore, on the other hand, could use a few pointers. At a roadside stop in New Braunfels, for instance, he forgot to acknowledge the presence of Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, the powerful chairman of the Finance Committee—whom he'd described as "my mentor" only an hour before—provoking in Bentsen a facial expression that evoked a prune sucking on a lemon, and a curt nod at Gore's apparent attempt to apologize. At another point, Gore hiply invoked "our theme song in this campaign . . . 'Don't Stop (Thinking About the Future),' " which must be a slightly different tune from the one by Fleetwood Mac with "tomorrow" in the title. And his brave attempt to duplicate Texas Gov. Ann Richards's hilarious yarn about "turkey huntin' "—complete with a strange little falsetto to evoke the sound of a turkey call—is best left unrecounted.

After his boffo performance at the Democratic convention, graced by a joyfully spontaneous dance with wife Tipper, this wealthy senator's son who grew up in a Washington hotel room has reverted to the labored sincerity leavened by prep school superciliousness—somehow *his* dropped g's sound like omissions—that characterized his presidential candidacy in 1988. Yet Clinton's answer to Dan Quayle seemed to be enjoying himself.

"Do you want four more years of trickle-down economics?" Gore asked some 20,000 partisans jammed onto a grassy knoll in Austin, where he played his accustomed role of warm-up performer.

"No!" they thundered back.

"Do you want four more years of a read-my-lips recession?"

"No!"

"Do you want to put people first, create some jobs in this country, protect the environment and get our country moving again?"

"Yes!"

"Is it time for Bush and Quayle to go?"

"Yes!"

"What time is it?"

"It's time for them to go!"

"Again, what time is it? . . . Again, what time is it? . . ." Time for them to go, perhaps? Now before I introduce the man of the hour, I want to say a few words about an issue that's extremely important to Bill Clinton and me. . . ."

"I love to hear Al speak," Clinton told the crowd several minutes later, when Gore finally permitted him to step up to the microphone. "And oftentimes when he's finished, there's nothing left for me to say. But I don't resent it."

Perish the thought. Still, they make for an attractive pair, especially when augmented by the winning walk-ons of Tipper Gore and Hillary Clinton, whose chief roles, apparently, are to smile as brightly as possible.

"As a Democrat, after having watched us be demolished, twice, three times, of course we're apprehensive," said Texas Land Commissioner Garry Mauro, chairman of the Clinton

campaign here. "But what I feel very comfortable with is Bill Clinton and his ability to deal with attacks."

Battles in the Bible Belt

When the Clinton-Gore buscapade arrived Thursday night in Waco, home of Baylor University and known as the Southern Baptists' "Vatican City," it was clear that the enemy had preceded it to the battlefield. Across the street from the rally site on the Brazos River, and kept a safe distance away by the city police, a hundred pro-Bush demonstrators stood waving signs and shouting.

"Bush-Quayle! Bush-Quayle!" they were crying as the five press buses pulled up alongside. And then: "Liberal press! Liberal press!"

"Are you with the press?" one of the protesters, a strapping young man, demanded of an approaching reporter. "Then get out of here! Go away!"

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

"I'm here because I'm for Bush, and standing up and yelling at the liberal press," explained Baylor senior Christie Gambel with a shy smile, giggling as her compatriots took up the chant "Liberal press sucks!"

"No one organized this," she went on, still smiling. "We just heard that Clinton was coming to town and we decided to get behind and tell the people the truth—that Bush is the only one who knows how to run the presidency, the only one that *should* be running the presidency."

Baylor freshman David Freeman, meanwhile, shouted lustily that all homosexuals must die.

"I don't think they gotta die," the crew-cut 18-year-old revised, when questioned on this point. "But it's in the Bible, sir. The punishment for homosexuality is death. I'm here because I support Clinton—I mean, not Clinton, sorry, sir—but Bush and Quayle. Because I believe they're good Christian men trying to do what's right for this country. They're trying to do what Jesus wants them to do, sir."

"We're here to promote the white vote, the Bush vote," someone else shouted.

"If you put anything by my name, use this," said Aaron Thedford, a 19-year-old Baylor sophomore. "Suppose Clinton becomes president. When I graduate from college, I do not want to have to suffer with the aftereffects of his time in the presidency, to affect my getting a job, getting employed. I think Clinton can just screw up this country really bad."

Thedford was brandishing a "Texans for Bush" bumper sticker. Where did he get it? he was asked.

"Elvis," he replied.

Spontaneous Disruptions?

To hear Bush-Quayle's Texas campaign chairman, Jim Oberwetter, tell it, the anti-Clinton demonstrations were spontaneous outpourings, and certainly not encouraged by the high command. Ditto Rob Mosbacher, son of the former commerce secretary and chairman of the state party's "Victory '92" committee, which has budgeted \$4 million, he said, to prosecute "September Storm," which he bills as a direct-mail, radio and phone bank onslaught to "win this state for the president."

"I would not be involved in anything at all to be disruptive," Mosbacher said.

Still, the morning after the Waco rally, where Clinton seemed unfazed by—and perhaps even unaware of—the discordant voices across the street, he began counterpunching in earnest. A brief photo-op cum meet-and-greet at Waco's Trading House Electric Power Plant stretched into a three-hour sojourn, with time added for the press corps to file stories, as Clinton laid on a news conference to accuse Bush of deliberately distorting the facts about Clinton's tax-policy record in Arkansas.

As for the president's claims that Clinton has raised taxes as governor 128 times, Clinton pointed indignantly to a story in Friday's Boston Globe, reporting that Bush operatives acknowledged that the figure was false but that Bush would continue using it because "it works."

But Clinton, who was said to be deeply worried about the effect of these and other attacks, and suffering severely from his allergies, seemed less indignant than cautious by the end of the news conference. Bobbing and

weaving, he refused to brand Bush a liar—"I'm saying you ought to go ask him how he can avoid having that characterization put on these remarks," he wordily explained—and wouldn't state precisely how many times he *had* raised taxes, saying his staff would provide the answer.

By the time he got to Corsicana in the heart of East Texas, the candidate seemed genuinely rattled. Here, at yet another raucous rally, he decided to answer a small group of teenagers—all but hidden behind a camera stand—who kept shouting "Four more years" during his stump speech.

"Wait a minute, let me say something about the people who are cheering, with the Bush-Quayle signs, while I'm talking," he angrily rejoined, an unaccustomed harshness in his voice. "You remember that four more months is what we need!"

After the rally, during a brief chat with a wire service reporter, he made the always impolitic mistake of personally attacking Bush operatives Marlin Fitzwater and Mary Matalin, as though suddenly he were running against them.

It was not an error, if one believed his distressed staff, soon to be committed again.

And as if his momentary loss of grace weren't jarring enough, Elvis was finally sighted outside Corsicana, standing by the side of the road, next to his Winnebago, and waving a friendly wave at the passing Clinton juggernaut. He was a grotesque caricature of Clinton's beloved idol—so plump that he barely fit into his Las Vegas-style jumpsuit, his pompadour black and greasy.

He was, one could see as the buses rolled by, definitely the King in his decline.

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

LAWYERS

Tassels, Torts and Easy Targets: Bush Comments Worry Lawyers

By Sandra Torrey
Washington Post Staff Writer

No sooner had President Bush finished telling the nation that Bill Clinton is backed by "every trial lawyer who ever wore a tasseled loafer," than a memo shot around Wiley, Rein & Fielding, warning that tasseled loafers were no longer acceptable attire at the law firm.

The memo, inspired by Bush's assault on lawyers in his nomination acceptance speech at the Republican convention in Houston, was taken in good fun at the firm, where influential Republicans dominate the top ranks.

But few lawyers around Washington were laughing after the president's high-profile slam. They're increasingly worried that lawyers may become the Willie Hortons of the 1992 campaign.

Many Democrats and some Republicans say the lawyer-taunting by Bush and Vice President Quayle is simplistic and largely inaccurate, but may hit its mark with the public.

"I don't think too many politicians will lose votes by attacking lawyers, particularly trial lawyers," said Timothy May, a well-known Democrat at the helm of Patton, Boggs & Blow. "It is one of the safer issues for young Dan Quayle to talk about without enraging many members of the public."

Said one Maryland Republican and longtime trial lawyer, "I thought this was something that was Dan Quayle's plaything. To see the president [take up the issue] makes me very uncomfortable."

Not every Republican agreed. James Cicooni, a former top White House aide and now a partner at Alkin, Gump, Hauer & Feld, defended Bush's stand.

"The administration is not condemning an entire profession, nor is the public," he said. The administration is calling for reforms to stop frivolous lawsuits and cut costs and delays in the court system, he said. It's "challenging us as lawyers to get our own house in order."

The administration's war with the trial bar began more than a year ago when Quayle won some favorable press after going before the American Bar Association to lay out the administration's plan to cut the nation's legal bills. The Republicans were off and running.

The rhetoric has overshadowed the debate over the administration's complex proposals for capping punitive damages and shifting fees to the loser in certain lawsuits—a radical departure from the current system in which each side bears its own legal fees, win or lose.

The Quayle proposals, with a few new twists, are "tort reform" proposals—for years



BY MARTIN HOLT/OWSER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

the stuff of legislative battles pitting business and industry groups, which favor such changes, against consumer advocates and trial lawyers.

But one thing is clear: Republican strategists believe they can score with the voters.

Fred Steeper, a polling adviser to the Bush-Quayle campaign, said he has done polling for insurance companies on tort reform and found that "there's pretty close to a consensus that there are too many fraudulent and frivolous lawsuits," that they're driving up insurance rates and hurting business and that "greedy trial lawyers [are] stimulating" many of those lawsuits.

"We know people perceive there is a real need to do something," he added. "Clinton is very vulnerable on it."

Thanks to a letter from an Arkansas trial lawyer who sent it out in hopes of raising funds for Clinton, Bush last week tied Clinton to the trial lawyer side of the debate. The letter lauded Clinton for dropping some "tort reform" proposals and vetoing another bill after the trial lawyers "got on the horn" with him.

Should trial lawyers "put their money behind Bill Clinton for president?" the letter written by Little Rock lawyer David Williams asked. "Not just yea, but hell, yes."

In response to Bush's attack, Clinton aides said the governor is on the side of consumers and "does not support proposals that pretend to

"reform" lawsuits while actually encouraging dangerous products or marketplace fraud."

In an interview, Williams argued that Bush's use of the letter didn't hurt Clinton a bit, particularly with "Joe Blow on the street. . . . I have not seen any survey that tells me that this is getting [Bush] votes."

And some D.C. trial lawyers agreed. Greta Van Susteren said she does not vote a party line and voted for Bush in 1988. Not this time.

Bush and Quayle "are picking segments of society they think are unpopular and attacking them," she said. "That's not what my clients think. What about the little guy who has a complaint about some product that maimed him? . . . The insurance companies have a much more effective lobby. They have Dan Quayle. My client who is brain-damaged, doesn't."

Democratic political consultant Peter Harris argued that "beating up on trial lawyers" may not be "the smart thing to do."

In referenda on tort reform issues around the country, "people initially come down against trial lawyers," but in the end "average people, blue-collar people . . . would basically rather have trial lawyers there than have to depend on the largess of corporate America."

Some lawyers, who say the Bush-Quayle assault is exaggerated and unfair, still fear that lawyers have left themselves open to such attacks.

Asked about Bush's comments, former D.C. Bar president Paul L. Friedman sent along an article he wrote in 1987. In the article, he attributed the profession's plummeting reputation to law firms paying their most junior lawyers an astronomical \$80,000 a year, lawyers-turned-businessmen focusing too much on money and slow lawyer-discipline systems that sometimes leave the public at the mercy of "the few bad apples in our midst."

It "may be no wonder," he wrote, "that our clients and the public hold lawyers in low esteem."

With Bush and Quayle out there swinging, he worries that the public will not "make distinctions between those that deserve criticism and the vast majority that don't."

Meanwhile, Bush can rest assured he irked lots of lawyers with that tasseled loafer taunt. One influential Republican trial lawyer, a delegate to the convention, said when Bush hit that line, "everybody in my delegation was looking down at my feet."

Hands Off

Independent counsel Lawrence Walsh suffered another setback last week in his 5½-year, \$32 million investigation of the Iran-contra scandal when the trial of his latest quarry, former CIA spy chief Clair E. George, ended in a mistrial.

The jury told U.S. District Judge Royce Lamberth they were deadlocked on all of the counts against George. The mistrial gave new ammunition to conservatives calling for Walsh's head. But they got no encouragement from Vice President Quayle, when he was asked about the mistrial and Walsh's fate.

Quayle said the matter was "in the courts. That's a legal matter. We're totally hands off on that."

Under the independent counsel statute, the attorney general can remove an independent counsel "for good cause," subject to review by the courts.

Judicial Picks

Rumors are flying about who will fill the vacancy on the D.C. Judicial Nominations Commission caused by the death of Thomas A. Duckenfield, who had helped many a minority lawyer ascend to the local bench.

The Hispanic Bar Association last week called on Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly to appoint Mari Carmen Aponte, noting that a Hispanic has never served on the commission.

But there were several other names in the wind: Fred Cooke, Myles Lynk, Pauline Schneider, Grace Speights, Tom Williamson and former judge Iraline Barnes.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Washington area citizens can be proud of their part in the hurry-up hurricane relief effort mounted by WPGC radio and Channel 4 in a matter of hours on Thursday...

By yesterday afternoon, there were 11 big trucks on the road—loaded with bottled water, nonperishable food, hand tools and a few old sandwiches—heading for a rendezvous this a.m. at a mall in Fort Lauderdale, Fla. From there, they'll form up a convoy with trucks from NBC's WTVJ in a similar relief effort that will then head for the hard-hit Homestead area...

So generous was the Washington area response to the WRC-WPGC campaign, American Airlines has already flown down three Safeway truckloads to the Miami airport...

In addition, Giant, Safeway and Hechinger each provided a truck in which supplies were stored against the rain, although none made the trip south...

The convoy south got a big hand at the last minute from the United Parcel Service. So much bottled water was donated by area residents in the brief Thursday-Friday drive that UPS stepped in with eight trucks to help comply with highway weight restrictions. The UPS fleet is on the road today along with one truck each provided by United Van Lines, Interstate Van Lines and Alliance Van Lines...

The effort began with a phone call to the WRC newsroom from WPGC at 11 a.m. on Thursday asking for help in publicizing the radio station's hurricane relief drive, which WPGC planned to announce at 2 that afternoon. Top news executives at Four—Kris Ostrowski and Ed Fishel for two—not only agreed but chimed in with some ideas of their own, and the drive out of Landover Mall began, attracting hundreds of volunteers, including the Prince George's County fire and police units...

At Four, which has shown a nice reticence in promoting its role in the aid effort, the sales and publicity unit went through every possible keepsake around the station—T-shirts, hats, whatever—for use as souvenirs for the volunteers at the mall, but quickly ran out due to the surprising response...

And there were a couple of big trays of sandwiches donated for the volunteers by Bradley Beverage in Bethesda on Friday that were immediately packed, instead, in one of the waiting trucks. They should be pretty ripe by the time they arrive in Homestead this afternoon...

Now This

Is this a Fox Broadcasting town, or what?...

Thursday night, the debut of "Martin," starring Landover's own Martin Lawrence, delivered a 19.4 Nielsen rating and a 31 percent audience share on Channel 5, up from a major 15.9/27 for "The Simpsons" the previous half-hour...

And the debut of "The Heights" (dubbed "The Pits" by entirely too many TV critics) delivered a 11.8/19 from 9 to 10...

In the national Nielsen averages, by comparison, the first-run "Simpsons" did a 10.7/20, "Martin" was a single-digit so-so at 9.5/17, and "The Heights" plunged to the depths at 6.7/12...

Fox researchers, of course, found a "silver lining" for "Martin," pointing out that the show did better than any previous entry following "The Simpsons" and had managed to finish first among adults 18-49 and 18-34 in that timeslot...

CBS researchers got a little overheated themselves Friday, pointing out that CBS's "Bodies of Evidence" Thursday night had achieved "its highest rating ever"—an 11.2/20. The previous record for "Bodies of Evidence" was 11.1/20...

Oh, and we almost forgot! The Disneyland "Classic" pitting Stanford against Texas A&M on Channel 20 averaged a 2.7/6 in the Washington market...

Through tonight only, each national ratings point represents 921,000 TV homes; a local ratings point, 18,199...

Ordinarily, we don't do Radio but three (sometime) TV types will substitute for a vacationing Diane Rehm this week on WAMU-FM's "Diane Rehm Show." Eleanor Clift will anchor today and Thursday; Susan King (actually, she's full-time TV) tomorrow and Wednesday; and Steve Roberts on Friday...

Moving Right Along

Aware that Renee Poussaint is as close to

The Franchise as you care to name at Channel 7, ABC News doesn't want to appear to be making a move against its affiliate here, but there are at least three network shows that have their eyes on Ms. Poussaint, waiting for contract time to come up again (sometime next year)...

Poussaint has a report on incest laws that will be seen in the fall on "PrimeTime Live," which is one of the programs that would be mighty interested in talking to her...

And you thought those sobersides at National Public Radio didn't have a sense of humor and undoubtedly spent even their own free time chiding the rest of us for our shortcomings!...

On Thursday, it was revealed that Nina Totenberg will join NBC News as an analyst on the big news shows while keeping her job as legal affairs correspondent at NPR. Ms. T thus became the latest in a growing list of NPR luminaries who have either elected to moonlight, flat out leave or even take one-year leaves of absence from public radio...

And that prompted NPR producer Art Silverman to distribute a memo Friday announcing that "starting October 1 of this year, Tom Brokaw, Peter Jennings and Dan Rather will be part of a six-host rotation on All Things Considered. They each will continue to provide features and commentary for evening news programs on their respective networks..."

Jennings, on behalf of all three, issued this statement: "This is a great opportunity. Tom, Dan and myself have felt the limitations of TV news for some time now. I know it appears we will be trading in the audience trust we've built over the years for a chance to break into the lucrative public radio field. But this is not the case..."

"I hope," Silverman concluded, "you will all join me in welcoming these three experienced journalists to our radio family. I'm sure you'll all do your best to make them feel at home..."

Besides Totenberg, who will stay with NPR as well as "Inside Washington" while working as a "contributing correspondent" for the major NBC news shows, NPR in recent months has seen Scott Simon leave for NBC and John Hockenberry head for a new first-of-the-year series at ABC...

The NPR alum list also includes CBS's Bob Krulwich, ABC's David Ensor, Jackie Judd and producer Richard Harris; and CBS senior producer Jay Kernis. And, of course, Cokie Roberts, of ABC, preceded Totenberg on the moonlighting list...

The word at NBC News is that Simon—on an unusual one-year leave of absence from NPR while cohosting the weekend "Today" shows—is unhappy and is telling anybody who will listen that he's unhappy, which makes management at "Today" unhappy...

Simon, as promised, is keeping his hand in at NPR—preparing a piece on Susan Sontag for this past weekend's NPR "Weekend Edition"...

Cable News Network says it is maintaining a bureau out of the wreckage of Homestead as the "story shifts to the shortages and the relief efforts"...

The emergency bureau of 20 includes five on-air staffers: Miami bureau chief John Zarella, Bonnie Anderson, Brian Cabell, Brian Jenkins and John Holliman from the Washington bureau...

Money money money money. After a slow start, the PBS August pledge drive, which runs this year from Aug. 22 through Sept. 2, is just about even with last year's pace when the national drive earned about \$16 million. After five nights, PBS stations reported earnings of some \$8.3 million, vs. \$8.6 million at the same period a year ago...

And, through Thursday, Channel 26 had raised \$83,443 toward a goal of \$100,000 during the fund drive...

In a totally related matter, Jonathan C. Abbott has been named to the new post of senior vice president, development and corporate relations, for the Public Broadcasting Service. Abbott was formerly vice president for marketing and development at KQED in San Francisco...

Jon's mandate at PBS comes directly from the work of our Task Force on Funding, "according to PBS president Bruce Christensen. "We must communicate to all who support public television that it is an essential national educational institution. Jon's experience in marketing, research, strategic planning and promotion will greatly enhance the ability of PBS and our member stations to communicate that message..."

He'll be in charge of development, corporate information and conference services...

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

HIGHLIGHTS

- The Orioles and A's on WDCA.
- The conclusion of "Reds" on WJLA.
- The revival of "You Bet Your Life" on WRC.
- And "P.O.V." examines Louisiana politics on WETA.

Sports

Baseball. Baltimore Orioles at Oakland Athletics (Channel 20 at 10 p.m.).

U.S. Open Tennis. First-day highlights from Flushing Meadow, N.Y. (Channel 9, 11:30 p.m.).

Public Broadcasting

Ozone: The Hole Story. An examination of this environmental challenge. One hour (Channel 26, approx. 9).

P.O.V.: The Louisiana Boys: Raised on Politics (Channel 26, approx. 10) is previewed by Ken Ringle on Page B3.

Primetime Movies

Swing Shift (1984). Goldie Hawn is a housewife who works in a factory while her husband is off in World War II (Channel 5 at 8).

The Revenge of Al Capone (1989) (CC) (R). America's most infamous gangster goes up against a federal agent (Channel 4 at 9).

Reds (1981) (CC) (Conclusion). Reed is arrested in Finland after escaping post-revolutionary Russia (Channel 7 at 9).

Series Rebirth

You Bet Your Life (Channel 4 at 7:30) is previewed by Tom Shales on Page B1.

Series

Fresh Prince of Bel-Air (CC) (R). Ashley wants Will to explain to her the facts of life (Channel 4 at 8).

The Young Indiana Jones Chronicles (CC) (R). Indy is second-in-command to lead a

platoon across Africa to pick up a shipment of weapons (Channel 7 at 8).

Evening Shade (CC) (R). Harlan and Ponder have mixed feelings about an old schoolmate's coming back to Evening Shade for his final homecoming (Channel 9 at 8).

Blossom (CC) (R) throws a slumber party and Joey takes out the football coach's daughter (Channel 4, 8:30).

Major Dad (CC) (R) fulfills his dream of performing with the Marine Corps Silent Drill Team (Channel 9, 8:30).

Murphy Brown (CC) (R) invites friends to the country for a relaxing weekend but it turns out to be less than peaceful (Channel 9 at 9).

Designing Women (CC) (R). Anthony is apprehended by security guards at a mall jewelry store, prompting Julia to rally a protest (Channel 9, 9:30).

Northern Exposure (CC) (R). The town prepares for Adam and Eve's wedding day (Channel 9 at 10).

Late Night

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With comedian Paul Rodriguez, musician Herb Alpert and actress Janine Turner (Channel 4, 11:35).

The Arsenio Hall Show (CC) (R). With actor Jean-Claude Van Damme and comedian Larry Miller (Channel 9 at midnight).

Tuesday Morning

Today (CC). With a report on audio books and an interview with actor Tim Robbins (Channel 4 at 7).

Good Morning America (CC). With actress Sarah Jessica Parker (Channel 7 at 7).

CBS This Morning (CC). With a look at fall fashions (Channel 9 at 7).

Key Distinctions Separate Candidates' Economic Plans

By JAMES RISEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—As they embark on a fall campaign in which the economy will probably overshadow all other issues, President Bush and Bill Clinton offer fundamentally different visions of how they would address the nation's economic woes and ensure its long-term prosperity.

In many respects, economists say, the competing agendas are as

NEWS ANALYSIS

noteworthy for what they have in common as for what they do not. Bush and Clinton both endorse market forces as the primary engine of economic growth and acknowledge the need for government fiscal restraint in the face of a record budget deficit. And neither

would necessarily transform the nation's economic landscape over the next four years.

Nonetheless, there are key distinctions in their basic attitudes and strategies regarding the economy. And, faced with the kinds of decisions almost sure to confront the next president, they will probably lead the government in significantly different directions.

Broadly stated, the Bush and Clinton economic programs diverge along the classic lines that have separated Republicans and Democrats for generations.

Bush says he believes that the government should, as much as possible, leave the economy alone to revive and regenerate itself. The primary role of Washington, in his view, should be to use tax incentives to stimulate private-sector behavior but eschew efforts to

Please see PROPOSALS, A12

Continued from A1
channel money to neglected areas or promising new sectors.

Clinton says he sees a more aggressive role for government as a direct instrument of change. Instead of depending on the private-investment decisions of individuals and companies, Clinton would direct federal funds into areas that he believes would strengthen the nation's competitive position over the long run: investments in infrastructure, education and job training.

"The critical difference between them," said Robert Greenstein, director of the private Center on Budget and Policy Priorities in Washington, "comes down to this question: Is the government an obstacle to economic growth or is government an indispensable part of what is needed to obtain faster rates of growth?"

Both candidates would use tax policy to accomplish their goals. Bush has renounced his 1990 deficit-cutting deal with Congress and reaffirmed his support for the supply-side agenda he inherited from Ronald Reagan. He proposes to cut taxes across the board for individuals, lower taxes on corporations and reduce the capital gains tax on profits from stocks, bonds, real estate and other investment assets.

Clinton, like Bush, favors some sort of broad middle-class tax cut to stimulate the economy. But he would raise taxes on the rich, rather than lower them, to help finance the infrastructure improvements and training programs he has proposed.

Their contrasting approaches are evident in other areas of economic policy. Bush, for example, wants to ease the regulatory burden on corporate America and embrace open trade with America's neighbors. Clinton hopes to develop an industrial policy in which the government would help shape U.S. strategy in the intensifying economic competition with Europe and Asia.

Both candidates plainly stated their economic philosophies in their convention acceptance speeches this summer.

"We offer a philosophy that puts faith in the individual not the bureaucracy . . . We start with a simple fact: Government is too big and spends too much," Bush said in Houston.

"If you are sick and tired of a government that doesn't work to create jobs, if you're sick and tired of a tax system that's stacked against you, if you are sick and tired of . . . reduced investments in our future, . . . then join with us," Clinton said in New York.

If the two agendas have a common flaw, economists say, it is their

failure to offer a solid program for reducing the federal deficit, which will reach an estimated \$334 billion this year. The deficit has severely limited the ability of both candidates to offer truly ambitious policy goals that might fully exploit their philosophical differences. And it is the principal problem cited by economists who believe that neither Bush nor Clinton will be able to significantly alter the sluggish pace of the nation's economy in the short run.

A new study by the WEFA Group, a Bala-Cynwyd, Pa., forecasting firm, projects that economic growth will remain restrained during the next four years no matter which man occupies the White House: 2.9% next year under Clinton versus 2.8% under Bush, rising to 3% in 1996 under the Democrats versus 3.1% with the Republicans.

In neither case would the economy grow at anywhere near the rate typically seen during a recovery, the firm says. "We think you would get a little less business investment under Clinton, but neither man will make a big difference," observed Ross DeVol, director of long-term U.S. forecasting for WEFA.

The deficit has made it difficult for both candidates to spell out how they would pay for the programs they have proposed. Both have been accused of fudging many of their basic calculations to avoid the appearance that their plans will worsen the federal debt burden in the short run. And although both have promised to balance the budget by the late 1990s, they have not advocated the kind of sacrifices that would be necessary to bring the deficit under control.

"Bush and Clinton are both offering non-solutions if you are looking for deficit reduction," said Robert Reischauer, director of the Congressional Budget Office.

The Bush Program

Before Bush stepped up to the podium at the Republican Convention in Houston, economic policymaking in his Administration had come to a virtual standstill. Constrained by the deficit and the 1990 budget agreement, the Administration had dithered all year on how best to respond to the stumbling economy.

After enduring months of criticism late last year for failing to take action, the White House introduced a modest package in January: a capital gains tax cut, a tax credit for first-time home buyers, expanded individual retirement accounts, repeal of the luxury tax on boats and other big-ticket pur-

The Economy: Bush vs. Clinton

The WEFA Group, an independent economic forecasting firm in Bala Cynwyd, Pa., projects that in most respects the U.S. economy would perform similarly over the next four years under either Bill Clinton or George Bush. The projections, made earlier this month, do not reflect the impact of such recent proposals as Bush's pledge to seek across-the-board tax cuts if reelected.

	'93	'94	'95	'96
GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT				
(annual growth rate)				
Bush scenario	2.8%	3.1%	2.9%	3.1%
Clinton scenario	2.9%	3.0%	2.8%	3.0%
Current rate: 1.3%				
FEDERAL DEFICIT				
(billions)				
Bush scenario	\$268.0	\$255.2	\$241.3	\$209.0
Clinton scenario	\$249.4	\$236.3	\$216.7	\$178.3
'92 deficit: \$270.5				
INFLATION				
(annual rate)				
Bush scenario	3.5%	3.6%	4.0%	4.1%
Clinton scenario	3.5%	3.6%	4.0%	4.1%
Current rate: 3.0%				
UNEMPLOYMENT				
(average rate)				
Bush scenario	7.4%	6.6%	6.1%	6.1%
Clinton scenario	7.5%	6.6%	6.1%	6.1%
Current rate: 7.4%				

Source: The WEFA Group

chases and a series of business tax incentives. But the program was quickly torpedoed by Congress.

Finally, in Houston, Bush seemed to break out of his funk. Abandoning specifics, he offered a simple, Reagan-style formula that he said he would flesh out with details after his reelection.

On the tax front, Bush sought to re-energize his conservative base of support by calling for an unspecified, across-the-board tax cut and an increase in the personal exemption for individuals. He renewed his old demand that Congress pass a capital gains tax cut, which would primarily benefit businesses and wealthy individuals.

On the spending side, Bush offered to finance his tax cuts with matching spending reductions. He threatened to veto any spending bills that exceed his budget proposals, although economists note that Congress has generally honored the spending caps imposed on domestic programs by the 1990 budget agreement.

In addition, Bush proposed a novel income-tax check-off plan that would enable individual taxpayers to earmark up to 10% of their annual tax payments for reduction of the national debt, which exceeds \$4 trillion.

The cornerstone of Bush's deficit-reduction efforts is a proposed cap on growth of all mandatory "entitlement" programs except Social Security. By 1997, the Administration says, these caps would reduce entitlement spending by \$115 billion a year and produce a balanced budget by 1998.

But Bush has not proposed enough cuts in specific programs to comply with his own spending caps. His latest budget proposal details cuts that would reduce mandatory spending by only \$10 billion by 1997. Although it outlines options for further cuts, including reductions in Medicare benefits, they would produce only \$65 billion in savings by 1997.

Bush's refusal to provide further details has led many economists to dismiss his proposals as little more than campaign rhetoric.

"It really is part of the political theater of the absurd," chided Gary Bass, analyst at OMB Watch, a Washington budget research firm.

The Clinton Plan

Clinton, too, has been accused of failing to back up his own economic plan with substantive details. Even Clinton aides acknowledge that the candidate's 22-page economic manifesto is based on budget figures that do not always add up.

At the heart of his program is a new emphasis on what Clinton calls federal "investment" spending, to improve education and worker training and upgrade the nation's infrastructure. Clinton defines infrastructure to include traditional public works projects such as new roads and bridges and non-traditional programs such as data communications networks and air traffic control systems.

Clinton argues that federal spending on such projects has a tremendous payoff: It can lead to faster economic growth, which in turn boosts tax revenues and helps reduce the budget deficit.

"In the new global economy, every asset except two now move across borders with complete ease," observed Robert Reich, a Clinton adviser and professor at the Kennedy School of Government. "The only two assets which are unique to a national economy are a nation's people and the infrastructure supporting those people. And so the nation gets the most out of investments in those areas."

Clinton believes so strongly in such spending that he appears willing to put the deficit on the back burner. His economic plan, titled "Putting People First," calls for \$220 billion in new investment spending over four years.

Overall, his plan's mix of tax and spending policies, including \$150 billion in new taxes and \$144 billion in spending cuts, would result in a slightly reduced federal deficit. But his program relies heavily on optimistic assumptions for growth.

To many economists, Clinton's plan revives memories of the famous "rosy scenario" of the early Reagan days, when the White House balanced the budget on paper by using wildly inflated growth projections. "Clinton is doing what Reagan did with his growth projections," said Robert McIntyre, director of Citizens for Tax Justice, a Washington tax research group. "It's enough to make you pull your hair out."

Clinton has proposed raising an average of \$20 billion a year by increasing the top income tax rate from 31% to 36% for couples with incomes over \$200,000 and individ-

uals who earn more than \$140,000. He would impose a 10% tax surcharge on income over \$1 million and increase the alternative minimum tax. He hopes to raise \$44 billion over four years by closing tax loopholes for foreign corporations that operate in the United States.

Clinton, like Bush, wants to ease taxes on the middle class. Although he has backed away from a broader tax cut after being criticized for promising more than he could deliver, he is still proposing to cut middle-class taxes by \$60 billion over four years.

On the spending side, Clinton promises to cut \$144 billion in outlays over four years. But his proposal relies heavily on projected savings from vague administrative reforms throughout the bureaucracy and a pledge to eliminate the jobs of 100,000 federal employees.

There are few big spending programs that Clinton shows a willingness to cut deeply. For instance, he calls for only \$16.5 billion in additional cuts in Pentagon spending by 1996, and he would require wealthy Medicare beneficiaries to kick in another \$1 billion a year.

More troubling to outside analysts is Clinton's refusal to provide details on how he would pay for his plans to reform the nation's health care system. Some economists believe he has ignored the potential costs of his proposals in his deficit projections. Although he wants the government to mandate that companies provide basic health care coverage to all their employees, he has denied Republican assertions that the plan would require hundreds of billions of dollars in new payroll taxes or other levies.

"I don't think we should allow candidates to be able to propose something if they can't stand up and say how they will pay for them, and that is Clinton's problem," said Barry Bosworth, an economist at the Brookings Institution in Washington.

But the lack of details should not obscure the basic philosophical differences between the candidates, observers say. In fact, the differences are more striking this year than they were in 1988, when the Democrats, cowed by the Reagan-era economic boom, were fearful of clearly stating an alternative economic agenda.

"I think you have to look at both men in broad philosophical terms; that is the only way the voters can possibly try to distinguish between them," said Martin Feldstein, a Harvard University economist and director of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

"And in those terms, I think there is a big difference."

Gore, in Monterey, Attacks Bush Stance on Environment

■ **Campaign:** The Democrat pledges that a Clinton-Gore Administration would "protect the entire coastline of California" from offshore oil drilling.

By EDWIN CHEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

MONTEREY, Calif.—Beginning a three-day campaign swing in the West, Democratic vice presidential nominee Al Gore Sunday sharply attacked President Bush's environmental record, calling him "a phony environmental President" who would "ravage and exploit the environment."

Addressing issues ranging from the Amazon rain forests to whales, the Tennessee senator also pledged that a Clinton-Gore Administration would "protect the entire coastline of California" from offshore oil drilling.

Gore called for a bold new vision in cleaning up the globe. "We must lead the world in protecting the environment," he said. "If we don't do it, it won't get done."

Gore made his remarks during an hourlong beachfront "town hall" meeting at the Monterey Bay National Marine Sanctuary with about 100 pre-selected area residents. Hundreds more lined the roadside to listen to Gore's message on environmental protection, the subject of his book, "Earth in the Balance."

At the sanctuary, the largest protected marine area in the nation, Gore spoke with fervor when asked about the destruction of rain forests, saying that 1½ acres are being destroyed every second somewhere around the world. Such destruction, Gore added, is leading to a rate of extinction 1,000 times faster than at any other time in the last 65 million years.

At that rate, Gore said, more than half of all species will disappear in the next generation.

"If we have four more years of this song and dance they offer on the environment, and the phony choice they pose between the economy and the environment, then the momentum of this destruction will increase dramatically," he said. "The world needs leadership on this issue, and the United States ought to be providing that leadership."

Earlier in the day, Gore appeared on ABC-TV's "This Week With David Brinkley" and reiterated his support for tougher automobile efficiency standards, saying that a 40 miles-per-gallon Corporate Average Fuel Efficiency target is not unreasonable "over a nine- or 10-year period." The current standard is 27.5 miles-per-gallon.

Gore also disputed claims last week by both Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle that such a standard would cause widespread unemployment in the auto industry. Gore said the search for new technologies could generate "millions" of new jobs and result in a cleaner environment and a healthier citizenry.

Asked about a passage in his book—which has come under heavy GOP attack—in which he reflects on the eventual demise of the smog-emitting internal combustion engine, Gore replied:

"I used that as an example of the scale of changes which we ought to contemplate over the next quarter-century."

He added: "I'm sure there were people in the aircraft industry who said: 'Get rid of propellers? These jets will never work!' And yet over a 25-year period, we saw a complete change in the technology."

Clinton TV Ads Include Pledge of 8 Million Jobs

By CATHLEEN DECKER
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—Mixing the beaming faces of small-town children, none-too-subtle reassurances about his Arkansas record and a vow to create 8 million new jobs in the next four years, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton today will launch his first television advertisements of the 1992 general election campaign.

The new strategy constitutes an attempt by Clinton to regain traction after weeks in which the candidate has been put on the defensive by relentless criticism from President Bush and his Republican surrogates.

"This ad puts out a positive message about Bill Clinton, about Bill Clinton's campaign, about his record in Arkansas and about his plans for the United States," the campaign's communications director, George Stephanopoulos, said in Little Rock Sunday. "It's an important message to get out."

The commercials, which will run in several states but not in California, are meant to persuade voters that Clinton has helped his small, economically troubled state make progress. Much of the Republican assault recently has centered on Arkansas' economic conditions.

In comparing Clinton's stewardship of his state and Bush's leadership of the nation, the advertisements suggest a somewhat rosier picture of Arkansas than even Clinton normally presents.

"Arkansas now leads the nation in job growth," the ad says. "Incomes are rising at twice the national rate. Seventeen thousand people moved from welfare to work. That's progress, and that's what we need now. Change. Real solutions."

The jobs pledge was a first for Clinton. **Please see CLINTON, A4**



Gov. Bill Clinton, his daughter, Chelsea, and his wife, Hillary, leave church after services in Little Rock. Reuters

CLINTON: Ads Seek to Bolster Image

Continued from A1

Clinton, who has vowed to regenerate the American economy through investment programs that would create jobs—but has not, until now, predicted how many.

Stephanopoulos, who unveiled the commercials at the campaign's national headquarters here, said the jobs figure would derive from Clinton's plans to convert defense savings to domestic programs, to require companies to train workers and to install an investment tax credit for American corporations.

"If you implement Bill Clinton's economic plan and if we have the kind of recovery that that program can create, 8 million jobs is a very reasonable projection," he said.

The Bush campaign ridiculed Clinton's pledge, with spokeswoman Torie Clarke saying the gesture "flies in the face of reality."

"He has absolutely promised \$150 billion in new taxes and \$220 billion in new additional government spending, which will wipe out jobs rather than create them," she said.

Specific promises like the one in the ad always carry risk, as Clinton well knows: He has been hammering Bush for reneging on his 1988 promise to create 30 million jobs over eight years.

Nevertheless, the campaign appeared to have decided to hit the airwaves in the last days of summer, when attention on politics normally takes a back seat to vacations, to regain its footing.

Although he still leads Bush in national polls, Clinton's margin has shrunk since before the Republican Convention. And the Democratic campaign has shown signs of slipping from the aggressive and focused stance it projected after its July convention.

Last week, for example, Clinton's pro-active message was limited to a fuzzy contention that he represents a "can do" activism, while Bush represents a "can't do" status quo. But the framework was filled out more with stories of the suffering Americans he had met than with a sharpened comparison of Clinton and Bush.

Altogether, the candidate has spent much of his recent time on the defensive.

In Michigan, the President recently scored Clinton for supporting tougher fuel efficiency standards for automobiles, contending that the result would be layoffs in the auto industry. Clinton softened his advocacy of the fuel standards by saying he would be "flexible."

Vice President Dan Quayle has launched several wholesale attacks on Clinton's economic plan and his governorship of Arkansas. On Sunday he said the Democrat's proposals for the nation would require vast tax increases.

Quayle, interviewed on CBS's "Face The Nation," maintained that "Bill Clinton feels that you create more jobs by raising taxes."

On Sunday, as he left church in Little Rock, Clinton again defended his record.

"Bush and Quayle signed the second-biggest tax increase in history. Arkansas has the second-lowest tax burden in the country," said Clinton, who had no public appearances on Sunday.

Neither did President Bush, who was at Camp David, Md.

The footage of the new Clinton ad was largely shot on the Middle America bus tours the candidate and his running mate, Tennessee Sen. Al Gore, have taken since the Democratic Convention. Included are portraits of flag-waving supporters, apple-cheeked children and a tractor bedecked with a Clinton for President banner.

The Arkansas governor's campaign was coy about exactly where it would air—other than to say "several" states, but not California.

"You'll find out on your own," Stephanopoulos said, adding later that the Clinton team did not want to signal its intentions to Bush.

California was exempted, the campaign aide suggested, because Clinton currently holds a comfortable lead there.

"You go to states where you know you are going to have to play hard the whole way," he said. "This is just a first buy. This is by no means an indication of where we're going to play exclusively."

Los Angeles Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

WORLD

U.S. Sees Signs of Iraqi Action Against Shiites

■ **Persian Gulf:** Baghdad has not challenged an allied ban on air traffic. But a ground offensive may be near.

By NORMAN KEMPSTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Although Iraq has not challenged the four-day-old ban on the use of its aircraft in the southern part of the country, there are indications that Saddam Hussein's regime is readying a new ground offensive against rebellious Shiite Muslims in the area, a top U.S. official said Sunday.

"There are a couple of divisions in the south that have moved out of their garrisons, and there have been signs of preparation for another ground offensive for several weeks now," White House National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft said on the NBC-TV program "Meet the Press."

Scowcroft left little doubt that Washington would react forcefully to any new Iraqi attacks against the mainly Shiite population of the south. "I wouldn't want to say exactly what we would do, but I think Saddam ought to take the prospect very seriously," he said.

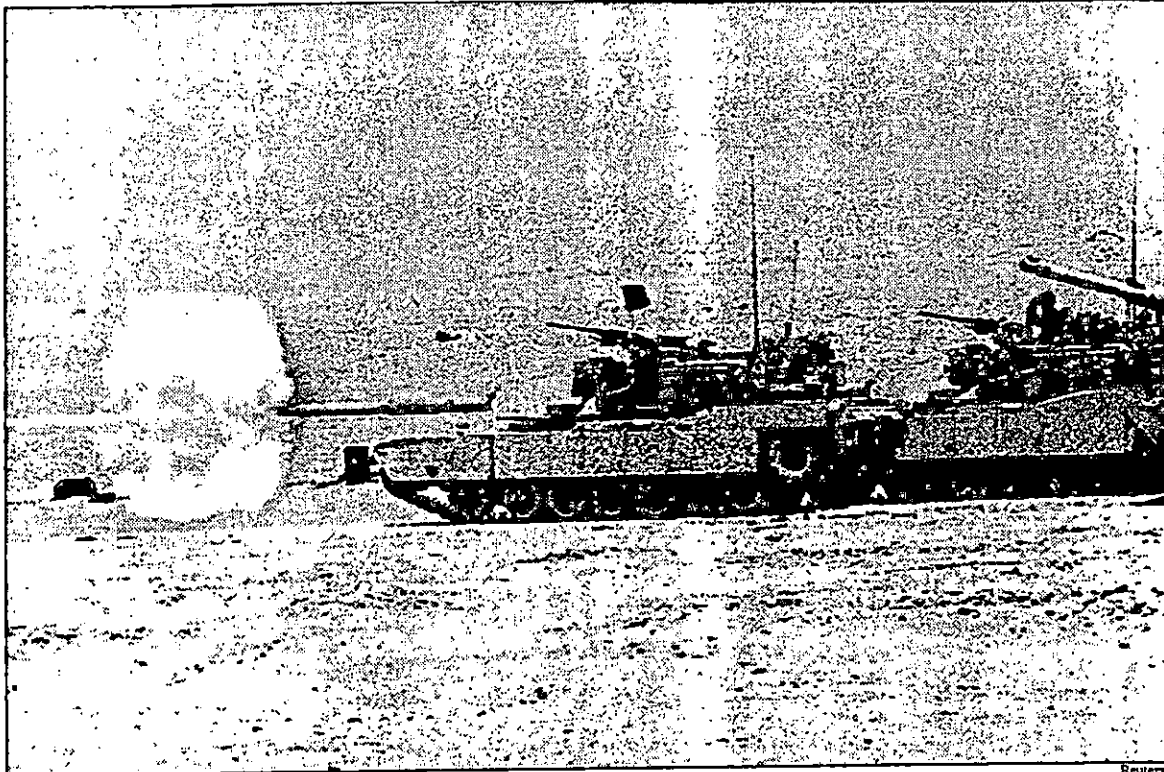
In Baghdad, Hussein vowed to resist what he called U.S. efforts to partition the Arab world and seize control of Middle East oil supplies. But he also indicated that he is in no hurry to provoke a showdown with the militarily more powerful Western nations.

"The leadership is determined to reject the bold aggression and confront it with all means available and on all levels," the official Iraqi News Agency quoted Hussein as saying.

"We will not be deceived by the slogans they have raised justifying their ban on flights in southern and northern Iraq [where a similar "no-fly" zone has been in effect for months]," Hussein said in a speech read for him by an announcer on Iraqi television and radio. "These slogans are a conspiracy to eliminate Iraq's historical role in [the Arab world] and partition the region to seize control over its oil wealth."

But he also counseled caution.

"I realize that the young among you can't stand this aggressive and infidel act and are burning with wrath, wanting to respond," he said. "I don't want to hide that we [leaders] like you have the same feelings, but we in the leadership resort to patience, which God wants."



Tank-equipped American soldiers from Ft. Hood, Texas, carry out live-fire exercise in Kuwaiti desert not far from the Iraq border.

In a warning directed at Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, Hussein said, "Any country in the region that provides facilities to the forces of aggression will alone shoulder the responsibility toward its people and toward God and bear the consequences of such an unforgivable action."

Iraq has done nothing, so far, to challenge the exclusion zone that was imposed Thursday by the United States, Britain and France. The allied nations said they would shoot down any Iraqi aircraft in the zone to enforce a U.N. Security Council resolution forbidding Iraqi oppression against the mainly Shiite population in the region bordering Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

Lt. Gen. Michael Nelson, commander of the Western military operation, told reporters aboard the Navy's Persian Gulf flagship that Iraq seemed to be complying with the "no-fly" orders, regardless of how much the country's leadership might resent them. But he said Iraqi action on the ground was less predictable.

"All that I have seen has been pretty quiet, but it would be wrong for me to say that's a final action," Nelson said, according to a Reuters news agency dispatch from the LaSalle.

Nelson said the intensity of allied air patrols may be reduced if the situation remains calm.

"If things remain pretty smooth, as they have been, we don't have to keep a high pace, but when and how much [patrols may be reduced] is yet to be determined," he said.

Meanwhile, U.N. weapons inspectors prepared to leave Bahrain on Sunday to resume their investigation of Iraq's nuclear arms potential. The visit, scheduled to begin today in Baghdad, is the first since the air exclusion zone was imposed.

Iraqi officials have hinted that they may refuse to cooperate with the weapons inspectors or with humanitarian aid teams as a response to the "no-fly" zone. But U.N. officials said they will go ahead as sched-

uled with the inspection, which is expected to be completed by Sept. 7.

Scowcroft speculated that Hussein felt compelled to harden his response to the United States and its allies in an attempt to reassert his authority after putting down a coup plot by Iraqi military leaders earlier this summer. Before the coup was uncovered, Scowcroft said, Hussein had "made a great show of complying with the U.N. [resolutions] sort of across the board . . . in hopes that the sanctions would be lifted."

But after the coup plot, Hussein "turned strongly negative" toward the U.N. process.

Scowcroft provided little information about the coup. But senior officials have said that it originated in the elite Republican Guards and apparently failed because informants infiltrated the ranks of the conspirators.

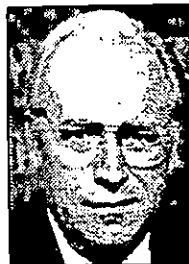
The officials said that a number of generals were executed in the aftermath of the abortive putsch.

WASHINGTON INSIGHT

NO RUSH: It appears a void will remain in the top ranks of the nation's financial regulators until after the November election, and one of those hung up by the intrusion of partisan politics is James Gilleran, the California banking superintendent. . . . Gilleran's nomination by the Bush Administration to become comptroller of the currency is pending before the Senate Banking Committee. But the panel's chairman, Democrat Donald W. Riegle Jr. of Michigan, has decided not to act on it in hopes that his party will control the White House come next January—and thus pick its own person for the post. . . . For the same reason, a permanent successor won't be chosen before next year for the late William Taylor, who headed the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp.

□

NO SHOWS: Although public statements by the Bush Administration on the "no-fly" zone declared over southern Iraq last week suggested a united front, top defense officials privately tell a different story. Pentagon officials indicate that the military had deep reservations about the new policy of protecting Iraqi Shiites, fearing it could drag U.S. forces into a no-win civil war in Iraq. . . . The operation's limited nature was the result of those concerns, officials said. They add that for the observant, there was a clear clue of the Pentagon's position when the new policy was announced. In all past major military steps taken by the Administration, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and Gen. Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, appeared publicly to explain and defend the action. Last week, however, both were out of town on vacation—Powell visiting family and friends in New York and Cheney on a fishing trip in the West. . . . Even ubiquitous Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams was unavailable for his spin on the matter. He was backpacking in the Rockies.



Dick Cheney

□

NAME GAME: The code name for the operation to enforce the "no-fly" zone in southern Iraq had been one of Washington's most tightly guarded secrets. Reporters tried in vain to pry it out of officials, but it was left to President Bush to announce the winner: "Southern Watch." Among the other titles considered but quickly rejected: "Southern Comfort."

□

MEMO FLAP: Politics may be Washington's lifeblood, but the chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, Rep. John D. Dingell, is insisting that proprieties be maintained. The Michigan Democrat is irate over White House memoranda supporting President Bush's reelection that recently were circulated to Department of Energy employees. . . . Dingell is demanding an investigation by the General Accounting Office into the incident. The material, which included White House-approved talking points on the economy and referred critically to Democratic nominee Bill Clinton, were circulated to DOE employees earlier this month by Ann W. Lavin, director of the department's executive secretariat. Dingell contends that the memos were "unabashedly political documents," and that their circulation may be a violation of the Hatch Act, which prohibits partisan political activity by federal employees. . . . A DOE spokesman said Dingell's complaint has been referred to the department's lawyers. But the congressman probably shouldn't get his hopes up. Noting that the documents were sent to the agency by the White House, the spokesman said he saw no reason why "their further distribution would be a violation of anything."

—From The Times' Washington staff

A4 MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Comment

ON THE NATION

Candidates of a 'Less-God' Persuasion

*Democrats may not be
godless, but casual
ambivalence about the
deity also rates a 'no' vote.*

BY CAL THOMAS

Bill Clinton was right last week when he attacked Republicans for suggesting "that Democrats are somehow godless." Clinton was reacting to a speech by President Bush in which Bush said that in the Democrats' platform they "left out three simple letters: G-O-D."

Neither party has a monopoly on righteousness or God, but whether a party or an individual is godless or godly is not the issue. Virtually every member of Congress lists something under "religion" in his biography. If someone is an atheist or does not practice the religion of his youth, he's not about to advertise it lest a potential opponent use it against him.

Instead of godless, let's invent a new word: *less-God*.

Less-God people want credit for believing in the deity while they simultaneously keep him in a box, letting him out only on Sunday morning and never allowing him to have an impact on their political world view or their personal lives between Sundays.

A Gallup Poll found that only 10% of Americans have "transforming faith," meaning faith that makes a discernible difference in their lives. Most of the rest are the less-God types, who more or less believe in God but don't think he has much to say about modern society.

Bill Clinton, who appears to be a less-God politician, has said that his faith is a private matter and that

**'Less-God candidates
believe in God as one might
believe in baseball. They
take from God [only] what
is generally acceptable to
the public.'**

where he comes from, most people feel the same. Actually, Southern Baptists are the most evangelical of the denominations, believing that their faith should be shared with everyone. Former President Jimmy Carter once shared his with the late South Korean President Park Chung Hee and was criticized by the New York Times, which claimed that Carter was implying that Buddhism is an inferior religion.

Most journalists and other cultural elitists don't want to talk about such things. They prefer more familiar ground, such as the economy. But average Americans understand the importance of an issue like this. They know that it makes a difference how seriously a person takes the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount, because where a person stands on social issues is key to understanding a candidate's total belief system.

If some candidates view law and politics as merely instruments to be used to gratify short-term desires and not processes by which we conform people to a standard that defines right and wrong, then we know something important about the thinking of those who would lead us. This is not trivial or a "distraction," as columnist David Broder called it. It is fundamental.

Less-God candidates believe in God as one might believe in baseball. They take from God what is generally acceptable to the public but ignore the things that are controversial. For too many conservatives, this would include a failure to help the poor, the unemployed and the homeless and an insensitivity to civil rights. For too many liberals, the list includes abortion, homosexual practice and excessive taxing and spending.

Neither party has an exclusive claim on God's allegiance (or vote), but the Democrats seem to have attracted more less-God types to their leadership than the Republicans. This time we have Bill Clinton and Al Gore, less-God candidates from the liberal (they call it "moderate") wing of the Southern Baptist denomination. In 1988, it was Michael Dukakis who sought religious benefits from his association with the Greek Orthodox Church, until some leaders of that denomination criticized him for his positions on social issues such as abortion.

So while Republicans ought not to suggest that they are the sole incarnation of righteousness and that God is uniquely on their side, they might wish to explore the less-God idea, not only in the Democratic Party, but within their own ranks. It's an issue large numbers of Americans understand quite well.

Cal Thomas writes a syndicated column in Washington.

A10 MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Japan's Good News, Bad News Bears

Economic moves, scandals spell uncertainty

Whenver it comes to economic initiatives, Japan moves with a dazzling speed that stands in sharp contrast to its fumbling approach to foreign-policy issues. That was most assuredly the case last Friday when Tokyo unveiled a record \$85-billion spending package that should help restore confidence in a battered financial system engulfed in its worst crisis since World War II.

Ever pragmatic, Tokyo included something for everyone, even foreigners. The hodgepodge of economic initiatives includes billions in new public spending, millions for government procurement of goods from abroad and funds for low-interest loans, even for foreign companies. The spending should help boost Japanese domestic demand for imports.

That's good news for the United States and Japan's other trading partners, which have long been urging Japan to buy more from other nations instead of just exporting goods at a furious rate. While that won't make a big difference in the trade deficit, it will help integrate Tokyo into the world economy.

"The early implementation of this comprehensive program can make an important contribution to increasing world growth and strengthening economic recovery," Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady said in Washington.

Just two years ago, Tokyo had engineered a slowdown to cool down an overheated economy. But the move to deflate the so-called bubble economy turned into a bust. Asset values have plummeted, as have stock prices on the Tokyo market, and some banks are on shaky ground.

The economic initiatives toward correcting this include a still-sketchy proposal to set up a corporation that

would rescue ailing banks from bad debts, which are estimated to range from \$79 billion to \$550 billion. The action would be something akin to the U.S. savings and loan bailout.

The Japanese Cabinet adopted a fiscal package based on proposals offered by the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. The goal is to boost economic growth beyond the current 2%, which is short of the 3.5% target set by Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa in a move to help pull other nations out of recession. Still, some growth is better than none.

Besides the economy, the LDP's other preoccupation is the seemingly endless bribery and influence peddling scandals that continue to dog the party. The 77-year-old kingpin of the LDP, Shin Kanemaru, resigned as party vice president last week, becoming the latest casualty. Kanemaru stepped down admitting that he accepted \$4 million from the head of Sagawa Kybun, a Kyoto trucking company tied to organized crime. He also said he would resign as the head of the LDP's biggest faction.



Associated Press

Shin Kanemaru

Kanemaru's real power has long been in facile deal-making behind the scenes. He orchestrated the prime ministerships of Miyazawa and Toshiaki Kaifu. Not surprisingly, Miyazawa reluctantly accepted Kanemaru's resignation. But the old powerbroker is not expected to be the last to fall in this latest scandal. Miyazawa's own future may depend on who else is implicated.

The LDP's grip on political power in Japan has endured despite past episodes of corruption. This time may be no different. But if Kanemaru's fall loosens his grip on the party, the United States could encounter a different Japan, one less willing to go along to get along.

Accommodating Without Bursting

Orange County is getting a lot of attention this year as a national proving ground of Republican insurgency. First Lady Barbara Bush got a firsthand glimpse last week when GOP abortion rights activists demonstrated at the opening of a campaign headquarters in Irvine. And squabbling prominent local Republicans have been warring on national TV. In showing the nation a few cracks in the armor, the Orange County GOP, as a microcosm of the national GOP, is beginning to resemble what people usually expect of Democrats.

At the heart of this debate is how big the GOP "tent" can be in one of its most important bastions. In the past, the local party hasn't brooked many differences, but today the party finds itself under more pressure to accommodate diversity. Orange County showcases this Manichean struggle.

The abortion issue, so divisive in the nation at large, as surely divides local Republicans. Last week, the

nomination of one Orange County Republican unhappy with the party's staunch anti-abortion line sailed unanimously through a state Senate Committee reviewing her gubernatorial appointment. Political consultant Eileen Padberg obviously was qualified for the State Commission on the Status of Women. But that didn't deter Rep. Robert K. Dornan (R-Garden Grove), still smarting from a brutal primary campaign challenge that was managed by Padberg. He opposed her nomination in a bitterly worded letter to the committee.

Other restless Republicans have found themselves similarly scorned. Prominent legislators hurled brickbats at home developer Kathryn Thompson and Western Digital Corp. Chairman Roger W. Johnson after they broke ranks with their party to support Bill Clinton. Thompson talked of hearing from other Republicans "afraid to say anything . . . afraid they're going to be socially black-

balled." But Thompson and her husband, Lincoln Club Chairman Gus Owen, have shown how many ideas can fit under one roof: She has defected to Clinton, while he supports President Bush enthusiastically.

Clearly, the Big Tent philosophy of Republicans, straining at the national level, is busting a few seams in Orange County. But whatever the differences—on abortion rights or on the economy—there is a range of opinion within the dominant political party of a county seen as synonymous with Republicanism.

While nobody would suggest seriously that the Republicans won't continue their dominance in Orange County, the Big Tent question is not so likely to go away, either. How Orange County handles the stretching necessary to come up with a "tent" broad enough to accommodate a range of GOP viewpoints is a maneuver that will be watched carefully by Republicans nationwide.

LOS ANGELES TIMES / WASHINGTON EDITION

COLUMN LEFT/
RUTH ROSEN

Will Congress Leave Women in the Lurch?

■ If the Democrats put the Freedom of Choice Act to a vote before the election, they will earn the voters' trust.

At a press conference on Dec. 12, 1988, President Bush expressed this strong conviction: "Well, it appear [sic] to be a double standard to some, but I—that's my position, and it's—we don't have the time to philosophically discuss it here, but . . . we're going to opt on the side of life. And that is—that is the—that really is the underlying part of this for me. You know, I mentioned—and with really from the heart—this concept of going across the river to this little church and watching one of our children—adopted kid—be baptized. And that made for me—and it was very emotional for me. It helped me in reaching a very personal view of this question. And I don't know."

Now we can see what he meant. When asked how they would handle the hypothetical case of a child's pregnancy, both President Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle revealed that *Roe vs. Wade* would rule in their homes. As the President said, "Who else can make the choice?" But the privilege of choice is apparently reserved for the female relatives of men in high places. For even as they spoke, the Republican National Platform Committee reaffirmed their party's absolute opposition to abortion—even in the case of incest and rape—and their intention to outlaw it through a constitutional amendment.

Such rank hypocrisy must not stand. The Democrats have a rare opportunity to demonstrate the class privilege behind the Republicans' unprincipled opposition to abortion. It is not for any old life that they are pro; it is the life of the soon-to-be well-born.

But the Democrats, instead of seizing the moment, are dithering over whether to put the Freedom of Choice Act to a vote. They worry that opponents will burden it with amendments. I say let every member of Congress be counted, now, before the election. At their convention, the Democrats vowed to protect women's reproductive choices. Now they have an opportunity to demonstrate that commitment. Even if they cannot muster the votes to override President Bush's expected veto, Democrats should go on record, before the election, to prove their credibility and earn voters' trust.

This is vital legislation. The Supreme Court's *Casey* decision permits states to place undue burdens on rural, poor and

'The Democrats have a rare opportunity to demonstrate the class privilege behind the Republicans' unprincipled opposition to abortion.'

young women, many of whom now find abortion inaccessible. It is only a matter of time before more court decisions whittle away the reproductive freedoms of women.

There is more at stake than women's safety and freedom, though one might think that reason enough. Every day brings fresh evidence that the politics of abortion hobbles medical research and clinical practice. President Bush's anti-abortion stand, for example, restricts the use of fetal tissue for research for Alzheimer's disease and other illnesses. Politics, not scientific judgment, influenced the Food and Drug Administration's ban on the French drug RU486. In a shocking breach of freedom of speech, the Bush Administration gagged family planners and outlawed their right to discuss abortion with patients at federally funded clinics.

The Freedom of Choice Act won't stop the raging debate over abortion. Nor will it keep states from passing laws regulating minors' access or public funding of abortions. But it will settle one of the most bitter controversies in American politics. If passed, it will take abortion out of the hands of the Supreme Court, codify the principles set forth by *Roe vs. Wade* in 1973 and ensure for all American women, not just the relatives of privileged Republicans, the right to choose an abortion.

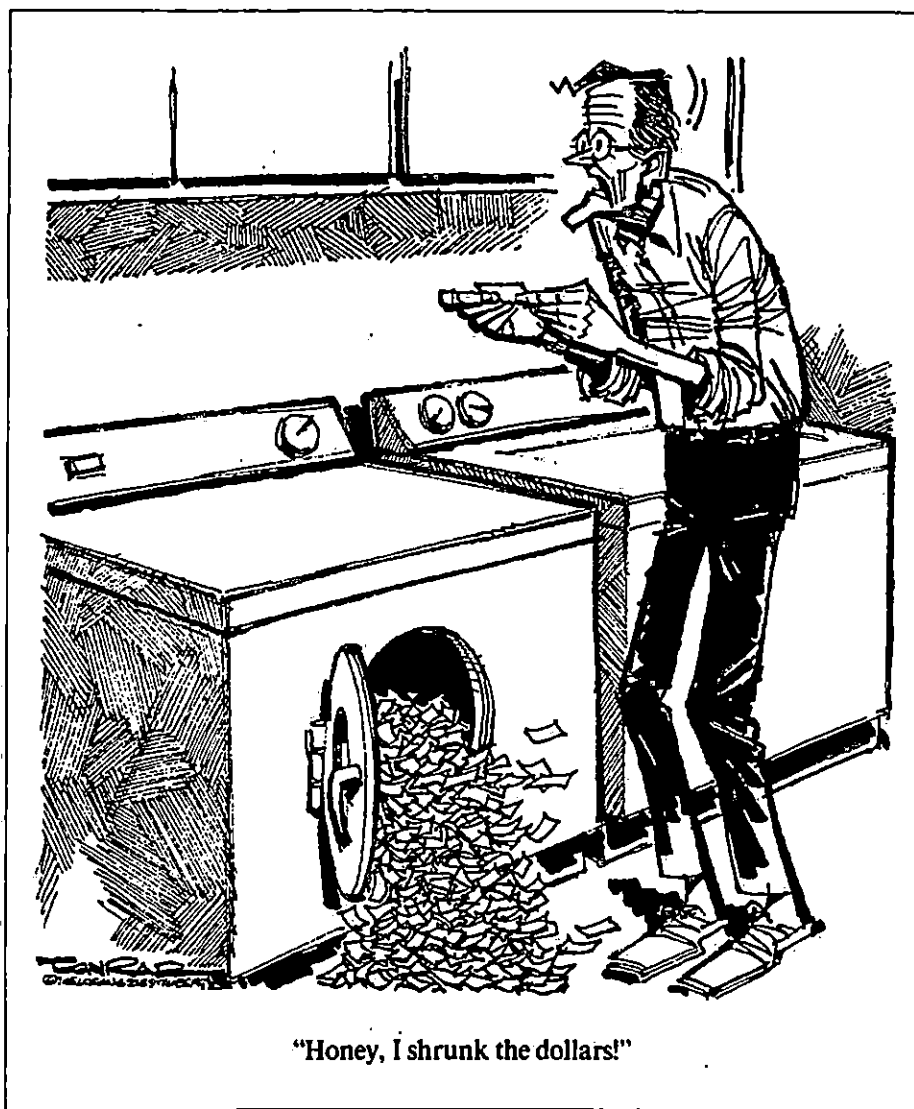
Democrats have, to put it politely, an unimpressive record when it comes to protecting women's rights. Now is the time for them to find the courage they couldn't summon when they confirmed Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court. Before the November election, they must pass the Freedom of Choice Act. Those who stall or sabotage the bill will not be able to hide, and they will face a political revenge that they richly deserve.

Ruth Rosen, a professor of history at UC Davis, writes regularly on political culture.

To Our Contributors

The Times welcomes unsolicited manuscripts for possible publication on the Op-Ed Page. But because of the volume of submissions, unpublished manuscripts will not be returned unless accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Commentary



Somalia is not alone in fighting famine

Millions more are starving elsewhere in Africa due to drought and civil wars.

When U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali recently characterized the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia as "the rich man's war," he caused a furor in Western diplomatic circles. While such a description clearly belittles the terrible fratricide in the former Yugoslav states — more than 15,000 have died in the past year — Boutros-Ghali's point is well taken:

With all eyes on the conflicts in Eastern Europe, death and destruction of even greater magnitude in Africa have been all but ignored.

The secretary-general specifically mentioned the civil war and desperate famine in Somalia, which have already killed and maimed

more than 100,000 people and produced 2.5 million refugees. It is estimated that one-third of Somalia's 4.5 million to 6 million people will die within the next six months if emergency food supplies do not reach that country soon.

In neighboring Sudan, nearly a decade of civil war has created 4 million refugees.

The drought that has swept across eastern Africa, affecting Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya and the Sudan, has only compounded the region's problems.

In contrast to the Ethiopian famine of 1984-85, there has been no worldwide mobilization of resources, no Live Aid concerts to publicize the plight of the victims.

The industrialized North, we are told, has been struck by "famine fatigue."

Boutros-Ghali might equally have mentioned the devastating drought in southern Africa, where 10 countries with a total population of more than 120 million are threatened by the worst famine ever recorded in the region.

The drought has resulted in starvation conditions in Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The latter is normally a food exporter.

Even South Africa, the region's industrial powerhouse, has been severely affected by the drought.

Western sources indicate that 18 million people in the region are in immediate danger of starvation unless relief is supplied soon.

The famine in Mozambique has been exacerbated by a decade-long war against the government by Renamo, a loosely organized collection of guerrilla bands historically backed by South Afri-

ca and right-wing organizations in the United States.

In order to undermine popular support for the government, Renamo has kidnapped, mutilated and killed thousands of Mozambican peasants and destroyed more than one-third of the country's health-care posts and schools, 1,300 trucks, tractors and buses, 164 locomotives and 352 railway cars.

Renamo bandits have systematically blown up railway lines and roads, preventing the transport of food to drought-stricken parts of the country.

More than 1 million Mozambicans have died as a direct result of Renamo's destruction of crops and transport lines as well as outright terror.

More than 4 million people — one-quarter of the population — have been displaced from their homes and fields as a result of Renamo's tactics.

So far, the response of the Northern industrialized nations to the African crisis has been less than adequate.

Earlier this summer, donors at a Geneva conference pledged \$526 million to drought victims in southern Africa. However, according to the United Nations, that figure represents only 60% of the estimated need.

Although the United States, the European Community, Scandinavian countries and Japan have been the largest donors, southern Africa is clearly not on their priority list.

A similar aid appeal for the Horn of Africa, including Somalia, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Djibouti and the territory of Eritrea, has produced less than half the needed \$1.5 billion.

Americans can do something to help:

► Non-governmental organizations such as CARE, Africare, Save the Children and the Red Cross welcome contributions to their famine-relief efforts.

► Citizens should urge their members of the House and Senate to increase funding for both the Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance and the regionally run Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference, which are engaged in food supply and transport operations.

► Congress also should be encouraged to increase funding for emergency food aid from U.S. agricultural surpluses.

We need to demonstrate that we have not been desensitized by so much death and destruction, that we value black lives as much as white, poor lives as well as rich.

We must respond to Africa's desperate needs.

Elizabeth Schmidt, assistant professor of history at Loyola College in Maryland at Baltimore, is Maryland and research co-chair of the Association of Concerned Africa Scholars. She has lived in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Guinea.

► Aid for Somalia, 5A



By Elizabeth Schmidt, an African studies scholar at Loyola College in Maryland, Baltimore.

FIGHTING FAMINE

'Any relief effort should not just lead to better-fed corpses.'

— Adam Siegel

Send the Marines to save Somalia

Relief flights are not enough. Fighting starvation and anarchy requires armed force — and a buyback of Somali weapons.

A few simple orders from President Bush, deploying a nearby U.S. military force, could save a nation from extinction. Unless the world acts swiftly and decisively, Somalia might starve its way off the face of the Earth.

With anarchy aggravating famine, to relieve the Somali disaster requires not only food supplies. Any relief effort should have a long-term solution at its core — not just lead to better-fed corpses.

A solution must meet three sufficiency tests:

► **Force:** Little more than armed gangs, the various armed factions in Somalia are dangerous only to lightly armed or unarmed relief efforts. A modern combatant force, with armored vehicles and air cover, would either cow or overwhelm any potential resistance to relief operations.

► **Food:** Food is presently Somalia's currency. Food means power for the armed gangs. Thus, they exacerbate food shortages and increase the likelihood of mass starvation. If abundantly available, food's utility as a currency of power and gang interest in interfering with its distribution would diminish (if not end).

► **Funding:** Normal relief operations cost money for transport, personnel and food. Somalia is not a "normal" relief effort and requires funding for a fourth task:

Somalia resembles anarchy as much as civil war. While food supplies would alleviate the immediate mass suffering, they hold little promise for a long-term solution. Rather than a chicken in every pot, Somalis have a gun for almost every hand. To restore civil order, these weapons need to go. As unlikely as it sounds, in Somalia the United Nations could simply buy these weapons.

Buying the weaponry would

serve multiple purposes, from lowering Somalis' abilities to interfere with relief efforts to hastening the time when U.N. and other outside military forces could leave without risking a resumed civil war. The \$100 million to \$200 million necessary to buy most Somalis' weapons also would stimulate commercial activity in the Somali economy.

U.S. Air Force planes are starting to fly in relief supplies. Although commendable, such flights are marginally effective and very expensive. (Imagine trying to feed the population of metropolitan Baltimore and Washington by air.) Rather than photogenic half-measures taken with images of the Berlin airlift in mind, the United States should seek to solve the crisis. Part of that solution involves available U.S. Navy and Marine Corps units.

Marine expeditionary units aboard amphibious ships are in both the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. Both forces would take about the same time to arrive off Somalia's capital, Mogadishu, but Bosnia's own hell makes the Mediterranean unit unavailable.

The Navy/Marine team currently in the Northern Persian Gulf, however, could arrive off Mogadishu in under eight days. The expeditionary unit's 2,000 Marines could provide the sort of overwhelming force necessary to open up Mogadishu to unimpeded relief operations. It seems unlikely that any Somali would mount serious opposition to the Marines.

Navy/Marine units bring



By Adam Siegel, a military crisis-response analyst.



TINY VICTIM: A 2-year-old is one of the millions suffering famine.

many capabilities beyond "mere" force to make them the force of choice. These include the significant command, communications and control capabilities of the command ship, USS Tarawa. Amphibious ships also have extensive medical facilities and berthing for relief operation personnel.

The force carries with it significant transportation, engineering and cargo-handling capabilities, including Marine helicopters to move relief personnel (whether military or civilian) and Navy landing craft to move supplies ashore (whether in harbors or across remote beaches).

The Navy/Marine units are, of course, highly mobile. As necessary, parts of the force could move between areas of the Somali coast to insert forces

and support relief efforts. No one airport or city would tie down the relief operation.

The USA need not act alone. France and Italy, among others, might join us to help save Somalia from its present great tragedy. Thus, the Marines would provide the tip of the iceberg for an international solution. If President Bush acts, the United States could show that there really is a "New World Order."

Adam Siegel works for the Center for Naval Analyses in Alexandria, Va., and is a doctoral candidate at the University of Illinois. He was a civilian member of a Naval command unit aboard USS Tarawa in the Persian Gulf during Operation Desert Storm. The views expressed above are his own.

Private aid floods Florida as officials point fingers

On another subject, USA TODAY says the tragedy of Hurricane Andrew proves Americans do care.

Disaster brings out the best in people. Images of dazed Floridians left homeless, hungry and hopeless by Hurricane

Andrew, and the destruction the storm left in Louisiana, touched hearts across the USA.

While President Bush and Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles wasted time blaming each other for delays in federal help, private volunteers already were on the job.

A convoy of food and clothing was organized in Maine Township, Ill., and six trucks from Narbeth, Pa., were to arrive in Florida this morning. In Michigan, Chrysler and General Motors are match-

ing employee contributions to hurricane victims. And donated disposable medical supplies were trucked into Louisiana from Little Rock, Ark.

Who says Americans don't care and won't get involved? Look at Florida's highways, clogged with volunteers and donated supplies — a spontaneous outpouring of love and compassion.

Unfortunately, some donations have been wasted, waiting to be distributed.

Instead of blaming each other for delays, public officials should find ways to ensure that assistance and donations arrive where they are needed when they are needed. People should be able to learn how they can help by calling a central telephone number.

The greatest need now is money.

To help, contact local relief agencies like the Red Cross or Salvation Army, religious or public service groups.

They've made the difference while the government stumbled into action.

Andrew's toll

► 33 dead in Florida, Louisiana and the Bahamas.

► 180,000 left homeless in Florida.

► 80,000 homes destroyed in Florida, 8,000 damaged or destroyed in Louisiana.

Source: Wire services

► Life after Andrew, 1A, 1B

COMMENT

Bill Clinton's black-vote high-wire act

Can he court Reagan Democrats and a big black turnout?

Mike Espy says his friend Bill Clinton is walking a political tightrope.

"He's got to find a way to excite black voters," the black Mississippi congressman says, "without inciting white voters."

But it seems the Arkansas governor cares less about exciting black voters — the Democratic Party's most loyal constituency — than he does about inciting the white suburban and Southern voters he hopes will help him reshape the party.

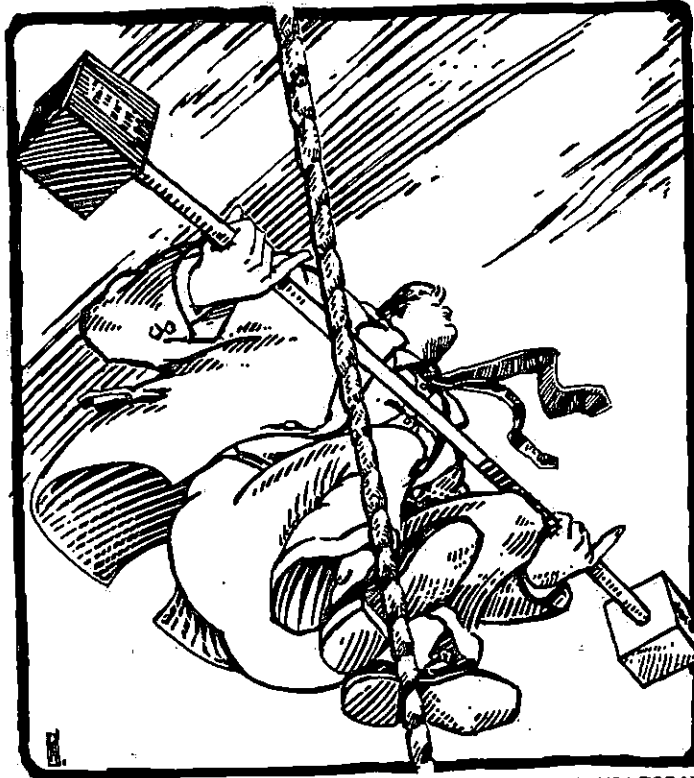
Inciting these so-called Reagan Democrats was probably all Clinton could think about when Espy and two other black congressmen showed up on his doorstep recently with a plan to maximize black voter turnout in 12 Southern states on election day.

The plan calls for a major push to mount voter-registration drives in black churches, high schools and colleges throughout the South, the kind of action which conjures up images of civil rights protests among many Southern voters who cast their lot with Republican presidential candidates after the Democratic Party embraced the civil rights movement.

The cost of the plan, which



By DeWayne Wickham, a columnist for Gannett News Service and USA TODAY.



By Web Bryant, USA TODAY

also calls for the development of "the right message" and "right atmosphere" to turn out the black vote for Clinton, is \$6 million.

Both the financial price and the political price are much more than Clinton anticipated during the Democratic National Convention when he encouraged the three congressmen — Espy, Bill Jefferson of Louisiana and John Lewis of Georgia — to come up with a strategy for getting Southern black voters to the polls.

Now Clinton aides say the proposal "was unsolicited," even as Jefferson confides that the black political consultant who drafted the plan "has been, or will be, paid" by the Clinton campaign.

When Clinton first started

talking with the three congressmen about getting out the black vote, he was trying to distance himself from Jesse Jackson and the negative reaction he feared such an association would generate among white Southern and suburban voters.

Holding Jackson at bay is for Clinton an act of political bloodletting meant to sound the all-clear for conservative whites to return to the ranks of the Democratic Party.

Jefferson, Espy and Lewis are more acceptable.

Clinton believes that, as black Southerners, they understand better what it takes to excite black voters without inciting white voters. With them at his side, he wouldn't need to turn to the more demanding Jackson or the Congressional

Black Caucus for support in rallying black voters.

With Espy, Jefferson and Lewis serving as his point men, Clinton was confident that like other Democratic presidential candidates in recent elections, he would get the lion's share of the black vote. What he didn't expect was that these three Southern congressmen would take their role so seriously.

Also unexpected by him was the reaction all of this would get from the Congressional Black Caucus.

"My advice to them, and the Clinton campaign, is that if there is a Southern plan, they'd better come up with an overall plan to mobilize blacks around the country, and the way to do that would be to involve the entire caucus," said Ed Towns, the black caucus chairman, when told of the plan's existence.

"Any plan that does not include the entire caucus and Jesse Jackson is a very dangerous move," he quickly added.

A dangerous move, indeed.

Bill Clinton is sitting squarely on the horns of a dilemma of his own making:

Despite his assurances to those who ask that he will find a way to involve Jackson in his campaign, he has not done so.

By encouraging Espy, Lewis and Jefferson to come up with a Southern plan for maximizing the black vote, Clinton signals his unwillingness to produce a serious urban strategy for getting blacks to the polls.

And now that their ambitious proposal has been all but rejected, it seems that Clinton considers any real excitement of black voters to be an incitement of the white conservatives he courts.

► Campaign, 6A

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

© 1992 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved.

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Bush's Assault on Congress Stretches Truman Analogy and Could Backfire

By JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
CANTON, Mich. — When President Bush took his campaign here last week, he brought a little surprise for the hometown congressman, Rep. William Ford: a direct attack on Mr. Ford as part of the "gridlocked" Democratic majority that "talks one way and votes another" to obstruct the president's domestic agenda.

Mr. Ford wasn't fazed. "It was wonderful," the 14-term congressman said afterward. Publicity about the assault energized his campaign workers, he said, and had them ready to "chew nails and spit tacks." And Mr. Ford doubts the people of Canton were much impressed, either: "He doesn't realize he's an out-of-towner when he comes here, and I'm not."

So it goes for Mr. Bush's attempt to turn his campaign into a reprise of Harry Truman's 1948 upset victory over Thomas Dewey and the "do nothing" Congress. While polls show voters dislike Congress in general, many are perfectly happy with their own representatives.

The Truman approach may be a stylistic stretch — George Bush, after all, is "no Harry Truman," as the late president's daughter publicly asserted last week — but some strategists nevertheless say it is the struggling incumbent's best chance for a theme that can overcome Bill Clinton's reputation as a moderate and Mr. Bush's own meager domestic record. The president badly needs a "focused image" for the fall campaign, says Princeton presidential scholar Fred Greenstein.

So far, the image remains blurred. Because his conservative base is shaky, Mr. Bush and the Republicans spent much of their convention courting the right on abortion, gay rights and "family values" themes. Even in the immediate post-convention period, when candidates normally begin reaching out to the center, Mr. Bush became mired in controversy when he told an evangelical audience that Democrats had left God out of their party platform, and when he campaigned alongside House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich as the Georgia congressman tried to link Mr. Clinton's party and film maker Woody Allen's family troubles. By the end of the week, Bush strategists were eager to change the subject.

On economics, the bedrock issue of the campaign, Mr. Bush has also sent mixed signals. His nomination acceptance speech drew banner headlines for its call for unspecified across-the-board tax cuts, but Mr. Bush didn't even mention the proposal at his first post-convention rally. He has talked not only of slashing spending, cutting taxes and reducing the deficit but also of new programs to provide job training and federal aid to private and religious schools.

Late last week, an overhauled White House team under new Chief of Staff James Baker began an attempt to stabilize the campaign with an emphasis on two overarching themes: the "fundamental differences" between the parties of Messrs. Bush and Clinton on taxes, spending and regulation; and the need to "clean house" in the Democratic Congress.

An early salvo sought to portray the trade policies of Mr. Clinton and congressional Democrats as a threat to the economy. A second shot — though it has been postponed by Mr. Bush's attention to hurricane relief efforts in Florida — will warn that Democratic environmental policies cost jobs.

The feisty campaign persona is striking because it is so much at odds with Mr. Bush's genial governing style. He began his first term by declaring "the age of the offered hand" to Congress.

His rhetoric is also misleading. To the chagrin of conservative GOP activists, Mr. Bush's domestic agenda has never been particularly ambitious. On one issue where he purports to be frustrated, health care, he didn't even offer a comprehensive proposal until his re-election campaign was under way. And while he accuses Democrats of bleeding the Treasury with "pork barrel" spending, during his term Congress has actually spent less money on discretionary programs than the White House requested, albeit with somewhat different priorities.

Congress has given Mr. Bush reason to be upset. From his first year in office, he has been faring worse on Capitol Hill than other postwar presidents at similar points. A Congressional Quarterly analysis showed the president's position prevailed only 63% of the time in 1989, and his batting average has declined since then, in large part because of the efforts of such skillful Democratic partisans as Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell and House Majority Leader Dick Gephardt.

But this didn't seem to bother him much until his re-election was in jeopardy. Mr. Bush, who served two terms in Congress and has longstanding friendships with lawmakers in both parties, charmed lawmakers with such favors as invitations to the White House living quarters. And on some high-profile issues, Democrats cooperated with Mr. Bush, passing a savings-and-loan bailout, resolving a once-bitter dispute over Central American policy and helping Mr. Bush redeem his "kinder and gentler" campaign promise by passing the Clean Air Act and child-care legislation.

Those initiatives showed that "if he's willing to move to the center, a president clearly can work with a Congress controlled by the other party," said Brookings Institution political scientist Thomas Mann.

So did the 1990 budget deal that Mr. Bush now, under pressure from the Republican right, rejects as a mistake. Though he blames congressional Democrats for forcing him to accept a tax increase in the deal, it was the president himself, fearing the long-term political and economic impact of failing to reduce the deficit, who initiated negotiations by de-

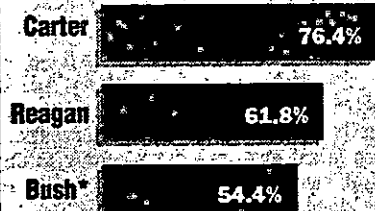
claring publicly that additional taxes were necessary. The talks were contentious, but in the end Mr. Bush's greatest problems came from his own party, as Rep. Gingrich and other Republicans helped kill an initial agreement more to Mr. Bush's liking than the one he ultimately accepted.

True to his friendships, Mr. Bush is choosing his congressional targets with care on the campaign trail. Though defeating any Democrat could bring Republicans closer to control of Congress, he praised his old Democratic buddy, House Veterans' Affairs Chairman G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery of Mississippi, in an appearance before the American Legion last week. And when he excoriated Mr. Clinton's proposal to tax some foreign-owned companies as an appeal to the nation's "darker impulses" that might trigger a trade war, he didn't mention that his longtime friend Dan Rostenkowski, the House Ways and Means Committee Chairman, backs a similar idea.

There are also practical reasons for Mr. Bush to hold his fire. When he campaigned

Recent Presidents' Success on Capitol Hill

Percentage of key votes in which Congress sided with the president



*First three years

Source: Congressional Quarterly

in Gulfport, Miss., recently, Republican Sen. Trent Lott said he asked the president not to single out Democratic Rep. Gene Taylor, out of concern that a direct attack might backfire to Mr. Taylor's benefit.

Some analysts say the president might be better off to keep his assault on congressional gridlock as impersonal as possible. When the president takes on members individually in their districts, Mr. Mann of the Brookings Institution explains, he's usually the less popular of the two.

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

To Save an Endangered Species, Own One

By IKE C. SUGG

Ever since 1989, when the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species banned trade in African elephant ivory, a battle has been raging in conservation circles over the property status of wildlife and the role of economic incentives in conserving endangered species. The latest skirmish is being fought over game ranching, perhaps the most promising approach to wildlife conservation yet devised.

Game ranching is a truly private enterprise. It is the private ownership of wildlife carried out on private property, typically for profit. In the U.S., the ownership of domestic wildlife is divided between state and federal governments. Most game ranchers raise "exotics," that is, non-native animals not traditionally farmed or ranched. Those species can be privately owned under U.S. law, whereas their domestic counterparts, with few exceptions, cannot.

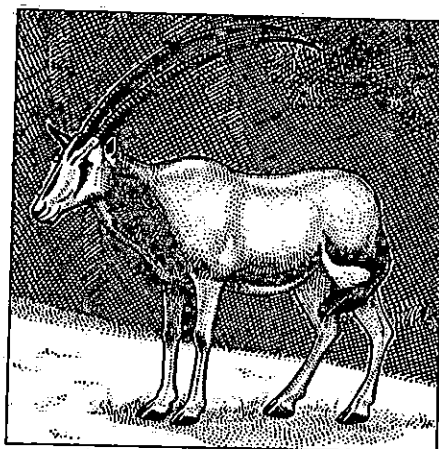
Such private ownership has produced some remarkable results. The scimitar-horned oryx, for example, owes its continued existence to the incentives of game ranching. David Bamberger, the former chairman of Church's Fried Chicken and now a game rancher, has single-handedly preserved 29 of the 31 remaining bloodlines of this rare antelope, which is virtually extinct in its native sub-Saharan range. Indeed, there are more of these animals on game ranches in Texas than in its war-torn North African home.

Mr. Bamberger is a member of the Exotic Wildlife Association, an international game ranching organization headquartered in the Texas hill country. He and the 450 plus other members own an estimated 200,000 head of some 125 species. Over 19,000 of those animals belong to species that are threatened or endangered in the wild. Like the oryx, several of them are more plentiful in Texas than in their native ranges. The blackbuck antelope, for example, is ubiquitous on Texas'

Edwards Plateau, but only a few still exist in its native India.

Despite the conservation successes of game ranching, however, it is under assault. Effectively outlawed now in several states, with prohibitions pending in others, game ranching is the bane of certain environmentalists, who seem intent on stifling this promising infant industry.

Indeed, Washington state recently closed its borders to non-native wildlife and banned the private owners of non-na-



The Scimitar-horned Oryx

tive species from breeding their animals. California has revoked all import and export permits for non-native hoofstock and is considering a bill to specifically outlaw the game ranching industry. On the national front, Michael Bean of the Environmental Defense Fund, a leading proponent of the Endangered Species Act, has recommended to a Senate committee that the act be revised to inhibit the private, for-profit propagation of listed species.

The notion of privatizing wildlife is blasphemy in the religion that has become wildlife preservation. One of the major tenets of that religion is that markets decimate species, pushing them toward extinction. In the latest issue of Interna-

tional Wildlife, the flagship publication of the National Wildlife Federation, Valerius Geist, one of game ranching's most vociferous opponents, states emphatically: "I won't be satisfied until every last game ranch is shut down. . . . When man puts a price tag on a wild animal, that wild animal eventually disappears."

But as we have seen with the oryx and blackbuck, quite the opposite is the case. True believers point to the extirpation of the passenger pigeon by hunters at the turn of this century, but here again they misread the evidence. As free-market environmentalist R.J. Smith has pointed out, there were three billion passenger pigeons in America when Europeans arrived, and no chickens. Today there are no passenger pigeons, yet millions of chickens are harvested each year. A price tag was put on both species, as humans once enjoyed eating them both. The crucial difference was that chickens were allowed to remain in private hands, where they were bred, while the pigeons belonged "to all citizens in common." Thus, there was no incentive to protect them.

Private ownership is a necessary condition for the species conservation that game ranching encourages, but it is seldom sufficient. The success of game ranching depends on markets for its products—whether they are sold for meat, breeding stock or hunting opportunities. Few ranchers, no matter how conservation-minded, would go to the expense and effort of raising wildlife if they could not earn a return off doing so. Thus, the price tag does matter.

So does regulation. When a species is listed as endangered by national or international agencies, it becomes very difficult to buy, sell, propagate or otherwise handle because of highly restrictive regulations. The incentive to raise listed animals is weakened as a result.

After the barasingha (a deer indigenous to India) was listed, many game

ranchers quit buying and raising them. This disincentive effect was evident more recently when Mr. Bamberger tried, and failed, to convince other game ranchers to invest in a survival plan for the scimitar-horned oryx. The reason for their reluctance? The Fish and Wildlife Service proposed to list the oryx, along with two other species of African antelopes now raised on game ranches, as "endangered" under the Endangered Species Act.

As Mr. Bamberger laments, "altruism will not save a species." If game ranchers lose interest in a species, its future is imperiled. Those with an economic stake in a natural resource have every reason to conserve and care for it. With wildlife, the pursuit of profit motivates the rancher to maximize that which is valuable, which means increasing wildlife numbers. It means preserving the genetic purity of the species, from which its value is often derived. And it means taking care of the land—a collateral ecological benefit.

Unfortunately, the environmental logic of game ranching, and its successes, will not be enough to save it from the wrath of the high priests of preservationism, for whom the commercial utilization of wildlife is heretical. Their antipathy to markets reinforces one's suspicion that certain preservationists are more anti-capitalist than they are pro-environment.

It should be pointed out that free-market environmentalism does threaten the survival of one protected species in this country, the sacred cow, and is encroaching upon its native habitat inside the Beltway. The admirable achievements of David Bamberger and other game ranchers suggest that this may not be a bad thing.

Mr. Sugg is a fellow in environmental studies at the Competitive Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

© 1992 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved.

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Iraq Is Warned Not to Employ Ground Forces

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — President Bush's national security adviser warned that the U.S. and its allies might respond militarily if Iraq uses its ground forces rather than its aircraft to attack Shiite dissidents in southern Iraq.

Brent Scowcroft said that, although the allies so far have ordered Iraq only to stop flying its planes and helicopters in southern Iraq, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein shouldn't assume that the coalition wouldn't also respond to military actions by ground troops in the area.

In an appearance on NBC News's "Meet the Press," Mr. Scowcroft said that the allies established the no-fly zone over southern Iraq last week not merely for grounding aircraft but for the broader purpose of enforcing United Nations Security Council Resolution 688, which bans repression of Iraqi citizens.

"We're flying over there for a reason, and that is to enforce compliance with Resolution 688," Mr. Scowcroft said. Asked whether the U.S. has an agreement with its allies on how to respond if there are more Iraqi ground attacks on Shiite Muslims, Mr. Scowcroft said that "there is a general coordination of plans and contingencies." Mr. Scowcroft didn't specify how the U.S. might react to ground attacks, though the aircraft that will be used in monitoring the no-fly zone also could mount ground attacks on artillery or armored forces.

Meanwhile, in a speech yesterday, Saddam Hussein said Iraq "is determined to reject the bold aggression and confront it with all means available and on all levels." The no-fly zone is a conspiracy to "partition the region to seize control over its oil wealth," the Iraqi leader said in the speech, which was delivered by an unidentified spokesman, the Associated Press reported.

The U.S. is working mainly with Britain and France in enforcing the ban on Iraqi aircraft flights south of the 32nd parallel in Iraq; Saudi Arabia's air force is participating, and other Persian Gulf states are providing some logistical help. Outside of those nations, though, the U.S. has found limited support on the U.N. Security Council for international military action to change Iraq's treatment of its Shiites, who probably constitute a majority of Iraq's population but who often feel repressed by a government dominated by Sunni Muslims. Some countries, particularly China, fear the precedent of U.N. involvement in determining how a nation treats groups of its citizens, fearing they may be vulnerable to reprisals someday on the same grounds.

In announcing the no-fly zone last week, President Bush was more vague about how the allies would respond if Iraq grounds its planes but keeps up attacks with ground troops. He said only that he would be "extraordinarily concerned."

Other officials have said in recent days that the agreement among the allies sets out specific rules for enforcing the no-fly zone in the air, and that the allies have agreed to consult regularly about possible further steps. So far, officials say, Iraq's military has been relatively quiet in the south since the no-fly zone was established.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

© 1992 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved.

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

An Act of Leadership

The biggest handicap George Bush faces in selling his program to spark a limp recovery is the nearly universal perception that he talks a good game on tax cuts but can never get anything done. Now, thanks to some outside legal advice, he has a new opportunity for a bold stroke of leadership that would actually help the economy.

The stroke would be directing the Treasury to issue an order redefining the term "cost" in the Tax Code to mean cost in current dollars rather than in historical dollars. The step is eminently sensible on its face; incomes come in current dollars and other relevant numbers ought to be measured by the same yardstick.

"Indexing" historical cost to current dollars would immediately provide more generous tax treatment of capital gains and depreciation. The economic effect would be to increase incentives for creating and redeploying capital, and would especially help the kind of start-up businesses we now lack. With an improved outlook, some of the effect might be visible quickly, even before the November election.

The political effect would be to use the power of the Presidency to confront Congress, where the Democratic leadership has made the capital gains issue a totem of defeating the President, if not a wooden shoe deliberately intended to clog the economic machinery before the election. If you buy a home or a financial asset for \$100,000, hold it during 20% inflation, and sell it for \$120,000, no one seriously believes you should pay tax on \$20,000. In 1989, indeed, capital gains relief got a majority vote in both Houses of Congress, and was stopped only by a filibuster led by Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell. The current economic slowdown started about then.

When the idea of indexing by administrative order was first suggested by supply-side economist Paul Craig Roberts in January, it was dismissed as a harebrained idea. "If we could do it we would," Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady said last month. "We have had no competent legal advice that you could do it." That is, when the Treasury trotted the proposal around to its lawyers, they said "cost" has meant historical cost since the code was written in 1918, and by dint of sheer longevity only Congress could change it now. Besides, it would be too much trouble. Case closed.

Now comes Charles Cooper, hired to study the legal issue by the National Taxpayers Union Foundation and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, where chief economist Larry Hunter has been a tireless champion of capital gains reform. Mr. Cooper, who as a

Justice Department official wrote the brief rejecting arguments that the President has an inherent line-item veto, scarcely has a reputation for wild-eyed legal theories. He said that when he was hired he had doubts about this presidential power as well. After studying the issue, he's concluded that Mr. Roberts was right to begin with. An order redefining "cost" is not only within the President's discretion but would be upheld by the courts if tested.

The legal arguments are sketched in the article nearby: The word "cost" begs definition; the statute-writers knew how to say "purchase price" if that's what they intended. The executive had the power to define cost in current dollars in 1918, and sheer passage of time does not extinguish this discretion. Much has changed, indeed, such as the 1971 actions severing the dollar's link with gold, and the 1986 decision to end preferential capital gains rates partly intended to offset the impact of inflation. The Supreme Court has in fact upheld the executive's right to change previous executive interpretations; a President, after all, has a mandate from voters.

In purely practical terms the President's hand would be even stronger. It's not clear that anyone would have legal standing to mount a court challenge. Congress could, of course, overturn the ruling through legislation, but this seems unlikely and could be vetoed. Intellectually, there simply are no arguments for taxing citizens on the inflation caused by the government. Congress has already indexed tax brackets to stop this; we'd like to see it subtract inflation from interest rates before taxing what you earn on your savings account. But capital gains represent the only instance where, if you wait long enough to cash in, your tax may be more than 100%.

The capital gains rate is not the only thing slowing the economy, of course. It is merely part of a generalized prejudice against risk, enforced by back-seat bank examiners and an epidemic of regulatory lawsuits. But capital gains relief would be a psychological boost, a token that the 1989 Mitchell filibuster, the 1990 budget-deal tax increases and the like don't represent a new era, with a creeping reversal of the tax policies that helped create more than 18 million new jobs during the 1980s expansion.

Most important of all, if George Bush demonstrated some boldness, taking some risk of criticism in exercising his powers, it would suggest that he has an economic program after all, that he not merely talks about tax cuts but really believes in them.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

© 1992 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved.

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Rusty Rhetoric in Buffalo

One of the more interesting stops on the Clinton-Gore buscapade was the visit a week ago to Buffalo. "All of you know that our country has been caught up in a swirling whirlwind of change," Mr. Clinton said. He cited "a global economy in which things are happening more quickly than ever before, in which winners and losers are being sorted out," and instructed, "Look at the changing structure of the economy just here in Buffalo, and you tell me that everything's hunky-dory like our opponents say it is."

This standard boilerplate may have sounded a bit strange to the voters of Buffalo. For the truth is that to many of them the economy is looking pretty hunky-dory these days. The reason is even more interesting: Buffalo is booming thanks largely to the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement.

Since the free trade treaty went into effect in 1989, between 400 and 700 Canadian businesses have set up shop in Buffalo. Many are distributors for Canadian manufacturers seeking access to American markets. Buffalo's location — just 90 miles south of Toronto and within a day's drive of New York, Washington, Chicago and Boston — makes it especially attractive.

Then there is the matter of costs. Even high-wage, high-tax New York state looks good to a business person from the People's Republic of Ontario. According to the Greater Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, taxes are about 5% lower than Ontario's; wages are 15%-20% lower. An acre of serviced industrial land in the Buffalo area costs about one-tenth what it does in metro Toronto — \$35,000-\$40,000 vs. \$400,000. The median house price in Buffalo is \$80,000 compared with \$217,000 in Toronto. Buffalo-area stores benefit from cross-border shoppers, who spent \$238 million there last year. The lines for the bridges over the Niagara River are backed up for miles on

weekends.

Buffalonians and Canadians have long had a cordial relationship and it's nothing new to notice Ontario license plates in parking lots, or to see the Maple Leaf flying next to the Stars and Stripes in front of a local establishment. The best symbol of the strengthening economic ties is the new Key Center, a two-tower office complex owned by Canadian developers. It is the first major building to go up downtown in about 25 years.

Yet in Mr. Clinton's stump speech in Buffalo, the words "free trade" never appeared. The Democratic candidate's supposed support for the North American Free Trade Agreement between the U.S., Canada and Mexico has been increasingly hedged with caveats about the need to "protect" American workers. Perhaps he remembered that Buffalo has indeed lost many jobs in its traditional heavy industries in recent years, but hadn't caught up with the latest turn of the cycle.

Buffalonians have learned firsthand that free trade creates American jobs. General Motors may cut jobs in Buffalo when it opens a factory in Mexico, but Canadian firms setting up shop in Buffalo will create new and often better ones. There was a 33% decline in manufacturing jobs in Buffalo between 1975 and 1991, but service-sector jobs increased by 65% while employment in the wholesale and retail sectors gained by 27%. These jobs are clean and often well-paying. If Buffalo is caught up in the "swirling whirlwind of change," it's coming up a "winner."

The only thing that's rusty in this so-called Rust Belt city these days is Mr. Clinton's rhetoric. We only hope that he polishes it up a bit before he finally takes a clear position on free trade along not only the Niagara but also the Rio Grande.

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Capital Gains Tax and Presidential Power

By CHARLES J. COOPER

President Bush may not be able to get Congress to go along with his proposal to cut the capital gains tax, but there is a simple action he could take on his own authority to make the tax treatment of capital gains more equitable. He could instruct the Treasury to index capital gains to inflation.

Until quite recently Congress has implicitly recognized and compensated for the effects of inflation by giving preferential tax treatment to capital gains, either by taxing them at a lower rate or by partially excluding them from taxable income. It recognized that otherwise investors would often be taxed unfairly on income that was attributable in some significant part to inflation, rather than real income, as the example in the nearby box demonstrates.

Preferential Treatment

While this kind of preferential tax status was at best a blunt tool to counter the effects of inflation, it was nonetheless recognized as such a tool. It thus largely obviated, until 1986, the need to establish a more accurate counter for inflation, such as indexation, and the president had no pressing need to take up this issue.

In 1986, however, the Tax Reform Act ended preferential treatment for capital gains, taxing them at the same rate as ordinary income. Although bills providing for indexing have passed at different times over the past decade in both houses of Congress, none has been enacted.

It is not surprising, then, that the question of the president's regulatory authority to index capital gains has only recently come into sharp focus. Earlier this summer I was asked by the National Chamber Foundation and the National Taxpayers Union Foundation to examine the issue. Despite initial skepticism, I have concluded that the president has the legal authority to adopt a regulation indexing capital gains.

The inquiry begins with the Sixteenth Amendment, which in 1913 authorized Congress to "lay and collect taxes on incomes." In 1919, the Supreme Court defined income as including "profit gained through a sale or conversion of capital assets."

The "profit" or "gain" as defined by the Tax Code is the "excess of the amount realized [from the sale or other disposition of property] over the adjusted basis." The "basis" of the property is defined simply as its "cost." The meaning of the word cost is the heart of the matter.

Congress has never defined cost, and

How Indexing Would Work

Consider the example of a taxpayer who bought a house for \$100,000 in 1982 and sells it for \$200,000 in 1992. Under the current tax regime, he is taxed on a "gain" of \$100,000. If, however, inflation has caused the general price level to double between 1982 and 1992, the taxpayer has not realized any increase in wealth at all; that is, there has been no increase in the value of his house. The \$200,000 he has in 1992 represents the same purchasing power as the \$100,000 he

had in 1982. The value of his asset has not increased; it has merely kept pace with inflation. In fact, the taxpayer is worse off than if he had not bought the house, since the tax on its sale will eat into his nominal gain.

If the capital gains tax were indexed to inflation, the taxpayer would be taxed just on that portion of the gain above inflation. To use the same example, if he sold his home for \$220,000, he would pay tax on only \$20,000, the portion of the sale price above inflation.

until 1957 neither did Treasury regulations. In practice, however, Treasury has always interpreted cost to mean the amount, in nominal dollars, paid at the time of purchase. Regulations issued in 1957 formalized this interpretation. Treasury's interpretation of cost as purchase price is no doubt a reasonable one. The critical question, however, is whether it is the only reasonable interpretation.

Under our system of separated powers, the executive branch has the initial responsibility of interpreting the laws that Congress makes. Unless clearly forbidden by Congress, Treasury can interpret the Tax Code to define cost as adjusted for inflation; that is, it can index capital gains.

It is important to stress that the question at hand is not whether a court would conclude that indexation is required under the Tax Code. Rather, the question is whether a court would conclude

that a Treasury regulation indexing capital gains was based on a permissible reading of that statute. While Treasury has consistently interpreted the cost of a capital asset to mean the asset's original purchase price, this definition is not required by law. Nothing in the legislative history of the past 75 years suggests that Congress intended to deny Treasury this sort of interpretive discretion.

The right of executive branch agencies to "fill any gap left, implicitly or explicitly, by Congress" in a statute was articulated in 1984 in *Chevron U.S.A. v. National Re-*

sources Defense Council. Under *Chevron*, in order to reject an executive-branch interpretation the courts must decide "whether Congress has directly spoken to the precise question at issue." There is no doubt that, in the matter of the cost of a capital asset, Congress has never spoken.

Next, says the *Chevron* decision, "if the statute is silent or ambiguous with respect to the specific issue, the question for the court is whether the agency's answer is based on a permissible construction of the statute." It is permissible, the court said last year in *Rust v. Sullivan*, as long as "it reflects a plausible construction of the plain language of the statute and does not otherwise conflict with Congress' expressed intent."

Construing cost to include the effect of inflation is at least as plausible as Treasury's purchase-price interpretation. The only difference between the two interpretations is that the former measures cost at the time the capital asset is sold, while the latter measures cost at the time the asset was purchased. Ask any homeowner how much his house cost, and he will tell you what he paid for it—and when he bought it.

Even so, a new Treasury regulation changing the definition of cost from nominal dollars to inflation-adjusted dollars would certainly be a sharp departure from past practice, and some have argued that Congress's failure to enact indexing legislation amounts to a de facto ban. Quite apart from the general point—reiterated

by the Supreme Court in *Patterson v. McClean Credit Union* (1989)—that "congressional inaction cannot amend a duly enacted statute," the argument is particularly weak here.

Nowhere in the legislative history of these proposals did Congress address the precise issue of the meaning of cost, let alone endorse Treasury's purchase-price interpretation. To be sure, by failing to enact the proposed amendments, Congress elected not to require Treasury to index capital gains. But Congress in no way indicated that Treasury was not permitted to do so.

In other words, if Congress left any gaps in the statutory meaning of cost prior to its consideration of indexation amendments, those gaps were not closed when it failed to exercise its own discretion to amend the statute. By failing to fill in the gap in the meaning of cost, Congress did not extinguish Treasury's discretion to do so. Again, the Supreme Court has made it abundantly clear that executive-branch agencies are entitled to considerable deference in interpreting statutes they administer.

In *Rust v. Sullivan* the Supreme Court upheld the new Health and Human Services regulations forbidding clinics that received federal money from offering abortion counseling. That such regulations "reverse a longstanding agency policy . . ." and thus represent a sharp break from the secretary's prior construction of the statute "was deemed insufficient grounds for forbidding them. Under *Chevron*, it said, HHS was entitled to modify regulations so long as the change was supported by a "reasonable basis."

A Reasonable Interpretation

In short, Congress has for more than seven decades left undefined the term "cost" in the capital gains section of the Tax Code. The traditional definition of cost as the nominal dollars spent at the time of purchase can be changed by the Treasury to reflect a more realistic method of computing the "gain" that an investor reaps from the sale of his property. This is at least as reasonable an interpretation of cost as the one traditionally used, and thus entitled to deference by the courts.

The president can correct this serious deficiency in the way our tax laws are applied today, if he wishes. And if Congress objects, it can pass a law outlawing indexing.

Mr. Cooper, a Washington attorney, was an assistant attorney general in the Reagan administration.

Unless clearly forbidden by Congress, Treasury can interpret the Tax Code to define cost as adjusted for inflation; that is, it can index capital gains.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Washington Could Help Us Fight AIDS

By Kathryn Anastos

Two weeks ago I stood alone at the bedside of one of my patients, a man for whom I held great fondness and who had previously expressed ambivalence about living. We locked eyes as I asked him if he wanted to live, and he answered with an unequivocal "yes." I arranged transfer to intensive care, where three days later he died. The morning after his death, I stood at the bedside of another man with AIDS with his weeping

mother and brother, and watched as his body shuddered with his last breaths, ending his mother's long vigil.

Two months prior I had watched as another patient, the mother of six young children, slowly relinquished her cognizance of her surroundings, including her sense that she was failing her children by dying before they were grown. She died a few days later. And shortly before that I had been called to the home of another woman, also with young children, to pronounce her dead so that her family could be spared the shame of having the police come to the home.

I am a primary-care physician —

that is, my patients are mostly those who seek care early enough that they can walk into my clinic. They know that they have one doctor (me) and that if they become acutely ill I or a covering physician am available to them at any time. I am responsible for all the medical care they need, and when they are sick enough to be hospitalized, I continue to be their physician, often until their death.

Because I work in the South Bronx, most of my patients are not accustomed to this kind of care, a standard that I and most middle-class Americans expect, even take for granted. I am proud to be a part of an institu-

tion, Bronx Lebanon-Hospital Center, that is committed to providing this standard of care to the South Bronx.

It is from this perspective that I am angered by the U.S. health care system and failure of the public health response to the AIDS epidemic. By June 30, 1992, 230,179 Americans with AIDS — more than 24,000 women, 200,000 men and nearly 4,000 children — had been reported to the Centers for Disease Control. Seventy-five percent of women, 72 percent of children and 42 percent of men with AIDS are African-American or Latino and live in inner cities. This is a heavy burden to carry in communi-

ties already struggling with poverty, homelessness, racism and drug use.

Recently our nation was gripped by the debate over whether we as a society should invest hundreds of millions of dollars yearly to test all health-care workers for H.I.V. Such an initiative could at best have prevented a handful of new cases each decade.

Those of us who work or live in communities ravaged by H.I.V. have not seen even a fraction of such resources devoted to prevention efforts in our neighborhoods, where hundreds or thousands of new cases could be prevented. What we have witnessed instead are multiple examples of social neglect.

We have yet to see adequate sex and H.I.V. prevention education for teen-agers and adults; or public

health messages that are explicit in their recommendations for preventing sexual transmission of H.I.V.; or accessible health care for our communities; or serious consideration of needle exchange. Is it sound policy to consider spending millions to prevent a few middle-class cases of AIDS while thousands of new cases occur in low-income communities?

I was taught that to be an effective physician means to be an advocate for my patients, and that to advocate for them I must look at life and its choices through their eyes. It is the greatest source of satisfaction in my work, and also the greatest source of pain. As I try to view life through their eyes, as I picture myself dying in that hospital bed and leaving behind my own young children, I see a society that does not provide pre-natal care to pregnant women, nor immunizations for children. People making such choices must not be able to imagine themselves in my patients' circumstances. For if we all saw each other as equal human beings, how would we possibly choose to allocate our resources the way we do?

Dr. Kathryn Anastos is medical director of the Bronx Morrisania ambulatory care unit and H.I.V. primary-care services at Bronx-Lebanon Hospital Center.

Fonts of Wisdom

By Barry Tarshis

Imagine that a network morning show has assembled six political heavyweights for a call-in show. A teacher phones to report that during a recent class tour of the White House, a student wanted a drink of water, only to discover that the fountain was out of order. The teacher asks the panel what message a broken fountain at the White House sends to the young people of America. Let's listen to the answers.

Ross Perot: The question here is simple: How do we fix it. I say, let's bring together the finest plumbing talent in America — from outside the system. Let them look at the fountain. Turn it on. Turn it off. Measure the flow of it. That sort of thing. And you can be sure, the next time you take a White House tour, you're going to drink from a world-class fountain.

Barry Tarshis is author of "Grammar for Smart People."

Jesse Jackson: Let us not talk about this broken water fountain. Let us talk about the thousands of broken water fountains across America. For they, too, are broken, like the broken dreams of America's forgotten children. And whether you are black, white, brown or yellow, you cannot use them. Why? Because the Republican Party is more interested in Perrier water and Pellegrino water than it is in public water.

Al Gore: I love my country. And I love water. And I love the children who drink from the water fountains in the country I love, and that my father loves. And I believe in my heart that the time has come, now more than ever, for all of us to be inspired by the young people of America whose dreams for the future depend on our ability as a nation to provide them with the water that is the essence of their survival.

Dan Quayle: I am very, very sympathetic to the disappointment young people in America feel when they go to a water fountain in the single most

Ideas for fixing the First Faucet.

important building in America and cannot drink from it. Because I, too, would be very, very disappointed if I were to go to get a drink from a water fountain and discover that, because of the Democrats, the water does not come up. Water is a terrible thing to waste, when there is thirst but no water, that is a terrible thing.

Bill Clinton: I grew up in a home where public water fountains were very important to me and to my family. And I have put forward a plan similar to the plan I introduced in Arkansas. This plan is good for Amer-

ica. It takes the \$4.25 million savings we realize when we eliminate the 10 percent reduction on the capital gains that exceed \$30,000 in any given one-year period for Americans under the age of 31 who graduated before 1984, and it allocates 18.5 percent of that sum to paying for 80 percent of the new fountain construction.

George Bush: O.K. Sure. Fine. There's something wrong with a water fountain at the White House? Not denying it. Have to be a fool to deny it. But make no mistake about it. There is a lot that is *right* with it, too. And that's the one thing I want to focus on, you see, not what's *bad* about the water fountains in America but what's *good* about them. And with the help of the American people and a Republican Congress I can work with, I can make the water flow again in the water fountains of America. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Israel and Arafat

By Ze'ev Chafets

TEN years ago, during the war in Lebanon, Israel's Likud-led Government ordered its generals to avoid a direct hit on Yasir Arafat. That decision, controversial at the time, was rooted in a shrewd gamble. Last week, at the latest round of peace talks in Washington, it paid a belated dividend to the hawks.

Ever since the June election that brought Labor's Yitzhak Rabin to power, Israeli hard-liners have watched in dismay as, brick by brick, he has dismantled diplomatic stone walls they erected over a decade. In barely two months he has drastically limited the scope of settlements in the territories, accepted U.N. Resolutions

The P.L.O. can't make peace.

242 and 338 as the basis of negotiation, canceled deportation orders for 11 Palestinian activists, ordered the release of some 800 Arab security prisoners, visited the West Bank, winked as two members from his coalition met publicly with P.L.O. officials and tabled a Palestinian autonomy plan that includes elections.

Taken together, these are far more than mere confidence-building measures or public relations gestures; they signal an entirely different Israeli approach to peacemaking. More significantly, they indicate that Mr. Rabin is prepared to enter the never-never land of limited Palestinian self-rule. Although he and his party are officially opposed to an independent state, it must be clear to him (as it is to the hawks) that autonomy might well lead in that direction.

Surprisingly, Mr. Rabin has effected this radical change with little opposition. A growing number of Israelis, tired of the conflict and eager to get on with their lives, are exhibiting a rare optimism that borders on a suspension of disbelief. People who, for years, unquestioningly accepted the Likud's not-one-inch approach

have adopted a Rabin-knows-best attitude and are willing to follow him into the great diplomatic unknown.

Hard-liners have been able to do little more than mutter. The Likud has been demoralized by its crushing defeat. Anti-Rabin demonstrations, like the one held on the eve of the Prime Minister's U.S. trip in early August, have drawn small crowds. Even the erstwhile firebrands of the settlement movement, now mellowed and middle-aged, seem unable to whip up any real fervor in opposing the Labor initiative.

Under the circumstances, the obvious step for the Palestinians is to just say yes. Israeli proposals may, in their view, be less than perfect but they provide a key to self-rule. The refusal of Yasir Arafat and his representatives in Washington to unlock the door and walk through raises serious questions about their true destination.

There are explanations for Palestinian reticence. The P.L.O. is afraid that elections might create a rival local leadership and weaken its influence in the territories. West Bankers such as Faisal al-Husseini and Hanan Ashrawi fear Hamas, the Muslim fundamentalist group which is supported by perhaps 30 percent of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. Hamas has said it would participate in elections only as a means of gaining power to block a deal with Israel.

Hamas and other rejectionists in recent years have killed hundreds of "collaborators." Even the most optimistic Palestinians realize that elections might result in intercommunal bloodbaths and likely threaten the lives of the winners.

The problem is that Palestinians cannot admit they are too divided, violent or self-interested to make peace. It is easier simply to disparage Mr. Rabin as a Yitzhak Shamir clone and reject his proposals. Such an approach may be enough to keep Mr. Arafat in power for a while longer, and save the skins of the proxies, but it can't lead to a deal. Worse, it sends a powerful message to hopeful Israelis: The P.L.O. and its supporters are neither ready nor willing for peace.

This is precisely what the Likud contends, though Mr. Shamir failed to convince the voters. But as he has so often in the past, Yasir Arafat is once again eloquently making the Israeli hard-liners' case. If he continues, it is just a matter of time before Labor's proposals will become untenable. No wonder the Likud thought Mr. Arafat was too valuable to kill. With enemies like him, who needs friends? □

Ze'ev Chafets is an author and columnist for The Jerusalem Report.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Justice Corrupts Justice

WASHINGTON

U.S. Attorney General William Barr, in rejecting the House Judiciary Committee's call for a prosecutor not beholden to the Bush Administration to investigate the crimes of Iraqgate, has taken personal charge of the cover-up.

The document that will be Exhibit A in a future prosecution of obstruction of justice is an unsigned 97-page apologia that accompanied Mr. Barr's unprecedented refusal to recognize a "political conflict of interest," as called for in the law.

Read it for yourself; though intended to explain in detail why Congress does not understand the intent of Congress, Barr's Apology does the opposite: its strained defensiveness will cause any objective reader to say "something smells fishy here."

Mr. Barr and the chief of his Criminal Division, Robert Mueller, could face prosecution if it turns out that high Bush officials knew about Saddam Hussein's perversion of our Agriculture export guarantees to finance his war machine, and delayed the inquiry into the Atlanta Lavoro bank scandal. They have a keen personal and political interest in seeing to it that the Department of Justice stays in safe, controllable Republican hands.

In professing to see no conflict in the investigation of themselves, these political appointees seek to hide behind the professionalism of "career prosecutors" of the Public Integrity Section and the F.B.I.

But dismayed professionals inside Justice tell me that the Public Integrity chief was reassigned months ago to make way for a more malleable man. The Barr Apology was prepared by political appointees for a political pur-

pose: contain Iraqgate until after the election.

And Mr. Barr has thoroughly abused the F.B.I. Field agents have told me for a year that higher-ups at Justice have steered them away from rewarding lines of inquiry. This month the former head of the F.B.I.'s Atlanta field office, William Hinshaw, publicly accused Justice of having "delayed indictments for nearly a year in the \$5 billion scandal."

It's no secret why the F.B.I.'s Lavoro investigation was hamstrung: to allow Agriculture and Commerce officials to carry out Bush national security directive 26 supporting Saddam.

Two days ago, I called Agriculture officials at the center of the grain-financing scandal; *not one has been interviewed by the F.B.I.* The reason "no evidence was found," in Mr. Barr's repeated phrase, was that no evidence was sought.

The Attorney General arrogantly insists that Federal Judge Marvin Shoob, who does not appreciate Federal wrongdoing in his Atlanta courtroom and has called for a special prosecutor, "does not understand the case." Judge Shoob understands the Lavoro case the way Judge Sirica understood the Watergate case.

That Atlanta case, which the Criminal Division in Washington was forced to admit it delayed during the Bush buildup of Saddam, may provide a way to scale the Barr stone wall. Christopher Dragoul, the local bank manager who pleaded guilty, comes before Judge Shoob Sept. 14 for sentencing.

Justice, with so much to cover up, wants him to stay mum; local prosecutor Gail McKenzie has been pushed aside again, as Arthur Wade, a non-lawyer from Agriculture, has led the team at the Atlanta penitentiary coaching Dragoul on what not to say. He reminds Dragoul that the only way he can get a "downward departure" from the sentencing guidelines is upon the prosecution's request.

However, Mr. Dragoul now has a new pro-bono lawyer — Bobby Lee Cook, "the Ed Williams of the South" — who is said to understand that concealing the truth about the Government's guilty knowledge of bank fraud is not the best way to obtain leniency from Judge Shoob.

I hope the Judge asks about Mr. Dragoul's meeting in 1988 with an aide to Hussein Kamel, Saddam's son-in-law and arms procurer, in the London offices of Matrix Churchill, an Iraqi front.

When Mr. Dragoul informed the Iraqi that investigators from the C.I.A. and the National Security Agency had been in the Atlanta bank to monitor its financing of Iraq's huge commodity credits, he said Saddam's agent replied: "Don't worry about that — we know all about it; we're working together."

Do you suppose our Criminal Cover-Up Division has demanded the N.S.A. and C.I.A. reports and interviewed their agents? Forget it; that might lead to finding evidence making it unlawful to resist appointing a special prosecutor. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Selling Voters on Bush, Nemesis of Lawyers

By ALESSANDRA STANLEY

The President's aides have found something they think is even scarier to voters than Willie Horton: lawyers.

George Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle have begun painting Bill Clinton as a captive of a special interest group — "sharp lawyers" in "tasseled loafers" who, as Mr. Bush put it in his speech to the Republican convention, are "running wild," terrorizing doctors and even Little League coaches with

personal-injury suits, malpractice suits and other kinds of liability cases.

Many trial lawyers said they were insulted right down to their tassel-free footwear. Many, including one lawyer in New Rochelle who is seeking \$5 million from Barbara Bush's stepmother in a personal-injury lawsuit, also protested that the President could not possibly have been referring to them.

Shoot-Out Over Liability

The Clinton campaign has countered that it is the President who is the captive of special-interest groups — fighting consumers on behalf of insurance companies and large corporations who want to curb the average American's access to civil court and large damage awards.

As family values become a less prominent campaign issue, passed over for lack of popular demand, a battle over legal values may surface in its place. Complex issues involving the state courts, tort law and the public interest have been drawn as starkly as the plot of an old-fashioned western.

But instead of cattlemen and farmers, the combatants are insurance companies and the lawyers who sue them.

Though trial lawyers view themselves as the champions of the little guy, theirs is not the kind of vocation that tugs at the heart strings of voters. "If you gave the average American a bullet and asked whether he would shoot the lawyer or the insurance company man," said James Carville, Mr. Clinton's senior campaign strategist, "you'd create a lot of angst out there."

It is hardly a secret that as a group, lawyers have an image problem. This summer, the Maritime center in Norwalk, Conn., charged visitors \$7.50 to view its live shark exhibit, but lawyers were offered free admission as "a pro-

Continued on Page A12, Column 1



The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Betting Voters Will Like Bush, Lawyers' Nemesis

Continued From Page A1

professional courtesy."

Long-Festering Issue

Recent public-opinion surveys suggest that Americans viscerally dislike lawyers and feel that society is, in the words of one Bush campaign focus-group participant, "sue-happy." Republican strategists say such attitudes make them increasingly confident that "tort reform," the term generally applied to any law designed to dissuade people from suing or juries from handing out generous awards, can be made a partisan campaign issue.

As Fred Steeper, a Bush poll-taker, put it rather gleefully: "Trial lawyers today have the same favorability rating as Richard Nixon in 1974."

Tort reform first surfaced as an issue in state legislatures in the 1970's, when insurance premiums for doctors, schools and drivers began skyrocketing. It crystallized as a Presidential campaign issue last year. Mr. Quayle, who as head of the President's competitiveness council has led the charge, argued that excessive litigation had forced up the cost of insurance, which

A legal issue portrayed as Good v. Evil.

in turn had forced up the costs of goods and services, causing the United States to lose its competitive edge with other industrialized countries.

A State Court Problem

The Administration has been pushing for changes in Federal tort law, but in fact the vast majority of lawsuits are litigated in state courts. So most reforms lie with state legislatures, and the best any Administration can hope to contribute to the cause is moral authority. Among other things, the Administration has proposed caps on damage awards and forcing a losing plaintiff to pay legal costs.

On the political stage, however, the Bush campaign has developed an election year syllogism worthy of Ionesco: Mr. Clinton is a lawyer. Lawyers are bad. Mr. Clinton is bad.

The Bush campaign has pointed out that lawyers, as a group, have contributed twice as much to Mr. Clinton as they have to Mr. Bush. According to a recent study by the Center for Responsive Politics, Mr. Clinton has received nearly \$2.6 million from lawyers and lawyer-lobbyists; Mr. Bush has received \$1.3 million.

Clinton aides cite the same study's finding that Mr. Bush received more than \$2.6 million from the real estate, financial and insurance industries.

Lawyers, Teachers and Labor

The latest round in the battle occurred Thursday, when Vice President Dan Quayle made public a letter from the president of the Arkansas Trial Lawyers Association that praised Mr. Clinton's opposition to tort reform. Mr. Quayle cited the letter as evidence that the Democratic candidate was "totally in the pocket of trial lawyers."

The Republicans have also attacked the American Bar Association as overly liberal, citing as evidence appear-

ances at the A.B.A.'s recent national convention by Anita F. Hill and Hillary Clinton.

"The A.B.A. is a pillar of the Democratic Party, along with teachers and labor," said Jim Pinkerton, a Bush campaign adviser. "The left has an impulse to declare everyone a victim, and lawyers pounce on that."

In 1988, the Bush campaign portrayed the Democratic nominee, Gov. Michael S. Dukakis as a soft-on-crime captive of the American Civil Liberties Union. Mr. Pinkerton said that tort reform could be as potent an issue this year because it could be presented as a cause of the nation's economic troubles.

Issue or Diversion?

"Everyone pays higher insurance costs," he said. "People look at the cost of a stepladder or a dose of insulin and attribute it to liability."

Mr. Clinton's advisers dismiss the talk of tort reform as a diversion. "I don't think average voters think litigation has put a stranglehold on the American economy," Mr. Carville said. "I think people think Mr. Bush's economic policies are responsible for the stranglehold."

And from Park Avenue to Houston, lawyers in wingtips and cowboy boots are defending their honor. "Tort reform is just code for closing the courthouse door to poor people," said Joseph D. Jamail Jr., a Texas trial lawyer. Mr. Jamail is widely known as the King of Torts for winning a \$10 billion award for Pennzoil in its suit against Texaco — 40 times the largest amount previously awarded in an American damage suit.

Lawyers May Fight Back

Robert MacCrate, a partner at Sullivan and Cromwell, and a former president of the American Bar Association, said of the Republican pressure, "It offends me, but I feel the attacks are so specious and distorted that they can only rebound to the detriment of the accuser."

The American Bar Association is not so sure. It has hired a Washington consulting firm to help restore its image. "They want to fight back," said Tim Ridley, a consultant with the Communications Company, a division of the political consulting firm, Squier, Eskew, Knapp and Ochs Communications, which is advising Mr. Clinton.

"They want the Administration to know they are not the fifth column of the Democratic Party," Mr. Ridley said, adding that only about a third of the A.B.A.'s members are Democrats, with the rest either Republicans or independents.

Tort reform is not entirely a partisan issue. Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Democrat of Hawaii, has spoken out in favor of it. Mr. Clinton supports a few limited measures, such as voluntary alternative dispute resolutions. And despite the opposition of consumer advocates like Ralph Nader, some longtime liberals favor it.

And Charles Peters, editor of the Washington Monthly, while agreeing with Mr. Quayle that "Democrats have sold out to the trial lawyers lobby," also believes that Republicans have taken the right stand for the wrong reasons.

Faulting the President and Mr. Quayle for not demanding concessions from doctors, hospitals and insurance companies, he said sternly: "I consider it completely accidental that the Republicans have embraced the cause of virtue."

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Half Right on Health

Blend the Bush and Clinton Plans

When it comes to health care reform, President Bush and Bill Clinton are not only at war with each other but also — however decorously — with their own advisers. Who's right? Both sides, although that's hard for either to concede in the heat of the Presidential campaign.

Mr. Bush has proposed an elaborate plan that would rely on competition between prepaid providers, like health maintenance organizations, to control costs. The plan would provide poor families with tax credits to buy basic medical insurance. And it would encourage small employers to buy insurance through large purchasing cooperatives. That would stop the perverse practice by which such companies negotiate low premiums by hiring only healthy workers.

Those are smart ideas. But Mr. Bush emasculated his plan by refusing to take the tax-related steps needed to make it work. He would not make the proposed tax credits large enough to guarantee affordable coverage. He would not limit the deductibility of premiums — the best way to encourage consumers to choose cost-effective H.M.O.'s. And he wouldn't eliminate tax deductions for employer-based coverage if the company refused to join a purchasing cooperative.

In short, as serious Republicans know, the Bush plan promises much but delivers little.

Meanwhile, Governor Clinton hasn't even proposed a coherent plan, only oratory better calculated to appease important Congressional Democrats than to create sound policy.

The Governor has endorsed "play or pay," whereby employers would be required to play — provide health insurance to workers — or else pay a tax to enroll them in a public plan. Play-or-pay is, at best, a step toward universal coverage. But many

experts believe the strategy is unworkable. In any event, it doesn't address the hard problem of controlling costs.

For that, Mr. Clinton favors global budgets. But he hasn't defined the term or said how budgets would be enforced. The obvious conjecture is that he wants to set a national limit on health care spending, backed by massive price controls. But knowledgeable Clinton advisers recoil at the prospect of running one of the largest sectors of the economy by government edict.

They are working to get around Mr. Clinton's pronouncement by defining it away and pushing him to adopt a "Jackson Hole global budget," referring to the group of health care experts who invented the term. The idea is to set, instead of a national target for physician and hospital fees, only the premium that providers would be allowed to charge for basic coverage. Because the premium would not vary with actual expenditures, Jackson Hole budgets would discourage doctors and hospitals from providing unnecessary procedures.

Take another look at the emerging debate: Governor Clinton's advisers are pushing him to use some of the same market forces — competition among cost-conscious H.M.O.'s — backed by Mr. Bush. And Mr. Bush's advisers are pushing tax measures built in to Mr. Clinton's play-or-pay formulation.

If this weren't a tense campaign season, that gap could be closed in 15 minutes of negotiation. Mr. Bush could drop his destructive no-tax pledge. Mr. Clinton could adopt Jackson Hole global budgets. And the country would gain a potentially splendid health care plan.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

The Video Dial Tone, Strangled

Pick up your phone, call the neighborhood video store and ask that "Casablanca" be transmitted to your TV set.

Dial a department store and, also on your TV set, call up its display of new fall sweaters and place your order.

Send yourself, by phone and television, to a professor's live lecture at a distant university.

Science fiction? Not for long. The Federal Communications Commission has just authorized "video dial tone" — transmission of television and other video services over phone lines. Dial-up movies could be commonplace by the early 00's.

Video dial tone would open the way for astonishing new services and end cable's grip over household viewing. But there's a huge hurdle: the need to lay perhaps \$400 billion of fiber-optic lines throughout America.

That's what makes the F.C.C. decision threatening. Not content to let phone companies distribute video programs, the commission proposes giving them increased ownership rights over their content. That wedge could grow big and dangerous, handing over control of both the pipeline and the information.

The F.C.C., by permitting phone companies to own video services, would in effect be bribing them to lay fiber-optic lines and produce programs. But the inducement would create vicious conflicts of interest. Phone companies would have financial reason and, despite regulatory oversight, opportunity to slough off the cost of the fiber-optic investment

onto captive phone customers. That would be costly to consumers and would give the companies an unfair competitive advantage in the race to sell video services.

Another, graver threat goes to the heart of free expression. If, as expected, the phone companies are eventually allowed to own controlling interest in programs, they would have a stake in pushing their service, and not a competitor's. The F.C.C. denies any such threat because, under its plan, phone companies would act as common carriers — providing customers equal access to any information service they wished to call. The phone companies would no more decide which movie a family dialed up than which neighbor it called. Perhaps.

But video dial tone is not a fact, so far just an idea whose dimensions aren't known. No one can be sure that phone companies would be scrupulous in using their chokehold over fiber-optic lines. The New York Times Company has opposed allowing them to own video services out of concern that they would wield unfair advantage selling classified ads and other services.

A fiber-optic network can be built without bribing phone companies. Steven Rivkin and Jeremy Rosner, researchers at the Progressive Policy Institute, propose an ingenious plan by which electric and other utilities would build the network. A still simpler, more direct approach would have Congress pay for the fiber-optic network.

Regulators don't have to make a Faustian bargain with phone companies. But they do need to separate control over the pipeline from control over content. Pipeline control has to be concentrated. In a democracy, control over content dare not be.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

Riverside South: Still Questions

Will the abandoned Penn Yards — 74.6 prime acres on Manhattan's Hudson River waterfront — ever be put to good use? The last 30 years are littered with false starts. Now, a coalition of civic groups has persuaded Donald Trump to scale back his first proposal, a dense design that included the tallest building in the world. Exit Television City. Enter Riverside South.

Mr. Trump's newest version, with 16 apartment buildings, a huge film studio and a riverfront park, is an improvement on its outsize predecessor. Even so, the City Planning Commission is obliged to ask Mr. Trump a lot of tough questions before approving Riverside South. Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger has already won some intelligent concessions; more may be required.

The Highway. The project's centerpiece is a 21.5-acre park along the river, made possible by moving an elevated portion of the old Miller Highway inland and down to grade level. But that road, better known as the West Side Highway, is being rebuilt right now, with \$62 million in Federal and state funds.

What will happen to the riverfront park, and the whole project, if the highway can't be shifted?

Sewage. Riverside South, which stretches from 59th Street to 72d, will further burden the troubled North River sewage treatment plant. At Ms. Messinger's insistence, Mr. Trump guarantees that the project will not add to volume. How? By building a new treatment plant on-site, or by cutting down on

the flow of water by retrofitting toilets, faucets and showerheads elsewhere in Manhattan, partially at his expense. Both plans seem unrealistic.

Subways. The 72d Street subway station, already dangerously crowded, needs expansion. Under the Messinger agreement, Mr. Trump will contribute \$5 million to a job that will cost between \$30 million and \$50 million.

The Metropolitan Transportation Authority argues that Mr. Trump should pay the entire cost. The M.T.A. is ultimately responsible for its own facility. But Mr. Trump has an obligation. Is \$5 million enough?

The Park. The proposal envisions a waterfront park so complicated and sophisticated that it will cost the developer \$63 million to build, and perhaps 10 times the park average to maintain. Under the Messinger agreement, Mr. Trump will relieve the city of half the maintenance cost. But wouldn't a less-ambitious park leave Mr. Trump with more cash for, say, the subway station, and save the city money as well?

Density. Is 8.3 million square feet, including 5,700 apartments, too much? That's considerably less than Television City's 14 million square feet, but still very large. Could the project be scaled down and remain economically viable?

The Planning Commission will vote in October. Then, within 50 days, the City Council gets its turn. Time is on the city's side to refine an ambitious plan that still has room for improvement.

PAUL GREENBERG

The many chords of New Mexico

THIS is the radio of a rented car in a strange landscape can produce revelations as well as rap. Shortly after some strong coffee, a bowl of pozole, the Indian corn stew, a little guacamole and the first flour tortilla of the trip, there comes the haunting sound of Indian music over the public-access station. Beautiful. Eerie. Isolated. Not unlike the bright flowers, strange varieties of pine and distant mountains on the horizon that keep changing their shade of blue gray green every minute.

Then comes a mod documentary, and all outdoors is wiped away by modernity and its irresistible compulsion to substitute ideology for understanding, division for unity. The young — too young — voice in an ancient land explains that while the "dominant" American culture seeks only money, the Indian culture (invariably called Native American, as if to exclude the rest of us native Americans) is deeply attached to values like the land, religion, and

Paul Greenberg is editorial page editor of the Arkansas Democrat Gazette in Little Rock and a nationally syndicated columnist.

community. One wonders if the narrator ever met a denizen of the Ozarks or a Delta planter or a black preacher who's a shade tree mechanic during the week. Or any other kind of deeply rooted native American.

It is good to extol the culture of the pueblo (a Spanish word in origin) but not to hear others mindlessly stereotyped. For every reference to the Anglo- or "dominant" culture, one could substitute the word "Jew" and have a fair approximation of Nazi propaganda during the 1930s.

Segue to the next segment: an interview with an American Indian poet who objects to letting others tell Indian stories. Stories, she explains, are power — and these interlopers are stealing our people's power! It is one of the nervier rationales for censorship to come my way of late. Should the English object to everyone else's producing Shakespeare? Or the Germans to others' playing Beethoven? Are not literature and music power, too?

The poet herself is speaking in English. Is not language power? By her own weird logic, should not she be confined to speaking Navajo? There is more nonsense spoken in this brief segment than you could shake a tomahawk at. It's all brought to us courtesy of, you guessed it, a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts. Your tax money at work, confusing, embittering and dividing us in step with the latest American fashion and imperative: From out of one, many. Outside the mountains rise unheeding. Wish I could.

Walking through the adobe-bordered lanes of Santa Fe up, up, up to St. John's College — which may be the last redoubt of classical education on the continent — one is struck again by the wisdom of the town's planners. They know enough not to overdevelop the place. The result is a constant stream of tourists from places bent on overdevelopment — and the residue we tourists inspire: the faddish, the precious, the un-

It is good to extol the culture of the pueblo (A word that is Spanish in origin) but not to hear others mindlessly stereotyped.

anchored feel to the public spaces, the consciousness of hidden private ones.

In the bookstore at St. John's, surrounded by more wisdom than I'll ever be able to ponder, one is no longer in New Mexico but in an even stranger terrain — the past, where they do things differently.

One can be in a place only physically while thought resides elsewhere. I pick up a commentary on

Vico, the vastly underappreciated Italian who urged historians not to interpret the past within the straitened boundaries of their own time but to enter that other, mythic dimension and see with other eyes, feel with other emotions.

Then we leave St. John's and go down, down, down, talking of old times in Arkansas, transported to still another place — and time.

It is the middle of August, but we must bundle up to attend the almost-outdoor Santa Fe Opera, where the natural setting regularly upstages the art. The dress at the opera in Santa Fe varies from Opening-Night-at-the-Met to Southeast-Arkansas-Livestock-Show-and-Rodeo. It is a great improvement over any uniform dress code. One can admire the audience as well as the performance.

From the ridiculous to the sublime: Strauss' "Die Fledermaus" one evening, Mozart's "Don Giovanni" the next. The perfect little stage set-

tings of Strauss' waltz-time operetta are dwarfed by the mountains, the spaces, the changing colors, the lightning and clouds behind — just as Europe is by the American West. But "Don Giovanni" transcends even the mountains, perhaps because Mozart was not European. By nationality he was an angel.

We drive out of town in search of any remaining desolation. We realize again why prophets retire to the wilderness and have their phone calls held. Instead of locusts and honey, we sample soups of flavors untasted since our last visit to Mexico City. In this country, meals are accompanied by tortillas, salsa and awe, which is the inescapable call to prayer.

Coming home, we look down on Little Rock as we cross the river and approach the shade of the trees. The city, like Arkansas itself, looks like some great, welcoming sanctuary from the trendy.

DONALD LAMBRO

A memorandum circulating in the White House, which concludes that the U.S. Treasury has the authority to index capital gains taxes, opens up a golden opportunity for President Bush to jump start the economy on his own.

The president and his politically savvy chief of staff, James A. Baker III, know the present Democratic-controlled Congress is never going to give him the capital gains tax incentives needed to spur new investment and help move the economy forward between now and Nov. 3.

And Mr. Bush has recoiled from proposals to unilaterally index capital gains for inflation by using the Treasury's discretionary authority to promulgate such a regulation on its own because of a Justice Department advisory against it.

But now the president has a new, well-researched legal memorandum in hand. Authored by two former Justice Department attorneys, they conclude that the Treasury has such inherent authority; that Congress has never ruled otherwise; and that, indeed, both the House and the Senate have at different times in recent sessions actually approved indexation measures.

In a study commissioned by the respective foundations of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Taxpayers Union, attorneys Charles Cooper and Michael Carvin of the Washington law firm of Shaw, Pittman, Potts and Trowbridge produced a persuasive 90-page memorandum that is being widely circulated among key advisers in the White House as well as the Bush campaign.

The issue: Does the Treasury De-

Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Bush tax cut nearing?

partment have a solid legal foundation under the Internal Revenue Code to issue a regulation that allows taxpayers to factor in the effect of inflation in determining their taxable gain from the sale of a capital asset?

Messrs. Cooper and Carvin's unambiguous conclusion is "that the legal basis for such a regulation is sound and would amply support its conscientious adoption by the Treasury."

"Indeed," they add, "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."

At the very core of the issue is the statutory meaning of the word "cost" in the tax code's capital gains provisions in determining the value of the assets being sold for tax purposes.

Mr. Cooper and Mr. Carvin believe that the Treasury "has administrative discretion to reinterpret 'cost' to take account of the economic reality that a 'gain' attributable solely to inflation adds nothing to the taxpayer's real wealth or purchasing power."

The complex issues surrounding capital gains indexing, which would free billions of dollars in investment capital that has been building for a number of years, are critical to get-

see LAMBRO, page E4

LAMBRO

From page E1

ting the sputtering economy humming again. Former Treasury economists Gary and Aldonna Robbins say that the economic-growth impact from this one reform alone would be significant, creating some 988,000 new jobs and adding \$1.6 trillion to the nation's gross domestic product over the next eight years.

Not only would it reinvigorate our slumbering economy, it would produce more federal revenue from

asset sales and increased growth to help shrink the deficit. In a separate study for the U.S. Chamber, the two Dallas-based economists estimated that indexing capital gains would swell federal tax revenues "by about \$20 billion over the first four years."

While Mr. Bush is still seeking a nearly 50 percent reduction in the capital gains tax rate from its present 28 percent to 15 percent, capital gains indexing, their study concludes, would be more beneficial to the economy over the longer run: "In the long run, we estimate that the change would be, on average, equiv-

alent to an 80 percent exclusion of nominal (unadjusted) capital gains," they said.

Significantly, indexing capital gains would lower the cost of capital, the lifeblood of job-creating business investment, and thus would increase the nation's economic growth. Among other things, this single economic reform would:

- Create 542,000 new jobs by 1996.
- Increase capital formation by \$1.6 trillion over the next four years and by \$2.7 trillion over the next eight years.
- Expand the nation's economy

by \$473 billion by 1996 and \$1.6 trillion by the end of the decade.

This is an economic battle that state and local officials should also be leading. The surge in asset sales and new capital investment would not only result in a net federal revenue gain of \$38.6 billion a year from higher economic growth, it would increase state and local government revenues as well by a similar amount.

It is doubtful at this stage that the president is willing to take a chance on an issue that would likely end up in the courts and take many months to resolve.

But there is a strong case for his doing so at this critical juncture in our economy. It would highlight his determination to fight for pro-growth economic reforms and give new impetus to mandating capital gains indexing in the pending tax bill in Congress.

More important, perhaps, it would draw a sharp contrast between Mr. Bush's pro-private investment proposals to expand the nation's economic pie for everyone and Bill Clinton's policies to redistribute the nation's wealth through higher taxes on investors and entrepreneurs.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992 •

SUZANNE FIELDS

Political conventions rally the troops, but they can numb the mind.

So it was in Houston, no less than in New York. Delegates cheered their favorite speakers and defended those who laid eggs, even rotten ones. But sound bites, repeated clichés and snappy slogans are short circuits to the mind.

When the convention was over, a sane visitor with a little time on her hands wanted to seek another city, one appealing to the mind and the soul, and found it in, of all places, Houston — and the Houston Museum of Fine Arts.

"Rescuers: Portraits of Moral Courage in the Holocaust" are the photographs of Gay Block in praise of the men and women who risked their lives to save Jews, refusing to be bystanders to brutality. The exhibition takes on added poignancy against the backdrop of events in Bosnia, horror tales reflected in the headlines of the newspapers on the streets of Houston.

None of the men and women in the photographs see themselves as heroes. But in deed and word, they are "messengers of the Most High."

The accompanying catalog tells of Giorgio Perlasca, an Italian from Padua who had a job in the Spanish Embassy in Budapest. When the Spanish envoy left, he took the Spanish name of "Jorge," and told everyone he was the Spanish charge d'affaires. He carried food and water to Jews in safe houses and forged travel documents for thousands to escape.

A mother superior and seven nuns who lived in a Dominican convent near Vilna, Lithuania, outfitted fugitives with nuns' habits and smuggled guns into the ghetto. They sheltered Jews with their prayers and their heroism.

Luisa Steenstra was a kindergarten teacher in the Netherlands when the Germans invaded. She wouldn't work for the Nazis, so she became a secretary for a business owned by Jews. Soon she and her husband hid Jews behind a false wall in their attic. A neighbor ratted on them, and the SS arrived. When Albert Steenstra refused to say where he had hid the Jews, the Nazis' German shepherd chewed off his ear. Then they shot him and all the Jews in the attic. Mrs. Steenstra escaped barefoot through snow-covered streets with her daughter.

Suzanne Fields, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

Quiet heroes of the Holocaust



Above: Janke and Johannes DeVries, 1939. Below: Bobby and Eef (Shlomo and Eva Haringman), 1944, the children the DeVries hid from the Nazis.

These heroic men and women are honored by Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, the memorial to the 6 million Jews who were victims of the Holocaust. Yad Vashem is a place of mourning, but also of celebration, where trees mark the courage and compassion of each savior, where Christian rescuers of Europe are honored as "the Righteous Among the Nations."

Their heroism is both cosmic and mundane, testifying to physical bravery and the morality that survives in the smaller details of everyday life. Killing an enemy and carrying down waste pots from an attic

are on the continuum of courage. The milkman who never asked why he delivered an extra liter of milk is a hero. So is the postman who never commented on the dark-haired child who watched him from the window.

Some rescuers risked their lives for an hour, some for the duration of World War II. Some saved one Jew, others saved thousands. What all the rescuers had in common was an inability to avert their eyes to the tragedy of others. They could not look the other way.

"I still can't understand how we'd be so crazy to risk our lives for those

strange people," says Johannes DeVries, who with his wife hid two Jewish children, a brother and sister, all during the war in their home in Limburg, the Netherlands. He tells his story in a videotaped conversation accompanying the exhibition.

"Yeah, we'd never do it again, would we?" asks Mrs. DeVries. "No," says her husband. Then husband and wife look at each other and laugh with a sense of perplexity and pleasure that adds wonder and glory to human affirmation. "You know just as well as I do we would do the same thing over."

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992 *

Virginia breaks out in HOVs

See if you can guess who said this: "All of us in public service would like to please those we serve. But it is not always possible." Obviously no one in the private sector would say something like that. A department store clerk with that sort of approach to public service would be out of a job. But a government official with that same approach has all the qualifications to be head of Virginia's Commonwealth Transportation Board.

That's exactly what CTB Commissioner Ray Pethtel told Rep. Frank Wolf in a recent letter. Mr. Wolf had expressed concern that his constituents didn't seem to appreciate Mr. Pethtel's plan to charge them for driving on the Dulles Toll Road and then refuse to allow them to use lanes set aside for high-occupancy vehicles lanes that Mr. Wolf's constituents paid to build. Mr. Pethtel's six-page response, marked by the tone of the sentence above, can be reduced to two words: Too bad.

It doesn't take a physician to see that Mr. Pethtel has a bad case of the HOVs — not to be confused with hives. HOVs is a condition that deludes highway officials in Richmond into believing that there is no traffic problem they can't solve with a little more government oversight and a little less comment from the public. To judge from the HOV lanes springing up around the state, the delusion is contagious.

The irony in this particular controversy is that Mr. Wolf is hardly 100 percent opposed to HOV lanes. So a spokesman in his office explained to this page the other day. He just doesn't believe toll-road traffic warrants HOV lanes right now. He worries that forcing three current lanes of traffic into the two non-HOV lanes Mr. Pethtel has planned would muck up the environment with the exhaust of cars stalled in bumper-to-bumper traffic. He also worries that because the state has designated left lanes on the toll road as HOV, drivers pulled over by police will have to cross two lanes of traffic to make it to the right-hand shoulder, creating a traffic hazard.

Not to worry, says Mr. Pethtel, the eight state

troopers he has assigned to patrol rush-hour traffic in search of cars without the government-required number of riders will try to pull cars over to the left. And if the drivers follow their instincts and go right, what are the troopers going to do? Arrest them? Anyone outside of government would probably think this is a somewhat peculiar use of scarce law-enforcement dollars.

Mr. Pethtel also argues that from an environmental perspective, speeds of 30 mph to 50 mph are best for air quality. What he calls "free-flowing HOV lanes" will enable drivers to achieve those speeds. That argument neatly avoids the problem of the speeds of drivers locked up in non-HOV lanes. It also somehow fails to speak to the state of mind of people who have come tooling into Washington from, say, Reston at an environmentally sound 30 mph.

What Mr. Wolf is in an excellent position to understand is that drivers faced with that prospect day after day may not be all that excited about sending him back to Congress. So, rejected by Mr. Pethtel, Mr. Wolf has approached Gov. L. Douglas Wilder about delaying HOV designations on the toll road.

There is a solution to this mess, offered many times in this space. It starts with the understanding that there are no such things as shortages. There are only prices. If the sales price for televisions is too low, the store runs out of sets. If the highway department charges too little for driving, you run short of space to drive. The solution is to raise so-called congestion fees at rush hour until supply meets demand.

Although government planners may find that a novel concept, buyers and sellers around the world have relied on it to exchange goods and services for a few thousand years, and they have achieved a certain degree of success. If Mr. Pethtel can't handle the notion of markets, then Virginia should sell the toll road to someone who can, someone who can save us from another case of the HOVs. And in the meantime, keep the lanes open to all traffic.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992 *

Fighter jets for Taiwan

President Bush has been taking quite a bit of heat this election season for spending too much time on foreign policy and not enough worrying about the state of things at home. Well, here's something he can do that neatly combines saving American jobs and helping a friend abroad. It's an opportunity Mr. Bush ought not pass up.

The deal in question involves the sale of 180 F-16 fighter jets the government of Taiwan wants to purchase from General Dynamics Corp. The jets have been on Taipei's wish list for quite a while — 11 years in fact. Taiwan's current fleet of fighters, about 400 Northrop F-5E and Lockheed F-104 fighters, is getting pretty long in tooth, accident-prone and difficult to repair.

So far, however, the sale has been blocked by both the Reagan and Bush administrations for fear of displeasing mainland China. Officially, the Shanghai Communiqué of 1982 has been cited. Under the terms of this agreement with the mainland, the United States promised not to sell more or better weapons to Taiwan than it had provided up to that point.

In an interview with the Los Angeles Times on July 23, Mr. Bush stated that he might now be willing to reconsider the administration's position. There are compelling reasons for doing so. For one thing, Mr. Bush would be saving a lot of American jobs. The U.S. Air Force has stopped ordering the F-16s, and, as a result, General Dynamics, which is in Texas, stands to be reducing its payroll by some 3,000 people. That number does not include the thousands of jobs provided by subcontractors in 47 other states. Very possibly these facts weighed heavily on Mr. Bush's mind when he gave the interview in which he mentioned the possibility of a reconsideration during a visit to Texas.

Taiwan has not even asked to co-produce the planes. The \$4 billion will flow straight into the American economy. If Mr. Bush says no once again, Taiwan may give up and purchase Mirage jets from France instead.

But, as Mr. Bush rightly pointed out, foreign policy cannot be dictated by the need for jobs at home. Most important in the international equation is mainland China's order for 24 SU-27 fighter jets from Russia and its possible plans to purchase more. Such acquisitions will dramatically alter the balance of power across the Taiwan Strait. China currently has some 3,000 MiG-19s and MiG-21s, which are even more outdated than the Taiwanese planes. But the new additions from Russia — capable fighters that can refuel in the air — will put China significantly ahead.

By permitting the sale of the F-16s, Mr. Bush will ensure the deterrence that has kept Taiwan safe, prosperous and increasingly free. This is all the more important at a time when Taiwan is finding itself increasingly diplomatically isolated as more and more countries establish ties with the People's Republic of China. The most recent was South Korea.

Mr. Bush will be helping to ensure peace and stability in the Far East, and he will be helping an old friend and ally as well. As for hurting the feelings of mainland China, Mr. Bush might well ask himself what he has gotten in return for China's Most Favored Nation status and all sorts of diplomatic efforts directed at its communist leaders recently. It has been precious little. Accommodating Taiwan's legitimate defense needs is likely to have a salutary effect on U.S. relations with the mainland in the long run. Until now, those relations have been long on carrots and short on sticks. The United States has other Chinese friends in the area, and Beijing needs to understand that.

A little SAT improvement

The average scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test rose a mite in 1992, according to a College Board analysis released last week. That was good news considering that scores had been heading south since 1987, uninterrupted until now. The most recent period of declining scores has been part of a general decline that has been going on for years. This time, however, college-bound high school students managed to boost the national average on the verbal section of the test a whole point. The scores of the mathematics test-takers also improved, making up for the 2-point deficit of last year.

The scores are no bell-ringers. The math and verbal sections combined averaged only 899 out of a possible 1,600. Nonetheless, the numbers are encouraging, particularly to those who are anxious to record some gain, any gain, in American education, criticism of standardized tests notwithstanding.

SAT detractors have argued against using the test as a guidepost for student achievement. They dismiss the exam as biased and irrelevant to genuine academic performance. Students can be coached to take the test and performing well does not mean they have developed better computation skill or reading comprehension; it merely shows they can take tests well. The point is well taken.

Still, it is the yardstick on hand.

No matter what you may believe about the pertinence of standardized tests, there are victories, tiny as they may be, to glean from the analysis of this year's examination. For one, more than 1 million students took the SAT, representing 42 percent of high school

seniors. That is a greater percentage than has ever taken the exam, which is required by most colleges. Presumably, more students see the advantages of an advanced education. That, too, is a good sign. An educated population is the strength of a nation.

The story in the District is especially encouraging. Seventy-three percent of D.C.'s graduating seniors took the test, the sixth-highest rate in the nation. (The rate compares to Virginia's 63 percent and Maryland's 66 percent.) District students, private and public schools together, also modestly improved their average score in math, increasing by 2 points to 842. Apart, public school students gained 3 points for a combined score of 705 — not a huge improvement when measured against the metropolitan area, but an improvement just the same.

Math will be the score to watch over the next few years in the District. Analysts attribute the increase in national math scores to students taking advanced math classes. D.C. Schools Superintendent Franklin L. Smith has established algebra as a requirement for all ninth-graders beginning this fall.

Montgomery County's black students dramatically improved their combined average. In 1990 and 1991, the scores of those students plummeted 34 points. This year, the score improved by 23 points, for a total score of 821. This is 82 points above the national average posted by black students.

As in the case of Montgomery's students, no one is able to pinpoint the payoff or venture to say what it all may mean. But improvements, whether slight or dramatic, are a much-needed boost to the spirits.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992 *

JEFFREY HART

Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected in 1944 to a fourth term. Only two other presidents in this century could have approached that feat, had it been constitutionally permissible: Dwight D. Eisenhower certainly could have won a third term in 1960, and Ronald Reagan surely could have won a third term in 1988.

Gen. Eisenhower radiated trustworthiness, and he presided over the risky early phase of the nuclear age. His accomplishments aside, however, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Reagan will be seen historically as the dominating presidents of this century. They both made an enormous difference.

The major media industry and the chattering intellectual classes have been attempting to minimize Mr. Reagan's accomplishments, but those accomplishments are a matter of history.

When Mr. Reagan took office in 1981, inflation was roaring along at double-digit figures, inching toward 15 percent. Inflation was devouring income, wasting savings.

Mr. Reagan's predecessor, Jimmy Carter, had fooled around with price and credit controls. Mr. Reagan tackled inflation head-on, supporting the shock therapy of Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volker. There was a brief recession, but Mr. Reagan stayed the course, and halfway through his first term inflation was down to around 2 percent.

Also, Mr. Reagan understood supply-side economics. By barreling through the Kemp-Roth tax cuts, he led the way to a seven-year burst of economic growth, the longest sustained boom since, well, the Eisenhower 1950s.

Remember President Gerald Ford's strategy for fighting inflation? It was a button that said "WIN" — for "whip inflation now." Mr. Reagan and Mr. Volker actually whipped it.

The great Reagan years of prosperity are now disparaged as years of "greed." In other words, "idealism" is defined as giving Sen. Edward Kennedy, Massachusetts Democrat, and his ilk more of your income to "redistribute" to their pals. The Reagan years were not years of greed but years of stunning prosperity.

In addition, Mr. Reagan knew how to deal with the liberal media. He held few news conferences, and when he did speak, he spoke past the media directly to the people, even as Mr. Roosevelt did in his fireside chats. The then-Republican media loathed Mr. Roosevelt, and the cur-

Jeffrey Hart is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Record of strength, stunning prosperity



Ronald Reagan

Flexible as he was, Reagan continued to play from strength. He and his advisers knew the Soviets could not compete with the advanced technology of the strategic defense initiative, ridiculed as "star wars." The Soviets weren't laughing.

rently liberal media loathe Mr. Reagan.

Mr. Reagan came to the presidency with a few strong ideas, and he carried them through. He intended to limit the growth of government and lower taxes, and he was particularly successful at that. In foreign policy, he meant to strengthen the military capability against the "evil empire," and he did so.

The chattering classes were appalled by the phrase "evil empire," but Mr. Reagan was right on the mark. Virtually all of those who lived in that empire agree that it was indeed evil.

When the evil empire moved its medium-range SS-24 missiles into Europe in order to intimidate NATO, Mr. Reagan, Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl had the political fortitude to counter with the deployment of U.S. Pershing II missiles. The chattering classes hated the Pershing II, but Moscow understood the capabilities of that missile. Intimidation was over.

Mr. Reagan also had the flexibility to see that with the accession of Mikhail Gorbachev something new was happening in the Soviet Union. In this he was prompted by Mrs. Thatcher, who saw that we could "do business" with Mr. Gorbachev.

Yet flexible as he was, Mr. Reagan continued to play from strength. He and his advisers knew the Soviets could not compete with the advanced technology of the strategic defense initiative, ridiculed as "star wars." The Soviet high command wasn't laughing.

In Central America, Mr. Reagan's policies led to the overthrow of the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua and the defeat of the communist guerrillas in El Salvador. Teddy Roosevelt would have smiled with approval.

Mr. Carter dithered around with our hostages in Iran. The mullahs in Tehran knew enough not to fool around with Mr. Reagan. The hostages were released at the time of his inauguration.

This was in some ways reminiscent of Gen. Eisenhower's settling of the Korean War. Harry S. Truman did not know how to end the war, and it cost him his presidency. Gen. Eisenhower hinted that he would use nuclear weapons, and the Chinese understood that he meant it.

Both Gen. Eisenhower and Mr. Reagan radiated friendliness, even love, but under it they were serious and, if need be, ruthless. So was Mr. Roosevelt.

A bit of memory: When Mr. Reagan was governor of California and there was under way an insurrection at Berkeley plus Black Panther's threatening a "blood bath," he said, "If they want a blood bath, we'll have a blood bath." That calmed things down more or less immediately.

It was heartening to see and hear Mr. Reagan at the Republican National Convention. He reminded us of what an American president could be.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992 *

ARNOLD BEICHMAN

When China's rulers tumble

Are we going to be surprised once more, as we were about the Soviet Union's fall, when the Chinese regime collapses?

It is only a matter of time. China's geriatocracy can only hold on for another few years before it is replaced by a new leadership. If the replacements will be Deng Xiaoping clones, the stability, let alone the legitimacy, of the regime will be in peril. The vast mass of the Chinese people, especially the young people, are visibly dissatisfied. Tiananmen Square was no mere passing fancy. There will be one, two, three, more Tiananmen Squares. They will not easily be crushed by terror.

If the regime lasts until 1997 when China legally takes over Hong Kong, the infusion of a market-oriented, consumer-minded, entrepreneurial people like the Hong Kong Chinese could weaken an already ideologically bankrupt regime — unless, of course, China is prepared to open up thousands more slave labor factories. Imagine what would happen to communist China if an economic powerhouse like Taiwan were ever to be incorporated into the mainland regime.

The fall of the Soviet Union, so unexpected by Western experts and governments, portends the coming demise of China's communist regime, an eventuality that most academic Sinologists have yet to consider. Why should a reforming China be immune from the same counter-revolutionary forces that dumped Soviet Marxism-Leninism into the rubbish bin of history?

Prof. Charles Fairbanks has noted that we have just witnessed "the catastrophic destruction of a system that everyone thought a few years ago would undergo continued erosion of the ideology but no abandonment of it, and continued economic reform within an authoritarian political context. We expected: continuity and stability. Every one of these assumptions proved to be wrong."

The greatest danger to the communist regime, in my opinion, comes from this simple fact: More than half of China's economy "is no longer in state hands," to quote the London Economist, "and the private share of the economy has been growing rapidly." And what is not in private hands, namely the state enterprises, is bankrupt. China's economy is



"My problem is, Doctor, that no one pays attention to me anymore."

Will Deng, now 87, dare to unleash a metastasizing reign of terror against the Chinese people?

showing remarkable results: In the first five months of the year, its gross domestic product was 11 percent higher than in the same period last year; industrial output 18 percent higher and real income per person 16 percent higher, according to the Economist.

Why is that dangerous to the regime? Because what President Reagan predicted to the British Parliament in his 1982 Westminster speech about the future of the Soviet Union may apply all the more compellingly to China with its "go-go" economy. Said Mr. Reagan:

"In an ironic sense, Karl Marx was right. We are witnessing today a great revolutionary crisis, a crisis where the demands of the economic order are conflicting directly with the political. But the crisis is happening not in the free, non-Marxist West, but in the home of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union. . . . What we see here is a political structure that no longer corresponds to its economic base, a society where productive forces are hampered by political ones."

There has been a great improvement for the Chinese people since the Chinese ideologues announced six years ago that Marxism isn't the answer to everything. That announcement received such a roar of

approval from the Chinese people that Mr. Deng and his Politburo immediately retreated from that revisionist position. But these two events — the very improvement in the Chinese economic way of life and the leadership's concession that Marxism-Leninism doesn't have all the answers — endanger the future of communism in Asia.

As Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in his masterwork, "The Old Regime":

"[I]t is not always when things are going from bad to worse that revolutions break out. On the contrary, it oftener happens that when a people which has just put up with an oppressive rule over a long period of time without protest suddenly finds the government relaxing its pressure, it takes up arms against it. . . . Patiently endured so long as it seemed beyond redress, a grievance comes to appear intolerable once the possibility of removing it crosses men's minds. For the mere fact that certain abuses have been remedied draws attention to the others and they now appear more galling."

Communism, as we have seen in the case of Mikhail Gorbachev, who tried it, is unreformable and leads to systemic suicide. Once the ideology goes, either the regime goes or, in its last convulsions, the regime falls back on terror or prison camps, as Mr. Deng and his minions are doing. Will Mr. Deng, now 87, dare to do what Mr. Gorbachev didn't dare — unleash a metastasizing reign of terror against the Chinese people?

What should U.S. policy toward China be today and tomorrow when the typhoon winds of change storm the Chinese mainland? We expect answers from President Bush and Bill Clinton, or do they agree with each other?

Arnold Beichman, a research fellow at the Hoover Institution, is a columnist for The Washington Times.

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992

ALSTON CHASE

In the summer of 1579, after spending a profitable spring pillaging Spanish settlements along the west coast of South America, the English mariner Sir Francis Drake landed in California to repair his ship, the Golden Hind. To the English, who were fighting an undeclared war against Spain, Drake was a hero. But the Spanish called him "a cruel, ruthless and unprincipled pirate." They were irate that Drake was taking the gold they had stolen from the Incas.

More recently, Paul Watson, feisty leader of the eco-buccaneers, the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, arrived in California after having spent the summer pillaging Japanese drift netters in the Pacific. Mr. Watson is hoping his adversaries will charge Sea Shepherds with piracy, so he can test the issue of drift netting in court. But as yet, the Japanese have not lodged an official complaint. So Mr. Watson has hired a lawyer and is trying to force them to charge him. He wants the opprobrium he thinks he deserves.

So, like Drake, Mr. Watson raises the question: Is he a pirate, or are his enemies, the drift netters who illegally plunder the riches of the sea, killing millions of birds and sea mammals, the real crooks?

Contemporaries described Drake as "of medium stature, blond, rather heavy than slender, merry, careful." Mr. Watson is of medium stature, blond, rather heavy, merry and not very careful. Some say he is a loose cannon on the deck of environmental activism. His rag-tag tars roam the high seas, marauding drift netters and harpooners who flout international fishing and whaling conventions. On July 12, these privateers encountered the Japanese drift-net ships Gen Wan Maru 68 and Gen Wan Maru 76. They followed No. 68 as it laid out 35 miles of net. They filmed the dead animals entangled in this web. They tried to ram No. 76. They threw stink bombs. Then they hauled in two nets — each worth about \$1 million — as evidence of this slaughter.

Mr. Watson reminds us that, while our attention was focused on conventions in New York and Houston, fishing fleets from Japan, Korea, Taiwan, France and many other countries were turning the sea red.

Up to 30 miles long and 150 feet deep, drift nets are intended to catch squid and tuna. But they kill indiscriminately. The State Department estimates Japanese squid fleets have sent 41 million "non-target" animals — including sharks, sea birds and sea turtles — to Davy Jones' locker. Last year they killed 17,000 rare Dall's porpoises alone. The United Nations found drift netters destroy 300,000 mammals a year. On-board observers from the United States, Canada and Japan recorded that, in 1991, 74 Japanese squid ships — representing just 10 percent of that country's drift-net fleet — killed 81,956 blue sharks, 30,464 sea birds, 1,758 dolphins, 535 northern fur seals and 25 endangered leatherback sea turtles.

Alston Chase is a nationally syndicated columnist specializing in environmental issues.

Eco-buccaneers of drift net fishing



Paul Watson

This carnage is increasing despite efforts to stop it. Although in 1989 the United Nations passed a resolution calling for a cap on open seas drift netting, the international industry has nevertheless grown explosively, expanding into the Atlantic, Caribbean and Mediterranean for the first time.

Last December, the United Nations called for complete elimination of drift netting by the end of 1992. Yet rather than ending the fishing, the resolution is merely driving the industry underwater. Pirates, flying flags of convenience, are replacing national fleets. Already, 140 renegade Taiwanese vessels ply the Indian Ocean, an area designated by the International Whaling Commission (IWC) as a whale sanctuary. And the number of illegal ships is growing.

On May 28, a Sea Shepherd commando team, infiltrating heavily

guarded docks in Kaosiung, Taiwan, counted 40 new or refurbished boats, another 27 being refitted for drift netting and a thousand-foot pier under construction. The Japanese, environmental investigators believe, are using Taiwan and other countries as fronts, financing new boats and buying the fish. They report that Mitsubishi, the corporate giant, is heavily involved in the drift-net trade.

The same lawlessness has spread to whaling. Japan kills Minke whales in violation of a 1985 IWC ban on whaling. In June, Iceland and Norway announced they too would defy the IWC. Led by its "environmentalist" prime minister, Gro Harlem Brundtland (who is credited with conceiving the idea of "sustainable development," which inspired the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in June), Norway wasted no time. By July, Greenpeace found Norwegians killing Minkes off the coast of Russia.

To slow this bloody harvest, Congress is considering the "Drift-net Moratorium Enforcement Act" and the "International Whaling Moratorium Enforcement Act," which would ban U.S. sale of fish products from countries violating the U.N. and IWC resolutions. Although good steps, these laws will not stop pirates whose national identities remain hidden behind flags of convenience and interlocking, multinational corporations.

That is why Paul Watson sails the Japanese main. Like Sir Francis Drake, he plunders the plunderers. When nations do not cooperate in enforcing the laws of the sea, it takes a pirate to catch a pirate.

That is why Paul Watson sails the Japanese main. Like Drake, he plunders the plunderers. When nations do not cooperate in enforcing the laws of the sea, it takes a pirate to catch a pirate.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992 *

JOSEPH SOBRAN

After the Republican convention, Democrats (and some pundits who talk like Democrats) charged that many of the Republicans had spewed hate. (Why, by the way, is "hate" always "spewed"?)

The accusers seem to assume that "hate" is something typical of Republicans and conservatives, a purely reactionary emotion that no enlightened liberal or progressive is susceptible to. Whereas, an impartial person might have assumed that every human being is capable of it—and might even have detected a little of it in the oratory of the Democrats, from Mario Cuomo to Maxine Waters.

When progressives hate, it's not called hate. It's called "rage," "outrage," "anger," "indignation" and "militancy." All these terms imply a hostility that is both provoked and focused—whereas "hate" is supposedly gratuitous and indiscriminate. But the patron saint of liberalism, Franklin Roosevelt, expertly stoked hate against "economic royalists," "Copperheads" and "Japs." He understood that the modern state is the ideal organ for mobilizing hatred. But nobody calls him a hate-monger.

"Hate," in short, has become a political term of art. In a political con-

Maybe the liberals who cry "hate" so freely should look more closely into their own hearts. They may just find a little serpent they thought dwelled at Republican headquarters.

text, it means something subtly different from what you might think it means.

In the real world, hate is natural and common. It's probably most intense in those who are quick to accuse others of it. They display the pattern Freud called "projection": We naturally suspect in others the motives we know in ourselves. But, of course, those who like to accuse others of hate never admit that they are prone to it themselves. They want you to think that they are paragons of charity. After all, they are liberals! Charity covers a multitude of sins, but liberalism covers a multitude of hates.

Conservatives, on the other hand, rarely make the charge of "hate" against even their most venomous opponents. Since they are not strongly disposed to it themselves, they are slow to suspect it in others.

Hate is pervasive in the natural world. Different species of animals hate each other, often out of well-founded fear. Most species are completely unresponsive to human be-

Liberal uses of 'hate' ...

nevolence; they just have no capacity for recognizing it. Even our Darwinian cousins the apes have to be approached very, very carefully, as Dian Fossey found.

The human family, where love is most intense, is also the theater of some of the most rancorous hates. Married people, who have chosen each other out of all the world to live with, often find, after a few years, that they hate each other's guts. About half of all marriages end in divorce, many of them extremely bitter. Aeschylus and the Census Bureau will back me up on all this. And terrible discord occurs in "non-traditional families," too. Right, Woody and Mia?

Mothers can even hate their own children. It's nothing rare. A third of all pregnancies are ended by abortion. And plenty of children hate their mothers. Patti Davis is no freak. Intimacy is no guarantor of love. In fact, people often learn to love their parents only when freed from close proximity to them. Some love, thank God, is natural; but mature love takes time and cultivation.

Why is there so much hate? Because every living thing is a potential threat to other living things. We

don't hate the merely inanimate. We hate things whose desires and energies rival or run athwart ours. We feel a spark of hate for the mosquito that lands on our skin; we feel a different kind of hate for those who tyrannize us. We may come to hate even those we love for spurning us, shaming us, disappointing us or insulting us.

There are too many kinds and gradations of aversion for us to say that "hate" in itself is good or bad. Another living thing may threaten my life or my pride; these aren't equally good reasons for hating. Macduff hates Macbeth justly; Iago hates Othello unjustly.

Force people on each other against their wills, and they'll usually hate each other. Let them have their freedom, and they'll generally establish their own optimum distance, not necessarily with love, but with civility and respect. That's all you can ask.

But politics increasingly tries to force people on each other, to make citizens responsible for the welfare of total strangers, to impose a false fraternity on millions. And when you reject "love" on these hypocritical and coercive terms, you're accused of hating. In modern politics, you can be charged with hating anything you prefer not to subsidize, even if it's art that reeks with hatred of your own convictions.

Maybe the liberals who cry "hate" so freely should look more closely into their own hearts. They may just find a little serpent they thought dwelled at Republican headquarters.

Joseph Sobran, critic-at-large for National Review, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

MONA CHAREN

A new study indicates that babies, some as young as 5 months old, have an innate understanding of math, reports the New York Times.

Well, that puts most babies ahead of me.

Now you don't ask a 5-month-old how much two and two equals. But there are ways of figuring out that they understand addition and subtraction. (No one is yet suggesting that babies know algebra.) The researchers placed several Mickey Mouse dolls in front of the babies and then let the children see another doll being placed next to the visible ones but behind a screen. When the screen was removed, the babies stared longer (indicating surprise at the unexpected) if the total number of dolls differed from what they had previously seen. Get it? If not, I may not have explained it very well, or you may not stack up to your infant in braininess.

This research adds to our knowledge about the innate abilities of young babies, once thought to be insensate eating, sleeping and pooping machines. It has long been accepted in scientific circles that linguist (and

Mona Charen is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The math of babes and innate integers

loony leftist) Noam Chomsky was right about babies' innate ability to learn language. Mr. Chomsky said babies don't just imitate adults, they make sense of language according to rules. A fascinating footnote to his thesis was added recently. In studying children raised by deaf parents, scientists discovered that these children begin to sign babble at exactly the same age as hearing babies begin to make babble noises.

But it won't come as news to any parent that children are born with innate knowledge and abilities. There is, for example, the innate knowledge babies have that the stereo is one thing mom and dad do not want him to play with. Research by harried parents has also revealed that babies know VCRs are fun to destroy, as are remote controls and telephones.

In fact, there is a theory, yet to be tested in double-blind studies, that babies are actually motivated to crawl precisely to get at the VCR. A few months later, the impetus to begin walking comes from an innate desire to open the refrigerator and the oven.



Our son Jonathan has just begun to walk. And he doesn't just open the refrigerator, he tries to climb the shelves. He can grab two apples and take bites out of them in the time it takes me to find the milk. Or he'll go for the condiments on the door and have three on the floor in two seconds flat. My husband and I take almost diabolical pleasure therefore in those wonderful gadgets they make to defeat the plans of toddlers. After we had installed the Velcro

lock on the refrigerator, we smiled with glee when our son couldn't open the door. But then our smiles faded. "Gee," we said, "we've outsmarted a 10-month-old."

But of course, people don't have (or adopt) children to make their lives more orderly or their homes more beautiful. We do it for the humor.

Babies' first steps are always bathed in sentiment later. And I will

admit that I was so proud of Jonathan when he took six steps in a row (age 10½ months) that my face went red and my eyes welled. But after that, the spectacle became hilarious. At first, children just propel themselves forward until gravity takes them down. Jonathan would thrust both hands over his head and run, squealing all the way. (So much for the old saw about having to walk before you run.) But the fun really begins when they start compensating and attempting to maintain their balance. For the first few days, this technique took Jonathan in large circles, like a banking airplane.

Now, he steps forward in a mincing movement, toes first, eyes shining with pleasure at his accomplishment. No sooner had he mastered balance than we set him back a bit by buying shoes for him. His first forays in his baby Nikes resembled an adult attempting to walk on dry land wearing swimming flippers.

I'm sure the researchers are right that babies know how to add and subtract. But what is beyond counting is how much they add to your life.

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992 *

Scowcroft sees Iraq set to attack Shi'ites

But general in Gulf differs

By Rowan Scarborough
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush's national security adviser said yesterday that Iraq's military is ready for a new ground offensive against Shi'ite rebels, setting up a potential new confrontation between Baghdad and Washington.

But the president's top military officer in the Persian Gulf, Air Force Lt. Gen. Michael Nelson, told reporters that Iraqi ground forces "looked dispersed and fairly quiet."

National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, appearing on NBC's "Meet the Press," presented a different picture based on intelligence reports. He said two Iraqi divisions in the area have "moved out of their garrisons, and there have been signs of preparation for another ground offensive for several weeks now."

Mr. Scowcroft was not asked about the apparent discrepancy between his assessment and Gen. Nelson's.

Asked how the United States would respond if Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein ordered a ground attack, Mr. Scowcroft said, "I think Saddam ought to take the prospect very seriously."

Last week, the United States, Britain, France and their Arab allies im-

posed a ban on all Iraqi flights below the 32nd parallel as a way to hamstring the Iraqi military's brutal suppression of continuing Shi'ite uprisings.

A new offensive would force Mr. Bush to decide whether the military should become more deeply involved in Iraq's internal strife since Kuwait was liberated 18 months ago.

The administration would have the option of continuing the proclaimed no-fly zone and watching the ground fighting, or warning Iraq of air strikes if the offensive continued, military sources said.

The allies imposed the ban on Iraqi flights, which Saddam has not violated so far, under a U.N. res-

see IRAQ, page A10

IRAQ

From page A1

olution that is supposed to prohibit Baghdad from brutalizing its own people: Kurds in the north and Shi'ites in the south.

At first the allies set up a security zone to protect the Kurds but did not set one up for the Shi'ites, whose rebellion immediately after the war was put down by Iraqi Republican Guards, Saddam's best troops.

Mr. Scowcroft said Shi'ite military operations were limited to popping out of marshes on "hit and run" attacks.

"Indeed, they're doing well if they can defend themselves," he said.

Mr. Bush has rejected suggestions that his new military action is timed for political benefit. Democrats have criticized him for stopping the war last year without deposing Saddam.

Asked about Saddam yesterday, Mr. Scowcroft said, "We'd like to get rid of him, yes."

Gen. Nelson told reporters he may consider reducing the number of enforcement flights because Iraq has shown no sign of flying below the 32nd parallel, the Associated Press reported.

The general spoke to reporters aboard two vessels stationed in the Gulf — the USS LaSalle, flagship of the U.S. Naval Forces Central Command, and the aircraft carrier USS Independence, which has launched 100 flights a day over southern Iraq.

The general is based in Riyadh, which has denied access to Western reporters.

Navy F-14 air-to-air fighters and F-18 ground-attack jets are flying over Iraq, aided by Air Force AWACS early warning radar planes based in Riyadh. The United States also has F-117 stealth fighters, F-15E bombers and F-4G anti-radar planes stationed in Saudi Arabia.

"If it stays peaceful and it runs as smoothly as it has ... it's possible that we may be able to do something less than the high rate we have been running with out here," Gen. Nelson said.

Asked about Iraqi ground activities, he said: "It takes a while to process all the data you have got ... but at the moment they still look dispersed and fairly quiet."

Giving an "order of battle" for Iraq's southern forces, he said eight divisions of about 12,000 troops each were in the region.

"They are not all gaggled together in one place," he said. "They are in various places. There is some armor down there, but not much. We're using everything from eyeballs to sensors to have a look at what's going on up there."

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992 *

Saddam vows to resist flights

Claims allies seek partition

FROM COMBINED DISPATCHES

BAGHDAD — Iraqi President Saddam Hussein vowed yesterday to resist the no-fly zone imposed over southern Iraq by U.S.-led allies but suggested no specific actions his government might take.

It was the first statement from Saddam himself about the flight ban announced last week by President Bush, ostensibly to protect Shi'ite Muslim rebels from air attacks by Iraq's military. The comments, which were read in Saddam's name on Iraqi radio, repeated earlier defiant statements by Iraqi spokesmen.

In the 50-minute statement, Saddam charged that the allies were

plotting to partition Iraq, then the rest of the Arab world, and seize control of their oil wealth. He accused Iran, which is predominantly Shi'ite and fought a 1980-88 war with Iraq, of inciting the allies.

In Washington, a White House spokesman, Walter Kansteiner, denied the Bush administration seeks to break up Iraq. He said the zone was imposed Thursday because a U.N. resolution barring repression of the Iraqi people had been violated by Saddam's campaign to crush the Shi'ite rebellion that began after his defeat in last year's Gulf war.

However, Western diplomats say the no-fly zone is not only designed

to protect Shi'ite rebels in Iraq's southern marshlands but also serves as a warning to Iraq to comply with all U.N. resolutions.

Lt. Gen. Michael Nelson, com-

see SADDAM, page A10

SADDAM

From page A1

mander of U.S. military forces in the Persian Gulf and the officer in charge of Operation Southern Watch, told reporters that contingency plans include responses to attempts by Iraq to obstruct the work of U.N. weapons inspectors. He declined to elaborate.

Senior Iraqi officials have raised the possibility of ending cooperation with U.N. weapon inspections or U.N. humanitarian efforts.

United Nations officials said yesterday a 15-member nuclear weapons team is to go to Baghdad today on the first inspection visit since the no-fly-zone patrols began.

"I think this [the inspection] is a different problem," said Maurizio Zifferero, head of the International Atomic Energy Agency inspection team, after arriving in Bahrain late yesterday.

Mr. Zifferero, an Italian, said his team would inspect sites in Iraq already visited by previous missions and verify destruction work carried out by the Baghdad government over the past three weeks.

However, he said the team might carry out surprise inspections if asked by the U.N. commission charged with scrapping Iraq's weapons of mass destruction.

A Swedish U.N. observer was shot and injured yesterday while on a routine mission on the border between Iraq and Kuwait, Sweden's military said in Stockholm.

It was not clear who fired on Capt. Anders Westberg, 42, who was said to be in good condition in a Kuwait hospital. The Iraqi side of the border there is in the "no-fly zone."

U.N. officials also reported yesterday that a time bomb was attached to a U.N. car in northern Iraq at a government checkpoint Thursday—the day the "no-fly zone" took effect—but was discovered before it could go off.

"Obviously, this was extremely serious, and we are taking it very seriously," said Gualtiero Fulcheri, U.N. coordinator in Iraq.

Three U.N. guards driving to Kurdish rebel-held areas of the north were stopped at the last government checkpoint near Kirkuk and saw a man tampering with their vehicle, the U.N. officials said.

The guards drove away from the checkpoint before looking beneath the car. They found a 2¼-pound TNT bomb with timer and detonator attached to the chassis by a magnet. An expert who defused the bomb said it was set to explode two hours later, when the three U.N. guards would have been deep inside Kurdish rebel territory.

In June, French President Francois Mitterrand's wife, Danielle, narrowly escaped death when a bomb attached to a car carrying guards exploded while she was making a tour of Iraqi Kurdistan. At least four persons were killed and 19 were wounded.

Despite Saddam's angry statement, Baghdad has so far made no signs of breaching the exclusion zone, which applies to all of Iraq south of the 32nd parallel.

Senior U.S. military officers have said they do not expect Iraq to strike at allied air patrols because the situation could escalate quickly.

Gen. Nelson said yesterday the allies may put fewer planes into the air because the Iraqis have not challenged the southern no-fly zone.

To enforce the no-fly zone, the United States is operating about 140 aircraft, divided about equally between air bases in Saudi Arabia and the carrier USS Independence in the Persian Gulf.

Britain has contributed six Tornado jets, stationed in the Saudi base at Dhahran, and Royal Air Force air refueling tankers will be based in Bahrain. France has promised to send 10 aircraft.

Before Saddam's statement was broadcast, the official Iraqi News Agency had said the Iraqi leader would deliver "a historic message" to the nation. It was not known why Saddam did not deliver the address himself.

In the statement, carried by INA, Saddam said the exclusion zone was "designed to create the same situation they created in the north," a reference to Iraq's Kurdish region, which has declared itself autonomous.

The allies established a safe haven for Iraq's Kurds last year after Iraqi troops crushed an uprising in Iraqi Kurdistan following the Persian Gulf war.

Like the new allied protection of Iraq's Shi'ites, the U.S. encouragement of rebel Kurds has caused concern in neighboring countries. Denied a nation of their own, the Kurds are spread in a continuous band through mountain regions of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Georgia and southern Russia.

Yesterday, rebel Kurds launched a major attack on a Turkish border post from across the Iranian border, losing at least 43 dead in a series of running battles, Turkish officials said.

Ten Turkish soldiers died and at least 12 were wounded in the 10-hour fight, the regional governor's office in Turkey's southeastern Diyarbakir province announced.

The fighting was the biggest single engagement in Turkey since Kurdish rebels began fighting in 1984 for self-rule in the region.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992 *

Political pandering perilous

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

George Bush and Bill Clinton walk a tightrope each time they speak to an audience — carefully balancing their words to connect with voters or teetering when listeners conclude they are pandering.

While both men have taken tumbles, Mr. Clinton gets caught in the pander net more often.

Mr. Clinton, the Democratic presidential nominee who was dubbed "pander bear" by Paul

NEWS ANALYSIS

Tsongas in the primaries, routinely tailors his message to his audience, telling it the points he thinks audience members will agree with and leaving out those answers that might cause concern.

Last week he told a pro-life questioner that he backs parental-notification laws, but in the past he has told pro-choice audiences that he would rethink his position and would sign the Freedom of Choice Act, which contains no such restriction.

In another appearance, Mr. Clinton appealed directly to the

see PANDER, page A8

PANDER

From page A1

American Legion. He said he may not have gotten where he is today without a Legion youth program. He also said he would consult with veterans' groups before choosing a secretary of veterans affairs.

President Bush is accused of pandering by the way he uses the power of the presidency. Like all incumbents, he uses campaign visits to announce federal projects that would benefit the state he was visiting.

Last Monday, Mr. Bush announced in Michigan that he had signed an executive order that would allow the state's government to use welfare funds for other purposes as part of a welfare-reform program.

But when is a message skillful and articulate, and when is it pandering?

"You can usually just put your cash register in front of you and start punching the buttons, and you can tell when you've hit a P for pandering," said Sheila Tate, a Republican consultant who was Mr. Bush's 1988 campaign spokeswoman.

She said pandering is difficult for a president running for re-election because he has to run on his record. Her award for pandering in 1992 goes to Mr. Clinton.

"It's his consistent desire to say things to win support via proposals that are costly and very targeted at the special interest that he's speaking to," Miss Tate said.

Michael McCurry, a former Democratic National Committee press secretary and spokesman for 1988 vice presidential nominee Lloyd Bentsen, said speaking to groups about issues important to them is good politics, not pandering.

"A politician becomes open to charges of pandering when it appears that they don't have any real agenda ... that they basically are going to be for everything that this group is for, and then the next group they're going to be for everything that group is for," he said.

Mr. McCurry said Mr. Clinton's comments have been in line with the broad agenda he has established. But he faulted Mr. Bush.

"There's no greater pander than an across-the-board tax cut at a time when we've got hundreds of billions of debt rolling up annually ... That's not only pandering; that's bribery," Mr. McCurry said.

Both campaigns consider pandering

to be a dirty word. Both say their candidates don't pander and accuse the other guys of trying to buy votes.

Mr. Bush said Thursday in Cincinnati: "So we've got a wide array of issues we're talking about here. And you might ask, 'Well, where does my opponent stand on the issues?' Well, good question. Very good. As this campaign gets under way, it's getting harder and harder to tell. He's turning up in more places than Elvis Presley."

Clinton communications director George Stephanopoulos said pandering was "making a promise that you can't keep, that you don't believe in, for the purpose of political gain. By that standard, George Bush is the world's champion panderer."

Mr. Stephanopoulos said Mr. Bush's pledge at the GOP convention to cut taxes was pandering. Mr. Bush pledged at the 1988 convention not to raise taxes but agreed to a tax increase in 1990.

"It's a promise to the United States that can't be kept. He has no intention to keep it," Mr. Stephanopoulos said.

Mary Matalin, Bush-Quayle deputy campaign director, said the tax-cut proposal was "100 percent consistent with Republican philosophy."

Miss Matalin said of Mr. Clinton: "He's becoming a caricature of himself. At some point, you're for something and you're against something. People want to know."

Asked about the times Mr. Bush has used a campaign appearance to unveil a federal grant or program that would help the community he's visiting, Miss Matalin said they were consistent with Mr. Bush's policies.

"I don't think that's pandering. I think that's exactly speaking to his audience. ... These ongoing programs are real action, and Clinton is saying something that he can't deliver on, a pig in a poke. It's a very different thing," she said.

A pandering example both campaigns use involves abortion. Democrats say Mr. Bush backs his party's pro-life platform while believing some abortions are acceptable. Republicans accuse Mr. Clinton of backing parental-notification laws but being open to not notifying parents of their child's abortion.

Mr. Stephanopoulos said there was nothing inconsistent in the way Mr. Clinton has answered questions on abortion or other subjects.

"You make connections with people without changing positions. That's the important standard," he said.

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1992 *

Bush will push 'family values'

Won't drop old vote-getter

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Republican focus on "family values" will continue despite media reports that some in the party think it could hurt President Bush at the polls. Vice President Dan Quayle and one-time GOP presidential challenger Pat Buchanan said yesterday.

Asked if the conservative family values rhetoric at the Republican convention alienated voters, Mr. Quayle said, "Absolutely not."

"It may have been too conservative for some," the vice president said in a pointed response to a reporter's question on CBS' "Face the Nation."

Mr. Buchanan, who delivered one of the most conservative and most enthusiastically received speeches at the convention, took a similar tack on CNN's "Newsmaker Sunday." "I realize that a lot of press down there at that convention did not like my speech," he said. "They don't like our party. They don't like President Bush...."

"When you say 'extreme,' that's your characterization of views that our party has held in the last three elections," Mr. Buchanan told the interviewer. "This platform, which they call a Buchanan platform as much as a Bush platform, is the same platform on which we've won three national landslides."

"Now, to you, and to members of the press, that may be extreme. But we've won landslides on those platforms and it is not extreme in middle America to say, for example, we're not for gay marriages being legalized and for affirmative action for homosexuals."

see VALUES, page A8

VALUES

From page A1

The notion that the Bush-Quayle campaign was backing down from a public embrace of the family values theme was advanced last week in news reports citing largely unnamed GOP strategists and pollsters saying a hard-line position could turn away independents and moderates from both parties.

Charles Black, a senior adviser to the Bush campaign, rejected those reports that internal Republican polls showed signs of a voter backlash because of the emphasis on family values.

"Family values are important and will continue to be in this campaign," he said. "Voters are capable of paying attention to more than one issue at a time, whether you [in the media] believe it or not."

Nevertheless, GOP campaign officials appear to be softening the family values strategy at the edges — focusing on Hillary Clinton's professional achievements, for example, as

a rationale for criticizing her on policy specifics — and linking family values to the economy and other substantive issues.

Mr. Quayle, for one, said yesterday in response to a family values question: "Listen to what the president said, listen to what I said: We're talking about jobs, we're talking about education reform, legal reform, health care reform, political reform."

Mr. Buchanan, who ran against Mr. Bush in the Republican primaries, said the Republican ticket should continue to hammer away at the family values of the Clinton-Gore ticket because the strategy will work. "I think we can win on it, and I don't think George Bush has pulled away from it," he said.

"If it's a referendum simply on, you know, how do you feel about the economy now, I think we'd have a very tough time," the former columnist and White House speech writer said. "That's why you need the character issue, you need the foreign policy issue, you need the values issue, and you need the economic issue."

As for the appropriateness of dis-

cussing Mrs. Clinton, Mr. Buchanan said: "Hillary Clinton was supposed to be co-president. They said she's too bright to be attorney general. She may have to be secretary of state. What is wrong with simply taking her positions on issues.... We took her positions. We didn't attack her personally."

"... Why do you think they're running away from what Hillary Clinton had to say?" he asked.

Mrs. Clinton has been criticized for legal positions in the area of children's rights that many regard as extreme, and she has, in fact, backed away from some of those positions during the course of this year's campaign.

One campaign issue that is linked to the family values debate is abortion. Mr. Clinton backs abortion rights, although he has supported parental notification laws. Mr. Bush favors a ban on abortion, except in cases of rape or incest.

Mr. Quayle said yesterday that the GOP ticket supports a human life constitutional amendment intending primarily to overturn the landmark Supreme Court decision permitting

abortion, *Roe vs. Wade*.

"But what you don't like for me to talk about is that abortion, I think, is wrong. I think it's a wrong decision," the vice president said in response to repeated questioning.

Mr. Quayle repeated his support for parental notification laws and added his own variation to the family values debate. "I'm going to talk about what we're trying to do, and that is to change attitudes, change behaviors," he said.

Democrats have not recoiled from the values discussion. Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore say they are for the values families care about most: health care, education, the environment and jobs.

Mr. Clinton also routinely blasts Mr. Bush for vetoing a bill that would require businesses to give unpaid leave to employees with medical emergencies at home — a piece of legislation Mr. Clinton says is pro-family.

George Stephanopoulos, communications director of the Clinton campaign, said the Bush-Quayle ticket will hurt itself by talking family values.

Tit for tat

Dr. Paul M. Fischer, a professor of family medicine at the Medical College of Georgia, has served as a consultant to the federal Centers for Disease Control and the Food and Drug Administration and is a vocal critic of new federal regulations governing the nation's medical laboratories that take effect tomorrow.

The regulations were developed by the Health Care Financing Administration under the Clinical Laboratories Improvement Act, passed by Congress in 1988. Compliance will cost laboratories an estimated \$1.6 billion annually.

Dr. Fischer tells us he has asked HCFA, the agency that runs Medicare and Medicaid, why it came up with what he terms "bad" regulations. He pointed out that such a characterization is not his alone, but is shared by many other health professionals and Vice President Dan Quayle's Council on Competitiveness. They believe the new regs will increase costs, deny testing to the poor and stymie the development of biotechnology.

A "high-ranking HCFA official," he said, gave him this response: "Congress gives us crappy laws, and we turn around and give them crappy regulations."

Lucky punch

Looks like Geraldo Rivera got a free shot when he took a punch at a heckler at a Ku Klux Klan rally. "I've seen the tape of the incident, and I believe the conduct he engaged in was privileged self-defense," Rock County, Wis., District Attorney Perry Folts said Saturday.

Mr. Rivera was arrested on Aug. 16 after a scuffle during the rally he was taping for a show. John R. McLaughlin of Champaign, Ill., was charged with disorderly conduct in the fight.

The TV personality said he bit back only after being bitten and

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

kicked and called names. He had to get stitches in his thumb and a tetanus shot after the incident.

Mr. Folts said he reviewed a videotape of the fight shot by Mr. Rivera's crews and it showed Mr. McLaughlin kicking Rivera, throwing a cup at him, knocking the microphone from his hand and striking him in the chest.

"The other guy was the aggressor. He started it, and Geraldo was defending himself from him," Mr. Folts said. "Anybody who was put in that position would be entitled to respond in the fashion that Geraldo did."

CPB goo-goo

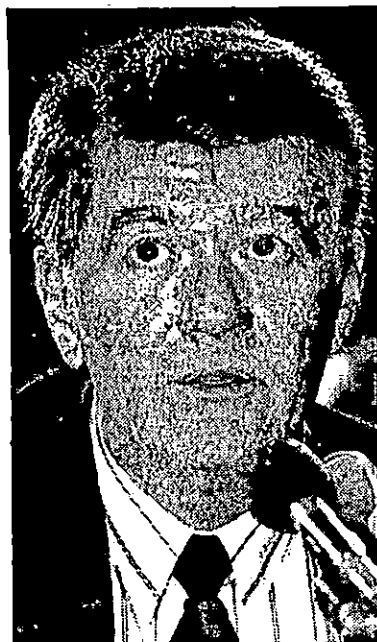
The Republican platform calls for sweeping reforms of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting because it underwrites "biased" programming at taxpayer expense. The platform demands "enforcement of rigorous fairness standards for all CPB-supported programming." And it looks forward to the day when public broadcasting is self-sufficient.

This sort of advocacy did not sit well with new CPB President and CEO Richard Carlson. "Almost all the programs funded by CPB would be perfect for your grandmother," he said, calling the Republicans "misinformed."

Mr. Carlson said that while "there has been a lot of ballyhoo over a variety show for homosexuals and lesbians," the group "is not getting one dime of federal funds."

Mr. Carlson, who can turn a lynch mob faster than a platoon of Texas Rangers, said he empathizes with the Republicans, who are frustrated "with society and

with the media," but they should not "throw the baby out with the bath water."



Agriculture Secretary Edward Madigan is fluent on "no comment."

How do you say?

The Washington Monthly magazine regularly reproduces a memorandum showing some sort of foolishness on the part of government bureaucrats. In the latest issue, the "Memo of the Month" is a response to a request from Secretary of Agriculture Edward Madigan to Richard T. Crowder, under secretary for international affairs and commodity programs.

Mr. Madigan had expressed to Mr. Crowder that he was interested

in learning how to say a certain phrase in a variety of foreign languages.

In reply, Mr. Crowder advised that after "considerable conversations with the Foreign Service Institute's instructional staff we have developed the attached materials which come as close as we can to capturing the nuances of [the phrase] in 10 languages ranging from Arabic to Thai." The information was provided as a summary sheet, on index cards, and on tape.

The phrase that the secretary felt compelled to learn in a variety of languages? "No comment."

Objectivity, anyone

Human Events newspaper seems to suggest that CBS reporter and commentator Charles Kuralt evidences certain biases, but it's hard to see how his views are much different from the "reporting" offered by most of his colleagues.

Here's Mr. Kuralt on Mario Cuomo: "I'm still in the glow of that Cuomo speech... he stepped up there and delivered a genuine 250-watter. A speech bright enough and hot enough to light up this dark room."

And the same commentator assessing Pat Buchanan's speech: "I thought that the Buchanan speech had ugly elements in it. Especially there at the end, 'Take back our culture, take back our country'... I think there was an appeal to racism...."

Clinton's with it

Jay Leno says it's just not fair the way the Republicans are so upset because the Democrats didn't mention God in their platform. Why, says Mr. Leno, Bill Clinton really got mad about that, because he considers himself to be a religious kind of guy. "In fact, he said he would endorse nine of the 10 Commandments."

— John Elvin

BRIAN DICKINSON

Time to rethink U.S. drug strategy?

The headline said it all: "12 Hurt in Fierce Shootout on Drug-Filled Bronx Street." Rival drug dealers, it appeared, had opened fire on each other, in the process sending bullets or buckshot into several bystanders.

The incident, the newspaper story went on to say, was one of the "most ferocious shootouts in New York City in recent years."

In Los Angeles on a recent weekend, more than 20 people were slain in various violent confrontations, many of them believed to be drug-related. Similar tales can be heard, every week of the year, from the streets of America's troubled inner cities.

It may count for something that news of such rampages still makes the newspapers. So long as spasms of brainless shooting still have the capacity to shock, they will be duly recorded in some archive or other. Meanwhile, the rest of us — the majority that remains only bruised by this deepening national tragedy —

Brian Dickinson writes for the Providence (R.I.) Journal, in which this article first appeared. Distributed by Scripps Howard News Service.

can cluck in dismay about "them" and their anti-social behavior, and turn our heads.

In regarding our drug addictions, Americans are risking the acquisition of a great national numbness. We are, in the main, repelled by the spectacle: The teen-aged peddlers doing crack on street corners, the burned-out dealer dens, the insidious intrusion of organized crime, the countless thousands of ruined lives, the staggering social costs.

We are repelled by these things, and scared, and in our fear we Americans vote for a "war" on drugs. We embrace the toughest of jail terms for convicted dealers; we salute our Coast Guard as it swarms along the coast, seeking to nab incoming drug smugglers. More from desperation than anything else, we vote enormous funds to hire more prosecutors, build more prison cells and get even tougher with those responsible this menace.

For all this effort, however, what have we achieved?

The United States, by some ac-

counts, has spent \$70 billion in combating drug traffic over two decades. Addictive use of heroin and crack cocaine is reportedly dropping; but emergency room treatments for drug misuse have increased notably; and drug-related street crimes have soared.

In the face of this grim evidence, it is fair to ask — and irresponsible not to — whether the main U.S. strategies for coping with drugs are really working. To be sure, advocates of a tougher law enforcement role can cite data showing more arrests, more interceptions and more convictions. Even with these stern measures working, however, the problem in some ways is only getting worse.

Efforts to curb the supply side of the drug pipeline fare scarcely any better. When a drug super-dealer can finagle his way out of a prison cell, as Colombia's Pablo Escobar did recently, the word is about that nothing — nothing — is going to halt this traffic and the fortunes it builds.

The United States at present has

In the face of this grim evidence, it is fair to ask whether the main U.S. strategies for coping with drugs are really working.

about 1.2 million of its citizens behind bars. Three in every five have committed drug-related crimes. They are lost to society, mostly, yet society must keep paying the enormous bill for housing and feeding them, in dead-end status, for many years.

This drain on U.S. resources and self-esteem is vast enough, and the damage from drug use and drug crime is horrible enough, that one would think all possible remedies

have been seriously explored. Yet this has not happened. The prevailing philosophy, such as it is, continues to focus on interdiction and law enforcement as the twin weapons against drugs. Much less is said about prevention, education and treatment. And the idea of legalizing drugs (thereby erasing the criminal profit margin) is still considered all but unmentionable.

This rigid mindset can only make matters worse. The United States can build more jails and hire a stream of district attorneys from Boston to Bakersfield, Calif., but it still will do no more than dent a flow of drugs that is attracted to every bit of available cash. Arrest one teen-aged crack punk and 10 more leap up to take his place.

The sociology and economics of the drug trade may be such that it cannot be squelched by the means currently in fashion. If this is true — and if the United States is truly serious about ending its illicit drug menace — then we owe ourselves at least an honest look at other approaches.

"We cannot afford to follow policies that aren't working."

Rep. Pete Stark, California Democrat, a member of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, scolded his colleagues a few years ago for refusing to explore different approaches to the drug problem. "Congress is so concerned about whether the public views us as being 'against drugs,'" he said, "that we've lost the courage to ask whether our current drug policies are working, or ask if there are better alternative solutions that might deserve to be considered."

Until the United States opens its eyes and accepts the need to face the drug habit for the menace it is, the emergency is likely to grow more severe. We will see more crack-addicted infants, more spread of AIDS and a withering vulnerability for the blacks and Hispanics who are most prey to the drug subculture.

The toll of this indulgence on America's well-being is beyond measure. But the crisis is escaping our abilities to cope. Unless more effective strategies are designed, using treatment and education no less than prosecution and debating the issues involved in legalization, the prospects for progress are slim.

JACK PAYTON

More than 40 years after getting into the business, we Americans still have not figured out what to think about the spies we train to lie and steal and sabotage other countries.

When our spies do their job well, the public never hears about it. We never have to consider whether it's right or wrong to overthrow a foreign government or to work with a dictator who is an international drug dealer. We only look at the favorable outcome, not the nasty methods used to bring it about.

But when things screw up — and in a risky business like this they often do — then all the nasty stuff comes out. Dirty linen gets hung out to dry along with anybody who ever came in contact with it.

A good example of this came up when a federal judge here declared a mistrial in the case of Clair

Jack R. Payton writes for the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times, in which this article first appeared. Distributed by Scripps Howard News Service.

George, the former chief of operations in the Central Intelligence Agency.

The 62-year-old Mr. George was accused of lying to Congress and obstructing justice in connection with the Iran-Contra scandal, a major screw-up if there ever was one.

That scandal, you'll remember, centered on a scheme by Reagan administration officials to sell weapons to Iran and use the proceeds to pay the Contra guerrillas trying to overthrow the government of Nicaragua.

You'll also remember that the main players in the scandal were Oliver North and John Poindexter, President Reagan's national security advisers. Many people believe the late CIA chief William Casey also was involved, and some think it went much higher than that.

Whoever really hatched Iran-Contra, after Mr. Casey died in 1987 the CIA's involvement in the scandal was largely confined to what Mr. George and his subordinates knew about it and what they told congressional committees that questioned them.

In October and December 1986,

Intelligence left out in the political cold

The truth is that like the spy business itself, keeping tabs on the spies and keeping them in line isn't a black-and-white proposition.

Mr. George testified that as far as he knew the CIA was not directly involved in the Iran-Contra deal and that he did not know who really put it together.

Well, it turns out that the situation was not quite as he described it. It

turns out that Mr. George knew a lot more than he told Congress.

After 5½ years of investigation, Mr. George finally went on trial this summer on six counts of perjury and three of obstructing justice. On Wednesday, the month-and-a-half-long trial ended in a hung jury. The jurors couldn't decide if Mr. George was guilty or innocent, and he may have to be tried again in October.

Some of the jury's doubts were based on difficulty with hair-splitting legal definitions. Some of them apparently reflected what many Americans are ambivalent about — should we be putting people like Mr. George on trial in the first place?

Everyone knows that CIA officers are trained to keep secrets. It's the foundation of their professional life,

the essence of what they do. It's what we pay them for.

The question raised by Mr. George's trial is whether this ingrained, professional secrecy is compatible with our democratic system. In our open and democratic environment, can we run a modern intelligence agency that does what intelligence agencies normally do?

When the executive and legislative branches aren't at war with each other, problems are minimal. CIA officials can testify freely about sensitive or classified subjects in private sessions of the congressional oversight committees. The mechanisms are there for civilian monitoring of what our secret warriors are up to.

It's when the executive branch and legislature are at war — as they've been for most of the past 12 years — that we have trouble.

The reason there was an Iran-Contra operation to begin with was that officials in the Reagan administration tried to defy a congressional ban on aid to the Contras.

The subsequent tug of war between the two branches of government resulted in the creation of an independent prosecutor's office, an

investigation that cost about \$32 million over 5½ years and not much to show for in the way of putting people in jail.

Oliver North's conviction on charges of obstructing justice was overturned on appeal. John Poindexter's conviction for perjury and obstruction of justice also was thrown out by a higher court. The only person in the scandal who went to jail is a former CIA agent named Thomas Clines, sentenced to 16 months on tax charges.

Charges are still pending against another CIA agent, Duane Clarridge, and the biggest fish so far indicted in the case, former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger.

Given the dismal record of the independent prosecutor's office so far, was the investigation worth all this time, money and aggravation? Probably not.

But given our form of government with its delicate system of checks and balances, was the investigation necessary? You bet.

Like the spy business itself, keeping tabs on the spies and keeping them in line isn't a black-and-white proposition.

Mr. Larry Rockefeller
Post Office Box 491
Grand Central Station
New York, New York 10163

Son of Lawrence?
lang. diff. on issues
- environment
- abortion



THE PRESIDENT

August 31, 1992

Dear Larry,

The hectic pre-Convention schedule kept me on the go, and I did not see your letter till just now.

I appreciate your conveying to me your concerns. There are issues that divide various factions in the Party but, in my view, they are overwhelmed by the number of issues on which Republicans generally agree.

I appreciate your sending to me your deeply held convictions on the environment and on abortion.

My warm regards to all your family.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "G. H. W. Bush".

7/11/92



SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
Monday, August 31, 1992

8:40 am	<u>Arrives White House</u>	South Lawn
8:45 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>	Oval Office
9:15 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
9:30 am (15 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
9:45 am (75 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
11:00 am (60 min)	<u>Briefing with Secretaries Alexander, Kemp, Sullivan and Administrator Saiki on Federal Assistance to Victims of Hurricane Andrew</u> (Holiday)	Oval Office <u>Cabinet Room</u> <i>open</i>
		(TAB A)
12:00 pm (75 min)	<u>Lunch</u> (Baker, Teter)	Oval Office
1:15 pm (20 min)	<u>Meeting with Secretary Sullivan, Postmaster General Runyan and Social Security Administrator King</u> (Holiday)	Oval Office <i>Stills</i>
		(TAB B)
1:35 pm (25 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
2:00 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Housing and Homebuilding Associations on Hurricane Andrew Relief Efforts</u> (Demarest)	Roosevelt Room <i>Stills</i>
		(TAB C)
2:30 pm (30 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office

UNP 08/31/92
9:00 am
REVISED

12:00
Martin

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redaction. (1 pp.)	08/31/92	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Monday, August 31, 1992

Date Closed: 12/16/2024	OA/ID Number: 90712-005
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information



3:00 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Volunteer Organizations</u> (Demarest)	(TAB D)	Roosevelt Room still
3:30 pm (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>		Oval Office
3:45 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Secretary Brady</u>		Oval Office
4:15 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Insurance Associations and Small Business Groups</u> (Demarest)	(TAB E)	Roosevelt Room
4:45 pm (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>		Oval Office
5:00 pm	<u>Haircut</u>		West Basement

8:47 POTUS In
9:05 Baker In
9:15 Tutwiler In
9:27 Tutwiler Out
9:28 Scowcroft, Howe, (b)(3) In
9:36 (b)(3) Out
9:52 Scowcroft, Howe Out
10:03 Baker Out
10:52 Baker, Fitzwater In
11:08 POTUS Out to Cabinet Room.
12:07 POTUS In Oval
12:23 Baker In
1:16 Baker Out
1:17 Or. Larry Mohr In
1:19 " " Out
1:20 Holiday, Tutwiler, J. Smith In
1:22 Postmaster Gen. Runyan, Social Security Administrator King, Sec Sullivan, In
1:38 All Out
2:05 POTUS Out to Roosevelt Room
2:36 POTUS In
3:08 Tutwiler In
3:10 Tutwiler Out
3:11 POTUS Out to Roosevelt Room

3:40 POTUS In
3:44 Baker In
3:55 Sec. Brady In
4:00 Sec Baker Out
4:01 Baker In
4:24 Baker, Brady Out
4:25 Fitzwater In
4:27 POTUS, Fitzwater Out to Roosevelt
5:05 POTUS In
5:08 Sec. Baker In
5:15 POTUS Out

UNP 08/31/92
9:00 am
REVISED