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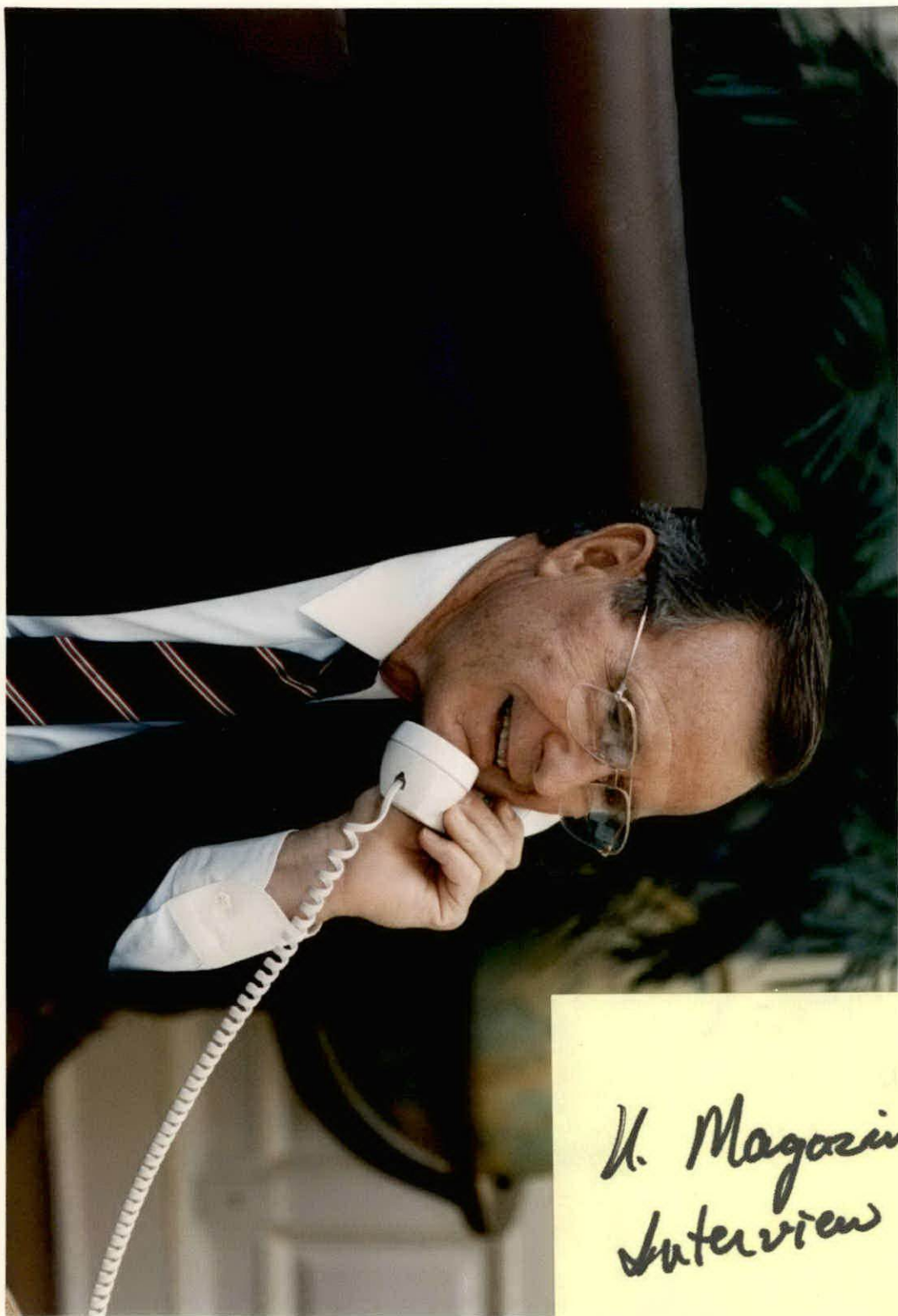


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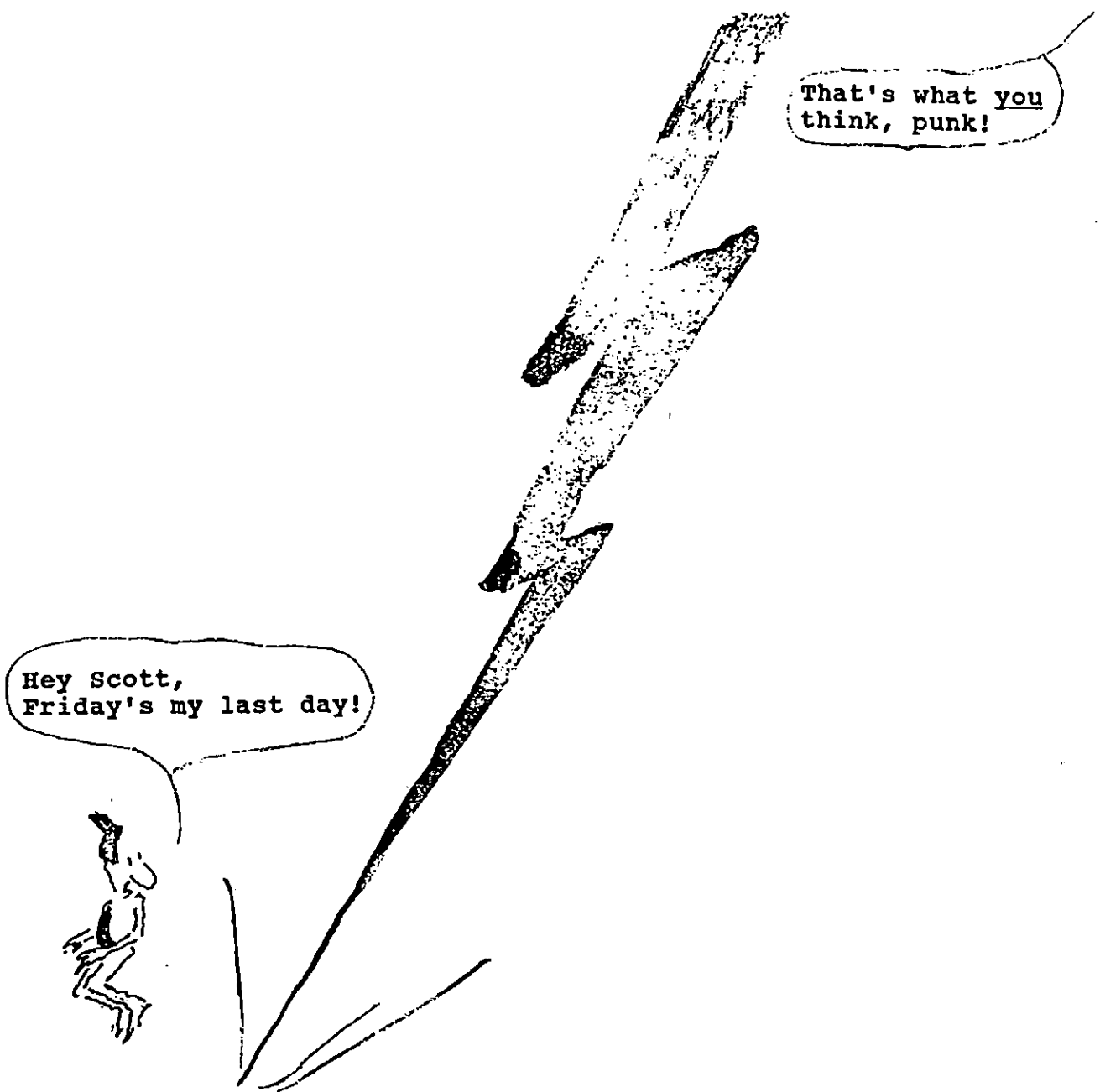
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DAILY NEWS CLIPS
OFFICE OF MEDIA AFFAIRS
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992



Los Angeles Times

Truman Invoked by Bush, Clinton

■ **Politics:** On the traditional opening day of the presidential campaign, both are in the Midwest. Clinton spotlights the economy, while Bush focuses on integrity.

By CATHLEEN DECKER and DOUGLAS JEHL, TIMES STAFF WRITERS

INDEPENDENCE, Mo.—In a bitter battle for claim to the legacy of Harry Truman, President Bush on Monday condemned Gov. Bill Clinton as unworthy of his Democratic predecessor while Clinton charged that Bush "has spent four years fighting against everything Harry Truman fought for."

The traditional Labor Day kickoff for the campaign took on an oddly nostalgic cast with both candidates invoking the name of the dead President as they struggled to force the debate onto their own turf.

Bush, who has sought to shift attention to issues of integrity, called attention to his rival's avoidance of the military draft. The Arkansas governor kept the spotlight on the economy, claiming that Bush had engineered the destruction of working people's lives.

Clinton, who opened his Labor Day assault here in Truman's hometown, used the setting to launch one of his harshest attacks against Bush. He charged that the President's own legacy had been "denying responsibility" and "destroying the middle class."

As the skies exploded in a driving rain, Clinton charged that "the only part of Harry Truman's legacy that George Bush really wants is a victory in the election, and the only job he wants to save is his own."

Shortly before the speech, in an angry aside to reporters who had asked him about his draft record, Clinton edged toward accusing Bush of complicity in the Iran-Contra scandal. Clinton upbraided reporters for asking about his Vietnam-era draft record and not pursuing reports that, if true, "would call into question not only the President's veracity but his support for illegal conduct. . . ."

Meanwhile, Bush himself used Truman as a weapon to draw a contrast between a former President known for his plain speaking and an Arkansas governor he said "hedges or ducks every major issue."

Turning on Clinton a phrase that Truman made famous, Bush told a sneering Republican crowd in Waukesha, Wis., that "if the buck stops here, then Gov. Clinton is offering devalued currency."

Bush also used the example set by Truman to question far more bluntly than ever before Clinton's avoidance of military service while a student in college and graduate

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Continued from A1
school as the Vietnam War raged during the late 1960s.

"Harry Truman wanted to join the military and fight for his country, and so do I and so did I," Bush declared at a GOP picnic in Hamtramck, Mich. He pointedly left the Clinton side of that ledger blank.

In related developments:

• Hillary Clinton said Republican attacks against her at last month's convention were "totally dishonest" and bore no relation to her actual beliefs and opinions. "They were doing it for political purposes," she told Jane Pauley in an interview to be aired tonight on "Dateline NBC."

"I knew that some of the people knew better."

• Vice President Dan Quayle conceded during a visit to California's Central Valley that the GOP faces serious problems in the state, but he denied that the party had

**'Harry Truman's living
legacy is the great
American middle
class. . . . George
Bush's legacy is the
destruction of that very
middle class.'**

BILL CLINTON

given up. And, in an impromptu press conference at the Stockton airport, he raised questions about Clinton's character, saying: "It's a big, big risk to put Bill Clinton in there [the presidency]."

• Clinton's running mate, Tennessee Sen. Al Gore, brought a message of economic opportunity to America's industrial heartland, telling working people they should not trust Bush to preserve their jobs. "The only time Bush and Quayle start thinking about your jobs is when they are scared that their jobs are on the line," he told a gathering in Detroit.

• Democratic Party officials said they reached an agreement enlisting Jesse Jackson to help the Clinton-Gore ticket by heading an effort to recruit black voters. But some continuing tensions were underscored by Jackson's statement that he had agreed to work for the party, not the Democratic standard-bearers, whom he pointedly noted had not asked him to campaign directly for them.

Democrats

Clinton began Labor Day leading in most public opinion polls, but there was little of the front-runner's optimism in his words. He did not criticize Bush for foreign policy miscues, as he has in the past. He gave short shrift to his own proposals for a post-Cold War America and kept his assault tightly focused on the subject he believes will turn the election—the economy.

In one passage savage in its ridicule, Clinton accused Bush of taking credit for the momentous changes that have occurred in the world during his presidency but passing the buck on the difficulties that have befallen everyday Americans.

"He wants you to believe that for the last four years he's had to neglect America's problems because he's been so busy saving the

world," Clinton said. "He has taken responsibility for the courage of the Polish dockworkers, for the courage of the people who stood in Moscow, who stood atop those tanks. He says, 'I did that.'"

"But when you say, 'what about the auto workers who lost their jobs in Michigan or the garment workers in New York or the computer workers in California?' he says, 'I didn't have anything to do with that. What do you expect of me? I'm just the President of the United States.'"

Labor Day was hardly the real start of this general election campaign, which has been joined in earnest since at least the spring, when Clinton became the putative Democratic nominee and he and Bush set their sights on each other.

But the holiday has always been the campaign's symbolic start, and for Clinton the symbolism was played out in two states that figure largely in his chances for electoral success—Missouri, a key border state, and Ohio, a Midwestern industrial pillar.

Clinton stood in Independence in the shadow of the traditional brick courthouse that Truman dedicated 59 years ago to the day, when the Missourian was a judge. His wife, Hillary, shielding him from the rain with a green umbrella, Clinton was just steps from a bronze statue of the former President.

Later, Clinton traveled to Cincinnati, where he picnicked with labor union members and briefly joined up with Gore.

Los Angeles Times

There, too, Clinton invoked Truman's image, telling another several thousand supporters that Truman "built the middle class and did it all by taking responsibility and saying 'the buck stops here.'"

"He made us believe we could be strong abroad if we were strong at home," he declared at the Coney Island amusement park.

Later Monday, Clinton made his last stop in Cromwell, Conn., where his campaign staged a rally that was due to last until midnight.

Although Clinton intended to stick to his anti-Bush economic message, he veered into new territory with his suggestion that Bush might have known more about the Iran-Contra scandal than he has acknowledged.

The reference came at a fire station in Independence, where Clinton stopped before his address at the courthouse. Asked if he has given a full accounting of his actions as a college student trying to avoid the draft, he accused reporters of applying a double standard.

"Wait a minute!" he said. "By contrast, there is a memorandum between two Cabinet members who . . . were in the Reagan-Bush Cabinet that, if true, would call into question not only the President's veracity but his support for illegal conduct, which you all don't even ask him about. It's amazing."

Clinton was referring to a memorandum released last month by the Iran-Contra special prosecutors, who were looking into the secret plan by which Reagan Administration employees sold arms to Iran and then used the proceeds to finance the Contras battling the government of Nicaragua.

The 1987 memorandum was written by an aide to then-Secretary of State George P. Shultz, recounting a telephone conversation in which then-Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger expressed dismay that Vice President Bush had asserted he did not know details of the sale of arms to Iran.

The implication of the memo was that Bush knew more than he has acknowledged. Bush brushed off a question on the memo in a Sunday interview with NBC News, saying that he had done nothing wrong.

At the same time, Clinton said that reporters curious about his draft record were on a "feeding frenzy . . . about something that even if it's true doesn't amount to a hill of beans."

Whether all voters agreed with that analysis was in doubt. A sign held up in the front row at the Independence courthouse said: "Truman Was No Draft Dodger."

Later, at the Ohio picnic, an airplane trailed a banner overhead reading "Draft Dodger."

Throughout the day, Clinton contrasted Bush with Truman in the areas of civil rights, health care and the protection of the middle

class.

"Harry Truman's living legacy is the great American middle class, a living legacy of the generation of Americans who went to college because of the GI bill, who were able to buy a home because of FHA and VA mortgages, who raised my generation with the hope and the opportunity that all things were possible," he declared.

"George Bush's legacy is the destruction of that very middle class. . . . George Bush's legacy is the use of the power of the presidency to divide us."

Republicans

Even on a holiday set aside in tribute to workers, Bush devoted less attention throughout the day to his own economic proposals than to what he denounced in Wisconsin as Clinton's over-pessimistic "message of fear."

His attacks veiled as references to a long-dead President, Bush's determination to exploit the issue of trust was nevertheless clear.

With the Arkansas governor still refusing to take a position on the North American Free Trade Agreement and not explicit on such issues as his draft record, Bush sought to paint his rival as an equivocator who repeatedly sought "to have it both ways."

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater, who sought throughout the day to project an image of confidence on Bush's behalf, said the Republican team now believes that "Clinton could be in trouble with the doublespeak stuff."

"People are starting to realize he's on all sides of all issues," Fitzwater said. He acknowledged that Bush intended to call attention to Clinton's draft record, and said such an attack was "legitimate, especially for a guy who's got a war record."

In casting himself once again as a politician in Truman's tradition, Bush returned to a tactic he abandoned soon after unveiling it during the Republican Convention. Apart from trying to overcome long odds, Bush and Truman have little in common, and the former President's daughter, among others, called the attempt cynical and hollow.

Bush acknowledged Monday that he had voted against Truman in 1948, and conceded that "Harry and I don't have everything in common."

Earlier, First Lady Barbara Bush told reporters aboard Air Force One that the nation would "probably be in a heck of a lot better shape" if Truman's challenger, Thomas Dewey, had won that election.

Fitzwater said Bush intended to continue invoking Truman's name principally "to keep him in people's minds to remind them that Bush is a fighter and is coming from behind."

As about 10,000 Republicans crowded a grassy park at the county exposition center, Bush reminded the Wisconsin audience

that he, like Truman, was running as an underdog and focusing his criticisms on a do-nothing Congress.

Bush compared Truman's responses to the Soviet blockade and to the invasion of Korea to what he called "Gov. Clinton's waffling and wavering about whether he would have followed my lead and stood up to Saddam Hussein and his naked aggression." He suggested further that Clinton "virtually ignores foreign policy."

In outlining his own proposals during the Labor Day address, Bush chose to emphasize legal reform proposals that he said would benefit American workers by reducing the costs to corporations. He acknowledged that the nation faces tough economic times, but he sought to put a positive light on, saying that since 1985 "our workers have earned bigger paychecks and benefit than any other workers in the world."

He blamed Clinton for preaching a "message of fear" in an attempt "to scare American workers so he can slip into office with the failed tax-and-spend policies of the past."

"Gov. Clinton will tell you that we're a nation in decline, slipping past Germany, headed south toward Sri Lanka, to use his words. Wrong, absolutely wrong, Gov. Clinton," he said.

There were some signs of discontent during the day. As he walked the streets of Hamtramck, Mich., a Polish enclave near Detroit, in an afternoon parade, Clinton supporters showered him with florets of broccoli—Bush dislikes broccoli—and Bush's speech paying tribute to Poland's new freedom was drowned out by competing cheers and boos.

Earlier, he power-walked across the Mackinac bridge, a five-mile span that links Michigan's Upper Peninsula with the rest of the state, and vowed to maintain the same pace through November.

Decker reported from Missouri and Ohio, Jehl from Michigan and Wisconsin.

Bush blamed Clinton for preaching a 'message of fear' in an attempt 'to scare American workers so he can slip into office with the failed tax-and-spend policies of the past'

Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON EDITION LOS ANGELES TIMES

NATION

Quayle Uses Character Issue Again

■ **Campaign:** He makes a swing through California's Central Valley. He concedes that the GOP is in trouble in the state.

By JOHN M. BRODER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

STOCKTON—Vice President Dan Quayle, while conceding that the GOP ticket faces serious problems in California, used a visit to the Central Valley to raise doubts about Democratic nominee Bill Clinton's character.

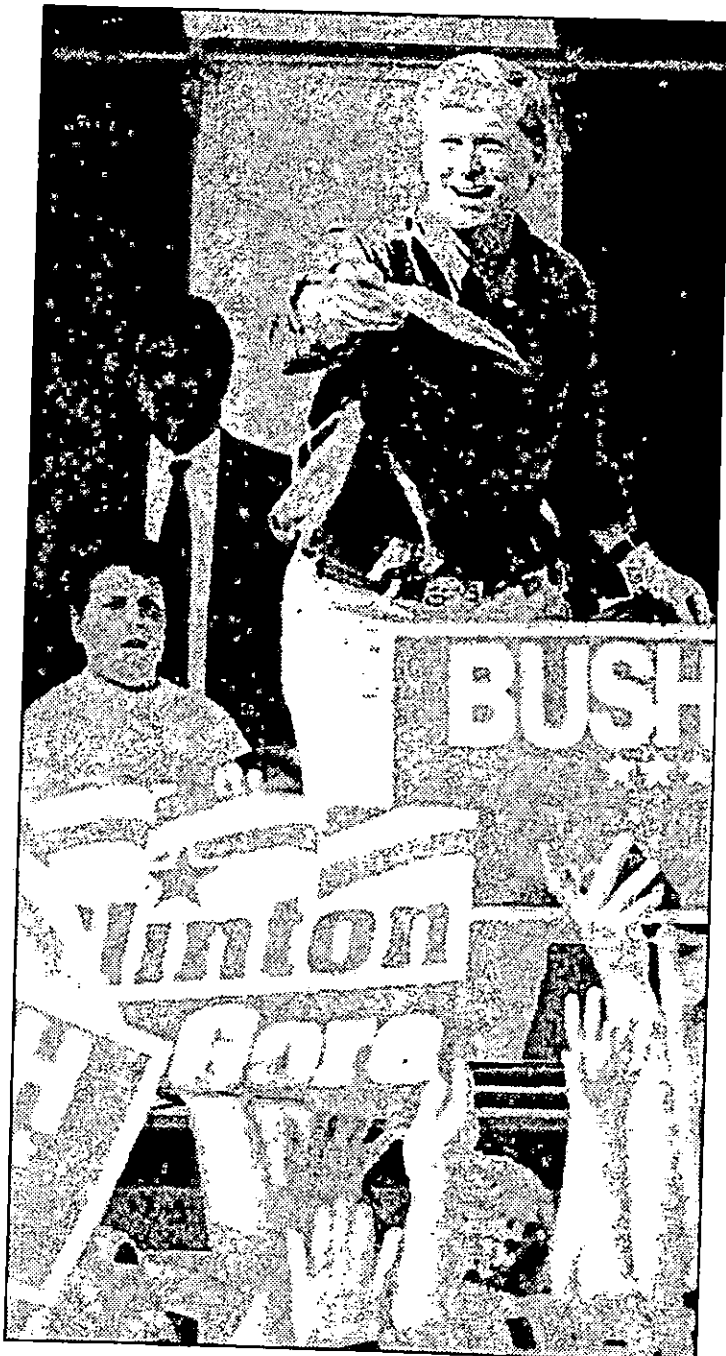
At an impromptu press conference at the Stockton airport, the vice president said: "I believe that people need to stop and think a long, long time before pulling that lever for Bill Clinton. It's a big, big risk to put Bill Clinton in there."

"I don't believe the American people, when it's finally said and done, are going to vote for a person that they've got grave questions about—questions about his character, questions about his trust. I just don't think they're going to vote for him."

Quayle did not specify why he believed that Clinton did not deserve the public's trust, but the character issue is clearly one of the cornerstones of the Bush-Quayle strategy. The candidates and their surrogates plan to raise questions about Clinton's draft record, his marriage and his experimentation with marijuana at every opportunity—either directly or in code, as Quayle did.

At the airport, on his way to Lodi, Quayle acknowledged that the California economy "is not good." He added, "Californians are used to a good, robust economy and this is unusual." He said that the Republicans have a plan for reinvigorating the economy through tax cuts and incentives for business.

Earlier in the day, in Grand Junction, Colo., Quayle conceded



Associated Press

Dan Quayle tosses Frisbee into crowd during stop in Lodi, Calif.

that the Republican ticket is trailing badly in California, but he denied that GOP strategists had written off the state.

"Don't believe that at all," the vice president said at a brief news conference after a rally on the sun-washed campus of Mesa State College. "I'm going there. The President is going to California. California is an important state and I think we're going to do quite well." But, he said, "We are behind."

Despite the vice president's comments, campaign officials

traveling with him have an electoral map that shows California as solidly red—the color for states presumed lost to the Democrats.

But a campaign strategist said that although there is little hope of winning California, Bush and Quayle will visit the state frequently to force Clinton to spend time and money here. "We're not giving him anything for free," the strategist said.

That is the same strategy Clinton is pursuing in parts of the South.

Los Angeles Times

Bush Facing Bumpy Road in Suburbia

By DAVID LAUTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

MIAMISBURG, Ohio—The stretch of suburbia that the political maps dub Precinct 3-B here is a gently rolling land of handsome one- and two-story houses surrounded by well-tended lawns, beds of flowers and children on bicycles.

But for President Bush and his strategists, this small slice of the American dream is a reason for sleepless nights.

It is the sort of place where the curved streets bear names from English folk tales—Robin Hood, Sherwood Forest, Lion Heart—and the residents worry about keeping taxes low, streets safe and the problems of the nearby city of Dayton at bay.

Please see SUBURBS, A5

Continued from A1

Four years ago, George Bush crushed Michael S. Dukakis among the precinct's 536 voters, winning 78% of the vote. That sort of margin in suburban areas proved crucial for Bush not just here in Ohio's Montgomery County, but across the country.

Today, however, economic troubles have stormed the suburbs like an invader breaching the walls, and Bush's support has plummeted. Interviews with some

■ BAD NEWS FOR BUSH

A new poll shows the President and Bill Clinton in a dead heat among voters in Orange County, California's Republican stronghold. B1

three dozen likely voters in Montgomery County over the Labor Day weekend vividly portray how much work Bush will need to do to win back that support.

"I've voted Republican ever since I could vote, but the Republicans have done nothing but give tax breaks for the rich," said a 37-year-old homeowner named David, who asked that his full name not be used because of his job as a civilian Air Force employee. "If Bush gets in again, he'll just do more of the same thing," he concluded.

As these voters talked in their living rooms, their porches or on their lawns, their comments did reveal some openings for Bush. Although many said they plan to support Democratic candidate Bill Clinton, few feel they know the Arkansas governor well. Much of what they do know is not all that positive—allegation about his draft record and his marital infidelity, his party's history of support for tax increases.

Some voters already believe Clinton's past provide enough reasons to oppose him. "You kind of question his morality," says Donald Saettel, an unemployed aerospace engineer who also worries that Clinton would cut defense spending too deeply.

But many other voters discount those issues even as

they joke about them. David, the Air Force employee, says he tells people at work they "must have been inhaling" when they do something foolish—a reminder of Clinton's now-famous remark about his one experience with marijuana. But that has little to do with his vote, David says. "If we were looking for a saint, I doubt we'd find one."

And in using issues of taxes and trust to push voters away from Clinton, Bush appears to face a high threshold. These voters put little faith in Bush's promise that this time he really will hold the line on taxes, undermining his charges that Clinton would take more of their money.

And while many of these voters who have sided with the Republicans in the past say they do not trust Clinton, few seem to trust Bush much either. Indeed, Bush's recent spate of new spending programs—pledging full federal funding to pay for hurricane damage in Florida, providing new help to wheat farmers in the Midwest—has begun to make many see him as equivalent to the Democrats in promising things the taxpayer cannot afford.

Above all, Bush may simply be up against a tide that could sweep away any politician. "Democrats scare me a bit," said Michael Baer, a manager for General Motors whose entire family, he said, has supported Republicans. But "we need a change. We definitely need a change."

The people he talks to at work, Baer added, "would vote for the devil, himself, to get change."

The interviews are, of course, not a statistically valid poll.

But the decline in support for Bush among the voters interviewed—all white, mostly male and residents of precincts Bush won in 1988—may help explain why Bush is apparently in trouble among the suburban ticket-splitters and urban ethnic Reagan Democrats whose help he needs.

The voters interviewed report they sided with Bush

by a 4-1 margin in 1988. This time around, they are evenly divided.

For years, the Dayton region has been a favored test market for everything from fast food to political candidates. And this year, again, the communities of southwestern Ohio have drawn attention from candidates, pollsters and journalists seeking to gauge the public mood. Bush campaigned in Montgomery County several weeks ago. Clinton paid a Labor Day visit to nearby Cincinnati on Monday.

The reasons for all the attention are readily apparent. With its mixture of a somewhat down-at-the-heels industrial city, conservative rural areas and growing suburbs fueled by newer, high-technology jobs, Montgomery County closely mirrors national trends.

Politically, the county has tended to provide a good bellwether for Ohio as a whole. And Ohio remains crucial to Bush's chances. Although presidential elections are often close here—Jimmy Carter won the state by only 11,000 votes and Harry S. Truman by a mere 7,500—Republicans tend to win Ohio. Indeed, no Republican ever has won the White House without capturing Ohio. Given Clinton's support elsewhere, Bush will need to win here, too.

He has his work cut out for him.

Bush still has many strong supporters in the region. Along the fortuitously named Quail Bush Drive, a suburban street northeast of downtown Dayton populated primarily by families with ties to nearby Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Bush does well among voters concerned that Clinton would cut defense spending too deeply.

And in the more rural, and traditionally conservative, western part of the county, other voters see no reason to stray from their longtime GOP allegiances.

"I'm a Republican, and that says it all," says 62-year-old David Spitzer. "I don't believe anything Clinton says or his wife. And I do like Mr. Quayle, and

I like his wife."

Others who supported Bush last time, however, have changed their minds. "Our taxes are just out of sight, and we're not getting anything for them," Baer complains. And when he objects to government "giveaway programs," he does not cite the traditional litany of Democrat-backed social programs.

Instead, "there are 20 limousines sitting outside the White House," he says.

Baer's wife, Lynn, raises another issue. "I'm not sure Bush has got a chance with Quayle on the ticket," she says. "What the heck is he doing with Quayle? What does that man have to offer?"

While the economy remains the overwhelming issue for the vast majority of voters interviewed, Bush's arguments about family values have also sunk in—but to mixed effect.

In a prototypical Reagan Democratic neighborhood on Dayton's east side, Bush's pitch found a target in Earl Sharp and his wife, Teresa.

"We are what we call a 'traditional family,'" said Teresa Sharp, who stays home with the couple's two children while Earl Sharp works two jobs. "We're a minority right now. It's an endangered species."

"If you look at Bush and his wife, she stayed home," she added. "Clinton and his wife, as she said, 'I didn't stay home and make cookies.'" The tone in her voice as she recalls Hillary Clinton's words leaves little doubt how much the remark rankled.

But although Earl Sharp says he will definitely vote for Bush again—"I personally will not vote for a person who is pro-abortion," he says—his wife remains in doubt, deeply troubled by the economy and still weighing a possible vote for Ross Perot.

Bush's repeated comments that the economy is getting better anger her. And as medical bills for a child with health problems swamp their family budget, "I don't know if we're pretty much at the top of my list," she says.

Los Angeles Times

Clinton Having Success in Neutralizing 'Values' Issue

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

INDEPENDENCE, Mo.—Before rain cleared the crowd from the courthouse square here Monday morning, Bill Clinton illustrated his strategy to win back the middle-class voters who have largely rejected the Democrats in national campaigns since 1968.

He tried to put himself squarely on the side of "good solid mainstream Americans" with a biting economic populism that accuses President Bush of ignoring working Americans and favoring the rich. But just as important was his effort to identify with small-town values and the symbols of middle America, from Independence's hometown hero, Harry S. Truman, to the Southern 500 stock car race, where Clinton appeared Sunday.

The goal is to neutralize divisive

social issues that have favored the GOP in the past. Many analysts say this strategy appears to be blunting the attacks on questions of culture and values that Republicans have used to successfully woo middle-

NEWS ANALYSIS

class voters since Richard M. Nixon's appeals to "the silent majority."

The furious attempt at the Republican Convention last month to portray Clinton as an enemy of traditional family values "is not working," says Fred Siegel, an historian at The Cooper Union in New York who has studied the role of cultural issues in the decline of the Democratic presidential coalition. "The Republicans are in trouble."

Republican strategists are still
Please see VALUES, A4

Continued from A1

confident that doubts about Clinton's character—particularly the continuing questions about his efforts to avoid serving in Vietnam—and his liberal positions on issues such as abortion and gay rights will cost him with socially conservative voters like those at Sunday's race in Darlington, S.C. When Clinton stepped onto the track, intermittent shouts of "cheater" and "draft dodger" rang out from the beery, nearly all-white crowd in the grandstand.

But polls show Clinton standing much better with Southern whites and Northern Catholics—the principal target for the GOP values offensive—than Michael S. Dukakis and Walter Mondale. Among all so-called Reagan Democrats, Clinton led Bush by nearly three-to-one in the last Times Poll.

Some GOP operatives now fear that the party's efforts to peel away such groups with a harsh message on social issues is hurting it among young voters and women, particularly working women. Clinton himself said Monday that Republican criticism of Hillary Clinton was really aimed at all women "who make the tough choices" to balance parenthood and careers.

Since the Republican Convention—which rang with repeated attacks on homosexuals and efforts to portray Clinton as anti-family—both President Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle have signaled their eagerness to tone down and redirect the family values debate.

In sharp contrast to the convention's often slashing tone, Bush last Saturday in North Carolina discussed family values in language so bland that it could have been lifted from a Hallmark greeting card. In an interview on NBC Sunday night, Bush insisted that he was not trying to claim his family was superior to Clinton's—and went out of his way to praise single mothers.

This Republican shift in course marks a milestone in the longstanding cultural battle between the parties.

One cornerstone of recent GOP success in presidential politics has been its ability to convince economically squeezed middle-class voters that Democrats disparaged their values on social and foreign policy issues. That process reached a crescendo in 1988 when Bush fatally portrayed Dukakis as a Harvard Yard elitist by highlighting his liberal social views—symbolized by the furlough of convicted Massachusetts murderer Willie Horton, who raped a woman after his release.

But in this year's campaign, virtually all of the leading "wedge" issues employed by Republicans over the last two decades have faded. The end of the Cold War has eliminated anti-communism as a concern. By signing a civil rights bill that he had earlier condemned as quota legislation, Bush removed affirmative action from the debate. And Clinton's support of both the death penalty and mandatory work requirements for welfare recipients have effectively eliminated both of those issues.

As a result, the GOP has been forced to mount its new offensives behind issues like gay rights and attacks on the Hollywood cultural elite, where its political advantage is much less clear.

"These just aren't the unifying themes they have struck in the past," says independent pollster Andrew Kohut. "Lots of people are afraid of Willie Horton; not nearly as many people have the same view of Murphy Brown as Dan Quayle does."

Issues such as the death penalty and affirmative action worked so well for Republicans in past national campaigns because they highlighted areas where liberal orthodoxy clashed with overwhelming majorities of public opinion. Nearly four-fifths of the public supports the death penalty and mandatory work requirements for welfare recipients; an equal number oppose racial hiring preferences.

But among the issues advanced under this year's family values agenda, the GOP enjoys such an overwhelming advantage only on permitting school prayer—which Bush has touted infrequently. On the other issues Bush and Quayle have raised, opinion is closely divided—or the White House has tied itself to a minority position.

At least two-thirds of the public opposes the outright ban on abortion that Bush and Quayle support. In a recent New York Times/CBS survey, four-fifths of Americans said they opposed employment dis-

crimination against homosexuals. Even on the most inflammatory case—allowing school boards to fire homosexual teachers—opinion is split roughly evenly. In Gallup surveys, pluralities have indicated support for allowing schools to distribute condoms to students, even without parental permission.

A majority of Americans support granting parents government vouchers to help send their children to private schools—as Bush has proposed—but even Republicans acknowledge that support is soft. Says Fred Steeper, Bush's pollster: "Voters worry everyone will go to private schools, and the public schools will be empty, and they don't want that."

Perhaps sensing that the party's current cultural agenda lacks the punch of its predecessors, the White House has strained to shoehorn some of the older issues back into the race.

Though the Arkansas governor has presided over four executions, Quayle recently maintained that Clinton could not be trusted to support capital punishment because he has indicated he might appoint New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, a death penalty opponent, to the Supreme Court. Bush has alleged that Clinton's proposal to require welfare recipients to work after two years on the rolls would breed dependency because it would establish government jobs for those who cannot find private employment.

None of these arguments, though, has caught fire the way Bush's attacks on Dukakis did four years ago.

Some Democrats caution that Clinton could still stumble in these cultural divides, particularly in parts of the South, Pennsylvania and Michigan—battleground states with politically active anti-abortion movements.

More ominously, some Democratic insiders fear that continuing questions about Clinton's efforts to avoid service in Vietnam could evolve into a larger GOP attack on his patriotism and veracity, particularly in the South. The cries of "draft dodger" drifting from the grandstand in South Carolina Sunday represented their worst fears; on the other hand, interviews with a dozen fans at Sunday's race—including several planning to vote for Bush—found several leaning toward Clinton and little concern about the draft issue.

"What people did in the past ain't got nothing to do with the future," shrugged Ricky Price, a textile worker from Jefferson, South Carolina.

Even as they pursue these attacks against Clinton, there are indications that the GOP, for the first time in years, is worried that its own ticket may be stamped as extremist on cultural issues.

In a speech last week, Quayle tried to redefine the family issue away from lifestyle questions, such as single motherhood, toward more conventional matters of public policy, such as educational choice and taxes. Bush followed that approach on NBC Sunday. "Quayle's speech was an attempt to get the family values issue back on track," said one senior administration official. "It was handled a little ham-handedly at the convention and after the convention."

In the end, most analysts in both parties believe none of the social issues still dividing the two candidates are compelling

enough to break through the voters' overwhelming focus on the economy.

To bring up family values in the midst of such economic anxiety "is almost like saying we have no clothes on the other issue so we have to change the subject," worries David B. Hill, a Houston-based Republican pollster.

Ultimately, this may suit both campaign just fine. With so many social issues neutered, many Republican strategists believe their best chance of catching Clinton is to tag him as a tax-and-spend liberal whose economic plan will only make things worse—a theme that has emerged as Bush's central argument.

Likewise, Democratic strategists want only to neutralize social issues so they can make the race a referendum on the simple, lacerating question that Clinton summoned in his speech here Monday: Are you better off than you were four years ago?

The Los Angeles Times

GOP's Eroding Electoral Base a Cushion for Clinton

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

In the past six presidential elections, Republican dominance of the Sun Belt and several large industrial states left Democrats so little margin for error that political analysts likened their prospects of winning the White House to pulling an inside straight in poker.

In 1988, for instance, George Bush could count on a virtually impregnable base of nearly 200 electoral votes out of the 270 needed for victory. Thus, Bush campaign manager Lee Atwater could build his strategy around denying Democratic nominee Michael S. Dukakis two states he could not afford to lose—California and Ohio. As it became clear Bush would carry these two, the makings of a comfortable electoral win fell into place.

But this year, many analysts agree, the GOP base appears to have eroded to the point where it is Democrat Bill Clinton who has the flexibility in picking his targets—and Bush who may be forced to draw a perfect hand to build an electoral majority.

"It's a nasty looking map [for Bush] in terms of who is ahead and who is behind out there," says Fred Steeper, the pollster for the President's reelection campaign.

Adds David Wilhelm, Clinton's campaign manager: "The tables have turned and it is the Republicans who may be left with a thread-the-needle strategy in which they have to win almost every state they target."

Impact of Economy

This role reversal stems from the impact of widespread economic discontent across the country. Bush is being forced to fight hard for states like Texas and New Jersey that the GOP has long dominated. And as he battles on those fronts, he faces a steep uphill climb in such crucial states as California and Illinois that, while often competitive, have not voted Democratic since 1964.

Moreover, with an all-Southern ticket of Clinton and Tennessee Sen. Al Gore, the Democrats are now stronger across the South than in 1988 and 1984, when Northern liberals headed their tickets.

As he continues to lag in the nationwide polls, Bush faces the challenge usually forced on Democrats: Balancing limited resources of time and money with the need to gain ground almost everywhere.

"The Republicans just can't target their resources the way they used to," says Stuart Rothenberg, editor of a political newsletter in Washington. "Right now, in constructing an electoral majority, it is Clinton who clearly has more of a margin of error."

If Clinton is able to maintain the large lead some national polls give him, these targeting considerations won't matter much as he coasts to victory. But if the race tightens, Clinton's increased flexibility could give him an edge in squeezing out a narrow electoral college win. That's partly because both sides view the campaign as a war of attrition: In the long march to Election Day, the goal is not only to secure territory, but to bleed an opponent's resources.

Both Clinton and Bush are currently trying to lock up their respective electoral bases as quickly as possible so they can focus attention on such pivotal swing states as Michigan and Pennsylvania—and stage occasional raids on states their opponent is counting on. The goal for each candidate is to maximize the amount of resources he devotes to the battleground states while forcing the other side to spend more time and money than it anticipated defending its turf.

In this political version of the popular board game Risk, the key to Republican victories in five of the six presidential elections between 1968 and 1988 was the

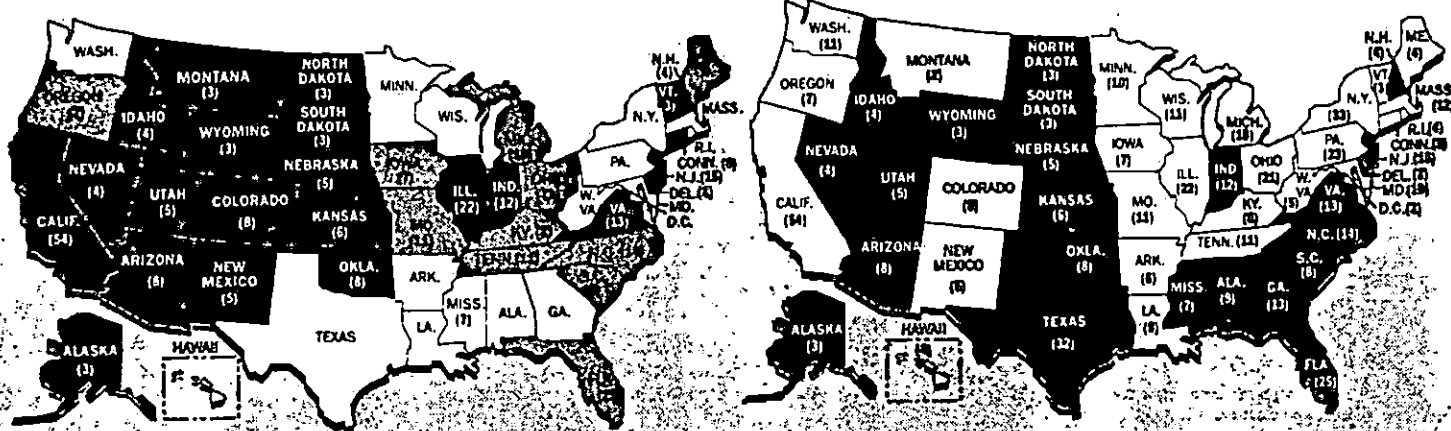


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The Changing Political Landscape

Then: Republican victories in five of the six presidential elections between 1968 and 1988 were fueled by the party's success in a core group of states—21 were carried by the GOP in each of those races, 13 more went Republican in all but one of the contests. The so-called Republican "lock" on many of these states gave the party's candidate a decisive advantage over the Democratic nominee in deciding where to campaign.

Now: Many political analysts believe this year's presidential campaign has been marked by role reversal, with Democrat Bill Clinton enjoying flexibility in picking his battlegrounds while President Bush struggles to hold onto once-solid Republican states. A preliminary projection by analyst Charles Cook on the outcome of the November election puts several states that had been part of the GOP base into Clinton's column.



States the GOP carried in every presidential election since 1968. (Total electoral votes: 191)

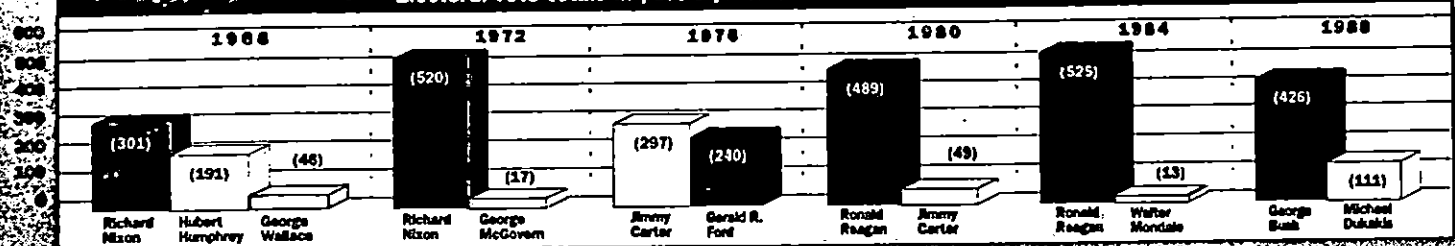
States the GOP carried in 5 of the past 6 presidential elections. (Total electoral votes: 143)

Solid or leaning toward Bush. (Total electoral votes: 207)

Solid or leaning toward Clinton. (Total electoral votes: 233)

Tossups. (Total electoral votes: 76)

Electoral vote totals in past 6 presidential elections (270 needed to win)



Source: National Journal; Congressional Quarterly; The Cook Political Report

HELENE WEBB Los Angeles Times

party's electoral base. Among the 50 states, 21 voted Republican in each of those elections; 13 more were carried by the GOP in five of the six contests. This year, those 34 states account for 336 electoral votes.

Democrats, in contrast, carried only the District of Columbia—with three electoral votes—in every election since '68. And only Minnesota, with 10 electoral votes, landed in the Democratic column in five of the races.

Because Republicans could depend on so many states from the outset, they have had the upper hand in deciding where the battle would be joined.

"The one thing you don't want to do in a presidential election is get painted into a tactical corner," says Democratic strategist Tad Devine, a senior aide to Dukakis in 1988. "What the Republicans have been able to do is force the Democrats to fight on Republican turf. . . . Then they would throw everything at it: the candidate and his schedule, the vice president, the paid media, surrogates, the direct mail."

But this year, Devine says, it seems doubtful the GOP can force Clinton to fight on the ground that it chooses because the party is having such difficulty consolidating its base.

That's already apparent to many GOP strategists. Typically, says John A. Morgan, a leading Republican demographic expert, Democrats by Labor Day realistically have had to write off states representing roughly 170 electoral votes, primarily in the South and West. But this year, he acknowledges, Bush heads into the final two months holding only about 100 solid electoral votes—and even that assumes that such conservative states as Arizona, where Clinton still leads in

post-Republican Convention surveys, eventually fall into line.

Bush's inability to lock up the normal Republican base has allowed Clinton to pursue the type of aggressive strategy usually identified with the GOP.

In late August, for example, the Democrat took a two-day bus tour in President Bush's adopted home state of Texas. States where Clinton's first round of advertisements ran included North Carolina, Georgia and Colorado—all places Republicans have come to count on.

Keys to Victory

To win in November, Clinton may not need any of those states. He can reach 270 electoral votes by winning key Northeastern and upper Midwestern states, sweeping the West Coast, taking several of the Rust Belt battlegrounds (the most promising for Clinton are Pennsylvania, Illinois, Missouri and Michigan) and breaking away some of the smaller states where the Democratic ticket now appears strong—such as Maryland, Connecticut, Vermont, Louisiana and Kentucky.

Still, Clinton's strategists say he can gain simply by forcing Bush to spend time and money contesting Texas, Florida and other once-solid Republican states.

Mary Matalin, Bush's deputy campaign manager for political operations, insists that the need to defend former GOP strongholds won't diminish Bush's effort in key swing states. "We are not going to be prevented from carpet bombing the states we need to because there are more states in play," she says. "We are hitting the battleground states about as often as

they can absorb us in a given period of time."

But independent observers question this assertion, saying, for instance, that each day or dollar Bush spends in Texas pinches elsewhere.

"The resources for the Bush campaign are going to be stretched so thin playing defense they are going to have less available for the battleground states," says political analyst Charles Cook, the publisher of a Washington-based newsletter. "It's a real role reversal from 1988."

For Clinton, a key strategic question in the coming weeks will be how far to push his probes into traditionally Republican-leaning states. For instance, while Clinton led in polls taken in New Jersey after the GOP convention, and Florida's political firmament is now as disordered as its landscape, a Democrat is likely to carry them only as part of a national landslide. Likewise, some questioned why he spent much of Labor Day weekend in South Carolina, a Republican stronghold.

"Those are states that if we win them, we don't need to win them," says Democratic consultant Tony Podesta.

More difficult for Clinton may be deciding how seriously to contest Bush in Texas. Economic unhappiness has left the state far from solid for the President; Bill Miller, an Austin-based GOP consultant, says, "It is probably going to take everything Bush can do to win."

But Miller adds that for Clinton to secure Texas, Clinton would also need to invest substantial amounts of time and money—resources that might be better spent in states where the Democrat's ultimate prospects for victory are greater.

For Bush, the equivalent decision is

whether to meaningfully plunge into California—a state that many Republicans fear is virtually within the Democratic column already because of its continuing economic malaise. Matalin says the campaign has not conceded the nation's largest state—whose 54 electoral votes represent one-fifth of the magic 270. But significantly, she concedes that the GOP does not now include it on the top-tier list of battleground states.

Land of Money

No matter what Bush does, Clinton is likely to keep visiting California at least for awhile—if only to raise money. But insiders believe his media purchases in the state could be curtailed significantly if the Republicans can't close the gap in the polls; already, Clinton bypassed California in his first wave of ads. And if Clinton doesn't have to blanket the California airwaves—Dukakis spent \$1.2 million on ads here in the last six weeks of the 1988 campaign—that would free enormous resources for other regions.

Some insiders believe that ultimately, the Bush campaign may choose to focus on other must-win states for Clinton where they consider his grasp less firm—such as Washington, Oregon, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania.

But, in another reversal of the parties' recent roles, the GOP is likely to spend more time in the next few weeks courting its own balky base—particularly in the Southern cornerstones of Texas and Florida—than poaching on territory Clinton now claims.

"There are not a lot of states Bush can take for granted like a Republican normally would," says Morgan.

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Comment

ON THE NATION

'Slick Willie'
Is Becoming
Nebulous Bill

BY JOHN P. SEARS

WASHINGTON

So far, Bill Clinton has been very lucky. Potential rivals with greater support decided early not to enter the presidential race. His character flaws might have received more serious consideration from voters had they been disclosed today rather than in the early stages of the primaries. And George Bush has chosen to remain immobile, defending a record that most Americans, according to the polls, find unsatisfactory.

Under the circumstances, Clinton has been content to sit back and watch his ratings rise, secure in the belief that as long as he promises "change," victory will be his.

But is there any reason to believe that a Clinton presidency would result in better leadership or hold the promise of anything but business-as-usual in Washington? Clinton has promised to spend more money on the environment, education, veterans' benefits, the poor and the homeless. But when asked how he would pay for his promises, with the federal budget woefully out of balance, he vaguely responds that higher taxes on the top 2% of America's taxpayers would do the job. No one believes this revenue would come anywhere near meeting the bills. Yet, Clinton is allowed to drop the conversation with the simple pledge to tax the rich.

On foreign policy, the self-admitted novice has been even less forthcoming. Aside from deftly goading Bush over the President's handling of Yugoslavia, Clinton has managed to

reach the last eight weeks of the campaign without ever discussing his views on the issue. With the Cold War over, the foreign policy decisions made by the next President will have important consequences for the future international role of the United States. Yet, Clinton tells us nothing.

The other day, Clinton received the endorsement of the AFL-CIO. Hardly a surprise. But the cynical announcement that the union would not raise its reservations about the U.S.-Mexico free trade treaty until after the election in November constitutes another tactical victory for "Slick Willie." It will now be easier for Clinton to avoid taking a position on the treaty. American voters will thus have to go to the polls wondering about how this important piece of legislation will play in a Clinton Administration.

Some think the debates will force Clinton to be more precise. Don't bet on it. In light of past presidential debates, a challenger leading in the polls need only prove himself unfrightening to the voters. This is accomplished by memorizing "safe" answers to anticipated questions.

It is remarkable how similar Clinton and Bush are. Four years ago, Bush, in laying out his plans for a "kinder and gentler" presidency, promised to spend more money on the environment and education. He, like Clinton this year, swore that his administration would create millions of new jobs.

Both gentlemen coveted the presidency from an early age. Clinton evidently worried, while in college, that his failure to serve in the military might damage his political prospects. Bush has spent the majority of his adult life pursuing ever higher office. There is nothing wrong with ambition as long as it is united with good purpose. When merely self-aggrandizement, it serves no larger purpose.

Clinton has said and done nothing to make me believe that his interest in being President has anything to do with making the country stronger or better. In his hands, the country will not likely be more prosperous, will not likely have a clear picture of where it is going. The day when the country can draw on its vast reserves of confidence will be postponed for at least four more years.

If Clinton's ratings remain stable for another month, we will find ourselves on the verge of electing a man as President about whom less is known than any nominee since Warren G. Harding. As frustrated as I am with Bush, I cannot join those who recommend Clinton. To elect someone who thinks it's smart to avoid taking positions would be irresponsible. At least, Bush has the experience of having been President and, in this case, it is possible that the evil we know is better than the one we do not.

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

If Clinton's ratings remain stable, we will find ourselves on the verge of electing a man as President about whom less is known than any nominee since Warren G. Harding.

Los Angeles Times

COLUMN LEFT/
JANE O'REILLYThe GOP and
Women: a Tale
Gone Sour

■ The Republicans, who championed suffrage, have turned against a whole gender.

Let this year be another turning point. In 1968, 66 women won seats in state legislatures. Not all that many, by today's standards, but the point is that 62 of those women were Republicans. They were part of the long, proud history of a party that first included an equal rights plank in its platform almost 100 years ago. The party that elected the first woman to Congress in 1916. The party that finally passed the Equal Suffrage Amendment in 1919. The party that endorsed a constitutional amendment guaranteeing women equal rights in 1940.

In 1977, Republican women helped define the vision of an equal society at the National Women's Conference in Houston. And at that point, the story of women in the Republican Party turned sour. Even as 20,000 women, elected as representatives from every corner in America, were struggling toward community, another group—fearful and apocalyptic—was camped in protest across town. Phyllis Schlafly appeared on "Meet the Press" to tell the nation that the death of the women's movement was at hand.

As it turned out, her prediction was correct only inside her own party. Schlafly was and is a woman of the old far right. For many years she enjoyed a certain limited success objecting to sex education in the schools, the SALT talks, fluoride in public drinking water—the standard issues of the old right. In the mid-1970s, a new theme began to share the pages of her Eagle Forum newsletter. Readers were advised of an urgent need to save the family by blocking the equal rights amendment. Schlafly would save American women from themselves.

The right understood that the notion of extending personal freedom to women is truly revolutionary. The right took the women's movement seriously (as the tepid majority did not) and used those issues that were most obviously women's—the ERA and abortion—to organize itself into the "new" right. Feminism, if presented in a certain way, could arouse people's most basic fears of change, of freedom, or the "other," of disorder.

Ronald Reagan was elected by the right. But he was a popular President and the 1980s seemed to be an exuberant time. If many of the best and the brightest of the younger women found other ways to serve their country, if the ERA was defeated and the Supreme Court turned against us—well, the truth is that most Republican women were the last to feel their options narrowing down.

'Feminism, if presented in a certain way, could arouse people's most basic fears of change, of freedom, of the "other," of disorder.'

But this time, this year, again in Houston, there was a painful awakening for many party loyalists. These women have recognized the assaults from the podium and the blandly demagogic passages of the platform for what they truly are.

It is not a question of merely being excluded. Or silenced. Or misunderstood. This time, the Republican Party is running against women. We are the political targets that communism and runaway spending used to be. Women are now the enemy.

Hillary Clinton has been presented as the "other." Worst of all, she has been presented as an essentially insignificant but strangely overwhelming symbol, insulted and dismissed at once.

But we are Hillary Clinton. We are Barbara Bush. We are Murphy Brown. We are the women who have been hurt by the policies of the last 12 years. We are Dan Quayle's daughter and George Bush's granddaughter. We are Americans. Some of us are Republicans.

Most of us understood why Anita Hill did not quit her job. We understand why some women keep returning to battering spouses. We do not intend ever again to be persuaded to silence by trusted male governors "for the good of the party," whichever party we belong to. We are the parties, their good depends on us, and we did not come to Houston to be insulted.

Furthermore, thanks to the Republican Party, we vote.

So what's a woman to do?

Go home and try hard—for ourselves. We will save our money and our energy and our hearts for women. We can turn this country around. One city council race, one phone tree established, one network meeting regularly, are affirmations.

Republican and Democratic women, for the first time in years, are ready to work together, to form coalitions that will put women everywhere—into the statehouses and universities and corporate boardrooms where presidents and cabinets are formed.

Now we know what happens if we allow ourselves to be silenced. From now on, we will speak for ourselves.

Jane O'Reilly is founding editor of the Getting It Gazette, a newspaper published by, for and about women during the Democratic and Republican conventions. This article appeared in the Aug. 20 issue of the Gazette, during the Republican Convention.

Los Angeles Times

COLUMN RIGHT/
EDWIN M. YODER JR.

We've Become a Nation of Claimants

■ Politicians aren't the only ones who need self-denial; that's why term limits won't work.

In the small family of true constitutional conservatives—those who instinctively shy from almost all ideas for “reforming” the Framers’ handiwork—there is much rending of garments today over an apostate brother: my colleague George Will.

In a startling departure, Will has “reluctantly” enlisted in the term-limitation movement. The rationale, luminously and wittily phrased as usual, is to be found in his new book, “Restoration.”

Will's case for term limits may be summarized as follows: The political vice making for formless spending and unprincipled governance is congressional “careerism,” the propensity of incumbent congressmen to become a permanent office-holding class and to bend government entitlements and subsidies to the uses of reelection.

You can get a sense of the executive-branch variant by simply observing George Bush's unprincipled scramble to promise everything to everyone, even reversing long-standing Administration policies—rebuilding Homestead Air Force Base for South Florida, ordering remodeled M-1 tanks for Ohio and Michigan; selling batches of F-16 fighters to Taiwan for Texas. It isn't that all such promises go against the public interest, though most of these do. It's that merit isn't at issue. Being reelected is.

Multiply the Bush campaign exponentially and you have the Congress of the United States. In “Restoration,” Will underemphasizes military socialism (otherwise known as defense spending). He supported a lot of it in the Reagan era—though to be fair about it, Will never said these goodies should be put on plastic. (As Will observes, the new GOP variation on the classic Harry Hopkins political formula is, “borrow and borrow, spend and spend, elect and elect.”)

Will's complaints center, however, on the subsidy and entitlement programs generally favored by Democratic congressmen—everything from support of mohair and honey prices to subsidized public television.

As he says, these programs tend to take on the character of self-perpetuating entitlements. And since their cumulative cost is staggering, the numbing numbers lend credence to the pernicious argument that a little more of this and a little more of that

'I see little evidence that term limits would decisively alter the political dynamics of the gimme state.'

make no difference. Ultimately, however, the dynamics of entitlement spending deaden the “deliberative” function of legislative government and strip it of dignity. That, he suggests, is why Congress has become everyone's favorite political punching bag.

Will's diagnosis is richly confirmed. We have become a nation of claimants—surly claimants at that—insisting on our own cut of the national boodle. Naturally, elected politicians respond. See for instance Bill Clinton's laundry list of promises to the already gorged veterans' lobby, in an otherwise admirable speech to the American Legion.

What, if anything, can be done to arrest this unwholesome conversion of the Great Republic into what I like to call a well-armed rest home? According to a recent Washington Post tabulation, 46% of federal domestic spending goes to the elderly, only 10% to children—children who, by the way, will inherit the outrageous debt we are heaping up by failing to pay our own way.

What is the remedy? Here is where George Will and I part company. He has come to believe that the cure is term limits. He reasons that if you limit their terms, we will get a new and more principled class of congressmen. There he loses me. I see little evidence that term limits would decisively alter the political dynamics of the gimme state. Maybe other reforms, but not this one.

Will seems to acknowledge in “Restoration” that it isn't just the politicians who need self-denial and self-discipline. We all do. How close we are to it you can see in the presidential campaign. Floridians squealed with delight when George Bush promised to rebuild Homestead Air Force Base, though Hurricane Andrew did rational defense planning a favor by leveling it. The American Legion acted similarly when Bill Clinton promised them more of their own brand of military socialism.

It isn't incumbent congressmen alone who perpetuate dubious programs for the sake of election or reelection. Candidates for President do it, too. And they already are subject to term limits. That it seems to make no difference in the way they campaign or govern seems to me a telling argument against the term-limits solution.

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

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Bush Accuses Opponent Of 'Waffling,' Reluctance To Fight for His Country

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

WAUKESHA, Wis., Sept. 7—Insisting that he—not Bill Clinton—is the true political heir of Harry S. Truman, President Bush today attacked his Democratic opponent for “waffling and wavering” and suggested Clinton was unwilling to fight for his country the way he and Truman had.

In what he called the “kickoff day for this campaign,” Bush launched a harsh attack on Clinton, pointedly raising the Arkansas governor’s lack of military service for the first time and accusing him of “doublespeak” rather than plain talk on issues from the Persian Gulf War to international trade agreements.

Well aware that Clinton began the day in Truman’s home town of Independence, Mo., Bush challenged Clinton’s right to claim the 33rd president’s legacy simply because both were Democrats. But the president also acknowledged that at the end of the 1948 campaign he now cites with increasing frequency, he voted not for Truman, but his Republican opponent, Thomas E. Dewey.

That didn’t stop him, however, from drawing parallels.

“Let’s just have some plain speaking about Harry Truman and Bill Clinton,” Bush said, noting that Truman had run a business, as he has, and ran as an underdog, as he is doing today. Bush added, “Harry Truman wanted to join the military and fight for his country. So do I, and I did.”

As the crowd chanted, “Where was Bill? Where was Bill?” Bush went on to mention the military issue a second time, noting Truman “spoke with great pride about his military service.”

Bush’s comments to thousands of Wisconsin Republicans gathered in this Milwaukee suburb for a Labor Day picnic were his most explicit invitation to voters to compare his military record, as a decorated Navy pilot who at 18 volunteered for service in World War II, with Clinton’s lack of service. The Arkansas Democrat avoided military service during the Vietnam War, first with a series of student deferments and

See BUSH, A12, Col. 1

The Washington Post

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President Suggests Opponent Was Unwilling to Fight for His Country

BUSH, From A1

ultimately with a high number in the draft lottery.

Bush also used the Truman theme to question Clinton's willingness to face tough issues. When he was making the decision to use military force to stop Iraq's President Saddam Hussein, Bush said, Clinton was "waffling and wavering" about what he would do. While Clinton says he supported Bush's actions in the Persian Gulf War, he said at the time Congress voted to support the war that he would have voted with the majority but sympathized with the arguments of the minority who opposed Bush.

Truman, Bush said, was decisive, not equivocal. "He'd find little in common with Governor Clinton," Bush said, "a man who hedges or ducks on almost every tough issue; a man who seems to feel strongly on both sides of almost every issue. . . ."

Quoting one of Truman's favorite statements about the buck stopping at the Oval Office, Bush said Clinton's response to the nation's problems was "first let's blame George Bush and then I'll get back to you later with the answer."

Bush's aides had promoted the Waukesha speech, the first of two he gave today in the battleground Midwest, as dealing with legal reform. The campaign hopes to fea-

ture what White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater called "an issue a day."

Arguing that it was time to reform the legal system to reduce unnecessary and costly litigation, Bush accused Clinton of pandering to trial lawyers in his opposition to

The decisive Truman would find little in common with Clinton, Bush said.

legal and product liability reform. "I don't want to see only lawyers getting rich," Bush said. "I want to see American workers getting rich."

But it was the sharp anti-Clinton rhetoric that drew the attention and cheers of the crowd, and Fitzwater said Clinton "doublespeak" would be a continuing theme. As for Clinton's military record, Fitzwater said, "We think it's legitimate, especially from a guy [Bush] who's got a war record, and we won't be afraid to draw the analogy."

Bush started and ended his day in Michigan, a virtual must-win state for him if electoral prizes such as California fall Clinton's way. As the

sun came up in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, Bush joined about 60,000 others in the annual hike across the five-mile-long Mackinac Bridge.

He returned to Michigan at day's end to appear at a massive Polish festival in the blue-collar ethnic neighborhood of Hamtramck. Bush had appeared here in the early months of his presidency to predict that Poland would be free and that his administration would work to assure it.

Today, Bush recalled that speech and offered a paean of praise for America's ethnic diversity and its immigrants as the "blood and bone" of the nation and the "sweat and sinew" that helped build the country.

Bush got a polite, sometimes enthusiastic reception, as he walked a parade route lined by thousands upon thousands of Michiganders. He reacted with good-natured smiles when Clinton supporters, in pockets along the route and during his speech, chanted boos and tossed handfuls of broccoli, the vegetable he is famous for disliking.

Bush is scheduled to return to Michigan on Thursday to address the Detroit Economic Club. Bush's new team of White House aides has been working on a broadened economic message, acknowledging that while issues like health care and legal reform help give Bush a domestic program to talk about, the economy and what Bush plans to do about it remain the overriding voter concern.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

Vice President Blasts Clinton and Hollywood

Quayle Takes Pride in 'Murphy Brown' Emmy

By E.J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

LODI, Calif., Sept. 7—With a gleeful partisanship that occasionally cast the facts to one side, Vice President Quayle today opened the fall campaign season with sweeping attacks on his two favorite targets: Bill Clinton and Hollywood.

Appearing before a modest but enthusiastic crowd on a college campus in Grand Junction, Colo., and then at a farmer's fair here, Quayle banged away at a central theme of the Republicans' case against Clinton: taxes.

Joking about an Arkansas state government document released last week that said taxes and fees went up 127 times under Clinton—not 128 as the Republicans have claimed—Quayle sought to keep the GOP tax attack alive by saying that past numbers were irrelevant given Clinton's plans for the future.

"I don't care whether it's 128 times or 127 times or 110 times or 150 times," Quayle declared to cheers in Colorado. "He's already told the American people that the first thing he's going to do as president is to raise your taxes. He's going to raise income taxes. He's got a health care tax. He's got a training tax."

As for Hollywood, Quayle took personal credit for the Emmy

awards given to the television show "Murphy Brown," whose fame grew when Quayle criticized the program for "mocking the importance of fathers" by portraying its lead character as deciding to have a child out of wedlock.

"This is the first time a political speech won an Emmy," Quayle said. "On behalf of all Americans that want to stick up for traditional values, thank you Hollywood for recognizing my political speech."

Emphatically denying he ever attacked single mothers—"single mothers are heroines," he said today—Quayle struck a defiant pose toward those he has castigated as "the cultural elite."

"Hollywood, you go ahead and distort what I say," he declared. "You can go ahead and laugh at our values, you can go ahead and ridicule America, but I'm going to continue to speak the truth. I'm going to continue to speak for traditional values, and I'm not going to back down one bit."

In his zeal to attack Clinton today, Quayle sometimes reworded the Democrat's positions beyond recognition. In Grand Junction on Colorado's western slope, Quayle told the crowd: "Bill Clinton will say, 'Well, you know, you can't create jobs and preserve the environment at the same time. You have to have

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one or the other.' " This, Quayle added, was "nonsense."

In fact, Clinton's statements on the environment are the opposite of what Quayle said they were. Clinton has said repeatedly that job creation and environmental protection go hand-in-hand and that being forced to pick one or the other would represent a "false choice."

Asked to explain the discrepancy, David Beckwith, Quayle's press

secretary, said no matter what Clinton and his running mate, Albert Gore Jr., have said, "they don't really believe it. They're just saying it because it sounds good." But Quayle dropped the reference to Clinton's environmental record when he spoke here later.

Quayle also said, "Bill Clinton's approach is to ration health care." Clinton has never said he favors rationing, but Beckwith said,

"That's what you'd get if you had a government-run health care plan."

In Colorado, Quayle's attacks on Clinton were on the issues. But he adopted a personal tone when he met with reporters at the Stockton Airport near here, saying it would be "a big, big risk for the American people to put Clinton in there."

"I don't believe the American people, when it's all said and done, are going to vote for a person that

they have grave questions about," he said, "questions about his character, questions about his trust."

As for President Bush's potential problems on the trust issue caused by his broken "no new taxes" pledge, Quayle noted that Bush had declared the tax increase a "mistake."

The difference between Republicans and Democrats on taxes, Quayle said, is that "we've learned, they haven't."

The Washington Post

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Who's for Free Trade?

WHEN PRESIDENT Bush triumphantly announced the successful negotiation of the North American Free Trade Agreement one morning last month, the text was not complete. A couple of weeks later, assailing "protectionist Democrats," he needled Gov. Clinton for failing to endorse it and accused him of waffling. What Mr. Clinton had said was that in principle he favors a trade agreement with Mexico: "If we have no agreement, we will continue to have manufacturing jobs go on a fast track to Mexico. . . . But it has to be the right kind of agreement. I'm reviewing it carefully, and when I have a definitive opinion I will say so."

Is that a waffle? You should know that neither Mr. Clinton nor anyone else outside official Washington had seen the still-unfinished text. The negotiators were working out the details, not all of which were trivial.

To score points in the campaign, Mr. Bush has occasionally tried to depict the Democrats as opposed to the agreement and to trade. In fact, both Mr. Clinton and congressional leaders have said consistently that while they favor the idea of an agreement, they will judge this one on its provisions for displaced workers, for labor standards and for environmental protection. Mr. Bush has acknowledged those concerns, and part of the job training bill he proposed two weeks ago would be specifically allocated to retraining for workers who lost their jobs as a result of the agreement. That's where the real debates over this free trade agreement will lie—in the questions of degree in providing for the environment and for displaced workers.

Although you wouldn't guess it from Mr. Bush, there's been close consultation between the White House's negotiators and the congressional leadership throughout the talks with Mexico and Canada. That cooperation will get even closer in the decisive stages that will come next year—under whoever wins the presidency in November.

When Mr. Bush has a final text and all the accompanying documents, he will formally notify Congress. That will probably be next week. The agreement must lie before Congress 90 days—until well after the election—before the president can sign it. Then, next winter, Congress will begin a highly unusual process. You should note that it's not a treaty, and it doesn't follow the ratification procedure. It's an executive agreement, and there's still a lot of give-and-take ahead.

The trade committees of Congress will hold hearings and, with the administration's lawyers at their elbows, begin writing the legislation that will enact this agreement into American law. The committees can send the administration back to Mexico and Canada to renegotiate points—major points are not likely to be subjected to that, but lesser ones might be. When they have legislation on which the committees and the administration agree (as well as the Mexicans and Canadians), they hand it to the president—Bush or Clinton—who will formally send it back to Congress. Under the fast-track rule, Congress then is required to act on it in up-or-down votes, with no amendments, within 90 legislative days. That will probably be sometime next summer.

The North American Free Trade Agreement won't have a great effect on this country's huge economy. Its main benefit to the United States will be to promote economic growth in Mexico and hold down the tide of desperate immigrants coming north. It will have the same effect on Mexico, encouraging democracy and productivity, that membership in the European Community is having for Spain and Portugal.

It's one of the best things that President Bush has done. It's a pity that he's misrepresenting the positions of Democrats who, at this point, are nearly as deeply engaged in the agreement as he himself.

The Washington Post

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Meg Greenfield

Enough Cant on 'Family Values'

The first family, by which I don't mean the Bushes, but Adam and Eve, certainly had its problems. One of the children killed the other. Patriarchs like Jacob also had a time of it with much strife and plain old misconduct within the family. And the Hebrews probably weren't the worst of it, either. Consider the Greeks—the Oedipus family and all the rest of that clan who so generously donated their names to innumerable of our modern psychological disorders. And I'm not through. What about the Hamlet family and the Macbeth family? What about all those oppressive, loveless, just plain deranged families living behind a facade of respectability that the 19th-century novelists immortalized for us? What about Eugene O'Neill's imploding families? We're talking Western cultural tradition here, which good conservatives want us to submerge ourselves in, and we of course have. Is it any wonder, then, that Americans don't seem universally to believe that your basic configuration of five—Dick and Jane and Spot and Mom and Dad—whether in ancient Attica or right up the road in that nice suburban house where Junior just mowed down the whole lot of them and then called the police, necessarily defines domestic tranquillity and moral rectitude?

I have been brooding over all this by way of trying to understand why the hard-edged GOP family-values blast of August played so badly with the public and had to be revised. Surely in some sense the people who thought it up were on to something. A lot of us are powerfully uncomfortable with and unhappy about the descent to so much that is sexually shameless, exhibitionistic and savage in our society. We are importuned to accept today behavior that only yesterday was generally considered as unacceptable. I think most of us have picked and chosen our way individually among all this, have had our own personal struggles over what we can accept and what we cannot and have created our own individual equilibrium. If this is the case, as I believe, it is hardly any wonder that people were so offended by the original Republican effort to scare them back to where they'd been and so inhospitable to speechifying that politicized and vulgarized this subject known as "family values."

But there is more. I think people resented the intrusion of political figures lecturing them on their moral behavior and in addition were contemptuous of those politicians' pre-

People resent the intrusion of political figures presuming to judge human relationships.

sumption that they could judge the character of so many human relationships on the basis of large categories. It is fair to say that most people have known in their own environs at least one superficially perfect family whose backbiting members were walking examples of every familial vice in the book. They have also known disorganized and wholly unconventional families, families missing husbands or wives or both, groupings of people banded together to be a family where none existed, that day in, day out displayed more of the values and virtues of family relationships than the local pillars of society. In the ravaged aftermath of Hurricane Andrew, some of those impoverished, non-Cleaverlike families struggling to stay together and redeem their modest common life seemed like exemplars of love and responsibility and devotion. You do not have to be sentimental about all the poor or the offbeat or the untraditional as groups to know such people exist and to know that this is true.

One special target of the midsummer assault was the feminist wife, or perhaps just the feminist—period. Political pulse takers were to say that this failed to accomplish its end because it offended so many women in America. There was an implication, first, that women who took jobs outside the home were doing so as a lark, rather than out of economic necessity. And from this followed the idea that they must be pretty cautious or unfemale or something to do so, to have such fouled-up values. Again, this had to fly in the face of experience that tens of millions of people have had, either as observers of the scene the Republicans were talking about or participants in it. It is, I suspect, nigh impossible to work in a large enterprise anywhere in the country these days without being in continuous contact with women who are working especially hard in their jobs and equally managing to give enormous amounts of energy and attention to their families.

The Republicans who got mixed up in this in Houston in August now tell us that they were misunderstood and misrepresented by the media, etc. Some of their best friends are single mothers and working mothers—Lord, some of their nearest relatives are even single mothers and working mothers—and they never meant these noble (voting) women any harm. They may be right. They may have had some whole other categories in mind and only been clumsy in their formulations. Maybe they were only meaning to condemn promiscuous sex, kinky sex and strident, anti-male, radical feminism. The problem is that once politicians get inveighing on these subjects a couple of things happen. They don't want to limit their attacks to identified individual perpetrators of the vices they condemn because this usually will make them look as if they are training a huge amount of firepower on a relative handful of wrongdoers. So they go general and nasty and end up seeming to condemn large swaths of the population they claim are a threat to everyone else in the society, while implying their own moral perfection or at least superiority. But people don't feel that politicians are so superior these days, never mind perfect. And they aren't ready for blanket condemnations of others on grounds that they have failed their familial duties.

And again I would insist that the main reason is that the stereotypes as piped out of Houston are unreliable in the experience of so many Americans. People of my generation observing close up modern two-career marriages of women much more feminist than we were are struck, in fact, sometimes even put off, by the almost obsessive (in our view) closeness and interconnection and family-mindedness of these newly formed young families. We are trying to adjust our opinions from an era in which gay males were denounced for living ostentatious, sexually scavenging, violent lives to one in which they are denounced for wanting, as couples, to replicate heterosexual domestic life. We are trying to figure out how you protect very young people against AIDS without seeming to sanction or even encourage behavior you think is wrong. It is a new world, and the question is how do you make old and tested values apply to it? That mid-August blast from Houston didn't inform, instruct, understand or help.

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The Washington Post

David S. Broder

In Comes Baker, Out Go The Issues

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

You can begin to see James A. Baker III's impact on President Bush's reelection campaign. And, as I feared, Baker seems to have decided that for Bush to win, the public must lose its chance to hear a serious discussion about the nation's future.

What was said here a few weeks ago, when Baker's shift from secretary of state to White House chief of staff was announced, unfortunately is turning out to be true. Baker's history as a campaign manager of stripping out substance and detouring the dialogue from important policy choices into short-term political diversions is being repeated in 1992.

Baker is not to blame for the meanness and emptiness of much of the rhetoric that filled the prime-time hours at last month's Republican National Convention. He was still in transition then.

But he is responsible for two September decisions that will go a long way toward determining what value this campaign has for the voters. Baker's hand is clear in Bush's refusal to spell out the tax-and-budget policies he will follow if given a second term. And it is equally clear in last week's threat to scuttle the plans for presidential debates.

Others announced these decisions—Bush in the first instance, campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter in the second. Operating behind the curtain always has been Baker's style. The election returns will tell whether these decisions help Bush. But they are clearly not in the public interest.

The greatest challenge facing the next president, whether it is Bush or Clinton, is dealing with the runaway national debt. Already more than 60 cents of every dollar of personal income taxes goes simply to pay for the interest on that debt. Nothing of any consequence can be done to improve America's competitive position, its education, its health care system or anything else unless we stop the hemorrhage of deficit spending.

Clinton needs to be pressed on how he would deal with the deficits. His numbers do not add up. But instead of entering that debate, Bush has said three things that stymie hopes for the needed dialogue.

He has renounced the 1990 budget agreement, which combined tax increases with tough spending controls. The controls in that agreement have worked. For the first time, the Democratic Congress has not weaseled out of the limits. But Bush, under pressure from the right, now says the agreement was a "mistake." And he runs around the country promising added spending to benefit grain producers, aircraft workers and hurricane victims—and who knows who else next week?

Looking ahead to a second term, Bush also has promised an across-the-board tax cut, of undetermined size, financed by unspecified spending reductions. And he has promoted a scheme that would let taxpayers earmark 10 percent of their taxes for debt reduction, forcing further spending cuts.

When asked, Bush has said he will not give any further details about the tax or spending cuts until next year's budget. That is, if he is still in office. That, in turn, allowed Clinton to run around last week—not explaining or amplifying his own cloudy fiscal policy—but trying to scare people into thinking Bush would cut Social Security, slash Medicare, end college loans, etc., etc. It was a parade of horrors matching the scare picture of tax hikes and job losses Bush says would be certain if Clinton were elected.

Voters deserve better. And they deserve real debates where these candidates can pin each other down. The bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates long ago outlined a schedule of one vice-presidential and three presidential debates, each 90 minutes long and each with a single moderator. Clinton agreed at once. Last week, Baker sent Teeter out to say no.

Baker always does that. It's no surprise. He scuttles agreements, then forces the debates into the time frame and format he wants. Bush says he prefers the old format of being questioned by a panel of reporters. But almost all the politicians, journalists and academic experts advised the commission, which ran the 1988 debates, that the single-moderator format, used in Canada and in many of the Democratic primary debates, is far preferable.

It unclutters the screen. It puts responsibility where it belongs, on the contenders themselves. It eliminates the journalistic tendency to upstage the candidates by framing amazing hypotheticals—"If your sister were raped by an alien, would you declare war on Mars?"

We need no more of that. As commission director Janet Brown put it, "The goal of the debates is educating the American public about individuals who may be president, their views, their character, their judgment. Having the debates reduced the focus on the candidates."

Like many other Baker ploys, the demand for press panels in the debates is bad news.

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THE SHOWDOWN STATES

Here are the seven states shaping up as key battlegrounds of the presidential campaign.

MICHIGAN

Bush carried Michigan by 8 percentage points in 1988, but is running far behind Clinton in this beleaguered industrial state with 18 electoral votes.

ILLINOIS

A state Bush barely carried in 1988, Illinois, with 22 electoral votes, now leans strongly toward Clinton.

MISSOURI

In this state with 11 electoral college votes, socially conservative but economically liberal voters are likely to determine the outcome of a hard-fought battle.

OHIO

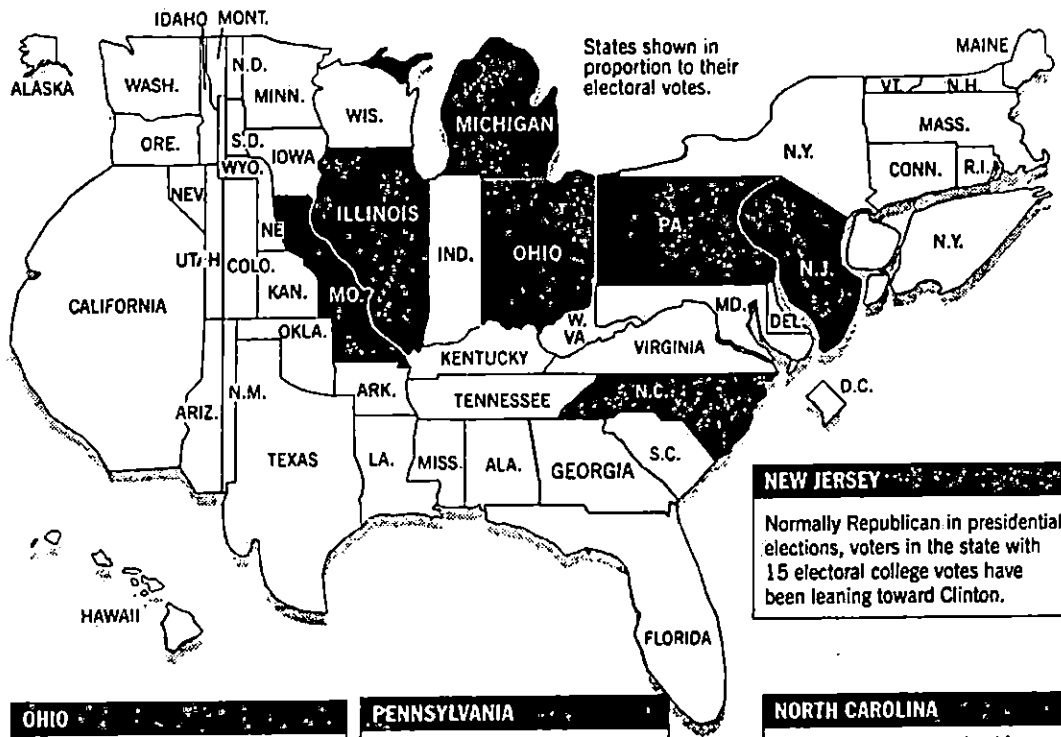
One of the more Republican of the Midwest industrial states, Ohio, with 21 electoral college votes, is one of the most likely of the battleground states to fall into the Bush column.

PENNSYLVANIA

The outcome of the fight for the heavily Catholic, white, working-class vote will be crucial in determining who wins Pennsylvania's 23 electoral college votes.

NORTH CAROLINA

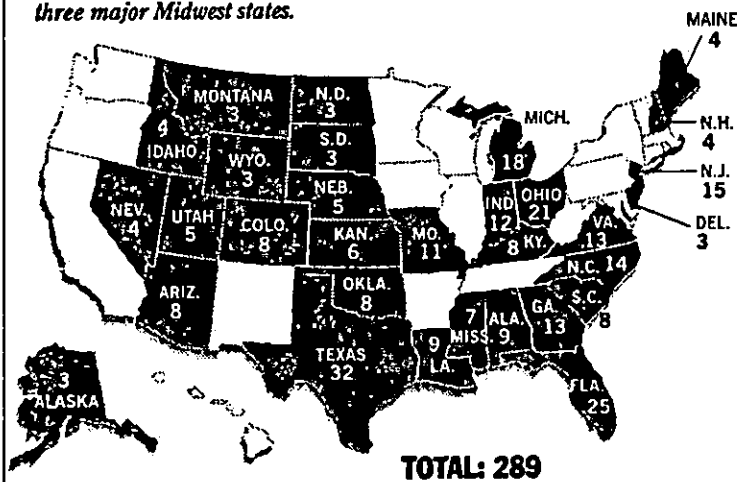
Clinton strategists are banking on the presence of two border state southerners to make this normally Republican state competitive in November.



A BUSH VICTORY SCENARIO

In this scenario, the fundamental Bush strategy is based on winning most of the Rocky Mountain states, the Wheat Belt, the Deep South and the three major Midwest states.

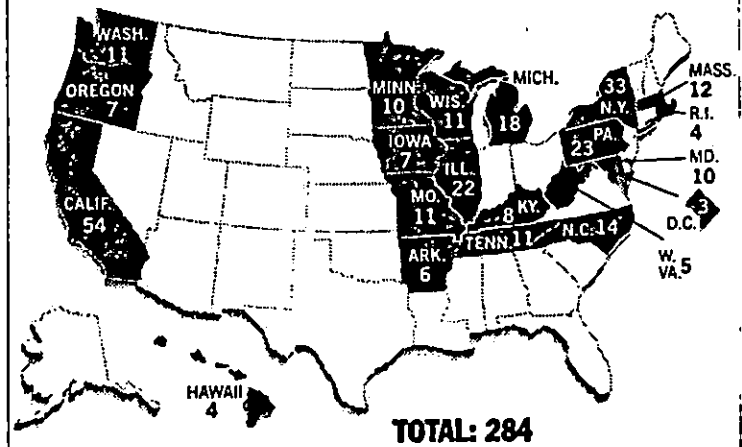
States needed by Bush



A CLINTON VICTORY SCENARIO

A Clinton victory plan would include victories on the West Coast, the border South, the major eastern industrial states and a solid block of the industrial Midwest.

States needed by Clinton



NEEDED TO WIN: 270 ELECTORAL VOTES

—Compiled by Thomas B. Edsall and Dan Balz

THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

Clinton Challenges Press To Examine 'Veracity' of President on Iran-Contra

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

INDEPENDENCE, Mo., Sept. 7—A pugnacious Bill Clinton opened his fall campaign for the White House today by invoking the populist spirit of Harry S. Truman and challenging the press to examine President Bush's "veracity" regarding the Iran-contra scandal as closely as it has Clinton's explanations of his draft record.

Picking Truman's home town as the setting for the traditional Labor Day kickoff rally, the Democratic nominee vowed to be a "working people's president," and poured scorn on Bush, who has claimed Truman as a role model.

"Harry Truman didn't wake up every morning worrying how to cut taxes one more time on millionaires," the Arkansas governor told several thousand supporters gathered around the statue of the former president on the steps of the Jackson County Courthouse, which was built when Truman was the presiding judge of the county. "George Bush cast his first vote against Harry Truman [in 1948] and he has spent four years fighting against everything Harry Truman fought for."

Clinton and his supporters were soaked by a violent thunderstorm that cut short his speech.

Earlier, the front-running challenger seemed more belligerent than confident when, once again, he was challenged by reporters on his draft record.

At a visit to an Independence fire station, Clinton was asked why he had blamed reporters, in an interview with NBC News anchor Tom Brokaw, for the latest twist in his year-long effort to clarify the events that kept him out of uniform during the Vietnam War.

This one, based on reporting by the Los Angeles Times, forced Clinton to issue a statement late last week that he had known since last spring that an uncle had intervened and reserved a billet for him in a Naval Reserve unit, which he did not choose to use.

Once again shifting the blame to the media, Clinton said, "This story was made up

See CLINTON, A12, Col. 4

Clinton Urges Scrutiny Of Bush on Iran-Contra

CLINTON, From A1

by the press because they asked me a question about an article they hadn't read that I hadn't read. It's amazing to me that even if all this stuff was true, it doesn't change anything about what I did or knew at the time.

"By contrast," he said, "there is a memorandum about a conversation between two Cabinet members . . . which, if true, would call into question not only the president's veracity but his support for illegal conduct, and you all never ask him about it. . . . There was no follow-up—nothing."

Clinton was referring to a memo, introduced recently in a court deposition by the special prosecutors in the case of former secretary of defense Caspar W. Weinberger, in which former secretary of state George P. Shultz said Weinberger had expressed surprise and skepticism about statements by Bush in 1987 regarding the Iran-contra affair.

In an interview with The Post on Aug. 5, 1987, Bush asserted that he had been "out of the loop" and unaware that Weinberger and Shultz had been fighting to stop the sale of weapons to Iran. According to a memo dictated by Shultz Aug. 7, Weinberger referred to Bush's statement in the interview and said it was "terrible. He was on the other side. It's on the Record. Why did he say that."

Bush has been asked twice about the memo—once at a White House news conference and again Sunday night in a separate interview with Brokaw—and has insisted that it did not contradict his earlier statement.

Asked if he doubted the truth of what Bush was saying, Clinton this morning told reporters, "You do your job with him like you did with me" on the draft issue.

But he also expressed frustration with the continuing focus on the draft question. Referring to the latest story about the Naval Reserve

slot, Clinton said, "You've got a feeding frenzy on about something that even if it's true, it doesn't amount to a hill of beans. I knew nothing about it, and it does not affect the truth that I have told about the facts of the draft situation."

He added, "None of the facts of my story have changed."

The concern that many in the Clinton campaign express privately about the continuing focus on the draft record was reflected by a sign held up in the front row of the courthouse crowd: "Truman Was No Draft Dodger."

Later, at a Labor Day picnic near Cincinnati where Clinton joined his running mate, Sen. Albert Gore Jr. of Tennessee, an airplane flew overhead trailing a banner that read "Draft dodger."

If Clinton could not identify with the World War I artillery captain, he reasserted the Democrats' claim to everything else about the president whose Congress-bashing, upset victory in 1948 has been seized as a model by Bush.

Citing statistics about the increase in unemployment and poverty during the last four years and Bush's opposition to national health care, Clinton asked scornfully, "Can you believe that a man with this kind of record would go around the nation with a straight face comparing himself to Harry Truman?"

"Harry Truman gave the special interests hell," Clinton shouted. "George Bush is giving it to you."

Recalling the famous sign Truman kept on his White House desk as a reminder of his responsibility, Clinton said, "The buck doesn't stop with George Bush. It doesn't even slow down there." And he vowed to "do what Harry Truman did for the next 57 days—go across America, give 'em hell, and make America what it ought to be again."

At the picnic outside Cincinnati, Clinton replayed the theme for thousands of union members and their families who had waited for him in the rain in a park on the banks of the Ohio River.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

Gore Revises Symbolism Of Bush's Bridge Stroll

Story of Failure Seen in Span's Steel Mill

By Kent Jenkins Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

DETROIT, Sept. 7—Democratic vice presidential nominee Albert Gore Jr. turned a fired-up Labor Day rally into the Battle of Mackinac Bridge here today, appropriating one of President Bush's symbols to accuse him of devastating American industry.

Gore, fighting for votes in a state that is politically pivotal and economically battered, attempted to upstage the president's visit to northern Michigan this morning, ridiculing Bush's decision to walk across the Mackinac River bridge. The once-giant mill that produced the bridge's steel shut down in April, and the Tennessee senator portrayed the failure as a metaphor for Bush's economic policies.

"Mr. Bush, you can walk across the bridge for a photo opportunity, but you better be thinking about the jobs of the people who built that bridge," Gore told a cheering crowd of 5,000 union workers in a downtown plaza here.

Gore said that steel for the Mackinac River bridge came from Chicago's South Works, a plant that once employed 20,000 people. About 700 were still working there when it closed its doors this spring.

"When it comes to the working people of this country, Bush and

Quayle keep saying, 'We'll cross that bridge when we come to it.'"

In a speech that was long on emotion and short on specifics, Gore evoked figures as disparate as Santa Claus and Harry S. Truman to accuse the Bush administration of crippling the country's middle class and ignoring its pleas for help. "The only time Bush and Quayle start thinking about

"Photo opportunities won't put men and women back to work."

—Sen. Albert Gore Jr.

your jobs," he said, "is when they think their jobs are on the line."

Bush and Quayle have charged that Gore's environmental policies, particularly his support for higher auto gas-mileage standards, would throw thousands of Michigan residents out of work. Several in today's crowd said they were concerned by Gore's views, but were not convinced by the Republican argument.

"I'm worried" about Gore's environmental stands, said Tim Dewan, a Ford employee from Troy. "But I just think we have to get rid of Bush. I

was laid off from 1980 until 1985, and I had to go to school for new skills to come back. I'm worried about my kids and what they face."

"We try to listen to the issues and not buy the rhetoric from either side," said Bob Hall, a Detroit General Motors Corp. worker who brought his family to the rally. "But we're concerned about the environment, and the Republicans are distorting what [Gore] has to say."

Gore made only passing reference to his environmental stands today, and spent his day talking jobs with middle-income workers who said they have felt the effects of the recession. He had breakfast in a fire station on the South Side of Chicago and chatted with firefighters about the economy and the need to create jobs. "Our priority has got to be here at home in our own country," Gore said.

At every stop Gore portrayed Bush as unconcerned about the plight of average Americans. He repeated his charges that 250,000 jobs have been lost in the auto industry—100,000 in Michigan—during the Reagan and Bush administrations.

"Photo opportunities won't put bread on the table," Gore said of Bush's visit to Michigan. "Photo opportunities won't put men and

women back to work. . . . We need change, because we have had the worst economic performance since the Great Depression."

Bush's recent announcements to spend more on some federal programs popular in particular states are nothing more than cynical ploys, Gore charged. "It's election time, so all of a sudden, Bush and Quayle, they want to play Santa Claus," he said.

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The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Starting at 9 this morning, Court Television will air *Sposito v. Donnelley Directory*, in which an attorney is suing a yellow pages company in federal court for defamation for printing his accident-case practice with a photograph of two ambulances . . .

Jerry Lewis's muscular dystrophy telethon raised a record \$45,759,368 this weekend, despite protests from some victims of the disease. . . .

"The American people are listening. They heard me," Lewis told the Associated Press yesterday as the tote board registered the record, nearly \$688,000 over a record amount set last year. . . .

ABC Entertainment, getting antsy—as are we all—over uncertain presidential debate schedules, has moved back the debut of its new 9:30 Wednesday night entry, "Laurie Hill," to Wednesday, Sept. 30. It was originally due for a special preview on Tuesday, Sept. 22 . . .

The network also announced late last week a couple of changes in the return of "Coach" this month. We won't go into the Original Plans. Just remember there will be a season preview on Wednesday, Sept. 16, at 9:30 and a regular-day premiere on Tuesday, Sept. 22, in the 9:30 timeslot . . .

"Laurie" has already been described by the Associated Press as "charming, gentle . . . warm and cuddly as an angora sweater," so we'll only add that Delane Matthews plays a pediatrician, wife and mother trying to do her best. And that her "devoted househusband" (Robert Clohessy) is a freelance writer. 'Nuff said . . .

Democratic vice presidential hopeful Al Gore will be interviewed tomorrow night on Cable News Network's "Larry King Live." They'll both be in New Orleans, where King will be attending the Radio '92 convention, sponsored by the National Association of Broadcasters . . .

Does anybody else care about last Thursday night's national Nielsen ratings? Well, we certainly hope so because here they are:

NBC's all-rerun lineup won while the two-hour debut of "Middle Ages" on CBS averaged an 8.7 rating and a 16 percent audience share . . .

On FOX, "Martin" did a 10.2/18, while "The Heights" dipped to a 6.1/11 . . .

On ABC, the appearance of Jerry Lewis to give his side of the muscular dystrophy telethon disagreements, produced a timeslot-winning 13.0/24 for "PrimeTime Live" . . .

Locally, "Martin" on Channel 5 swept the boards with a 17.9/29, while "The Heights" did a 9.1/14 . . .

"Middle Ages" on Channel 9 did a 7.6/13, while "PrimeTime Live" on Seven averaged a 13.2/23 . . .

Each national ratings point represents 931,000 TV homes; a local point, 10,514 TV homes . . .

Paramount Domestic Television is considering a syndicated talk show that would be hosted by "Entertainment Tonight's" John Tesh and Leeza Gibbons. Both would remain with Paramount's ET if the project is approved, however . . .

Speaking of "Middle Ages," we noticed via the promos Thursday night that the producers of the short-run series have the character Nora making a Marilyn Quayle joke in next Thursday night's episode as CBS continues to work that anti-Quayle vein shamelessly . . .

In a phone conversation, Brian (Kyle Secor) tells Nora (Lisa Zane): "Go shopping. Buy some clothes" . . .

Nora: "Around here? Everyone dresses like Marilyn Quayle" . . .

And the CBS press release announcing the Sept. 21 season premiere of "Murphy Brown" is headlined "Murphy's life is radically changed by the two new men in her life, Baby Brown and Vice President Dan Quayle" . . .

And even Barbara Walters over at ABC, or at least her publicist, has tuned in. Product-short ABC is airing an "encore" presentation of "The Barbara Walters Special" tomorrow night—including an old interview with Candice Bergen that prompted this outburst from publicity:

"When Edgar Bergen asked Charlie McCarthy what he thought of the new little girl joining the family, the world's most famous dummy suggested that 'Candy should have been left in her wrapper,' a thought that would be shared years later by Vice President Dan Quayle" . . .

Edgar Bergen was Candice's dad . . .

John Palmer, who most recently anchored the "World Monitor" news show, has signed with the Bethesda-based Discovery Channel to host "Discovery Journal," a new primetime anthology series . . .

"Journal" will debut the night of Nov. 1 with an original two-hour documentary called "Execution Protocol," dealing with the death penalty in Missouri. The program will be shown back-to-back with a second "Journal" entry called "Single Pistol Shot," which deals with the death penalty in Russia . . .

Palmer has worked for TDC before, narrating a 13-part series on special forces around the

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world, which is also scheduled to debut this fall on the cable network . . .

Palmer was with NBC News for 26 years, including a stint as news anchor for the "Today" show from 1982 to '89, when he was replaced by Deborah Norville, the first of a series of assignments that nearly wrecked the program . . .

He subsequently hosted a syndicated show, "Instant Recall," for King World before taking over from John Hart on "World Monitor" in December 1991. "World Monitor" folded in late spring with the failure of the Monitor Channel . . .

"Gimme a Break" star Nell Carter was listed in satisfactory condition after undergoing surgery last Thursday in Los Angeles for the second time in two months to repair an aneurysm in her brain, according to a hospital official . . .

Carter, 43, underwent emergency surgery in mid-July, at which time the second aneurysm was found. Carter played housekeeper Nell Harper on the NBC series "Gimme a Break" from October 1981 to '87 . . .

Ivana Trump's autobiographical novel, "For Love Alone," is being made into a two-hour TV movie for CBS. It will be produced by RHI, which is also producing the miniseries "Scarlett" and a sequel to "Lonesome Dove" for the network . . .

And from our real better-late-than file:

The cast has been picked for Paramount's new syndicated series "Star Trek: Deep Space Nine"—which debuts in January . . .

The "Star Trek: The Next Generation" spinoff will star Avery ("A Man Called Hawk" and "Spenser") Brooks as Starfleet Commander Benjamin Sisko . . . in a story of a team of Starfleet officers who take command of a remote alien space station at the edge of a new frontier. It's set in the 24th century, which should smooth the way for visits from the current "Next Generation" crew of the Starship Enterprise when contracts permit . . .

Rene ("Benson") Auberjonois plays Odo, a "shape-shifting" security officer. Nana Visitor will play First Officer Maj. Kira Nerys, and Colm Meaney continues his role as Chief Operations Officer Miles O'Brien from "The Next Generation" . . .

And in case you didn't notice, Arbitron last week pulled the plug on a planned national TV ratings service designed to compete—and then some—with A.C. Nielsen . . .

ARB's service, "ScanAmerica," would not only supply information on the size and makeup of the audiences for network programs, like Nielsen, it was designed to offer advertisers information on viewer buying habits . . .

Participants were asked to record grocery store purchases by passing a scanner wand over the product code on boxes of cereal, soft drinks etc. ARB would then coordinate such information to inform sponsors where best to place their ads . . .

The service was launched in 1,000 homes in five cities last November, and ARB had hoped to be in full operation, in 5,000 homes around the country, by 1995 . . .

The first purchasers of the service were CBS, the ad agency Young & Rubicam and Bristol-Myers Squibb Co. A.J. Aurichio, president of Arbitron, said he had expected \$10 million in orders for ScanAmerica at this stage but got only \$1.5 million to \$2 million . . .

The cancellation of the service does not affect ARB's local TV ratings service, which also competes with Nielsen . . .

The latter's computerized daily ratings service, using "peplemeters," is installed in 4,000 homes nationwide . . .

Speaking of Nielsen, the ratings service acknowledges that one of the less important stories out of south Florida in the aftermath of Hurricane Andrew is that Nielsen has lost track of most of its regular TV meters in some 550 area households as a result of the storm. Nielsen also lost track temporarily of 60 to 80 percent of the 50 people-meters used in the daily national count . . .

With electricity still out and many homes devastated in the area, Nielsen was dispatching crews at the end of last week to make as accurate a count as possible of what might be in service. Nielsen has temporarily removed Miami from its 25-city "overnight" count . . .

The loss of the peplemeters—Nielsen thinks about 15 may have been removed permanently from the Miami sample—does not affect the national figures . . .

Also from Florida: NBC parent General Electric earns some pretty harsh press now and then. But in the aftermath of Andrew, the giant corporation has stepped in to help employees at WTVJ, its station in Miami. At least 12 employees of the station lost their homes. GE and NBC are providing them low-interest loans to rebuild. And for other losses, outright cash grants are being offered by GE to employees (and NBC is matching the grants—no repayment required). Meanwhile, from all over NBC, supplies have poured in for the WTVJ crew, which provided such fine coverage of the storm amid the personal troubles—as WRC viewers can attest. The Chicago station provided much needed coolers for the Miami station, and, in New York, clothing (even some baby strollers) is piling up for delivery this week . . .

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

HIGHLIGHTS

- "Back to School '92" on WUSA.
- "Where in the World Is Carmen Sandiego?" and "Behind the Scenes" on WMPT and WETA.
- Plus "No Mercy" on WDCA.

Public Broadcasting

Where in the World Is Carmen Sandiego? (CC) (Channels 22 and 26 at 8) is previewed by Megan Rosenfeld on Page B1.

Behind the Scenes (CC) (Channels 22 and 26 at 8:30) is previewed by Tom Shales on Page B1.

A Cry From the Edge. Students share their experiences and feelings about our educational system (Channels 22 and 26 at 9).

Primetime Movies

No Mercy (1986). Richard Gere is a Chicago cop seeking the killer of his partner (Channel 20 at 8).

Blade Runner (1982). A former L.A. cop is hired to track down androids in the 21st century (Channel 50 at 8).

Special

Back to School '92 (CC). Sinbad hosts this star-studded program examining problems and solutions in today's schools (Channel 9 at 8).

Series

Quantum Leap (CC) (R). Al and Sam trade places and personalities in a dual leap to 1945 and 1999 (Channel 4 at 8).

Full House (CC) (R). Michelle sets Danny up with her kindergarten teacher (Channel 7 at 8).

Reasonable Doubts (CC). Tess and Dicky are shocked by the lack of preparation by a public defender (Channel 4 at 9).

Roseanne (CC) (R). The Connors are in disarray until D.J. manages to pull everyone together (Channel 7 at 9).

Coach (CC) (R). Hayden decides his long-distance relationship with Christine must be resolved (Channel 7, 9:30).

Dateline NBC (CC). Jane Pauley spends time with Hillary Clinton in the Governor's Mansion in Little Rock (Channel 4 at 10).

Going to Extremes (CC). Kathleen learns of her ex-boyfriend's marriage (Channel 7 at 10).

Rescue 911 (CC) (R). A driver uses her cellular phone as a weapon, and a 3-year-old girl is stuck in a tree (Channel 9 at 10).

Star Trek: The Next Generation (CC) (R). The Enterprise is assigned to escort a young girl from her home to the planet she was born to rule (Channel 20 at 10).

What! Me Teach? I'm a Professor

By MARTIN ANDERSON

The cost of attending some of America's better colleges — tuition, room and board — has now soared to more than \$20,000 a year. As the school year begins, it seems like a good time to ask: What kind of teaching does \$20,000 buy?

The answer is, too often, teaching of a scandalously substandard kind. The problem is not so much that professors don't teach very well, although in some cases that is certainly true, but that a great deal of teaching at the university level has been handed over to people who are unqualified. They are called, misleadingly, teaching assistants. They in fact play a major role in university classrooms across America. The work they do in the place of real professors is the shame of the academic intellectuals, a shabby secret they are loath to discuss publicly.

In academe's upside-down world, teaching is low man on the totem pole of academic prestige. What counts is research and publishing and certain kinds of administrative work. So professors have sloughed off their teaching burdens and imposed them on young men and women — usually graduate students, sometimes undergraduates. These young people have little or no experience in the classroom and only a weak grasp of their subject matter. Moreover, they are usually scrambling to do their own schoolwork, so that one day they will indeed be qualified to teach.

Glamorous Professors

In today's universities, teaching assistants give lectures, lead classroom discussions, make up examinations and grade them, and counsel their fellow students. And yet, pick up any university catalog and you will find only the vaguest references to them. The spotlight is trained instead on those glamorous professors who, in ever greater numbers, shun the classroom in favor of "research."

The 1989-90 catalog of the University of California at Berkeley, for example, asserts on its first page that the faculty "is made up of some of the most distinguished teachers and scholars in the world." Three pages later it boasts that "students who attend Berkeley have the benefit of learning from world-renowned theorists and researchers who are also often distinguished teachers." It continues: "Every year, departments nominate many of their faculty as distinguished teachers. You will encounter excellent teachers in all departments, all disciplines."

The impression given to proud parents reading the catalog is clear and direct. Let your sons and daughters come to Berkeley, let them learn from some of the best professors in the world.

The reality is very different.

One of the few systematic studies ever done on the use of teaching assistants was carried out at Berkeley in 1984. The report concluded that there were "at least 1800+" graduate-student instructors there, and that "in 1983-84 graduate students were responsible for 58% of the lower-division class meetings."

That nearly three out of every five class meetings for freshmen and sophomores were being taught by other students should have been an acute embarrassment for Berkeley. But apparently it was not. Five

substantial share of the undergraduate classes.

One of the first people to spotlight this growing problem was Charles Sykes in a 1988 book (entitled "Profscam") highly critical of higher education. "At Yale," wrote Mr. Sykes, "T.A.s make up more than 25% of the people teaching and in a recent year filled 1,521 teaching appointments." In some of Harvard's largest and most important undergraduate classes Mr. Sykes found that "teaching assistants are crucial." Last school year, there were approximately 800 students teaching at Harvard, 600 at Columbia, and between 500 and 600 at Princeton.

The teaching load of graduate students is so heavy — and that of professors so scandalously light — that at most universi-

The work student teaching assistants do in the place of real professors is the shame of the academic intellectuals, a shabby secret they are loath to discuss publicly.

years later the ratio had swelled to three out of four: An article in the American Scholar noted that "a two-day walkout of teaching assistants on the Berkeley campus of the University of California in the spring of 1989 caused the cancellation of nearly 75 percent of classes."

This bait-and-switch scheme — baiting prospective students and their parents with catalog-talk of world-class professors and then switching to student teachers once the freshmen are safely enrolled — is not limited to the sunny campus of Berkeley. It is now an accepted practice all over the country.

At the University of Washington, for example, in 1980, teaching assistants were responsible for almost 25% of the instruction in all undergraduate courses. By 1987 the number of teaching assistants had grown to 1,200 and represented, according to Provost George Beckmann, "43.9% of the total faculty, a significant amount yet actually less than the averages of peer institutions, which accounted for 53.5% in 1983." By the late 1980s, the "student faculty" at Ohio State had swelled to 2,410. Last November, 2,200 student teachers at the University of Massachusetts went on strike for higher wages — thus forcing the cancellation of almost 60% of the undergraduate classes. Even at our elite universities — including Harvard, Yale, Princeton and Columbia — there are hundreds and hundreds of graduate students teaching a

ties the subject is virtually taboo. In 1986 the University of California set up a special "Task Force on Lower Division Education" to investigate the quality of teaching and learning. Its conclusion on teaching assistants was unintentionally revealing: "The main question is not whether the University makes use of ancillary teaching personnel [i.e., student teaching assistants]; that question would appear to be beyond debate [italics added], given the legitimate research functions of the faculty, given the general budgetary limitation on the University, and given the unreality of the idea that enough additional resources might be available so that all teaching could be done by regular faculty."

That statement could be the operating philosophy of almost every university in America. To paraphrase slightly, it says: "Given the money available, and the greater importance we place on doing research, we just don't have enough time to teach students. The students will have to do that."

And student "professors" are indeed cheaper than real professors. The University of Wisconsin-Madison, with its 1,600 teaching assistants, has a typical pay scale for student teachers. (It may even be on the high end, since Wisconsin's teaching assistants are unionized and most universities are not.) In the late 1980s a teaching assistant holding a half-time appointment

was paid \$10,831 a year. Add to this a low-cost health plan and you have a total compensation package of perhaps \$12,000 a year. Some universities pay more, some less.

Compare this to the total compensation package of a professor. When one adds in retirement plans, housing subsidies, comprehensive health insurance and other benefits, a full professor can easily cost a college or university \$70,000 a year — at elite institutions, more than \$100,000. Obviously, the teaching assistant is a terrific bargain.

Venality, then, explains in part why so much university teaching is entrusted to unqualified youth. The university saves money, and the professors save their dignity and precious "research" time. Only the students lose.

Deeper Corruption

But behind this cynical math lies a deeper corruption. Teaching is an old and honorable profession. And yet many of today's professors view it with undisguised contempt. Indeed, they believe teaching to be beneath them. They regard their students as mere obstacles to their own intellectual hobbies and scholarly pursuits. As former Stanford Prof. John Kaplan once observed, "Professors feel that students are the crabgrass on the lawn of academia."

This attitude — this corruption in the soul of the professoriate — is the real cause of the student-teacher scandal. The use of students as pseudo-professors debases the university education, and it defrauds all those young people who enter the university believing they will be taught by learned professors. It defrauds their parents, who are paying so much for their children's education. But worse, it violates the idea of the university by creating an atmosphere of cynicism and falsehood where earnestness and truth-seeking should be the order of the day.

This is a scandalous state of affairs, made all the more appalling by the attitude that this issue, like so many others, is "beyond debate" within the academy itself.

Mr. Anderson is a fellow at the Hoover Institution. This article is adapted from his recent book, "Impostors in the Temple" (Simon & Schuster, 1992).

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

California Has a Budget, Now It Needs a Vision

By TIM W. FERGUSON

Despite the uproar in California about the draconian cuts in the current state budget, it's worth noting that the burden of government on Californians, in simple dollar terms, continues to grow.

California's general fund, the part of the budget over which most of the recent fighting has been occurring, went down by 5% this time after years of rocketing upward. Hence, the current outcry. But total state government spending actually is to rise by \$430 million.

How's that? The combined increase in so-called special funds — earmarked money for such favored purposes as highways, transit, wildlife, anti-smoking campaigns — and in bond expenditures more than makes up the loss. (See the accompanying table.)

Somebody might care to get that point across, because the expenditure lobby is gearing up for revenge. Its weapon is Proposition 167, on the November ballot, to increase taxes on business and impose yet higher rates on the top personal-income brackets. It's appealing to a sense of mass victimization that's been generated during and after the prolonged legislative standoff this summer over a new fiscal plan. The pitch will be that ordinary people took a blow while the rich and powerful walked away unhurt.

Opponents of 167, financed by business and industry groups, are not oblivious to the danger. They're already airing advertisements suggesting that higher taxes will mean job losses on top of the 700,000 California has already suffered in this recession. In normal circumstances, that should be enough to stop the thing. But in the current contentious climate, who knows?

Meantime, the biggest job-killers in the state still roam free. These include the unscrupulous lawyers and doctors who drive up workers-compensation and other insurance costs, and the notorious regional smog-control bodies that impose regulations and fines on businesses.

The new budget did impose \$500 million in new fees, but some aren't so bad; for instance, it will now cost more to take someone to court. That will be more incentive to use informal arbitration. However, Californians are far from off the tax hook. In cutting the state transfers to local governments and special districts, Sacramento probably will encourage some economies at those levels, but it also will invite

attempts to increase local taxes to maintain basic services. In the case of schools, legislation awaiting a Wilson signature seeks to knock down the required voter approval for such hikes to a simple majority, from two-thirds.

Likewise, the legislature and Gov. Wil-

California Spending Grows

In millions of dollars

	GENERAL FUND	SPECIAL FUNDS	BOND FUNDS	TOTAL
1991-92	\$43,019	\$11,652	\$2,304	\$56,975
1992-93	40,795	12,631	3,985	57,411

Source: California Department of Finance

son will ask the voters to eliminate the supermajority requirement for approval of local school bonds. So, at a time when office and commercial space goes begging, and innovative schools could make use of it, taxpayers are likely to be obliged to finance construction of additional, traditional buildings to house a swelling school-age population.

Operating costs of the schools were at the crux of the budget fight. Per-pupil spending is being held steady this year, but Gov. Wilson won an apparently iron-

clad agreement that spending must drop if the state is strapped in succeeding years. Alas, he didn't win approval to waive significant state requirements on how the schools spend their money. For example, the Los Angeles Times recently found that a third of the instructional budget in the state goes to "categorical," or mandatory, programs. State Superintendent Bill Honig, the great warrior for more school money, is also determined to say where it will be spent. (The Times also found that about 40% of school budgets is spent outside the classrooms and libraries.)

Unless California's economy gets a sudden wind and the demographic tide that has inundated it with recipients of government services abates, another budget crunch will come in 10 months. That's likely no matter what happens at the polls this fall. Then the cutters will have to go after more than just the patronage jobs (like the arts council) that were spared this time around. Either that, or the spenders will take on their greatest enemy, Proposition 13, the landmark 1978 property-tax limit whose full force has finally been felt.

Higher taxes are a dead end, but simply slashing is no answer either. At the root of California's rot is more than the sheer size of government; it is faulty incentives. To turn pain into gain, the state needs innovations such as school choice that let low- to moderate-income people escape the unionized, bureaucratic monopoly. Attacking the most threatening of all the state's ills, crime, will take not only moral reconstruction but expansion of an informal economy, such as Hernando de Soto has encouraged in developing countries. Gov. Wilson has shown the strength to shrink, and now the electorate should demand the vision to build.

Mr. Ferguson, based in Los Angeles, is a member of the Journal's editorial board.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

Bush's Wheat War Leaves Many Casualties

By JAMES BOVARD

President Bush announced plans last week for an additional billion dollars of wheat export subsidies. His announcement of new handouts—and his promise to farmers of “keeping the government off your back as best we can”—may harvest a few Farm Belt votes. But U.S. farm export subsidies will continue whipsawing world markets, infuriating our allies and bushwhacking some American farmers.

The U.S. government has spent more than \$3.5 billion to subsidize wheat exports since 1985 via the Export Enhancement Program. EEP effectively subsidizes both foreign buyers and American farmers, but most analysts believe that the foreign buyers get most of the benefits.

EEP's ostensible purpose is, by subsidizing U.S. exports, to persuade the Europeans that they should cease subsidizing their exports. When EEP subsidies began in 1985, farm-state congressmen and Agriculture Department bureaucrats believed that a few carefully selected sales would sufficiently intimidate the European Community. Instead, the precedent of a few U.S. subsidies created the demand from foreign grain buyers for far more subsidies, and now the U.S. is paying large subsidies on roughly 80% of wheat exports. The Foreign Agriculture Service admits that generous subsidies for wheat exports have displaced unsubsidized American corn exports.

One Agriculture Department study concluded that nine out of 10 bushels of wheat exported via EEP would have been exported anyhow. The primary effect of EEP was that, instead of exporting for a profit, the U.S. sold for a loss. Harvard economist Robert Paarlberg notes, “It would have been almost a dollar a bushel cheaper simply to buy surplus wheat on the free market and then destroy it, rather than to give it away under EEP.”

William Pearce of Cargill Inc., the world's largest private grain trader, complained to Congress in February: “We have found no evidence that EEP increased bulk grain exports.” The U.S. will likely export 20% less wheat this year than

it did in 1984, when no export subsidies were provided. (The U.S. is also providing \$2 billion in direct subsidies to American wheat growers this year.)

Mr. Bush, in Wednesday's speech to South Dakota farmers in which he announced the subsidy plan, claimed: “My strategy is to outproduce our competition and beat their socks off in the marketplace.” But the Agriculture Department is currently rewarding American farmers

Wheat export subsidies alone will cost U.S. consumers more than \$200 million this year.

not to plant 11 million acres of wheat each year — as well as paying them to idle more than 40 million acres of land previously used for other crops. This decrease in wheat production may have done more than anything else to stifle U.S. exports—and to indirectly subsidize the European Community's harebrained farm programs. Thanks largely to such policies, the U.S. share of the world wheat market has nosedived since 1981.

Mr. Bush declared in his speech: “The fact is that the prices farmers are receiving are too low today. And to get the prices up we must expand demand, and that means an aggressive export policy.” It is peculiar that Mr. Bush would declare that food prices are too low — especially since the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development estimates that federal farm policies cost American consumers almost \$20 billion in higher food prices last year.

EEP inflates domestic prices by artificially increasing the demand for U.S. wheat — and decreases foreign prices by offering a subsidy to foreign buyers. EEP uses tax dollars to drive down the price for foreign buyers — and to drive up the price that American consumers are forced to pay. A Congressional Research Service report estimated that EEP wheat subsidies alone will cost consumers more than

\$200 million this year.

Wheat prices jumped by almost nine cents a bushel the day of Mr. Bush's announcement. But the more export subsidies drive up the U.S. price, the less competitive U.S. wheat is on world markets. The export subsidies widen the gap between U.S. and world grain prices, thereby producing a vicious circle of decreasing competitiveness and spiraling federal outlays.

A White House statement indicated that the U.S. will begin targeting new markets for EEP subsidies — including Pakistan and South Africa. Australia's New South Wales Farmers' Association estimates that Mr. Bush's initiative will cost Australian farmers more than \$300 million, and urged its government to sharply increase the rent it charges the U.S. for military bases in Australia. Canadian Grains Minister Charlie Mayer declared that Mr. Bush's announcement is “tantamount to a declaration of war on Canadian farmers” because the U.S. is taking aim at such traditional Canadian grain customers as India, Kenya, Lebanon, Poland and Romania. Argentine farmers could be hurt because the U.S. is targeting Brazil—and Brazil has traditionally bought unsubsidized Argentine wheat.

We are more likely to achieve trade liberalization not by browbeating the Europeans but by deregulating and liberating U.S. agriculture. A study by Andrew Feltenstein of Kansas State University estimated that the elimination of agricultural subsidies in 1986 would have reduced America's trade deficit by \$42 billion, and a Purdue University study found that eliminating farm subsidies would boost U.S. exports by \$10 billion.

Getting into an export subsidy war is like trying to punish a foreign government by financially massacring our own citizens. Rather than caterwauling for higher food prices, Mr. Bush should abolish farm programs that cripple American competitiveness.

Mr. Bovard writes often on trade and agriculture.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

The Parents Rebel

The demonstrators were parents. They were mainly — though not exclusively — black and Latino. Their signs were homemade, but one way and another those awkwardly lettered signs all said the same thing. They said that the parents rallying in front of New York's City Hall last week were in a fury over an educational system that proposed to give out condoms to schoolchildren as an AIDS prevention program — and that the lid of that fury was about to come off.

This particular demonstration was precipitated by an effort led by New York's school chancellor, Joseph Fernandez, to overturn the city School Board's recent decision to promote abstinence. Specifically, the members of the board voted to pass a requirement that all those teaching AIDS prevention in the schools be required to sign a pledge that their counseling would stress abstinence as the most reliable way to avoid AIDS.

The pledge would not require teachers to exclude all other forms of AIDS prevention counseling. As one School Board member said, the counselors can still "come in with their green cucumbers and pink condoms and show the children how to put condoms on cucumbers." Still, we have arrived at a time when school boards actually feel compelled to pass resolutions in support of simple sanity.

The parents who marched on City Hall were there to say they weren't prepared to sit back and allow the schools to so fundamentally define the moral and sexual education of their children. Moreover, the parents so impassioned cheering the speakers at this rally represented all faiths and walks of life. The signs that bespoke their opposition to the Chancellor and his AIDS curriculum said, "Christians Say No," "Muslims Say No" and "Jews Say No."

The crowd was made up of the sort of people who don't have much experience at demonstrating or at public speechmaking. Still, there is a power that takes hold of citizens when they feel they are being betrayed by institutions they once trusted above all others, such as their schools. It is a power that can make potent orators of ordinary men and women — as it did here.

A black minister, and father, said that if the teachers and other groups had so much trouble with the idea of

teaching abstinence — "throw them out."

There was the Latino father who said that "black and Latino children are being used. They are always using us."

Another parent said that things the children are being taught in the schools violated the values of the Puerto Rican — and Latino — culture.

One father who spoke wanted the schools and media to stop looking at "every black and Latino child as though they didn't have a parent at home." He wanted the schools to stop ignoring the fact that black and Latino parents cared what their children were being taught at school — and that they reserved the right, as parents, to educate their children according to their own moral lights.

Another speaker angrily delivered word to the school bureaucrats that if "you want the right to train children, you first had better take care of them when they're sick, sit up with them all night, hold them, comfort them, clothe and feed them."

One after another the parents denounced a set of educational values best described by William Bennett in his speech to the Republican convention. In this address the former Education Commissioner defined family values as — in part — the refusal to tolerate schools bent on treating children as "young animals in heat" and as objects of "social experimentation."

The rebellion of these minority parents could well be the start of a significant movement in the American culture (and originating in New York City, of all places). But just as when Polly Williams began the school-choice movement in a depressed neighborhood of Milwaukee, these parents will discover that the status quo isn't about to budge. Abstinence is, of course, inevitably bound up with suggestions of morality, and this is a notion that clearly discomfits some of the teachers and groups involved in the AIDS curriculum.

But the parents who marched on City Hall and spoke in this way undoubtedly speak for huge numbers of others, sitting quietly at home. It won't be long, we suspect, before those others are heard from at school board meetings, at elections, and maybe in front of City Hall.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992 •

Getting tough with China

Lots of cheers went up in Texas Wednesday when President Bush announced that he was going to allow the sale of 150 F-16 fighter jets to Taiwan. Small wonder this was a popular decision. As a result, 3,000 workers will stay gainfully employed at General Dynamics in Fort Worth, which produces the planes. As many as 10,000 jobs with subcontractors in other states will be safe as well. The Taipei leadership was elated as well. They have worked for this for 11 years.

In Beijing the reaction was equally foreseeable. "They are going to scream like a scalded cat," one Western diplomat predicted. And so they did. Vice Foreign Minister Liu Huaqui summoned U.S. Ambassador J. Stapleton Roy to register a strong protest against Washington's decision. Mr. Ambassador Roy was told that this "will lead to a major retrogression in Sino-U.S. relations and will inevitably cause a negative impact on Sino-U.S. cooperation in the United Nations and other international organizations." Goodness gracious and oh dear. Given just how little cooperation the Bush administration is used to getting from the Chinese leadership in return for trade privileges and diplomatic glad-handing, should such a "major retrogression" occur, it will hardly be a major loss.

The geopolitical arguments in favour of the F-16 sale are many and were rehearsed in an editorial in this space last week. China argues that the sale of the planes violates the 1982 Shanghai Communiqué, which limited the sale of U.S. weapons to Taiwan to its 1982 qualitative level. There are those who believe that the communiqué itself is in conflict with the Taiwan Relations Pact, the law that says the United States must enable Taiwan to defend itself and which was passed

when the United States established diplomatic ties with the People's Republic in 1979.

But just for the sake of argument, it should be noted that what the F-16 deal does is, in fact, preserve the balance of power that existed in 1982. Beijing has been busy upgrading its air force, signing on to buy 28 Russian SU-27 fighter planes, which outclass Taiwan's aging fleet of American fighter jets. A Japanese newspaper reported on Aug. 4 that Beijing may also already have contracted for the purchase of 70 more planes and a Russian 67,000-ton aircraft carrier. Considering that it remains mainland China's official policy to reunite with Taiwan if necessary by force, these developments clearly threaten the balance of power in the Far East and have to be of concern for China's other neighbors as well.

There are, of course, those who dismiss Mr. Bush's green light for the sale as mere electioneering. Certainly, it won't hurt the president in Texas. But beyond that, if it does reflect a shift in U.S. policy toward the People's Republic of China, it would be a welcome development. The yearly debate over China's most favored nation (MFN) trade status is coming up in the fall. Congress will once again press Mr. Bush to insist that China show improvement in its human rights record to earn its MFN status. Only this week, Beijing's plea for dissidents to come home and work for China's future without fear of retribution was shown to be a hollow gesture. On Tuesday, police arrested Shen Tong, a leader in the 1989 democracy movement, who had, in fact, just returned. No doubt Beijing will insist that pressure on human rights will also have a "negative impact" on Sino-U.S. relations. Well, if it does, they sure have a lot more to lose by it than we do.

Dr. Akhter in loco parentis

Perhaps the District's public health commissioner, Mohammed Akhter, would like to assume responsibility for the care and feeding of all of the city's high school students. He might as well. He's already a squatter in the family room, having declared parental views null and void on the subject of whether their children will be allowed to obtain prophylactics from the city's condoms-in-schools giveaway program. Under Dr. Akhter's direction, every public high school student can acquire condoms on demand from the school nurse no matter what written or other objections there may be from parents.

The Kelly administration introduced the condom program to the schools this year in response to an increase in cases of sexually transmitted diseases and exposure to AIDS among the District's young people. According to a study by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control, nearly 75 percent of all District 10th graders are sexually active. Forty percent have had four or more partners.

Judging by those disturbing numbers, it would appear that for young people some instruction about sexual responsibility is warranted. It would be better for that instruction to come from parents at home. Unfortunately, all too many District children are grow-

ing up with parents who are physically at home but are uninvolved in their lives, providing neither direction nor moral guideposts and establishing no basic tenets or principles by which young people can mature.

But not all parents are comatose, although Dr. Akhter would have you believe it. He has lumped together the good and the bad and instructed school nurses to dispense condoms to any child who asks for one, parental objections be damned.

Strangely enough, parents will find no ally in Schools Superintendent Franklin Smith, who says he is powerless against Dr. Akhter's wishes even though the program operates inside school buildings. "I'll accept notes from any parent. I will send the notes to the principals and I will request that the principal show it to the nurse. But what they do with the notes, I have no control at all," Mr. Smith said.

There is no reason why that should be so, and parents don't have to accept it. These days, the act of parenting is seeing its most challenging times. It needs strong allies in school and public officials — support for the will of responsible parents in directing the development of their children. To do any less is to become an accomplice in undermining the most important job in the world.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992 •

RICHARD GRENIER

Thinking poor in Taiwan

TAIPEI, Taiwan

Think poor. That's the secret. Now it's not easy to think poor in Taiwan. At least it wouldn't be easy for you or me. But the Taiwanese are good at it. They have a poor man's mentality even though they're rich as Croesus, which is why they're getting richer and richer. And where it will end, nobody knows.

When Chiang Kai-shek retreated here with his Kuomintang in 1949, this little island, the size of Holland, (the government of which is called the Republic of China) had a GNP per capita of under \$200. It is now closing in on \$10,000 and its gold and foreign-currency reserves have surged again in July to reach \$88 billion, the largest in the world. This is higher than even Japan, which has more than six times Taiwan's population.

For decade after decade, Taiwan has sustained an average annual growth rate of 8.8 percent. The unemployment rate is presently 2 percent. Homeownership is at 80 percent. In agriculture, 96 percent of workers own their own land. In income distribution, of which they're very proud, the multiple of the top 20 percent to the bottom 20 percent is only five.

In under four decades, life expectancy in Taiwan zoomed from 58 years to 74 years. Infant mortality is not only one-third lower than in the United States, it's one-third lower than Canada, Germany, Switzerland.

In Taiwan, for every telephone there are 2.8 people. In People's China — from which Taiwan parted company four decades ago and which has benefited from the very best in socialist planning — for every telephone there are 1,166 people.

And yet the Chinese of Taiwan still feel poor, as if were they to make one mistake it might all disappear. Their frugality borders on the fanatic, their savings last year amounting to almost exactly 30 percent of GNP. The average two-income family saves 50 percent of its disposable income. President Bush will be encouraged to hear they have no capital gains tax.

They worry a lot. Once upon a time, Taiwan, which lives on its ex-

ports, sold mostly umbrellas, running shoes, and other such low-tech products. Now more than half the components of computers sold in the United States are made in Taiwan.

And still they're apprehensive here about being at the "low end" of product lines. Why should Japan get all the credit? Especially when many of the products Americans think of as Japanese are actually made in Taiwan. Taiwan now craves status. It craves prestige.

How many people know that the microelectronic satellite telephone CNN's Peter Arnett held in his hand in Baghdad was a Taiwan product? You see?

Here in Taipei they're determined to give "Taiwan" the image of Paris in fashion and perfume, and of Japan in electronics. They haven't gotten there yet, of course, but given the distance they've traveled in a single generation, nothing would surprise me. But prestige or no prestige, Taiwan still talks poor.

A vast trade fair is presently being held in Taipei, with contingents from 63 countries, overwhelmingly from the Third World. I attended the opening ceremonies, and it seems the Chinese of Taiwan are extremely effective at talking Third World talk — much better than the United

Their frugality borders on the fanatic.

States. It's as if they're saying, "Look where we were only yesterday. You can do it, too."

Chiefs of state from Africa and Latin America come rattling through here every few days. But the celebrities of the week are former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and Chai Ling, the pin-up of Tiananmen Square.

Chai Ling, now a student at Princeton, is much honored here for symbolic, anti-communist reasons, naturally. But Taiwan now has a democratic, open society, with a major opposition party, free press, freedom to demonstrate, a new round of elections coming up in December.

Her notion of democracy formed during the demonstration three years ago at Tiananmen Square, Chai Ling has been complaining here in the press at how "frustrating" and "disappointing" she finds the conservative atmosphere at Princeton, with "no giant rallies or demonstrations."

And watching her interviews on television here, one realizes the woman — all filled with revolutionary fire — is far too grand for Taiwan.

Think small, Chai Ling. Think poor.

Richard Grenier is a columnist for The Washington Times.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992 •

L. BRENT BOZELL III

Partisan truth squad in pursuit?

Everyone agrees the media have a responsibility to expose inaccuracies on the campaign trail. But the "correcting" going on is all focused in one direction: George Bush and the Republicans.

This is nothing new. On Mr. Bush's Inauguration Day, NBC White House reporter John Cochran announced: "Certain times with George Bush there seems to be an irrelevancy or he gets something wrong. We pointed out yesterday [Bush] referred to Benjamin Harrison dying of pneumonia after a chilly Inauguration Day, and of course it was William Tyler Harrison who died." Mr. Cochran's error during a correction (it was William Henry Harrison) was an omen of things to come.

Last July 21, Mr. Cochran played truth squad again, airing Sen. Bob Dole's claim that Gov. Bill Clinton's plan calls for tax increases twice as large as Michael Dukakis and Walter Mondale combined. Mr. Cochran pronounced: "Well, not quite. Walter Mondale proposed \$85 billion in new taxes in 1984. But Michael Dukakis proposed no new taxes in 1988. Double \$85 billion and you get \$170 billion. Bill Clinton calls for \$150 billion in new taxes on corporations and the rich."

Wrong. First, Michael Dukakis did not propose no new taxes, he only suggested they'd be a "last resort," and they were never a "last resort" in Massachusetts. Second, and much more important, Mr. Clinton's economic plan may say it only calls for \$150 billion in new taxes, but that figure does not include any increased spending on, among other things, training or health care. Mr. Clinton has proposed a 1.5 percent payroll tax for training and has loosely endorsed a "play or pay" health plan with a payroll tax of 7 percent to 9 percent. Those two taxes, added to the rest of Mr. Clinton's plan, would easily make Mr. Clinton American history's highest tax raiser.

L. Brent Bozell III is chairman of the Media Research Center.



Nevertheless, there went Mr. Cochran again on Aug. 27. NBC aired footage of Mr. Bush charging that Mr. Clinton's plan included "\$220 billion in new spending, plus the largest tax increase in history, \$150 billion." With a big red graphic screaming "WRONG," Mr. Cochran declared: "In 1982, Ronald Reagan and his vice president, George Bush, presided over the largest projected tax increase in history — \$152 billion." Again, Mr. Cochran ignored Mr. Clinton's unspecified promises for national health insurance and a training tax, among other things.

Isn't this all a little surreal? Even if Mr. Cochran were correct, his argument is absurd. Mr. Bush should be deplored for painting Mr. Clinton as a tax-and-spend liberal because Mr. Clinton only proposing the second biggest tax increase in history?

Across the board, the media have seized on Michael Kinsley's column challenging the Bush claim that Mr. Clinton raised taxes in Arkansas 128 times. Reporters were too incensed at the Bush campaign to ask: What was the Arkansas tax burden? Mr. Clinton's camp claims it has the 49th lowest tax burden, but that's cleverly measured on a per-capita basis, meaning only that Arkansas is poor, so its tax revenues are necessarily low. However, most economists measure the tax burden by studying the percentage of family income devoted to taxes. By that standard, Arkansas is firmly in the middle of the 50 states, and rising.

Stephen Moore of the Cato Institute reports that from 1983 to 1990, Arkansas state taxes as a share of family income grew from 6.2 percent to 6.8 percent, in a decade when family income was also growing. In a 45-state study of governors, Mr. Moore gave Democrats like Roy Romer of Colorado and Evan Bayh of Indiana a B grade, but he gave Mr.

Clinton's performance a dismal D. Where are the media on that one?

Newsweek economics reporter Rich Thomas broke the mold in the Sept. 7 issue: "By failing to put a price tag on his four biggest programs, as well as some of the smaller ones, Clinton is able to pretend that he would only add \$42 billion to federal spending during his first year in office and only \$64 billion by 1996. The real cost is arguably at least three times higher than that."

Now let's cut precisely to the heart of the accuracy question: Will most reporters question the accuracy of Mr. Clinton's declarations? Take the ad the Clinton campaign released Monday, which claims: "Those making over \$200,000 may have to pay more. The rest of us get a break." But Mr. Clinton has also proposed raising taxes on the top 2 percent of earners, meaning individuals making more than \$90,000 a year and couples making more than \$130,000. Economists expect a third tax rate of 36 percent to 40 percent on taxpayers above those levels. That's not exactly a "break" on everybody under \$200,000, is it? So isn't Mr. Clinton's ad misleading?

Reporters could look at the numbers on spending, too: If he's not taxing the top 2 percent, but only those making more than \$200,000, how will Mr. Clinton raise the revenue to pay for more than \$220 billion in new spending? Answer: He can't.

By "correcting" only one candidate and defending the other, reporters are demonstrating that they aren't so much interested in doing their job — sorting out the accuracy of claims — as they are making sure Mr. Clinton doesn't become the next Michael Dukakis. It makes the media's role as arbiter of political accuracy a political scandal in its own right.

MORTON KONDRACKE

Let us ordinary people take stock of the family values fight between Hollywood and the Houston Republicans. Bottom line: a pox on both their houses.

Vice President Dan Quayle is right about Hollywood: It is the home of the adversary culture that mocks bourgeois values and explores the frontiers of the lewd and violent. Its latest specialty is the movie in which murderers kill people and get away with it, as in "Unforgiven," "Crimes and Misdemeanors," "Basic Instinct," "The Player" and "Silence of the Lambs."

At the same time, Democrats and the press are right about the predominant message out of the Republican National Convention: It was smug, narrow and frequently hateful. The convention's de facto keynoter was Patrick Buchanan, who declared religious war on everyone different from the Puritan norm.

The public — and, especially, struggling, working families of all descriptions — deserve better from both politicians and the media than they are getting. From politicians, they deserve less demagoguery and more programs to help families.

Morton Kondracke is a senior editor for Roll Call and is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Missing the mark on values

From the media, they deserve the truth, and not propaganda.

For instance, to listen to Hollywood, television, the print press — and also, the Democrats much of the time at their New York convention — one would imagine that the traditional two-parent (Ozzie and Harriet) family was an obsolete oddity.

If you had to guess at the percentage of families with children that still has a father and mother present, what would you say? Fifty percent? Forty?

Wrong: 77.8 percent, as of 1985, according to the U.S. Census. And the percentage of all children living with two parents? Seventy-three. The percentage living with a single parent is 25 percent. What has completely changed from the 1950s is that 73.5 percent of mothers are now in the labor force, compared to 30 percent 40 years ago. Harriet is

working, but she and Ozzie are still together.

When Hollywood and the liberal media make it seem that single motherhood is the norm today, they are simply wrong. And, when they make it seem the norm, they are also making it seem a desirable state. It isn't. Fifty-one percent of children who live in mother-headed households live below the poverty line, compared with 10 percent of children with two parents present.

What Dan Quayle meant to say — in fact, did say — when he took on Murphy Brown this spring was that Hollywood was romanticizing single motherhood. Hollywood then distorted his message to make it sound as though he was condemning single mothers.

The Emmy Award celebration was a scene of smug derision directed against Mr. Quayle, and at the whole idea of family values. In view of the fact that so many Americans do keep their families together, my guess is that Mr. Quayle has the better of the issue politically.

But the Republican Party was not content to fight on Mr. Quayle's ground. In Houston, it just as smugly seemed to exclude from its concern anyone who departed from the suburban, two-family norm.

Mr. Quayle's wife, Marilyn, sounded especially smug about

those members of her generation who did not demonstrate, drop out, take drugs or join the sexual revolution.

She and other speakers on family value night at the Houston convention may have been motivated by a poll commissioned by Readers Digest showing that married people with children are far more conser-

Hollywood and the liberal media make it seem that single motherhood is the norm today. They are simply wrong.

vative politically than singles or marrieds without children.

But the Republicans clearly overstated their case — to the point where Mrs. Quayle seemed to be condemning women who work rather than stay at home with their children. That may have been personally difficult for a smart lawyer, but it was economically easier for the wife of the heir to a newspaper fortune than for the average wife.

Because so many American mothers now work, Mrs. Quayle's remarks were not helpful politically to her husband and President Bush.

Of course, neither was Hillary Clinton's disparagement of tea and cookies helpful to Bill Clinton. One mischievous poll suggested the other day that it would be great theater to pit Mrs. Quayle against Mrs. Clinton in a debate on values. He was not seeking edification.

What both parties need to come up with are more serious ideas for strengthening families. The Democrats, to some extent, have done so by recommending family leave policies and tax breaks for low-income families with children. Republicans think they have done so by calling for school choice and aid for first-time homebuyers.

However, both sides ought to be dreaming up schemes to discourage premarital sex and pregnancy out of wedlock and when pregnancy occurs, to encourage adoption rather than abortion. They should be working on schemes to prevent divorce and to make sure that fathers support their children.

They should also lean on Hollywood and the media to quit glorifying violence and extramarital sex, much as public and political pressure convinced the media to discourage drug use.

THOMAS SOWELL

The devastation caused by hurricane Andrew did not end when the winds moved on and died down. Hunger, dehydration and contaminated water still continued to take their toll.

The response of the American people has been generous, as always, but not all institutions moved equally quickly, even though time is of the essence when people are without food, shelter or safe drinking water.

Insurance companies were in the area fast, with money for their policy-holders. Local volunteers for private humanitarian agencies sprang into action pretty quickly too, while the National Red Cross came in for a certain amount of criticism for not moving fast enough, and the state and federal governments have been heavily criticized for playing bureaucratic Alphonse and Gaston while people went hungry and thirsty, and slept outdoors.

The only thing surprising about all this is that people are still sur-

Thomas Sowell, an economist and a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Natural and other disasters

prised, when these patterns have been common for a long time. Few seem to ask why these patterns exist, much less what implications this might have for such things as government health insurance.

The private sector moves faster because it has to. An insurance company that diddled around like government bureaucrats would lose millions of customers and billions of dollars, not only in Florida, but all over the country, as people saw that such a company could not be relied on in an emergency. In a major disaster like hurricane Andrew, insurance companies usually get spending money into their policy-holders' hands first, and work out all the paperwork for a full settlement later on.

Government bureaucrats are under no pressure to do any such thing. They get paid the same salary, whether the hurricane victims are housed or homeless, fed or hungry, have drinkable water or come down with all sorts of diseases from drinking water that is contaminated.

Even among private humanitar-

ian agencies, local volunteer agencies are able to move more quickly in familiar terrain than a huge national organization like the Red Cross that has to come in and get its bearings. The case for doing things through local and private institutions is especially poignant in the wake of a natural disaster.

The way that different institutions responded in Florida is not unique, nor are these differences limited to emergency situations. Even in ordinary times, different institutions have advantages for doing different things. The notion that Washington has all the answers — or would if we elected the right people — is a faith that passeth all understanding. It also defies all experience.

One of the institutions that is grossly misunderstood by the media and the public alike is the free market. "Price gouging" has been widely denounced in the wake of the hurricane damage, when in fact rising prices are the most effective way to get the survivors to share inadequate supplies of housing, water, ice, generators, and other things

sorely needed until larger-scale rebuilding and resupply can get under way.

According to Florida's attorney general, "There are people charging \$5 for a bag of ice that normally costs \$1," and others "charging \$125 for a motel room that was \$35 before the storm." Plywood has doubled in price.

The attorney general put "price-gougers" in the same category as looters — which shows how dangerous it is to have government officials who are utterly ignorant of economics.

In the short run, before there is time to rebuild motels or get massive supplies moved in, or to start producing various necessities locally, it is crucial that people share what little there is in the area in some efficient way, in order to stretch it as far as it will go.

Political exhortations will not do this, but prices will.

At \$35 a night, you might well take up two or three rooms for your family, but at \$125 a night you are more likely to all squeeze into one

room and leave more rooms for others. You will probably also figure out ways to make your water, ice, and plywood stretch further for now, when it is suddenly higher in price.

The scarcity exists independently of the price, so keeping the prices "affordable" would only encourage those who got there first to use more than they would if the severe scarcity were conveyed to them forcefully in terms of dollars and cents.

Supply and demand are not some abstract principle. The marketplace is an efficient way of rationing things that are going to be rationed anyway, regardless of how you do it.

Governments around the world have created enormous mischief, and often needless suffering, by trying to hold down prices, either during an emergency or in normal times. People sleep on the cold pavement on bitter winter nights in New York, while other people use rent-controlled apartments as storage space for their belongings, while they live elsewhere — in many cases, outside the city.

Artificially cheap prices mean waste — and waste means needless suffering. How are we ever going to explain the operation of a free market to the Russians, when so many Americans don't understand it?

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992 •

PAUL CRAIG
ROBERTS

Making subjects out of citizens

When governments go broke, they stop paying their bills. Kings routinely overspent their tax base and left their creditors with empty pockets, and democracies behave no better. Recently, California resorted to paying its creditors in scrip. And the federal government, itself short of cash, tried to beat 10 U.S. airline companies out of \$100 million.

Depending on supply and demand, airline companies offer a limited number of discount fares. Generally, such tickets require advance purchase and are not refunded in full. If you want to fly cheap, you have to plan ahead and take the risk that your trip might fall through.

Recently, the U.S. government claimed that government employees had the right (when flying on government business) to the lowest-priced ticket issued to any traveler whether or not they met advanced purchase requirements and regardless of the availability of any discount fares. The government, argued the General Services Administration, was entitled to the lowest price at which any ticket was sold regardless of whether the government contracted for it.

Using this argument that the government has special privileges and rights, the GSA's office of transportation audits recomputed the prices of several hundred thousand tickets and withheld \$100 million from Alaska Airlines, American, Continental, Delta, Eastern, Northwest, PanAm, TWA, U.S. Air, and United.

The airlines maintained that government employees who contracted for a regular coach fare were entitled to a regular coach fare. In other words, a deal is a deal.

The companies appealed to the comptroller general of the United States, and he ruled that the GSA has no authority to insist on a lower fare than the government agreed to pay when it bought the ticket. Just because someone else might have had a lower fare does not give the government the right to the same lower fare.

Everyone thought the comptroller general had the power to speak for the U.S. government — except GSA, which declared the comptroller's opinion merely advisory. GSA stuck to its guns. The airlines hired a lawyer, Dale Owens of the Atlanta firm of Booth, Wade & Campbell, and Judge Stanley Sporkin of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia heard the case.

The judge ruled Aug. 11 that there is no basis in law for the government's claim of special privilege to always travel at the lowest fare regardless of the availability of discounted tickets and a contract in hand. By ruling that a deal is a deal, the judge prevented the government from establishing the precedent that it always was entitled to the lowest fare at which anyone flew.

The government has been ordered to pay up, but it may be a long time yet before the airlines see any money. In the meantime, Eastern and PanAm have failed.

The importance of this case is that it reveals that government, whether or not democratic and accountable to the people, always thinks of itself as sovereign and not bound by contracts. Inherent in government is the claim of special privilege that is not available to mere subjects. If sovereigns don't want to pay, subjects have no recourse.

By ruling that the government is bound by the same law of contract as the rest of us, Judge Sporkin has reminded the government that we are its citizens and not its subjects. Whether we can maintain this status in the long run, however, is unclear.

The government has reneged on deals that it freely entered into with purchasers of S&Ls, claiming after the fact that the deals were too good for the purchasers. And for several years the Justice Department has been trying to renege on the deal it made with AT&T when the company was divested of the Bell Operating Companies in 1982.

The U.S. government already believes that it is sovereign and above the law, and it routinely acts that way. Sometimes judges fail to restrain our government's high-handed ways, and as these instances accumulate we become a little less citizens and a little more subjects.

Paul Craig Roberts, an economist at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, is a columnist for The Washington Times and is nationally syndicated.

TROY WADE II

Much attention has been given in recent months to the prospects for dramatic reductions in the nuclear arsenals of the United States and republics of the former Soviet Union. In the wake of this summer's announcement of an agreement between President Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin for unprecedented reductions in inventories of long-range nuclear weapons, the need to examine the means for achieving these reductions emerges with a new urgency.

While the process of negotiating this agreement has been arduous, the task of implementing a dismantlement program and controlling the end use of nuclear components presents an equally daunting challenge. The requirement to proceed wisely should not be overlooked in the euphoria of having reached agreement.

From the lack of attention given to the actual work associated with disarming a nuclear weapon, people could get a completely false impression about the difficulties and complexities associated with disassembling nuclear warheads. Those misconceptions and others date back to the debate associated with the Nunn-Lugar amendments and the Soviet Threat Reduction Act of 1991.

Passage of this legislation has resulted in a series of congressional hearings, "think tank" analyses, articles by academics, government task force studies, international forums, and other activities focused on ways "to assist the Former Soviet Union in

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Nuclear dismantlement fantasies

dismantling their nuclear warheads." While Congress and the Bush administration have pledged additional funding to the task this year, much of the discussion on how to implement a program continues to miss the mark, and little substantive progress has been made to date toward a comprehensive approach to dismantlement on either side.

To understand the difference between the forest and the trees, one must first visualize what a nuclear weapon really is. First, there is a terrible problem in defining it; a nuclear weapon generally consists of a nuclear warhead and its carrier system. Since both the warhead and the carrier normally contain hazardous materials, the de-mating process is not something one can trivialize or carry out in the middle of the street or in a garage.

The next problem has to do with the nuclear warhead itself. It is a complex machine, containing exotic materials, assembled with great care in special facilities by uniquely skilled technicians specially trained for the task. Assembled nuclear warheads require special storage facilities; they cannot be stacked in a metal building like tires. They must be stored safely and securely until they can be moved to the special facilities where the various parts, i.e., the explosive and the special nuclear material, can be separated with the same care and expertise with which they were assembled. The individual components must then be stored in a safe and secure manner, in specially designed and monitored facilities. The next steps would then involve either destruction of the materials in the components, or a manufacturing or reprocessing step that changes the form of the material for alternative use.

Again, both the destruction of the materials, if that is the choice, and

the conversion of the materials require special facilities and highly skilled personnel. Every one of the steps described must be undertaken under a verification regimen that assures treaty obligations are met, that diversion is prevented, and that sovereign rights of individual nations are protected.

In my opinion, the focus of government planners and outside theorists is still on the wrong elements of the reduction and dismantlement challenge. People who understand the complexities of nuclear weapons assembly and disassembly should recognize that the initial problem is not the dismantling or the destruction of nuclear warheads. The first problem is one of accountability. How do we collectively assure that we know where everything is as a fundamental basis for planning an orderly re-

duction process? The second, and perhaps the most critical issue, concerns disposal of the special nuclear material located in the "to-be-reduced" warheads, in both the U.S. and F.S.U. inventories. How that material is recovered, stored, processed, and allowed to enter the world market, if that is the decision, may be one of the most important and challenging tasks this nation has ever faced.

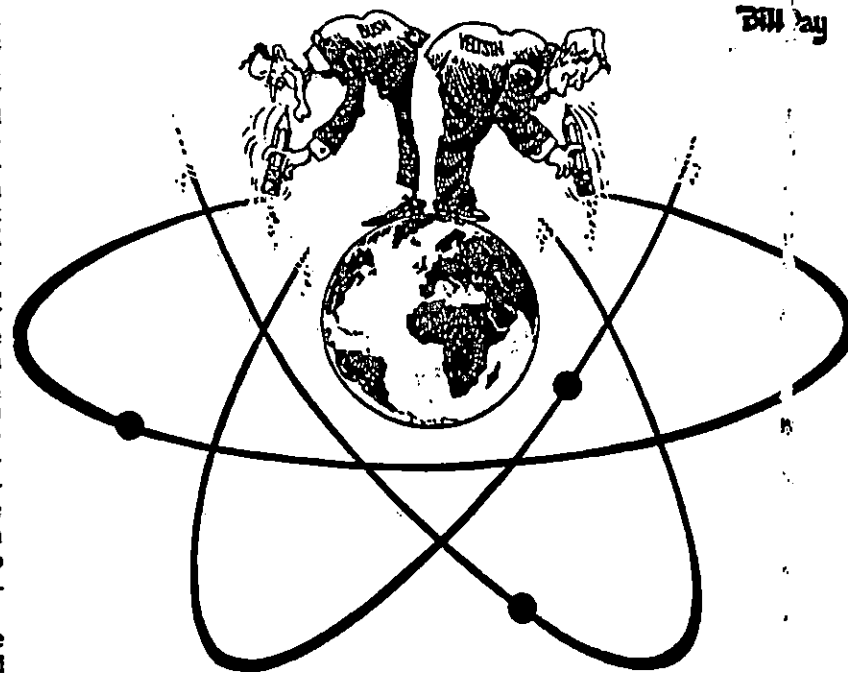
Clearly, the process of achieving the reductions in nuclear warheads specified by START and augmented by the Bush-Yeltsin agreements announced June 16 is an enormous undertaking that will require billions of dollars and many years to accomplish. The \$400 million made available by the Nunn-Lugar initiatives and the \$250 million added this year in the House defense authorization

bill provide the means for initiating an orderly planning process, but will not begin to pay for the actual reduction activities.

Certainly the disappearance of one nuclear warhead or quantities of Highly Enriched Uranium or Weapons Grade plutonium from an inventory would create an international nightmare of unknown proportions. The World simply cannot allow that to happen, and no responsible government would deliberately create conditions under which such a nightmare could develop. But the exigencies of the day and the complexities of the issues continue to focus attention on the wrong priorities.

The process of negotiating these historic and dramatic agreements has overshadowed the need to carefully define a technologically sound approach to eliminating weapons from either side's inventories, and to account for and control the end use of nuclear components and materials. In the pursuit of reducing the threat of nuclear weapons, the inherent dangers posed by the dismantlement process have received disproportionate attention.

The dissolution of the U.S.S.R. and the end to the Cold War have created an unprecedented opportunity to dramatically reduce the role of nuclear weapons in world events. The historic agreements announced June 16 seized on that opportunity and offer a new sense of hope for future generations. That hope can only be realized if the agreed-upon reductions are implemented through a carefully designed dismantlement regimen based on a verifiable accounting and monitoring system with assured safeguards. In our quest to reverse the growth of nuclear weapons, let us not inadvertently give rise to the specter of a missing warhead or nuclear materials.



The Washington Times

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992 •

Dewey backer Bush uses Truman image

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

WAUKESHA, Wis. — President Bush walked — not ran — for president yesterday and adopted Democrat Harry Truman as campaign mascot for his most biting attacks yet on Bill Clinton's indecisiveness and draft record.

"Harry Truman wanted to join the military and fight for his country and so do I, and I did," Mr. Bush said, leaving it to the audience to recall

that Mr. Clinton did not.

He accused the Arkansas governor of "doublespeak" and "waffling and wavering" on decisions — unlike Mr. Truman — as he moved to preempt Mr. Clinton's use of President Truman's birthplace as yesterday's campaign setting.

"Governor Clinton virtually ig-

see BUSH, page A6

• Bush campaign vows an all-out battle to capture California. A4.

SH

ge A1

nore foreign policy and flirts with the dangerous idea of sticking America's head in protectionists' sands," Mr. Bush said.

"Harry Truman was a man of decisiveness, not equivocation. He'd find little in common with the governor who hedges or ducks on almost every tough issue, a man who seems to feel strongly on both sides of almost every issue."

The crowd at a morning rally cheered longest and loudest at the president's most pointed allusion ever to Mr. Clinton's failure to respond to a draft notice and use of an ROTC commitment to avoid military service during the Vietnam War.

"Harry Truman prided himself on his own military service and he frequently visited veterans associations and he spoke with great pride about his service to his country," he said.

Mr. Bush had said he would leave such "sleaze issues" to surrogates but has taken to attacking Mr. Clinton more directly.

White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said Mr. Bush would mention the 33rd president more in coming days and had not done so recently in order to deliver more substantive remarks.

"My opponent — guess where he is?" Mr. Bush said. "He's in Harry Truman's hometown of Independence, Missouri, so let's just have some plain speaking about Bill Clinton, Governor Bill Clinton and Harry Truman," Mr. Bush said.

He invoked the memory of Truman as a fighter who came from behind to win in 1948 despite the fact that Thomas Dewey got Mr. Bush's vote, the president said yesterday, and despite pollster predictions.

"These are the Poles that count, Mr. President" was painted on signs by favorable Polish-Americans meeting Mr. Bush later in the Detroit suburb of Hamtramck, a city its residents call "Poletown."

"These are the Poles that count," Mr. Bush said with glee after reading the signs aloud to the crowd.

In Hamtramck, the president and Barbara Bush were cheered by thousands but were the target of boos and broccoli stalks from a small group carrying disarmament protest signs and Clinton-Gore campaign signs, including one suspended from a large yellow balloon bearing the United Auto Workers logo.

Secret Service agents caught some of the broccoli and batted the rest to the ground, and the Bushes apparently were not hit.

Mr. Bush began the day at 7 a.m., leading some 60,000 people on the annual Labor Day Walk — the "Big Mac Attack" — almost five miles from Michigan's Upper Peninsula across the Mackinac Straits to the Lower Peninsula. A V-formation of 14 Canada geese flew over as if on cue.

As he does in every endeavor, Mr. Bush turned the event into a competition and finished in about one hour, outdistancing others in his party, including Michigan Gov. John Engler, and the mass of walkers by a half-mile. He then ran back up the bridge to meet Mrs. Bush with arms wide open, and the two jogged together to the limo at the end of the bridge.

"I beat the governor across the bridge, but he says he was just hanging back with Barbara," Mr. Bush told a crowd later.

The Truman offensive, unmentioned in a Hamtramck speech devoted entirely to the evolution of freedom in Eastern Europe, was unrelenting at Waukesha, where about 5,000 political fans turned out on a damp, chilly morning to hear country music and Mr. Bush.

"I admit it. Harry and I don't have everything in common. He believed in bigger government. I don't share that view. Quite frankly, I voted against Truman that year," Mr. Bush said, even quoting from a speech Mr. Truman gave in Waukesha late in the 1948 campaign.

He found many similarities with himself, all favorable.

"Harry Truman ran as an underdog just as I am and he liked it and so do I. Harry Truman admitted when he made a mistake. I've done the same thing and I've admitted it," Mr. Bush said.

Differences between Truman and Mr. Clinton were all unfavorable.

"Harry Truman never engaged in doublespeak. He told people the truth, not merely what they wanted to hear," Mr. Bush said.

He linked to himself Truman's response to the Soviet blockade of Berlin and the invasion of South Korea.

"Now contrast that with Governor Clinton's waffling and wavering on whether he would have followed my lead and stood up to Saddam Hussein and his naked aggression," Mr. Bush said.

"Today is the kickoff day for these campaigns. I think the American people feel this one's been going on about 10 months too long," Mr. Bush said.

"My opponent will kick off his campaign with a message of fear, telling us our country is in decline ... slipping past Germany heading south towards Sri Lanka, to use his words," he said.

"Wrong! Absolutely wrong. Governor Clinton," Mr. Bush said.

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

Jackson on duty

Jesse Jackson will lead a Democratic grass-roots voter-registration drive and be "working hard to elect Bill Clinton and Al Gore," he said, yesterday. Democratic Party Chairman Ron Brown, in announcing the appointment, said the effort will be aimed at "people who have been traditionally shut out of the political process."

Things change. Last week, Mr. Jackson said "urban America, organized labor and the Rainbow Coalition" he heads were being excluded from the Clinton campaign as it targets mainly middle-class whites who have voted Republican in recent national elections.

Shultz honored

Former U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has won the \$300,000 Seoul Peace Prize, according to Kim Yong-shik, former Korean foreign minister and head of the Seoul Peace Prize Committee. Mr. Shultz will be awarded the prize for his role in ending the Cold War, which contributed to the boycott-free success of the 1988 Seoul Olympics. The honor is financed by profits from the Seoul Games and by a

South Korean sports promotion fund.

Poster project

JoAnn Reed, a Northern Virginia housewife, said she was just sitting around thinking one day about "what a joke" the Clinton campaign has become for ridiculing family values. So she had this flash. She'd turn her sentiments into a movie poster ridiculing Bill Clinton and company. With the help of a local artist, she's done it. The big, full-color poster features Mr. Clinton starring in "Slick Willie: One Man's Story of Saying Whatever It Takes to Get Elected." Caricatures depict other characters including Hillary Clinton, Gennifer Flowers, Mario Cuomo and Ted Kennedy. Now Mrs. Reed is teamed up with another homemaker, Rebecca Hagelin, who handles public relations and marketing. "Some days we make cookies and some days we make dough," Mrs. Hagelin says. They report brisk sales at the Republican National Convention, and they continue to find buyers among "people who support the president," Mrs. Hagelin says. More information about the poster may be obtained by calling 703/242-0001.

— John Elvin

DLC Studios
PRESENTS

SLICK WILLIE

ONE MAN'S STORY OF SAYING WHATEVER IT TAKES TO GET ELECTED!

HE'LL DO TO AMERICA WHAT HE DID TO ARKANSAS.

HE WON'T INHALE.

HE WON'T TAKE US TO WAR... BECAUSE HE WOULDN'T GO HIMSELF.

DON'T MISS THE SEQUEL: **GIRLS, GIRLS, GIRLS!**

DLC STUDIOS PRESENTS BILL CLINTON as "SLICK WILLIE" in a BLOODWORTH-THOMASON PRODUCTION
 with RON BROWN as "JAMES CARVILLE" starring GEORGE MCGOVERN with GLORIA STEINEM
 as "SISTER SOULJAH" with ICE-T as "JESSE JACKSON" as "THE RAPPER" AL GORE as "THE TREE HUGGER"
 PAUL TSONGAS as "ELMER FUDDO" JERRY BROWN as "GOVERNOR MOONBEAM"
 with JIMMY CARTER WALTER MONDALE MICHAEL DUKAKIS ARSENIO HALL THE HIPPIES
 THE YIPPIES HISPANIC LESBIANS AGAINST RACISM COMMITTEE TO SAVE THE GAY WHALES
 ACT UP EARTH FIRST! UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS ROTC UNIT

RIDICULOUS

Bush surge in California stirs GOP

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

LODI, Calif. — President Bush's re-election team has been revived by polls indicating a close fall election and now plans an all-out battle with Democratic challenger Bill Clinton in California for the richest prize in Electoral College votes.

Just a few weeks ago, senior Bush administration and Bush-Quayle '92 officials had written off the recession-plagued megastate. But, re-election strategists see evidence of a resurgence of support for Mr. Bush in California and are even predicting that so-called "Reagan Democrats" will vote Republican.

"We're not giving up on California, never," vowed Bush-Quayle deputy campaign manager Mary Matalin. But no one is predicting victory yet.

A senior campaign official said even if state polls persist in showing Mr. Bush losing, the Republicans will campaign hard in California because they want Mr. Clinton to spend lots of time and money protecting his lead.

Otherwise, Mr. Clinton would put the money in states other than California, which holds 54 Electoral College votes, one-fifth of the 270 needed to win.

"We will keep the pressure on because he [Mr. Clinton] has to win in California to win in the fall," said a senior campaign official.

"If we carry California, there is no way whatsoever the Democrats can win," added Bush-Quayle '92 campaign chairman Robert Teeter.

Vice President Dan Quayle opened the fall campaign in California last night and meets with former President Reagan today to begin the renewed effort.

"This is the kickoff," said a Quayle political adviser.

"We need it and we want it," Mr. Quayle told reporters here.

En route here, Mr. Quayle told 1,000 Labor Day supporters in Grand Junction, Colo., that Mr. Bush may be behind, but like a strong quarterback, "George Bush plays well in the fourth quarter."

Later, to reporters, he added, "California is an important state and I think we are going to do quite well in California. We are behind. We know we are behind."

Mr. Reagan has been recruited to help shepherd the blue-collar California Democrats who voted for his presidency into the Bush camp. He has pledged to appear in Bush-Quayle advertising and now plans to join Mr. Bush on a campaign swing through California later this month.

But even with Mr. Reagan's help, the Republicans have a tough battle ahead due to the poor economic conditions in California.

"With 9.8 percent unemployment, the cards seem stacked against us," a senior administration official said on condition of anonymity.

"But," added Quayle press secretary David Beckwith, "we're not going to give it up."

Mr. Quayle's visit to California, his second three-day tour in less than a month, is aimed at firming up the weak support for the Bush-Quayle ticket in conservative middle and Southern California, especially voter-rich Orange County, once the base of support for Mr. Reagan.

During his campaign stops in California and other Western states, Mr. Quayle has focused his remarks on conservative issues, such as family values, defense spending and jobs over the environment.

For example, during his rally

speech at Grand Junction's Mesa State College, Mr. Quayle pressed his fight for family values and attacked Democratic vice presidential candidate Al Gore's environmental policies, accusing the Tennessee Democrat of proposing massive environmental taxes and threatening jobs.

After landing in Stockton, Calif., Mr. Quayle told reporters that American voters should not trust Mr. Clinton and said voters have "questions about his character." He said Mr. Clinton "is a big, big risk for the American people."

California Republican officials said they are buoyed by new polls in Orange County giving Mr. Bush a lead over Mr. Clinton. Before the Au-

gust Republican National Convention, Mr. Bush was trailing the Arkansas governor, but the latest Orange County Register poll shows Mr. Bush leading 48 percent to 38 percent.

But the Bush-Quayle campaign is far from confident it will carry California, despite the state's record of voting Republican in the past six presidential elections.

Campaign officials explain that they don't want to give indications that they are giving up any state, especially the grand prize, because it would signal a defeatist approach to the election and might cool any enthusiasm for the fall election.

California also is thick with the media the campaign wants to flood with Mr. Bush's message.

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TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

On to College?

With President Bush's blessing and hardly any dissent, Congress has enacted a boost in the college-student aid program. It's part of what Senator Edward Kennedy calls "the most significant improvements to the Higher Education Act since it was first enacted in 1965." The politicians and public should hold the tough talk about controlling welfare spending until they're willing to get serious about an entitlement such as this one. In fact, Bill Clinton wants it even bigger.

This entitlement bell chimes for Democrats and Republicans alike, as the subsidy grows for both the poor and middle class. Eligibility ceilings for so-called Pell grants rise to \$42,000 a year in family income (from \$30,000) and raises the top grant to \$4,500 by 1997, from \$3,200.

Borrowing limits under the subsidized Stafford loan program are raised by a third for most students, and applicant households are allowed to hide any assets they have in home equity or "college savings accounts." An "unsubsidized" loan program is created for those who can't find a way under the remaining ceilings but don't care to use a traditional lender, perhaps because they'd be expected to pay the money back at the pace expected of borrowers outside of the governmental womb.

The cost of all this is hard to figure because so much of it is, after all, just a loan. One problem with that is those who take advantage of such programs increasingly decide they won't repay. The amount of outstanding loan defaults on federal student loans, and the number of defaulters, are expected to have more than tripled between 1987 and 1993, while the amount lent rose by "only" 60%. This cost U.S. taxpayers \$3.6 billion in 1991, the latest year on which the books have been closed.

Washington is making progress on

collecting from deadbeats through the withholding of income-tax refunds, but this isn't keeping up with the loss. One potential safeguard, a requirement that student borrowers over age 21 be checked for a bad credit history, was removed from the new legislation by Democrats who said it would unduly deny access. Same with linking aid to academic performance.

No one wants to deny an aspiring student the chance to succeed, and don't we keep reading that a college degree is the ticket to rising incomes? Not quite. A Labor Department study finds that it's important *what* is studied. Just piddling around in some intangible discipline for a few years isn't going to matter so much, even if it leads to a bachelor's degree.

Conversely, says the author, economist Daniel Hecker, those who instead seek an apprenticeship (sometimes involving a two-year associate of arts degree) or "get into and learn a business and don't kick around in dead-end jobs" can enjoy upward mobility. (A 1987 Census study found that holders of A.A. degrees earned 34% more than those with "some college.")

Even some state governors are recognizing from high college washout rates that resources are being misallocated when college entrance is made too routine. It is one of the reigning myths of the "Reagan years" that access to post-secondary education was drastically cut back and needs to be regained. In fact, more people are enrolled in college than ever before.

Escalating student aid not only raises the floor on all college costs by moving many up the demand curve (Econ 101 isn't totally without value), but it further unbalances the federal government's books while inviting some to take an unprofitable sidetrack in life.

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TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

Bush's Plan to Sell Jets to Taiwan Puts China in Trade Checkmate

FOREIGN INSIGHT

By JAMES MCGREGOR

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BEIJING—President Bush's decision to reverse a 10-year-old policy and approve the sale of 150 F-16 fighter jets to Taiwan has left China enraged but also impotent.

Last week's move prompted China's state-run media to fume about U.S. "hegemony" and "hypocrisy," and Chinese diplomats threatened to discontinue participating in Middle East arms talks. But for now, analysts say, Beijing's response is limited to bluster because the basic equation of U.S.-China relations has been inverted by two longer-term developments: the collapse of the Soviet Union and China's success in building an export-driven economy.

In short, China now needs the U.S. more than the U.S. needs China, as President Richard Nixon's "China Card" in the superpower rivalry has been supplanted by the American consumer's credit card. And despite lingering U.S. outrage over the June 1989 bloodshed in Tiananmen Square, Mr. Bush has kept the cash flowing into China's economy by derailing repeated attempts by Congress to hamper the sale of Chinese exports in the U.S.

In the long term, however, diplomats say the decision to sell fighter jets to Taiwan may have severe repercussions. Many foreign diplomats in Beijing agree with China's assertion that the F-16 deal blatantly violates a 1982 U.S.-China accord in which the U.S. pledged "gradually to reduce" arms sales to Taiwan while not exceeding "either in qualitative or quantitative terms" the level being supplied at that time.

In the past two years, the Bush administration has pressured China to curb sales of nuclear technology and long-range missiles to the Third World and renegade regimes. China has responded by signing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and joining the Missile Technology Control Regime. Diplomats say that by disregarding the 1982 bilateral agreement, Mr. Bush has made it impossible for the U.S. to push China to adhere to weapons treaties it has signed.

(A top State Department official met with Chinese officials Monday to try to ease tensions over President Bush's decision. William Clark, U.S. assistant secretary of state for Asian and Pacific affairs, refused to comment after the meeting.)

In the short term, Beijing is prevented from taking strong retaliatory action against the sale because a real rift in Sino-U.S. relations could turn China's economic boom to bust. The country's economic growth — which the government now expects to reach 12% this year — rests largely on export earnings and

export-driven jobs. Likewise, much of the state sector is bankrupt, so modernization relies heavily on the private sector and foreign-invested factories in southern China. The U.S. last year purchased more than one-quarter of China's \$72 billion in exports.

The U.S. role in China's employment is even greater than trade statistics show. China's other major export customers—Japan, South Korea and Southeast Asia—purchase mostly food and raw materials, not manufactured goods. The majority of U.S. purchases, however, are labor-intensive consumer products. Last year, for example, the U.S. bought some \$6 billion of Chinese-made shoes and clothing.

Analysts say that if China lost access to the U.S. export market, many foreign investors would leave, the country's two fledgling stock markets would collapse and a current China property frenzy among Hong Kong developers and investors would disappear overnight.

Indeed, the Taiwan F-16 sale comes at a delicate time in U.S.-China commercial relations. U.S. and Chinese negotiators face an Oct. 10 deadline in talks on barriers to the Chinese market. Should those talks fail, the U.S. is prepared to retaliate with some \$3.9 billion in punitive tariffs. Meanwhile, the U.S. Senate is expected to vote again this month on whether to continue China's most-favored-nation trade status. Tariff increases triggered by the loss of status would make many Chinese-made consumer goods too expensive to compete in the U.S.

And then there's the U.S. presidential election. Despite the F-16 deal, diplomats say, China still much prefers Mr. Bush, who served as U.S. envoy in Beijing in 1974-75, to his Democratic opponent, Bill Clinton. Mr. Clinton and his running mate Albert Gore have suggested that they support Congress's desire to make China's most-favored-nation status conditional on human-rights improvements.

The next move may come from Europe. Taiwan has long courted European arms makers, who are suffering the same economic misfortunes as their U.S. counterparts. But vociferous threats from China have stymied most European sales to Taiwan. Some believe that the F-16 deal may change this.

Already, a leading Taipei newspaper reported Sunday that Taiwan has agreed to buy 60 Mirage 2000-5 fighter jets from France at a discounted price of \$2.6 billion.

The mass-circulation China Times, quoting unnamed air force officials, said the two governments will soon announce the sale.

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TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

Sputtering Engines

Economy Loses Power In Monetary Realm As Well as the Fiscal

**Fed Lowers Rates a Bit More,
Responding to Lost Jobs;
Concerns About Dollar**

Bush Seeks to Make Best of It

By RICK WARTZMAN
And LUCINDA HARPER

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — For the past 15 months, the U.S. economic recovery has bounced along the runway like a jetliner with one engine burned out. Now a second engine may be sputtering, too.

Friday's Labor Department report showed that private employers chopped their payrolls by a stunning 167,000 jobs in August. The surprising job loss prompted the Federal Reserve Board to push a key short-term interest rate down by a quarter percentage point.

But the Fed's action was a modest one—"just a palliative," grumbles Fidelity Investments economist Lincoln Anderson. With the dollar on the decline in foreign-exchange markets, and with short-term interest rates already at their lowest levels in three decades, Fed officials say the central bank has done about all it can to propel the lumbering U.S. economy. The dollar's plunge "limits how much the Fed can do without running the risk of a currency crisis," says former Fed governor Lyle Gramley.

Stuck Fiscal Policy

Meanwhile, fiscal policy—the other traditional engine of an economic liftoff—remains shut down. With the fiscal 1992 budget deficit stuck at about \$330 billion, the nation can scarcely afford huge tax cuts or increases in spending. Even modest fiscal measures to boost the economy appear out of the question with the election-year impasse between the White House and the Democratic Congress.

For President Bush, who has just eight weeks left before he must stand for re-election, the economic picture looks particularly grim—especially after Friday's dismal labor statistics. This is the kind of news that "makes Republicans want to go bungee-jumping without a cord," says Glen Bolger, a GOP consultant.

Just one more employment report will be released before Election Day, and evidence suggests it, too, may be a disappointment. Hurricane Andrew will likely cause a temporary drop in employment in Florida and Louisiana. And the ending of a government summer jobs program, which kept the overall decline in payroll employment to 83,000 in August, could hurt, as well.

Republicans Urging Action

Faced with such dreary numbers, some Republicans have stepped up their efforts to persuade President Bush to put together an economic recovery program fast. One possibility is a new set of tax breaks for small businesses. But at this late date, Mr. Bush may find it exceedingly difficult to regain the voters' confidence in his handling of the economy. The new numbers confirm "that the economy is a mess" and that "George Bush has absolutely no strategy for getting us out of this swamp," says Harvard Prof. Robert Reich, an adviser to Democratic nominee Bill Clinton.

In a Sunday interview with NBC's Tom Brokaw, Mr. Bush focused on the good news in the employment report, noting that the unemployment rate had dropped two-tenths of a percentage point since its June peak. (See article on page A2.) He acknowledged that the payroll employment numbers—widely regarded as a more reliable measure of month-to-month changes in the economy—were disturbing, but he suggested they might improve in coming months. "I'm not prepared to buy into those statistics," Mr. Bush said. "I'm not sure there are fewer people at work."

Other analysts agreed that the August numbers, subject to the vagaries of the summer-job market, could well prove to be a fluke.

Blaming Congress

Mr. Bush also blamed Congress for not enacting a package of proposals he advanced last winter to invigorate the economy.

In a separate interview with Mr. Brokaw, Gov. Clinton took the opportunity to say the "No. 1 thing" he would do if elected president is "pass a jobs program." Of course, a Clinton White House would inherit the massive budget deficit, limiting its ability to jump-start the economy through spending programs.

At the Fed, officials found some cause for hope in the August numbers. They noted that the average hours worked by nonsupervisory employees during the month jumped sharply, rising four-tenths of an hour, to 34.7 hours. That suggests cautious businessmen were expanding their output but doing so by working employees longer hours rather than hiring new employees. If they hired new employees to work those extra hours in the months ahead, employment would expand by hundreds of thousands of jobs.

The report also showed a significant increase in workers' pay during the month, with average hourly earnings rising a solid 0.7%. That, combined with increased hours, could result in a sizable rise in incomes during August, which in turn could fuel increased consumer spending.

Nevertheless, the report was bad enough to prompt Fed Chairman Alan Greenspan to make the quick, quarter-

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TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

Sputtering Engines: Economy Loses Power in Monetary Realm

Continued From First Page

point cut in the central bank's target for the federal funds interest rate, which in turn brought down other short-term interest rates. Officials said they made the move only after observing that financial markets were already expecting a small cut and weren't responding adversely.

The Fed has cut interest rates two dozen times over the past three years in its efforts to boost the economy, bringing the federal funds rate, at which banks lend to each other, down to its current 3.0% from 9.75%. By most measures, the recession that began in the summer of 1990 seems to have ended in the spring of 1991. But since then, the recovery has been so weak that, to many, it seems like a continuation of the recession.

Fed officials say they may be able to cut rates a bit further if the economy continues to founder. But the central bank is clearly testing the limits of its recession-fighting power. Officials fear further cuts could prompt a free-fall in the dollar, as investors move their money to Germany, where they can earn short-term interest as high as 9% or more. And a sharp fall in the dollar could prompt fears of inflation here, as import prices rise.

Even if the dollar weren't a problem, many economists believe further Fed rate cuts won't do much good. What's needed, says a new Standard & Poor's report, isn't just "a reduction in the cost of investment," which lower interest rates can provide, but a "boost in the desire to invest," which lower rates don't necessarily produce.

With businessmen cautious, "we're not seeing any major expansion efforts," says Barry Rogstad, the president of a trade group for mid-sized companies called the American Business Conference. "The focus is on cost control and the maintenance of [profit] margins."

Indeed, even though the recession is technically over, many companies continue to shed workers in order to improve profits and competitiveness. Like a lot of big corporations, "we've been paring back," says Lynn Michaelis, the chief economist at Weyerhaeuser Co., the wood products maker. What's keeping his company cautious, he adds, isn't just the sluggishness at home but also the fact that the other big industrial economies are dragging.

That is not to say the Fed's efforts have been fruitless. Fed officials say they prevented the recession from being much worse than it has actually been. Lower interest rates have also served to sharply reduce the burden of debt on both consumers and businesses.

In the second quarter of this year, personal debt payments were down to 16.7% of disposable personal income, according to Fed estimates. That's far below the 18.2% peak of early 1991. The average outstanding credit-card account balance has declined \$47 since the end of last year,

according to the Nilson Report, a newsletter that tracks account balances.

And homeowners who have adjustable-rate mortgages or who have refinanced are likely to save \$16 billion this year in lower mortgage costs. Business debt is down also: Nonfinancial companies' interest payments, as a percentage of cash flow, have fallen sharply.

Eventually, the lighter debt burden should translate into more carefree consumer and business spending. But it hasn't yet. "You hate to be a fatalist," says Weyerhaeuser's Mr. Michaelis. But shedding debt looks to be "a long and painful process."

Meanwhile, the prolonged sluggishness of the economy has prompted new soul-searching into what the government can do. Even a conservative such as University of Michigan economist Paul McCracken, a former adviser to President Nixon, says: "We can't admit that our hands are tied and we can't do anything. That would mean our notions of managing the economy are all wrong."

Some economists argue that with inflation at its lowest point in two decades, the Fed should simply ignore the weak dollar and ease credit conditions more. "The Federal Reserve is bewitched by the idea that the dollar must stay as high as if we were still on the gold standard," says James Tobin, a Yale University economist and Nobel Prize winner. The central bank should ignore the dollar, he says, and "just do it." But others, like Mr. Gramley, now a consulting economist at the Mortgage Bankers Association, fear a free-falling dollar would lead to a collapse of the stock and bond markets, and end up hurting the recovery rather than helping it.

Some economists are hoping a future cut in German interest rates will take some of the pressure off the dollar, and make it

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TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

Big Ethanol Problem for Bush Prompts White House to Mull Special Concessions

By BARBARA ROSEWICZ

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

WASHINGTON — The White House is considering granting special concessions to the ethanol industry to put out a political firestorm that is hurting President Bush's re-election bid in key Corn Belt states.

Officials are urgently seeking a way to pacify corn growers and ethanol makers, who accuse bureaucrats in Washington of unfairly cutting their corn-derived gasoline additive out of a lucrative new market for clean-burning automobile fuels.

Eager as the Bush administration is to help, though, finding a solution is proving difficult. For one thing, helping ethanol interests would anger other important constituencies, including major oil companies, rival methanol makers and environmentalists. More importantly, many people inside and outside the administration think the help the ethanol lobby wants is prohibited under the Clean Air Act.

But finding a compromise is politically important to the administration, and it has become a major objective of top White House officials, including deputy chief of staff Robert Zoellick. Among the states where the issue is hot is Illinois, which many analysts think will be a battleground for the election.

"It will be extremely difficult for George Bush in Illinois if he's seen as being hostile to the ethanol industry. And until he moves on this I think that perception exists and is getting stronger," says GOP Senate candidate Rich Williamson in Illinois. "I don't see how Bush will get re-elected president if he loses Illinois."

Ethanol makers, including industry giant Archer-Daniels-Midland Co., and the National Corn Growers Association want President Bush to guarantee that a mix of gasoline and ethanol can be used in a federally ordered program that requires a cleaner-burning reformulated gasoline to be available in the nation's smoggiest cities starting in 1995. As many as 90 cities eventually may have the reformulated gasoline, and they could account for well over half the gasoline sold in the country.

Problem With Smog

Ethanol does help reduce carbon-monoxide emissions, meaning it is certain to play a big role beginning this winter in new gasoline blends required in 39 cities with unhealthy carbon-monoxide levels. The problem is that the Environmental Protection Agency says ethanol isn't effective in fighting smog. The EPA's analysis is that reformulated gasoline with ethanol actually would emit 5% more of the chemicals that form smog than today's gasoline, defeating the purpose of the anti-smog reformulated fuel.

Corn growers who are dependent on the ethanol industry to expand their market dispute that assertion. They have hired their own atmospheric chemist who has produced test results saying that ethanol has little effect on smog. Moreover, the ethanol crowd is steamed up because it isn't being given a special waiver it

had enjoyed before that would help it qualify as a smog-fighting fuel. That waiver instructs the EPA to ignore ethanol's tendency to make gasoline evaporate faster, emitting chemicals that can cause smog.

The EPA argues that there isn't any scientific or legal basis for granting ethanol the waiver, and practically all other interest groups that helped negotiate the reformulated gasoline rules agree. Curiously, the ethanol producers' association and the corn growers' association both agreed to the very regulations they are complaining about now.

Nevertheless, the corn growers have wheeled out some powerful political forces to make their case. Senate Republican Leader Robert Dole has lobbied the administration from President Bush on down. Within the Bush camp, the ethanol cause is pushed by former White House Chief of Staff Samuel Skinner, Agriculture Secretary Edward Madigan and former domestic policy chief Clayton Yeutter. All those Republican Party heavyweights hail from the Grain Belt.

Meanwhile, the ethanol dispute has exploded into nasty headlines for the Bush administration throughout the Midwest.

In its scramble to pacify the ethanol lobby, the Bush administration last month crafted a package that included a tax incentive to spur production of another fuel additive derived from ethanol called ETBE. The administration also offered to change the proposed reformulated-gasoline regulation to improve ethanol's chances, without actually granting the disputed waiver.

But those whom the administration consulted among corn growers and in the ethanol industry didn't buy the package, which Mr. Bush had hoped to unveil in late August at the Illinois state fair. "We didn't find those attractive," says Mike Bryan, the ethanol expert at the National Corn Growers Association. "The bottom line for us is that none of those things really provides the kind of sound base that's needed for growth in this industry."

At the same time, the administration knows that it will take heat from other interest groups if it manages to find a way to help the ethanol cause, particularly if that way is seen as making urban air dirtier. An unlikely coalition of environmentalists, oil companies and state air-pollution officials plans to hold a news conference today in Washington to attack ethanol's quest for special treatment. A host of top oil-company executives has written the White House urging it to avoid shaking up current plans.

Archer-Daniels Blamed

Some industry and administration officials attribute the whole episode to greed by ethanol interests, particularly Archer-Daniels. The Decatur, Ill., agricultural company — a huge contributor to the Republican and Democratic parties — controls about 70% of U.S. ethanol production capacity.

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TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

Free-Trade Pact's Details Are Sparking Squabbles as Congress Takes Up Review

By BOB DAVIS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—With Congress finally set to begin consideration of the North American Free Trade Agreement today, details of the pact are emerging and sparking squabbles involving everything from auto-fuel economy to Mexican truck drivers' licenses.

The proposed pact generally would eliminate tariffs on trade among the U.S., Mexico and Canada over 15 years. Gary Hufbauer, a trade specialist at the Washington-based Institute for International Economics, said the pact would increase U.S. exports to Mexico by \$16.7 billion by 1995.

But first, lawmakers and lobby groups will square off on a bewildering array of fronts. Consider car fuel-efficiency standards. Currently, car makers must maintain an average fuel efficiency of 27.5 miles-per-gallon for both domestic and imported fleets. Under the proposed free-trade agreement, cars produced in Mexico also would be considered "domestic" under the fuel-efficiency rules; that would give a big incentive to car makers to shift small-car production to Mexico where costs are cheaper, Mr. Hufbauer said.

"It puts U.S. workers at a terrific risk of losing their jobs," said Mark Anderson, director of the AFL-CIO's trade task force. "And if the U.S. were to raise fuel standards, that risk would increase because U.S. auto makers will be able to satisfy U.S. standards even if they produce in Mexico."

Then there is the case of Mexican drivers' licenses. Under the proposed free-trade agreement, Mexican commercial licenses would be valid in the U.S. As a result, Mexican truck drivers would be allowed to haul cargo back and forth from the U.S. For companies doing business in Mexico, that is a big boon; currently, cargo is unloaded at the border and placed in trucks driven by U.S. drivers. But

U.S. truck drivers see themselves as the losers because they would be competing with Mexican workers who don't make near the U.S. minimum wage.

You will hear a lot about workers' rights as the debate heats up, even from management. The National Knitwear and Sportswear Association, which represents smaller apparel makers, released a statement opposing the free-trade agreement because it would "undercut the living standards of our employees." But Seth Bodner, executive director of the group, said in an interview that the compa-

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Free-Trade Agreement's Details Are Emerging, Sparking Squabbles

Continued From Page A2

nies mostly are concerned that they wouldn't have the wherewithal, or desire, to set up operations in Mexico to meet increased competition.

For the Motion Picture Association of America, the fear is less what happens under the North American agreement than the precedent the accord would set for U.S. trade relations with Europe. Under the North American pact, Canada would be allowed to take a "cultural exemption" to rules concerning intellectual property. Jack Valenti, the U.S. motion-picture group's president, said that would allow Canada to retain limits on the amount of U.S. programs that can be shown on Canadian television stations.

U.S. studios mostly worry that Western Europe, which accounts for 55% of their foreign revenue for movies and TV shows, could take this as a signal to stiffen their own quotas. The proposed North American pact "issues a soiling precedent," said Mr. Valenti, who said the provision must be redrafted.

The trade accord was announced Aug. 12, just in time for the Republican Party convention. But U.S. officials were still

working to finish the text by today, when U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills is scheduled to testify on Capitol Hill.

The administration already faces some embarrassments. The Agriculture Department's inspector general is investigating whether the hiring by Kraft General Foods Inc. of Cleveland Marsh, an Agriculture Department official who was involved in the trade talks, violated conflict-of-interest laws. Kraft, one of the nation's biggest sugar buyers, said it began talking with Mr. Marsh, the department's sugar-import expert, in late May — as the trade negotiations were going on — and offered him a job as North American sugar buyer around July 29. Mr. Marsh didn't return calls.

"We don't expect any material benefit to our company" from the trade pact's sugar provisions, said a spokesman for Kraft, a subsidiary of Philip Morris Cos.

Bob Crawford, Florida's commissioner of agriculture, urged a House Government Operations subcommittee to investigate the matter, saying he was "concerned about what we consider to be a high-level lack of open disclosure of this matter" in the Agriculture Department.

Hey, Candidates, Look at Asia

By Chandler Burr

WASHINGTON
On both sides of this Presidential campaign, a noticeable vacuum of ideas exists on the economic challenges posed by Asia.

The Republicans refuse to learn anything from Japan, which in its current economic troubles is again becoming leaner and meaner under its technocrats' guidance. Having invested two times per capita the U.S. figure in plant and equipment for at least four years, Japan is poised to come roaring out of its recession in 1994 — midway through the next U.S. Administration.

George Bush — who forges majestically into any foreign policy battle so long as the weapons are guns and not yen or marks — seems not to know that foreign policy is economic policy. The President said, with an eye toward Japan: "We may have more will than wallet, but will is what we need." In so doing, he achieved a Republican miracle: the complete

Chandler Burr is writing a book with David Henry Hwang on American economic ideology.

delinking of economic from military might.

The Republicans continue to promote an anachronistic 18th-century neo-classical theory of self-adjusting markets. Yet the dollar is falling against the yen as Japan is racking up record trade surpluses with the U.S.; this is not supposed to happen in self-adjusting markets. The G.O.P. substitutes mantras like "private industry" for an understanding of the economic system Japan has created.

As for the Democrats, Bill Clinton has said basically nothing regarding Japan. His economic proposals stress a lot of obviously good things, like better education and infrastructure. Why not mention Asia's economic models? Perhaps because one of his chief advisers, Robert Reich, propounds a New Age-style neo-neo-classical utopianism where national borders don't count, corporations treat all employees equally and governments can do little to foster growth.

The Asian model is such a dramatic example of the inadequacy of these views that it takes an American Presidential candidate to ignore them. In a recent Harvard Business Review article on Singapore's success, Rajendra Sisodia, a professor of marketing, writes, "Singapore's story demonstrates... what can happen when a

government assumes an instrumental position in shaping and managing the economic environment."

The countries of East Asia have been constructing this model since the 1950's, and the American tradition of not hearing the noise has been religiously bipartisan. We take superficial steps at a solution. For example, Michael Porter, an economist,

The G.O.P. won't learn. Clinton has said nothing.

says: we're basically fine; let's just make better products.

Apply this "solution" to the old Soviet Union. The Soviets would not have beaten us if they'd privatized the company that made the Lada or improved their education and roads. Sure, it might have drawn things out a bit. But it wouldn't have changed the fundamental reality: their system didn't work as well as ours. They still would have had to waste resources guarding their photocop-

ers, putting in place cumbersome central plans, fighting market mechanisms and a thousand other inefficiencies, which, together, rendered their system fatally inferior.

Why will neither party look clearly at Japan then? Two reasons. One is simply that our inculcation with free trade theology has been so profound. But the second is that unlike the U.S., which saw with nuclear clarity that it was in our own interest to make the Soviets change to our system, Japan's case is the opposite.

Everything Japan does, from its Government's policies to its industry's P.R. efforts, is intended to stop America from realizing that Japan is different and, thus, to stop America from changing. For there is no threat to Japan of nuclear annihilation if we do not compete. The Japanese, whose economic system is in many ways even farther from ours than the Soviets' was, talk Adam Smith and do government management.

This asymmetry may explain the vacuum in the Presidential campaign and America's painful dilemma. While we were kind enough to all but mail the Soviets written instructions pointing them toward the scary but inevitable future, the Japanese draw us pictures that continue to lead us back to our anachronistic past. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

On My Mind

A. M. ROSENTHAL

Iraq: Hope for Rebels

LONDON

They do not like to talk about it too much, or show their hopes too plain. They have been disappointed so often. They have seen so many of their countrymen die when the hopes turned to ashes in the mouth and bitterness in the heart.

But for the first time since the United States allowed Saddam Hussein to survive after the gulf war, Iraqi civilian rebels who use this city as one of their gathering places are beginning to believe that they can see his end in sight. Not immediate, not inevitable, but strategically and logically in sight and achievable within a year, or less.

The reason for this new hope is that they think the chances of a large part of the Iraqi Army moving against him have become better now.

The difference, the catalyst, could be the decision by President Bush to declare parts of southern Iraq a "no-fly" zone for Iraqi planes to protect anti-Saddam Iraqi Shiites from Iraqi bombers.

In the U.S. those journalists and politicians who never liked any military move against Saddam Hussein naturally enough shuddered at the no-fly order.

But it strikes me as of more moment that Iraqi civilian rebels who risk their lives and freedom fighting Saddam Hussein see the decision as potentially a political and military turning point.

The U.S. is now playing catch-up ball with Iraq, demanding a few of the prices that should have been imposed when Saddam lost the war. But with no-fly orders in the north, to help protect the Kurds, and in the south for the Shiites, with teams of inspectors moving about the country, trade internationally controlled, Iraq is no longer a sovereign state.

The Iraqi civilian rebels hope that particular reality will now take hold in the Army — and the knowledge that under Saddam the wreckage that was Iraq cannot be repaired.

Iraqi rebels do not expect the coups to center in Baghdad. Saddam Hussein has shown that in Baghdad his massive intelligence corps and his military bodyguard divisions strong can strangle a coup before it gets started.

But relative safety from Saddam increases with distance from Baghdad. Basra in the south and Mosul in the north, already stirring with anti-Saddam hatred, are more likely to see military rebellion against him.

Separately, representatives of the two main rebel populations in Iraq (the non-Arab Kurdish Muslims and Iraqi Arab Shiites) ask the same things from the West: to follow through politically on "no-fly." They ask for some of the blocked Iraqi

funds to buy weapons, medicines and communication equipment. They ask for steady political and economic pressures, including step-by-step withdrawal of recognition from Baghdad.

The purpose would be not only to damage Saddam Hussein at once but to show the army officers that sooner or later he will have to go and that sooner will mean less bloodshed — including their own. Also, the officers will have to be convinced that if they mutiny the U.S. will not show them what it showed Iraqi civilian rebels who rose — its back.

Some of Washington's Middle Eastern allies fear that the no-fly orders could lead to a breakup of Iraq. It is not Iraq's future they worry about but their own — the idea that contagious breakaway thoughts could spread to their own minorities.

The Turks, the staunchest of America's Muslim allies, have a large Kurdish population. Turkey fears correctly that Turkish Kurdish Maoist terrorists might demand a separate state. But Ankara plays into their hands by harsh military action not just against the small terrorist movement but against whole Kurdish towns in Turkey.

Assuaging Turkey's legitimate fears is a problem Iraqi Kurds who say they want close relations with Turkey will have to deal with — they and the U.S.

But there is a bigger one, for all Iraqi rebels. It lies in their very hope of an Army rebellion. Won't that lead to a military dictatorship replacing Saddam's?

Yes, they say, it could happen. Once, when American forces were in Iraq, the U.S. might have been able to prevent a military dictatorship as it did in Germany and Italy after World War II. Now it is a risk.

If it happens, they say, we shall see what we can do about that. But unless Saddam goes, there is nothing for us, no future, no life. Do you have a better plan — risk-free? □

Alarm Clocks Can Kill You. Have a Smoke.

By Elizabeth M. Whelan

Believing what you read about preventive medicine in popular women's magazines can be hazardous to your health. A review of the July, August and September issues of 10 such publications reveals not only that the health "advice" is a distortion of scientific reality, but that the disinformation about health is sponsored — through advertising — by the manufacturer of the leading cause of death.

The science of disease causation and prevention — epidemiology — is neither new nor mysterious. Medical books state that about two million Americans die each year, and some one million of those deaths are preventable (that is, premature). Half of the preventable deaths (500,000) are caused by cigarette smoking and an additional 100,000 or so are the result of alcohol misuse and abuse. Most of the rest of the preventable deaths were caused by violence, drug abuse or failure to use life-saving technologies like seat belts, smoke detectors or tests for the early detection of disease.

The role that diet plays in shortening life — other than engendering the complications of obesity — is speculative and controversial.

Yet the issues of popular magazines I examined focused not on smoking and other life-style factors but on the alleged ill effects of trace level chemicals and other hypothetical causes: Redbook and Glamour tell us of the hazards of methyl mercury and "potentially carcinogenic" PCB's in fish; Self writes of the alleged dangers of food additives like sodium nitrite, BHA and BHT. Glamour warns of the risks of eating imported fresh fruit which might be contaminated with surface bacteria.

Other publications raise red flags about salt; "carcinogens" in barbecued meat; electromagnetic fields emanating from refrigerators, stoves

and alarm clocks (to reduce the risk of cancer, Family Circle cautions to "keep dial face clocks 5 feet and digitals 3 feet from your bed"); radiation emissions from computers; breast implants; toilet seats and hot tubs; lead wrappers on wine bottles; lead in dinnerware; halogen lights (Harper's Bazaar recommends using a plastic cover to block out potentially harmful UV rays); and even thrill rides at amusement parks ("your life may be in your own hands," Glamour warns). Self says that smiles can be dangerous if they repress inner feelings. New Woman admonishes that "toxic relationships" can also bring on illness (beware the dangers of a "lethal lover") and deplores the "toxic" effects of television.

So what advice do the magazines offer on how to stay healthy? Here is a sampling: eat lots of broccoli to ward off cancer (Redbook and New Woman);

take vitamins E and C and beta carotene (Glamour); eat garlic to fight colds and flu (McCall's); get a pet to lower blood pressure and cholesterol (Self); and eat active-culture yogurt to live longer (Harper's Bazaar).



Illustrations by Matthew Martin

Magazines mix silly health news and cigarette ads.

One might argue that these magazines ignore the real health risks because their business is to entertain, not inform, and to refer regularly to the pervasive negative effects of smoking would put them in the undesirable role of nanny. But can the role of cigarette advertising revenues in discouraging stories about smoking be underestimated?

The magazines examined carried just under 200 cigarette advertisements — characterizing their product as glamorous, sexy and, most of all, feminine. An ad for Misty cigarettes offers "the Misty Look Book" promising "fashions that fit your face, figure and coloring." Cigarettes showed up not only in ads, but in editorial copy (Redbook editors welcomed new advertisers, "Liggett & Meyers/Lark and R. J. Reynolds/Camels").

July's Vanity Fair carried seven photos of people smoking or carrying cigarettes. In one photo, the teen idols Luke Perry and Jason Priestly have cigarettes in their mouths; in another, Mr. Priestley, surrounded by teen-age girls, performs the function of model for Marlboro Lights, the pack placed carefully in his pants pocket.

Clearly cigarette advertising revenue places a chill on free discussion of the dangers of smoking, a topic only rarely even touched on by these publications. (Redbook in August did note that 90 percent of kids worry about the health effects of smoking on their parents, and the September Glamour did cover the nicotine patch.)

If historians ever puzzle about our nation's inverted health priorities — policies that draw attention to the alleged dangers of everything from apples to electric blankets, yet ignore the significance of nearly \$4 billion in advertisements for the leading cause of death — then they will need look no further than today's newsstands. □

Dr. Elizabeth M. Whelan is president of the American Council on Science and Health.

California's No-Tax Budget Is No Model

By Steven D. Gold

CALIFORNIA'S adoption of a Draconian budget last week is being seen as an augury for other states. Since California passed deep cuts in services while not raising taxes a cent, surely this is a trend. Wasn't that what happened with the tax revolt of the 1970's?

Wrong. California's reputation as a government trend-setter is a monumental exaggeration. Take Proposition 13, the voter initiative that

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Other states may want to keep services.

slashed property taxes in 1978. Yes, it poured oil on the waters of a movement already under way to cut state and local taxes. It inspired would-be Howard Jarvises all over the country.

But the tax revolt played out differently in most other states. Given a chance to slash taxes deeply, voters in nearly every case said, "No, thanks." The only exception was in Massachusetts, where the highest property taxes in the country and

arrogant, unresponsive officials pushed voters to approve a severe tax cut. Many states did cut and limit taxes in the wake of Proposition 13, but those actions were relatively minor by comparison.

Last year, California enacted a big tax increase, raising the sales tax 1.25 cents and the income tax sharply for taxpayers with income more than \$200,000. Not many people said that would touch off a trend, and it didn't.

In fact, last year's tax increase was the first sizable one in California since Ronald Reagan was Governor. California went nearly two decades without raising its sales or income tax. Did other states copy that record? No, the great majority of states have raised tax rates several times since the early 1970's.

What then is the significance of the

California budget? It demonstrates that states have more government than they can afford, given the current tax structure and way of providing services. Tax increases by themselves are not an adequate response (though they are part of the solution). States also have to cut some programs, increase efficiency and shift costs where appropriate (like requiring students at public universities to pay a bigger share of their education costs).

California is not the first state to stonewall tax increases. Illinois, Massachusetts and Michigan avoided raising taxes in 1991 and 1992. Eventually, the balance will probably shift, and their citizens will decide that some increases are preferable to more service cuts. In any case, California is following these states, not vice versa. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

Observer

RUSSELL BAKER

Not in Church, Guys

The newspapers say the baseball owners pressured the baseball commissioner into resigning. I want to say, "Hold it right there, newspapers. How can baseball be owned?"

I have been thoroughly soaked, marinated you might say, in the propaganda of baseball. When you say "baseball" to me, I think of church, and not just because the average baseball game nowadays lasts longer than a month of Sundays. It's "baseball owners" that puzzle me. Church can't be owned, can it?

When you say "baseball" to me, I think of the Fourth of July, the flag and the Gettysburg Address. I wouldn't want to live in an America where the newspapers spoke of the "Fourth of July ownership" or "Gettysburg Address owners" as though it weren't repugnant to have sacred matters resting in capitalism's sweaty paw.

When you say "baseball" to me, I think of hot dogs and apple pie and the good old summertime when I don't care if I never get back, and so on. I am talking real, true, genuine, authentic, wholesome, crunchy American goodness.

I hope never to see the day when real, true, genuine, etcetera American goodness can be captured by a band of entrepreneurs so suspicious of each other that they need an American Goodness commissioner to keep them from doing something terrible to that goodness.

Yet this apparently is what has happened to baseball. I had begun to suspect something like this was afoot after making a pilgrimage to the new temple of the Baltimore Orioles, known in Maryland as Oriole Park At Camden Yards Where Cal Ripken Jr. And Assorted Other Ripkens Are On Display.

As one who remembers that 50 cents bought a good seat when "Pooch" Fuccinelli, Art Graham, Murray Howell & Company played at old Oriole Park on 29th Street, I was startled at the \$12 price for a seat in the new shrine. Anybody who has ever watched a baseball game through a mail slot will know what this seat was like.

There were plenty of seats from which a lot of the game could be seen, but you apparently had to put big, big bucks in the plate to get one. Or so I

guessed after noticing that most bore the names of corporations, which led me to guess that they'd been bought by the kind of people permitted to charge entertainment costs off their income tax, from which I guessed that, in addition to paying for my own seat, I was also contributing to the pleasure of those who had seats with a view.

Five dollars to park the car didn't seem baldly felonious to one who has paid to park the car in midtown Manhattan, but the price on everything edible and potable seemed to start at \$2.75. After a quick calculation on the cost of enough hot dogs, peanuts and soda pop to fill four children, I was so grateful I hadn't brought even one that I offered a silent prayer of gratitude to the baseball ex-commissioner.

The reverential mood became harder to support when someone told me that Oriole Park At Camden Yards was built at public expense. I knew, of course, that football people were not above putting a gun to the public head and making the taxpayers build them a nice place to make money in.

That's football. What else should we expect of a business whose purpose is to amuse mass audiences with television spectacles in which huge men, unidentifiable except by large numbers on their backs, knock each other down? Football is business. Business is expected to extort subsidies from the public in return for helping finance the election of statesmen who will stop public handouts to the unworthy.

Baseball, however, is church, the flag, the Gettysburg Address and hot dogs. Abstract, old-fashioned 25-cent hot dogs, if not the \$2.75 variety. That's why these news stories about baseball being owned are so distressing.

The owner, I gather, is CBS. It paid the teams a bankruptive sum for rights to televise games, then didn't do it after deciding that golf, tennis and bowling were lots more fun to watch, even though golf lasts even longer than baseball. The CBS gold was divvied up among the players, leaving not much for the middlemen who pass the millions from CBS to shortstops, relievers, pitchers and all.

It's these middlemen who call themselves "owners." Blasphemy, not baseball, is their game. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

For New York State Senate

This year's rearrangement of New York State Senate district lines, drawn to protect incumbents and enhance minority voting strength, has produced many oddly shaped districts. Some fragment neighborhoods, others plunge back and forth across borough or county lines.

That creates a difficult but necessary task for voters in next Tuesday's Democratic primary. They have to figure out what district they now live in, and then decide which candidate they prefer. Here are our recommendations in five of the liveliest State Senate races, where, because of overwhelmingly Democratic registration, victory is tantamount to election.

QUEENS and BROOKLYN. 12th District. This race pits Ada Smith, seeking her third term in the State Senate, against Adolphus Frazier, director of financial aid at York College, in a new district. Ms. Smith is among the less productive Senate members and has strained relations with many of her colleagues. We prefer Mr. Frazier, who is active in civic organizations and offers thoughtful ideas for improving schools and the gimmick-laden budget process in Albany.

BROOKLYN and MANHATTAN. 25th District. Martin Connor, a State Senator since 1978, faces a spirited, uphill challenge from Luis Osorio, a deputy associate commissioner in the city Department of Employment. Mr. Connor, the ranking Democrat on the Senate Election Committee, is a capable, experienced legislator with contradictory purposes. On the one hand, he advocates serious reform of New York's arcane election laws. On the other, he operates a legal practice largely devoted to kicking people off ballots. His indifference to this contradiction is dismaying.

The preferable candidate is Mr. Osorio, a knowledgeable and concerned figure in his community. He could bring fresh energy to his district, and to Albany.

MANHATTAN and THE BRONX. 28th District. Olga Mendez, first elected to the State Senate in 1978, lacks the achievements to match her seniority and has alienated some segments of her community. We support Richard Irizarry, an aide to Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger and a playwright. He demonstrates an insight into his community that promises more effective representation.

THE BRONX. 32d District. Voters in this new district have an opportunity to elect an unusually promising candidate — Lillian Fernandez. Ms. Fernandez is an executive with a pharmaceutical company and former director of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus in Washington. She shows keen sensitivity to the problems of her district and the complexities of public policy. Particularly impressive is her understanding of the need for balanced, progressive taxation.

Her chief opponent, Pedro Espada Jr., is a political opportunist who once ran with support from the fringe New Alliance Party but now boasts backing from the same Bronx Democratic organization he once denounced. Mr. Espada, who runs a health clinic, offers little in the way of constructive ideas. Ms. Fernandez deserves enthusiastic support.

THE BRONX. 33d District. Voters face a disagreeable choice between two flawed incumbents in this district, which extends into Westchester County. Before his election to the State Senate two years ago, Jeffrey Korman worked for the Democratic organization, specializing in spotting technical errors on nominating petitions so the party could force candidates off the ballot. In office, he has done little to enhance his reputation.

Joseph Galiber's history of troubling business dealings mars his reputation, but at least his understanding of serious issues, particularly drug abuse, suggests an interest in the people of his district and not just its politics.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

Why Rush to Silence Democracy?

Fifty years ago, the U.S. became a global radio power. "This is a voice speaking from America," promised the Voice of America's first broadcast in February 1942. "The news may be good or bad — we shall tell you the truth."

The V.O.A., originating in Washington and operated by the U.S. Information Agency, now broadcasts in 47 languages. Along the way, it helped spawn Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. These are administratively distinct "surrogate stations" based in Munich and covering Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics.

But does America still need a global radio voice now that global cold wars are over? A bipartisan commission created by Congress offers a provocative answer: Phase out the Munich stations and cut back the V.O.A. language services. The proposal rests on the argument that radio programming has less impact than television, which should claim budgetary priority.

With the fall of the Soviet empire, that may seem a sensible conclusion. But it's dangerously premature. New forms of tyranny and violence provide strong arguments for using all these voices, at least for a while.

For one thing, television is easily jammed, as Cuba has shown in blocking TV Martí, the Florida-based station established three years ago by the U.S.I.A. The Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy would shut TV Martí because it's "not cost-effective," — unlike nine-year-old Radio Martí, which the report praises. Elsewhere, however, the commission feels the future lies with TV satellite transmissions and imported TV crews.

This markedly underrates the reach and influence of radio. Foreign broadcasts can bring stunned people together in times of crisis. For example,

Boris Yeltsin's statements on Radio Liberty helped rally public opposition to the attempted coup in Moscow last year.

Even so, some argue that the Munich services can be safely abandoned as long as the V.O.A. remains on the job. The argument overlooks two important points.

The first is that the Voice provides world coverage, while Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty report local news *within* the listeners' own country. The two stations have spent years developing sources and archives for close-in coverage that the Voice simply does not attempt.

The second point is that democracy's victory is not yet final, despite the collapse of the Iron Curtain. For example, Vladimir Meciar, the separatist leader in Slovakia, now threatens to silence broadcasts and muzzle publications he judges as hostile. There is still no independent press in post-liberation Afghanistan, which Radio Liberty serves.

In these circumstances, a skilled external news operation can give post-Communist nations a yardstick for judging their own press. Emotional issues like anti-Semitism and minority rights are often treated more fully in Munich than by local media. That is the routine justification for the stations; in extraordinary circumstances — wars, coups — their silence could be calamitous.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty could, of course, be eliminated eventually, when press freedom is accepted from the Baltics to the Balkans. Payrolls and programming can be trimmed now.

But the stations ought not to be abandoned in the next year or two, as the Public Diplomacy Commission seems to feel. Leaders like Mr. Meciar, of course, wouldn't mind that at all. Leaders in Congress would do well to ignore the too-hasty recommendations in this too-simple report and keep these Voices alive.

The Carnes Nomination: Talk It Down

On its return to work today, the Senate will confront the nomination of Edward Carnes to the U.S. Court of Appeals that hears cases from Georgia, Florida and Alabama. Mr. Carnes, a 41-year-old prosecutor who specializes in enforcing Alabama's death penalty, would replace a giant of the bench, retiring Judge Frank Johnson.

The senators have agreed to a brief debate, then a vote on whether to close debate and proceed to a final tally. The opposition's best hope is to defeat cloture and kill the nomination with a filibuster. Their biggest challenge will be to find enough to say about a lawyer who seems to have chosen a career in executions.

But they will not be wholly bereft of talking points. They might profitably observe, for example, that Judge Johnson, who courageously ruled for civil rights in Alabama despite personal threats, deserves the finest replacement available. They can also clear the record of claims that Judge Johnson endorses Mr. Carnes, since the judge is politely, appropriately neutral.

And they can point out that the nominee's support from the Administration stems from recent political service. He rallied other prosecutors to support both the death penalty and the virtual

demolition of Federal habeas corpus, the procedure many condemned prisoners have used to expose the constitutional flaws in their sentences.

Though he applies to his narrow specialty the skills he learned at Harvard Law School, Mr. Carnes reaches odd conclusions. He denies the commonly understood truth that an alarming number of capital cases are poorly defended. And whereas Judge Johnson argued that the race of the victim is an influential factor in a vast number of death penalty cases, Mr. Carnes's expertise tells him otherwise.

Nor has Mr. Carnes ever questioned fellow prosecutors for systematically getting rid of potential jurors in a pattern showing racial bias.

President Bush argues that Mr. Carnes's confirmation is necessary to advance the cause of law and order. It is not. Capital punishment, though ruled constitutional, need not be applied in the discriminatory pattern that Mr. Carnes finds acceptable. It need not be applied against defendants with drunken or slovenly lawyers, or in a manner that undermines confidence that the punishment actually fits the crime.

A fitting disposition to this nomination would be for the Senate to talk it to death.

Drawing a Line in the Shifting Politics of Abortion

By ROBIN TONER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7 — As Senator Al Gore discovered on "Meet the Press" on Sunday, the shifting politics of abortion has given rise to an unforgiving line of questioning: Where do you stand on the issue? Where did you stand in the past? If you changed, why?

The Democrats, both Mr. Gore and Gov. Bill Clinton, find themselves explaining positions they took in the past that were not as wholeheartedly supportive of abortion rights as the positions they hold today. The frequent implication, of course, is that they embraced the cause for political expedience.

President Bush, on the other hand, has been dealing with the issue and the implication for four straight Presidential campaigns, from the other end of the political spectrum. The past month suggests that he has learned something from the experience.

As he heads into a campaign where abortion could be more of a factor than in other Presidential elections, Mr. Bush has offered voters two options, based on his recent interviews, speeches and political positioning.

Option No. 1 is the middle-of-the-road George Bush who is pained by the large number of abortions, who opposes abortion personally, who would counsel a granddaughter seeking an abortion against it, but would stand by her whatever she chose. All of these are positions Mr. Bush has articulated in recent television interviews; all reflect the ambivalence of many Americans on the issue.

Backing up the M.O.R. George Bush is Barbara Bush, who has said that abortion is one of those personal issues that does not belong in a party

platform, a position clearly at odds with the anti-abortion movement's philosophy that abortion is as much a matter of public policy as is homicide.

Option No. 2 is the implacably anti-abortion George Bush who not only disapproves of it, but has been committed for years to banning it in every case except rape, incest or when the life of the mother is at stake. This is the George Bush whose political operatives insured that the Republican platform calls for constitutional protection for "the unborn," the George Bush who prompted an impassioned endorsement by the National Right to Life Committee, the nation's largest anti-abortion group.

"Our movement and the cause of the children is at a historic crossroads," the committee told its members in a newsletter last week. "When this campaign ends, please be able to say that you did everything humanly possible to insure that George Bush is re-elected."

Abortion rights supporters say the President is engaged in a careful, two-track strategy intended to play down his true position for more centrist voters, while firing up his conservative base. "It's a conscious strategy to hide policy, not to change it," asserts Loretta Ucelli of the National Abortion Rights Action League. She worries that he might succeed.

In some recent, nationally televised interviews, a casual listener might have had difficulty detecting whether Mr. Bush in the end regards abortion as a regrettable choice that some women unfortunately make, or a choice that should be denied them by the Federal Government in almost every instance. When David Brinkley

asked him if he supported a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion, Mr. Bush replied, "Well, I'm not for Roe v. Wade, as you know."

Legal experts note that supporting the overturning of Roe, which would essentially turn the abortion issue back to the states, is several steps short of a Federal ban on abortion.

When Tom Brokaw asked him about a constitutional ban, Mr. Bush replied: "My position is well known. I'm not going to change it one way or the other. I'm just going to stay with it."

When Mr. Brokaw pushed him on whether his position was the same as the party's platform, in an interview

Is George Bush following a two-track strategy?

conducted the week of the Republican convention, when the platform was being reported upon in great detail, Mr. Bush replied, "Well, I'll have to wait and read the platform, which I must confess, I've not done."

Mr. Bush's carefulness on this issue is perhaps understandable. In 1984 he angrily dealt with a string of questions about how and why his anti-abortion stance had toughened since he joined the Reagan ticket in 1980. At one point the exasperated Vice President said he would exercise "my right as an American to remain silent."

In 1988 he was forced to back down from a suggestion in a debate that

women who had abortions, if the operations were made illegal, should go to jail. Mr. Bush said he had not yet "sorted out" the penalties. James A. Baker 3d appeared the next morning and told reporters that Mr. Bush had thought it through, and decided that doctors, not women, would be punished.

Now comes 1992, when the abortion issue is probably more politically sensitive than ever and when Republican efforts to portray the party as "a big tent" have run afoul of the decision by the Bush camp to preserve the party's fiercely anti-abortion platform. Some senior Republicans, speaking on condition that they not be identified, say the platform's call for a constitutional ban on abortion is largely of symbolic importance.

Those Republicans note that there is no massive effort under way, in Congress or elsewhere, to pass such an amendment. But abortion rights leaders argue that the Republicans' official support for such a ban is emblematic of a philosophy that makes itself felt in many ways, perhaps most notably in appointments to the Supreme Court.

"George Bush has made good on the Republican platform year after year after year," says Ms. Ucelli.

David O'Steen of the National Right to Life Committee says his group has no qualms about Mr. Bush's commitment. "We are 100 percent for President Bush," Mr. O'Steen said.

The White House reiterates that Mr. Bush supports a "human life" amendment with an exception for the life of the mother, rape and incest. His counterparts on the other side say exactly so; their goal, they say, is simply to make sure that the voters in the middle realize as much.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992

BUSH AND CLINTON PULL NO PUNCHES IN HOLIDAY RALLIES

CAMPAIGN THEMES EMERGE

Both Candidates Claim Mantle
of Truman as They Swing
Through the Midwest

By ROBIN TONER

President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton opened their fall campaigns yesterday with a struggle over the mantle of Harry Truman: Mr. Bush said Mr. Clinton lacked the character to claim it; Mr. Clinton asserted that Mr. Bush was destroying the very middle class that President Truman had helped to create.

Mr. Clinton chose Mr. Truman's hometown, Independence, Mo., for the Labor Day kickoff to his campaign, presenting himself as the committed champion of "the great American middle class" in the Truman tradition. In a rousing speech delivered on the courthouse steps in a heavy rain, Mr. Clinton assailed Mr. Bush as a man who did not recognize the nation's economic suffering, its aspirations or its needs, and who had no right to claim political kinship with the Democratic President from Missouri, as Mr. Bush has done in recent weeks.

"Harry Truman did not wake up every morning worrying about how to lower taxes one more time on millionaires," Mr. Clinton declared. "Harry Truman gave the special interests help. George Bush is giving it to you, and it's time you took your future back."

Sparring in the Midwest

Mr. Bush, campaigning at a picnic and rally in Waukesha, Wis., acknowledged that it was an uncertain time in the global economy, but he accused Mr. Clinton of trying "to scare American workers so that he can slip into office with that failed tax-and-spend policy of the past."

The President, who has frequently appealed to the memory of Truman's come-from-behind victory in recent weeks, talked yesterday of Truman's leadership traits, and asserted that Mr. Clinton fell far short of them. Opening a new line of Republican attack, an unrecognized Mr. Bush declared: "Harry Truman was a man of decisiveness, not equivocation. He'd find little in common with Governor Clinton, a man who hedges or ducks on almost every tough issue."

Mr. Bush also mounted an indirect attack on Mr. Clinton's lack of military service during the Vietnam War, an issue that has dogged the Governor from Arkansas in recent days and that prompted an angry outburst from him yesterday morning. Accusing reporters of engaging in a "feeding frenzy" over an old issue, Mr. Clinton asserted it was time for them to direct their aggressiveness toward Mr. Bush and the Iran-contra affair. [Page A17.]

The day's exchanges came as Mr.

Pressing a Theme, Bush and Clinton Vie Over Which One Is Truman's Heir

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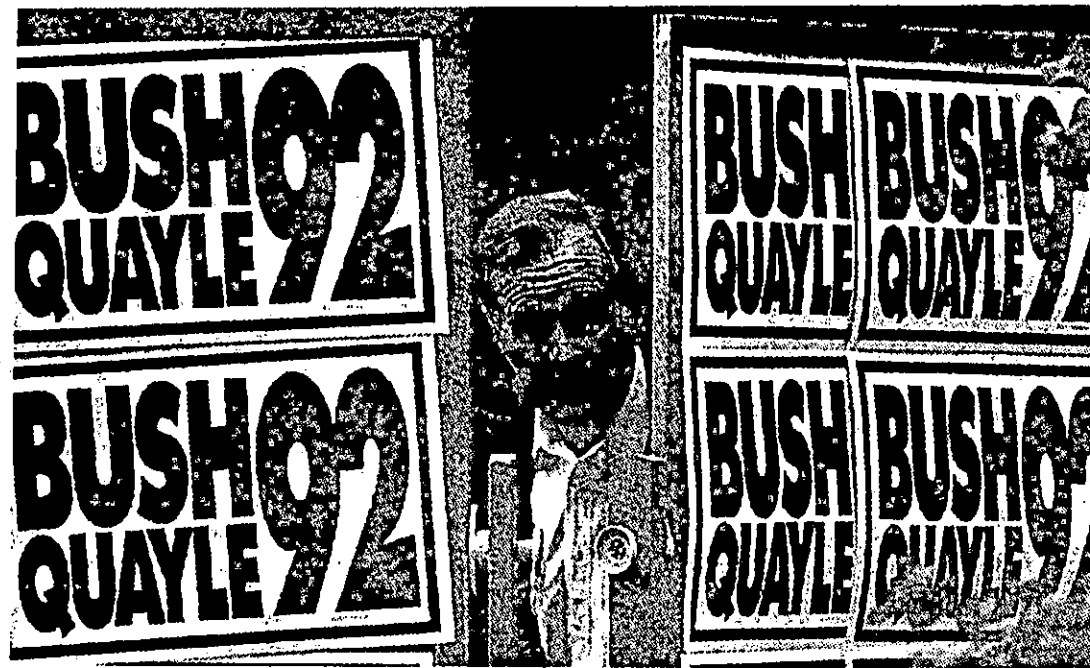
Clinton campaigned in Missouri and Ohio before ending the day in Connecticut, and Mr. Bush roared through Wisconsin and Michigan, all considered important swing states this fall. While Labor Day has traditionally marked the start of the general election campaign, the tone of the day underscored the fact that this struggle has been fully engaged for weeks.

The Truman debate arises in a year when voters, implicitly or explicitly, seem to be looking for plain-spoken, truth-telling leadership and when a best-selling biography of the Democrat by David McCullough is being studied by both camps. Ross Perot evoked many comparisons to Truman earlier this year. And Mr. Bush, when his poll ratings sank this summer, began comparing himself to Truman, who in 1948 won re-election against the odds by beating Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York. Mr. Clinton sought yesterday to reclaim the popular memory of Truman for the Democrats.

Beyond the battle over Truman, the day offered a case study in the themes expected to dominate the next 56 days. Mr. Bush argued that his domestic plans have been stymied by a "gridlock Congress," that he was committed to ensuring "economic security" in his next Administration, and that the nation was on the mend and on the rise.

"Beneath the Rhetoric"

"My opponent will kick off his campaign with a message of fear," said Mr. Bush, who began a full day of campaigning with a walk across a five-mile bridge in upper Michigan, and pressed the flesh with gusto along the rope lines his afternoon. He said Mr. Clinton would say "that our country is in de-



President Bush getting a glimpse of the crowd from backstage at a Republican Party picnic in Milwaukee.

cline," but he urged voters "to look beneath the rhetoric and look at the facts."

Campaigning later in Hamtramck, Mich., where he marched in a Polish-American parade, Mr. Bush also defended his emphasis on foreign policy in his first term.

"There are those who tell me that foreign policy doesn't matter," Mr.

Bush declared to an audience composed heavily of Polish and other Eastern European-Americans. "I say, tell that to the immigrants of America. Tell that to our children, who can sleep free of the nuclear nightmare and dream the sweet dream of peace."

Mr. Clinton argued that the nation was at a turning point and badly needed a new economic course. "This elec-

tion provides Americans their clearest choice in a generation," he declared in Missouri. "A choice between hope and fear, between running in place and moving ahead, between more of the same old trickle down and embarking on a new course to guarantee old opportunities in the American Dream."

Mr. Clinton dismissed the Republicans' charge that his election would

ECONOMY VS. ECOLOGY

How environmental protection affects the economy is in dispute in the Presidential campaign. The answer is elusive. *Science Times*, page C1.

mean a throwback to "tax and spend" liberalism. "We've got to go beyond trickle-down economics," he said, "not back to tax and spend, but ahead to invest, and educate, and cooperate, and compete, and grow — putting people first."

He also asserted that the Republicans "have nothing to run on but negativism and fear," adding, "We are running on vision and hope."

In recalling Truman, he said the former President had left as a legacy "the great American middle class," which he described as "the generation of Americans who went to college because of the G.I. Bill, who were able to buy a home because of F.H.A. and V.A. mortgages, who raised my generation with the hope and the opportunity that all things were possible."

"George Bush's legacy," he said, "is the destruction of that very middle class."

He added: "He has blamed his failures on everything from the Federal Reserve to Saddam Hussein, from Congress to consumers to the press. He says the recession is really over; we just don't know it. And if it's not really over, it is because we have an attitude problem. The buck doesn't stop with George Bush; it doesn't even slow down there."

Mr. Bush, speaking earlier in the day in Wisconsin, set up his own Truman test. He noted that the Missouri Democrat knew what it meant to be a businessman and a political underdog, "and so do I."

The President then proceeded to

mine a vulnerability that has caused problems for Mr. Clinton in the past: the charge that his Democratic opponent is a straddler. "Whether it was the Soviet blockade of Berlin or the invasion of Korea, Harry Truman never flinched from the tough decision," Mr. Bush said. "Contrast that with Governor Clinton's waffling and wavering about whether he would have followed my lead and stood up to Saddam Hussein and his naked aggression."

Mr. Clinton managed to escape the rain at his second stop of the day, an A.F.L.-C.I.O. rally in Cincinnati, where he was joined by his running mate, Senator Al Gore. Hillary Clinton, who was at the rally as well, received the longest and most sustained applause of the event.

Mr. Clinton told the union members that he believed in expanded trade but wanted to be sure American workers got "the same fair shake" as workers abroad. He has said he supports the concept of the North American Free Trade Agreement but has not decided whether the document as it has been negotiated is acceptable.

Senator Al Gore, the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee, spent part of his day at an event that captured the party's traditions: a rally in downtown Detroit, attended by Owen Bieber, the head of the United Automobile Workers, Mayor Coleman Young, and a host of other Democratic luminaries. Mr. Gore said the steel in the bridge that Mr. Bush had crossed in Michigan that morning was made at a U.S. Steel plant shut down earlier this year.

As Bush, you can walk across the bridge for a photo opportunity, but you've got to be thinking about the jobs of the people who built that bridge that you just put out of work," Mr. Gore declared.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992 •

ROBERT RECTOR

Perplexities of the poverty data

The U.S. Census Bureau, in its annual report on income and poverty, released last Thursday, provided Washington with ample bad news:

Due to the lingering recession, median family income for a family of four dropped 3.5 percent — to \$30,126 — from 1990 to 1991, while the number of people living below the poverty threshold had increased from 33.6 million in 1990 to 35.7 million in 1991, a 27-year high.

Make no mistake: Unemployment due to the recession — caused largely by Congress' raising taxes at the beginning of an economic downturn — and the suffering it has caused are real. But the picture of chronic, pervasive American poverty painted by the Census Bureau report is a myth, caused by deficiencies in the way the Bureau measures income and defines the poor.

According to the Census Bureau, there are almost as many poor people today as when the War on Poverty began in the mid-1960s. This picture of unrelenting poverty is perplexing because welfare spending grew enormously throughout the 1970s and 1980s, even after adjusting for inflation. Such spending reached an all-time high in 1990, the last year for which complete figures are available. In that year, before the current recession began, welfare spending reached \$226 billion, or five times the amount spent when the Great Society's War on Poverty began in 1964, after adjusting for inflation.

How can welfare spending expand fivefold while the number of

poor Americans remains nearly unchanged? The answer is simple: The Census Bureau poverty count is grossly inaccurate. The Census Bureau undercounts incomes, excludes assets, and creates an erroneous picture of the living standards of low-income Americans. Key facts missing from the Census report are:

- Nearly 40 percent of the persons identified as "poor" by the Census Bureau own their own homes. The median value of homes owned by poor persons in 1989 was \$43,562, or 58 percent of the median value of all homes owned by Americans in that year.

- Nearly 750,000 "poor" persons own homes worth more than \$100,000; 75,000 "poor" persons own homes worth more than \$300,000.

- Sixty-two percent of "poor" households own a car; 14 percent own two or more cars. Nearly half of all "poor" households have air conditioning; a third own microwave ovens.

- "Poor" Americans live in larger houses or apartments, eat more meat, and are more likely to own cars and dishwashers than is the general population in Western Europe.

- The average intake of protein, minerals and vitamins is nearly the same for poor and middle-class children. Poor children today are in fact supernourished, growing up to be 1 inch taller and 10 pounds heavier than the GIs who stormed the beaches of Normandy in World War II.

These facts are taken from detailed but unpublicized surveys gathered by the Census Bureau it-

Robert Rector is a senior policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation.

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self and other government agencies. Yet they are ignored by the Census Bureau's official poverty report. There is a huge gap between the "poor" as defined by the Census Bureau and what most ordinary Americans consider to be poverty. For most Americans, "poverty" means destitution, an inability to provide a family with food, clothing and reasonable shelter. Only a small number of the more than 30 million "poor" persons fit such a description.

In fact, numerous government reports indicate that most "poor" Americans today are better housed, better fed, and own more personal property than average Americans throughout most of this century. In 1990, after adjusting for inflation, the per capita expenditures of the lowest income one-fifth of the U.S. population exceeded the per capita income of the average American household in 1960.

The Bureau counts as "poor" any

household with a cash income less than the official poverty threshold, which was \$13,942 for a family of four in 1990. The main problem is not only that the Census Bureau ignores all assets, but in counting income it also omits nearly all government welfare benefits poor families receive. In fact, the government's own data show that low-income householders spend \$1.79 for every \$1 of income counted by Census.

In 1990, federal, state and local governments spent \$226 billion on welfare programs, or roughly three times the amount needed to raise the incomes of all Americans identified by the Census Bureau as poor above the official poverty income thresholds. But the Census Bureau, in calculating the number of poor persons, counted only \$32.5 billion of this aid as income for low-income households. Excluded from the Census Bureau reports are entire programs of public assistance for the needy, such as food stamps, public housing, and Medicaid. For the purpose of its calculations, such huge public assistance programs might as well not exist. Officially, at least,

they have no impact on poverty. But the missing welfare spending excluded from the official data on poverty totals \$193.5 billion, or 3.5 percent of the total U.S. economy. The missing funds that are spent on the poor, but not counted by the Census Bureau, amount to \$13,330 for every "poor" household.

Clearly there is far less material poverty than the Census Bureau reports. But the low levels of material poverty, as measured in income, assets or public assistance, should not be viewed as victory for the War on Poverty. Studies reveal that the biggest effect of current welfare spending is not to raise income but merely to replace self-sufficiency with dependence. In the 1950s, before the War on Poverty programs were launched, nearly one-third of poor families were headed by adults who worked full-time throughout the year. In 1990, only 15 percent of poor families had full-time working heads of household. Half of poor, nonelderly adults do not work at all.

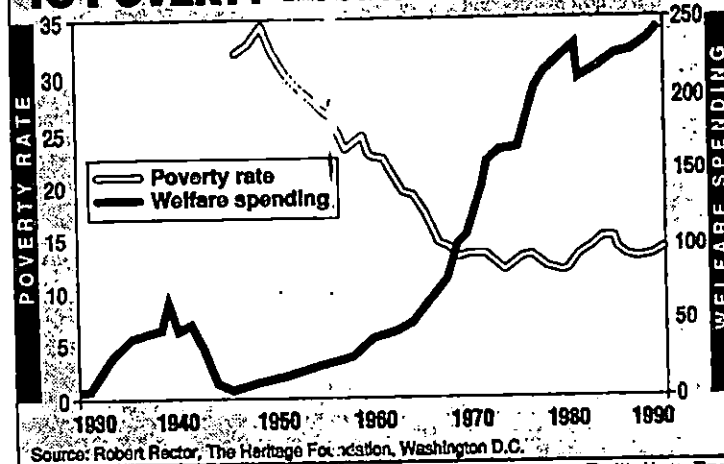
A second consequence of welfare has been the destruction of families. In 1990, even using the Census Bu-

reau's erroneous methodology that exaggerates the number of the poor, the poverty rate for married couple families was just 5.6 percent. For married couples with a full-time worker it was just 2 percent. By contrast, the poverty rate of female-headed families was a staggering 32.2 percent. The number of female-headed families below the poverty level has increased dramatically since the onset of the War on Poverty. In 1959, 28 percent of poor families with children were headed by women. Last year, 60 percent of poor families with children were headed by single mothers. Similarly, in the 1960s the black illegitimate birth rate was 25 percent, while today nearly two out of three black children are born out of wedlock.

If the Census Bureau's methods were corrected to measure accurately the assets, cash income and welfare benefits of low-income households, the result would show far fewer persons in material poverty than claimed by current official statistics.

But even the corrected figure still would conceal the real tragedy

THE POVERTY PARADOX: RELATION OF WELFARE SPENDING TO POVERTY *Billions of dollars*



of America's welfare system: millions of children who grow up without fathers, millions of parents lack-

ing the work ethic and dignity, and entire generations robbed of real dreams and hopes for the future.

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BRUCE FEIN

Balkanization of America?

The United States is destined to a decline akin to the Roman Empire if its march toward ascriptive balkanization persists. Such balkanization engenders consequences that resemble those of endogamy: a degeneration of vitality and acuity of mind.

That persons should be appraised exclusively by merit was the most inspiring ideal of the Declaration of Independence. It proclaimed as a self-evident truth "that all men are created equal." A corollary assumption was that after birth, a person's destiny would turn on individual exertions and achievement.

That ideal, concededly, has been besmirched for a majority of the nation's 216 year history. Slavery was not abolished until 1865, and odious discrimination against blacks, Hispanics, ethnic Chinese or Japanese, women, and other groups was commonplace until recent decades. Although such discrimination unfortunately has not ended, it is generally illegal and culturally stigmatized.

Bruce Fein is a lawyer and freelance writer specializing in legal issues.

The danger to the nation is forgetting that if we do not hang together, we will all hang separately, as Benjamin Franklin admonished.

The individual merit ideal is an enormously unifying, harmonizing and stimulating influence. It pushes toward national unity because all persons are judged by the same standard, and none are arbitrarily disadvantaged or excluded in competition to succeed. The merit ideal turns minds and associations away from divisive preoccupations with race, religion, gender, ethnicity, or other congenital attributes it deems irrelevant to social standing.

The ideal fosters harmony by teaching that an individual's behavior and moral standards should determine community honor. That teaching is at war with bigotries that promote associational exclusiveness based on ascriptive characteristics

unrelated to merit.

The merit-based ideal also cultivates intellectual richness and advance. It urges receptivity to all ideas irrespective of the source. Truth is promoted as the test for acceptance, and views are to receive a fair hearing no matter what the personal characteristics of the author. Under a merit-based ideal, no orthodoxies that may predominate within a particular group are shielded from challenge by others through ostracism or otherwise. Intellectual ossification is thus forestalled.

A merit-based ideal will never escape tarnishment because of the intractability of human nature. There is a strong innate tendency for persons to define their identities and evaluate others based on ascriptive characteristics: It minimizes the stress on brainpower, facilitates scapegoating for individual defects and unhappiness, and creates a sense of esteem without individual effort through identification with an exclusive group. That explains why a merit-based ideal has been a rare avis during 6,000 years of human civilization, and why, in the United States, that ideal has historically been honored as much in the breach as in the observance.

The ideal of merit, nevertheless, has been largely responsible for the spectacular growth, strength and development of the United States. It attracted tens of millions of immigrants who shunned the shackles of caste, and welcomed the exhilaration and spur of fair competition. Although the ideal was severely marred in practice, it proved substantially superior to all foreign credos in creating a society worthy of international esteem.

Despite its beneficent influence, the merit ideal is headed for abandonment in the United States. Without social reproach — and in some cases with encouragement — ideas at war with that ideal are flourishing. Voting rights laws assume that persons can only be fairly represented or understood by those who share their race, gender or ethnicity. Thus, a 50 percent female quota was employed to select delegates to the Democratic National Convention, and white candidates to Congress have been fenced out of Maryland's 4th District. Persons afflicted with handicaps insist on leadership only by those with shared handicaps. The

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racially exclusive Congressional Black Caucus is received with equanimity, and the foremost concern of equal employment overseers on Capitol Hill is whether the racial, ethnic, and gender composition of a staff matches that of a member's constituency. Racially and ethnically exclusive organizations prolif-

erate on school campuses, and informal employment and contracting quotas are ubiquitous.

These developments testify to a social acquiescence in the idea that differences of race, gender and ethnicity cannot and should not be bridged by shared ideals, values and wisdom. That idea fosters the corollary false and pernicious belief that a person can neither understand nor empathize with another unless they share the same ascriptive character-

istics, and thus their ideas should be instantly scorned.

The encouragement of exclusivist thinking invariably leads to blaming personal failure on a conspiracy of "outsiders." The lost sense of personal responsibility lowers achievement. Social divisions and suspicions grow and harden. Individuals button their ears to those who might challenge their race-, gender- or ethnicity-based views. Dissent is treated as treason among groups

whose defining characteristic is divorced from knowledge or values. Intellectual progress is thus stunted.

The injurious balkanization of American society along the lines of race, gender or ethnicity is not new. But at some point in the 1960's, that balkanization became generally deplored as at variance with a merit-based ideal. At present, in contrast, that balkanization is generally viewed with either complacency or enthusiasm, despite the lessons of

Sarajevo, Beirut, and countless other areas of internecine conflict. The merit ideal is derided because incapable of complete fulfillment. And the quality of American civilization erodes.

The greatest danger to the nation is forgetting that if we do not hang together, we will all hang separately, as Benjamin Franklin admonished. The merit ideal is a cornerstone of hanging together, and its loss makes the task problematic.

SAMUEL FRANCIS

Talk up family values, the absence of God from the Democratic platform, Murphy Brown and the alleged resemblance between Woody Allen and Hillary Clinton all you want, but President Bush still limps behind his opponent in the polls. Ever so gradually it seems to be dawning on the crackerjacks who run the Bush-Quayle campaign that The Plan ain't working. Maybe they should talk about something else.

One such something might be foreign policy, in which Mr. Bush has a claim to real credentials and Bill Clinton no claim to any. In his address to the Republican Convention, the president did in fact mention his foreign policy record, but there's one little something he hasn't made much of yet. Maybe he should.

Some weeks ago, back before the

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Bush's strong suit in foreign policy

great Republican family barbecue in Houston, Mr. Clinton chose to unbosom himself on foreign affairs and to enlighten the world as to what he would do about the Balkans. You probably remember the Balkans. A few weeks ago, the United States and much of the civilized world were muttering about military intervention to stop the Serbian slaughter of Bosnians. Mr. Clinton, never one to pass up a chance to mutter along with the pack, advised that the United States should go to war.

First, the Democratic nominee called for emergency action by the United Nations, but, as reports of death camps and "ethnic cleansing"

sprouted in the press, his humanitarian juices began to bubble. By early August, Mr. Clinton was chirping for airstrikes against the Serbs "for humanitarian reasons." Not a few of his surrogates in Congress also pumped for intervention or U.N. action with U.S. support.

But not long afterward, the top brass in the Pentagon went up to Capitol Hill and patiently explained to the military geniuses who plot grand strategy from the House gymnasium that getting involved in the Balkan war might not be the swiftest idea to come out of the congressional steamroom. It might take as many as 400,000 troops, and our forces would

be targets of guerrilla warfare. There was no clear national interest served by our involvement; there was no clear objective and no clear means of attaining any objective.

The testimony from the high brass, coupled with similar reflections from European leaders, seems to have persuaded the armchair MacArthurs among us to button their faces for a change. In the last few weeks, they have been mercifully silent about going to war to save Sarajevo, and the issue is now taking a nap.

Mr. Bush, for his part, has said he doesn't believe we should get involved, and he's right, for all the reasons adduced by the generals. But Mr. Clinton, though he too seems to have shut up about starting a war, is on record as favoring U.S. bombing strikes. So the question is this: Why, given this clear and important difference in policy between the two candidates, hasn't Mr. Bush made much of an issue of it in the campaign?

Back when the Lee of Little Rock was planning his airstrikes, Mr. Bush did register his reluctance to go to war and said he would "not make one decision based on American politics." Since then, he's been devoting himself pretty much to -- well -- American politics. And none too effectively either.

Far be it from me to tell the president how to plan his re-election strategy, but it would appear that the differences in Balkan policy between Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton are worth dwelling upon. They offer a perfectly legitimate, far more substantial and politically advantageous issue with which Mr. Bush could launch airstrikes against his Democratic opponent.

The issue in fact opens up a whole buffet of goodies from the traditional Republican kitchen: Democrats start wars; Republicans finish them. Democrats gave us World War I as a crusade for democracy; Presidents Kennedy and Johnson gave us

Vietnam and didn't have the guts or the smarts to win it. Now Mr. Clinton would give us another Vietnam in the Balkans. He'll be another Jimmy Carter, and, while we're on the subject of Mr. Carter, how about two of Mr. Clinton's top advisers, Warren Christopher and Tony Lake, both of whom were heavies in the Carter State Department?

In short, what you have in the policy split over the Balkans is the seed from which an entire campaign branch on foreign policy could blossom, a serious and substantive debate over issues crucial to the American people and the role their nation should play in the post-Cold War era.

Maybe it wouldn't lift Mr. Bush's boats in the opinion polls after all, and maybe that's why he hasn't floated it. But maybe presidential campaigns ought to be about more than what works in the polls, and maybe, if the president doesn't understand that, that's why he shouldn't remain the president.

FRANK GAFFNEY JR.

While President Bush talks about the encouraging progress in the war on drugs, a National Narcotics Intelligence Consumers Committee assessment released last month points to a much bleaker picture. According to this report — issued on a Friday afternoon, presumably to minimize press coverage — the use of heroin in America has nearly doubled over the past year, from an estimated 471,000 users in 1990 to an estimated 700,000 or more in 1991.

Frank J. Gaffney Jr. is the director of the Center for Security Policy and a columnist for *The Washington Times*.

Syria's not-so-hidden heroin hands

In last year alone, approximately 2.9 million individuals reported using heroin at least once, an increase of 1 million since 1988. Moreover, the report acknowledges that these figures might very well be underestimated.

Ironically, one factor contributing to this increase can be laid at the president's own doorstep: Mr. Bush's courting of Syria's Hafez Assad. Determined to do nothing that might give offense to the Syrian dictator lest he prove less "cooperative" in the Middle East "peace process," the Bush administration has fixedly



Hafez Assad

chosen to overlook the direct role being played by top Syrian officials in the international drug trade.

Such involvement is a matter of record. The State Department's own "International Control Strategy Report," issued in March 1992, discloses that:

"Lebanese groups and families produce hashish and opium in the Syrian-occupied Bekaa Valley. U.S. government officials estimate that 34 metric tons of opium were produced on 3,400 hectares of cultivation in 1991. . . . a 6 percent increase over 1990 production. . . . In addition,

estimated hashish production was 545 metric tons on 5,200 hectares of cultivation. . . . a dramatic increase of more than 500 percent over 1990 estimates."

On Syria's direct role, the State Department goes on to note that:

"Syrian military and government officials stationed in Lebanon are reliably reported to facilitate drug production and trafficking there. . . . Syria is a transit country for illicit drugs and a suspected site for the refining of small amounts of heroin, Lebanese-produced hashish, and heroin destined for Europe and the United States. Asian morphine base and opium en route to processing labs in the Bekaa Valley in Lebanon

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transit Syria."

Syria's role in the international drug business goes far beyond a few corrupt officials facilitating drug production and transshipment in Lebanon, however. It is a multibillion-dollar hard currency-earning operation. The contribution Syria is making to the U.S. illicit drug supply in particular is staggering. According to a Drug Enforcement Agency estimate, 20 percent of the heroin found in the United States is coming from Syria and Syrian-controlled Lebanon.

Washington has been less forthcoming, however, about what it knows about those in the Syrian government directly involved in running and overseeing the drug operation. Sources within the U.S. government have, nonetheless, confirmed to the Center for Security Policy that the CIA, Defense Intelligence Agency and Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) have identified top officials in Damascus who are among those responsible for Syria's contribution to the drug war. One of the most important individuals involved is said to be none other than the brother of Hafez Assad, Vice President Rifaat Assad.

American intelligence and law enforcement officers believe Rifaat's role in the Syrian drug trade to be substantial. At the very least, Rifaat is held responsible for the overall direction of many of the drug networks as well as mediating disputes among them. He is also known to own at least one opium processing lab, as well as some land involved in drug cultivation in the Bekaa Valley.

Other top Syrian officials involved in the drug trade are believed to include Defense Minister Mustafa Tlass, head of intelligence Ali Douba and Syria's intelligence chief in Lebanon, Ghazi Khanaan. These individuals are critical as they control — either directly or through family members — the organizations in both Lebanon and Syria essential to protect and facilitate the production, processing and transportation of illegal drugs.

In the face of such evidence, President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker have repeatedly tried to justify their courtship of the Hafez Assad by claiming that there is no hard information directly linking the Syrian despot to his drug operations. Such claims are disingenuous in the extreme.

Clearly, Mr. Assad is well aware of what his brother and other top government officials and their agencies are doing. He is certainly familiar with the financial benefits accruing to his regime thanks to the drug trade. What is more, even the U.S. State Department acknowledges that Hafez Assad has taken no appreciable steps to disrupt or otherwise interfere with these operations — even when confronted with compelling evidence of the involvement of one or more of his officials and despite his promises to take corrective actions.

Why, one might ask, should he? After all, he is under no real pressure from the United States to do so; Washington under the Bush administration has been consumed with its desire to cooperate with Mr. Assad. What is more, drug revenues provide an excellent source of hard currency to meet funding requirements for special activities supported by Syria, notably the maintenance of terrorist cells operating under Mr. Assad's protection. If anything, the approach adopted by Messrs. Bush and Baker has probably encouraged Hafez Assad to believe that he can have his cake and eat it too — that is, to secure improved relations with Washington even as he contributes to the poisoning and destruction of American society with illicit drugs.

It is intolerable for the U.S. government to be spending billions of dollars to fight the drug war while observing what appears to be a separate peace with one of its main enemies in that war — Syria. The Bush administration's policy of coddling the despotic regime of Hafez Assad is all too reminiscent of its earlier, reckless appeasement of Saddam Hussein prior to his invasion of Kuwait. It is no less unwarranted in this case and no less likely to produce undesirable consequences. Congress should convene urgent hearings on this and other, benighted aspects of U.S. policy toward Syria before any more damage is done to America's citizens and interests.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1992 *

Mr. Clinton's big-lie apologists on taxes

Earlier this summer, the Bush-Quayle campaign circulated a list of tax and fee increases in Arkansas during Bill Clinton's tenure as governor. The list numbered 128 items, and President Bush referred in his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention in Houston to "the other candidate who raised taxes and fees 128 times." Ever since Aug. 11, however — when a column Michael Kinsley about the list by appeared in The Washington Post — it has been an article of faith among supporters of Mr. Clinton and people who hate Mr. Bush that the list is fiction, garbage, campaign propaganda of the worst sort, in that it is false and the people spreading it know it is false. "Like Joe McCarthy counting communists in the State Department" — so began Mr. Kinsley's column on Republican characterizations of Mr. Clinton's tax increases.

Well, there has been some big-time distortion going on here. But it's not coming out of the Bush-Quayle campaign or the mouth of the president. Rather, it has come from Mr. Kinsley and those who have gleefully and uncritically — indeed, apparently without any independent examination of the facts — accepted his attack on the Bush-Quayle campaign's figures.

That includes the editorial page of The Post. "George Bush didn't level with the electorate he asked so earnestly to trust him in his acceptance speech Thursday night — not close," the newspaper opined Aug. 23. "The president said, knowing better, that Mr. Clinton had raised taxes 128 times, he only once. The 128 figure ... was shown up as preposterous in an article by Michael Kinsley on the op-ed page last week It's incredible that he continues to use the 128 figure."

It includes George F. Will, who echoed the McCarthyism charge in a column Aug. 26: "Today honorable conservatives feel the sort of fury felt by honorable conservatives 40 years ago when Joe McCarthy was giving anti-communism a bad name." Mr. Will wrote, "Bush says Clinton has raised taxes 128 times. Bush says this even though columnist Michael Kinsley has demonstrated that the list of 'tax increases' is a tissue of falsehoods."

It includes the editorial page of the New York Times. "When President Bush keeps insisting that Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas has raised taxes and fees 128 times, he knows he is falsifying the record," the paper said Sept. 4.

Mr. Kinsley weighed in on the subject again Sept. 3: "the Bushies are still, incredibly, claiming that the [128 tax increases] statement was accurate." The Post accorded him the honor of a lead editorial accompanying his column that day: "The Bush campaign continues to insist that Bill Clinton has raised taxes and fees '128' times in his five terms. ... The people who are keeping the charge alive insist that it is true, even though they know they are making a fraudulent argument."

These attacks on the Bush campaign have raised a

number of additional issues: for example, that Mr. Bush's own record on tax and fee increases is far from pure and that it includes more than the "one" tax increase of the 1990 budget deal. But the central charge is, of course, willful lying: "knowing better"; "Bush says this even though"; "knows he is falsifying"; "still, incredibly, claiming"; "even though they know."

What the Bush campaign really knows, and what people are increasingly going to understand regardless of the shrill insistence to the contrary, is that the 128 figure is real. Moreover, the people who should know better are the ones who are complaining about it.

The list circulated by the Bush campaign is not something Republican hit squads concocted late one night out of whole cloth. Its actual source is the Arkansas state legislature, specifically its "Legislative Tax Handbook," which is published by the Arkansas Bureau of Legislative Research. The specific charges Mr. Kinsley originally leveled in support of his inflated rhetoric about the list are indeed revealing. Unfortunately for him, they all turn out to be bogus.

He said three items (Nos. 31, 86 and 91) didn't exist. They do. Mr. Kinsley was working from an early draft, not the final draft, of the Bush-Quayle campaign list, and the early draft contained typographical errors corrected in the final draft. The number is still 128. Mr. Kinsley said No. 74 and No. 78 on the list were identical; in fact, these various tax hikes on beer, wine and liquor were separately itemized by the Arkansas bureau. He said the fee increase in No. 92, though it is a separate fee increase, should not be counted because it was small. But it was there.

He said No. 46, a law lengthening the dog race season, should not count, although the season was lengthened explicitly to raise state revenue and the Arkansas bureau considered it a revenue measure. He said No. 71 never actually took effect; in fact, No. 71 referred to a tax cut that was not allowed to take effect, thus resulting in increased revenue for the state. He said No. 117 "replaced another tax of equal size." It didn't. It was a tax increase on diesel fuel. He referred to an alleged double counting of a fuel tax increase that was, in fact, two separate tax increases.

That was as specific as Mr. Kinsley got. On every substantive point he made to support his charge, he was wrong. Yet he repeated the charge Sept. 3: "a lie of gemlike purity and distilled cynicism." He said the campaign had engaged in "scholastic quibbles" with his specific points, and he said he "could quibble back," but for some reason he did not. Nor did he offer any new evidence in the second column.

That's because there is no new evidence. The 128 items on the list are tax and fee increases that took place on Mr. Clinton's watch. No more, no less. And all those who blindly followed Mr. Kinsley's lead in describing this list as a willful lie should apologize — or they should shut up about their opponents' alleged lack of integrity.



Sid
Cesar

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BF

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

Tuesday, September 8, 1992

7:50 am	<u>Photo with Grace, Andy and Pam Holden</u> (Presock)	Oval Office
8:00 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>	Oval Office
8:30 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
8:45 am (30 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
9:15 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
9:30 am (15 min)	<u>Congressional Meeting on Supplemental for Hurricane Andrew</u> (Calio)	Cabinet Room
	(TAB A)	
9:45 am (60 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
10:50 am	<u>Depart to Address B'nai B'rith International Convention at the Sheraton Washington Hotel</u> (Demarest)	South Lawn
	(TAB B)	
12:00 pm	<u>Arrive White House</u>	South Lawn
12:00 pm (75 min)	<u>Lunch</u>	Oval Office
1:15 pm (1 hr 45 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
3:00 pm (60 min)	B <u>Presentation of Diplomatic Credentials</u> (Scowcroft)	Residence
	(TAB C)	

UNP 09/04/92
7:00 pm

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redaction. (1 pp.)	09/08/92	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Tuesday, September 8, 1992 [5]

Date Closed: 12/18/2024	OA/ID Number: 90715-008
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



4:00 pm
(60 min)

Administrative Time

Oval Office

6:00 pm
(30 min)

Bipartisan Congressional
Leadership Reception
(Calio)

Residence

(TAB D)

7:13 POTUS In
7:33 Grace, Andy. Pam + Holden
7:40 All Out
8:05 Sec. Baker In
8:30 Boyden Gray In
8:31 Gray Out
8:32 Scowcroft, (b)(3) Have Gates In
8:45 (b)(3) Gates Out
8:51 Scowcroft, Have Out
9:00 Sec. Baker Out
9:05 Steve Provost In
9:10 Provost Out
9:16 Darman In
9:29 Fitzwater, Baker In
9:30 All Out but Baker
9:35 POTUS + Baker Out to Cabinet Room
10:15 POTUS In Oval / Baker In
10:25 Sec. Baker Out
10:37 Baker In
10:41 " Out
10:45 " In
10:47 " Out
10:50 POTUS Out to South Grounds.
" See Tab B "
12:22 POTUS In
12:24 Charles Black In
12:25 Baker, Teeter In
12:35 Malek In
1:25 Baker, Teeter Out
1:27 Black, Out
1:28 Malek Out

1:52 Super In
1:58 Super Out
(1:59 POTUS Out to South Grounds
2:08 POTUS In
2:25 Baker In
2:36 Baker Out
2:55 POTUS Out to Res.
2:59 POTUS, Florus In Blue Room
3:00 Amb. UAE + Family In
3:06 Out
3:09 Amb. Lebanon In
3:15 Out
3:17 Amb. to Guinea In (and Family)
3:25 Out
3:27 Amb. to Egypt + Wife In
3:37 Out
3:39 Amb. to Zambia + Family In
3:45 Out
3:47 Amb. to Tonga
3:54 Out
3:56 POTUS Out to WW
4:00 POTUS In w/ Scowcroft
4:12 Scowcroft Out
4:12 Maria Sheehan In
4:14 Roger Porter In
4:39 Sheehan + Porter Out
4:43 Scowcroft In
4:44 Scowcroft Out
5:45 POTUS Out to Res.

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