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Wednesday, September 16, 1992 [3]

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01. Schedule	Schedule of the President Re: Wednesday, September 16, 1992 [FOIA exemptions redacted] (2 pp.)	9/16/92	(b)(3)	

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Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

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Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Mr. Michael Burrill
President and General Manager
Eugene F. Burrill Lumber Company
Post Office Box 220
Medford, Oregon 97501

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

September 16, 1992

Dear Mike,

Just a quick note to thank you for a most enjoyable visit to Burrill Lumber Company. Though my stay was brief, I was uplifted by the warm welcome and great enthusiasm of the employees and their families. Please thank all of them for such a wonderful greeting.

With best wishes to you and your delightful family,

*You've got a
great family!*

Sincerely,



MATERIALS FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT
September 16, 1992

ACTION

1. Letter to International Republican Institute.
2. Resignation Acceptance Letter to Clayton Yeutter.
3. Special Representative to the Congress of the American Woman in the Dominican Republic (October 10 - 11) -- Ambassador Holly Coors; Advisory Cmte for Trade Policy and Negotiations -- Jerry Junkins; Mark Collins, to be Exec. Dir. of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; International Telecommunications Union Conference (Dec. 7-22); Board of UNICEF -- Pauline Naftzger; Comm. on Security and Cooperation in Europe -- Patricia Dennis; International Pacific Halibut Commission -- Richard Eliason and Ralph Hoard.
4. Nomination of Joe Heaton to be U.S. Attorney for the Western District of Oklahoma.
5. Mail Sample.
6. Military Nominations: Lieutenant General Henry Viccellio, Jr., USAF and Lieutenant General Joseph Ashy, USAF.
7. Presidential Retirement Letter for Congressman William S. Broomfield.
8. Governors' Birthday Letters for the Month of October.
9. Judicial Nomination: Walter Prince to be U.S. District Judge for the District of Massachusetts.
10. National POW/MIA Recognition Day Proclamation.
11. Emergency Declaration for the State of Rhode Island.
12. 1992 Environment and Conservation Challenge Awards.

CLASSIFIED

INFORMATION

1. Block schedule
2. Primary Activity Report.

3. CEA numbers -- Exports and imports in July

REMARKS

1. Video Script for AARP Taping -- Reading Copy.
2. Georgia Homebuilders.

SCHEDULE

1. Goldline only for 09/17

FAMILY LEAVE TAX CREDIT ACT OF 1992

FACT SHEET

Current Law

No deduction or credit is available to an employer who provides employees with unpaid leave for childbirth, medical care of children or parents or other serious medical needs. Compensation paid to employees during leave for these purposes is deductible under general tax principles.

Reasons for Change

Care for family members with serious mental or physical health problems, including injuries and sickness necessitating hospital, hospice or substantial and continuous medical treatment, present substantial hardships on families. Families are further burdened by the requirements of childbirth and childcare. The increase in the number of two wage-earner families, as well as single parent families, has resulted in pressures to balance these family needs with employment requirements. This balancing has resulted in difficult decisions for both employers and employees.

Employers face significant costs related to extended employee absences. Extended absences could result in substantial lost production and lost business opportunities if the employee is not replaced. These costs are particularly high for small and medium-sized businesses. Economies of scale permit large firms to reduce these costs. Large businesses can train and maintain floating employees, temporarily shift employees to replace absentees or enter into regular arrangements with third parties for trained temporary employees. The costs of extended absences on small and medium size businesses may not be as readily reduced. For small and medium-sized businesses, it is often not economically reasonable to maintain floating employees, to shift employees from other duties or to retrain workers for only a temporary need. Accordingly, small and medium size businesses are more likely to experience severe economic consequences if they do not quickly replace absent workers.

Regardless of a business' ability to mitigate costs, all businesses must balance the legitimate family needs of their employees with the costs of extended absences. Since most businesses cannot economically tolerate unlimited employee absences, employers frequently must place limits on such absences. As a result of these limitations, employees can be placed in the situation of choosing between their employment and the serious medical or health needs of their families.

The proposal's tax incentives encourage small and medium-sized businesses to adopt flexible leave policies related to childbirth, adoption or serious family health problems. The tax incentives do not require that any particular form of flexible leave be adopted. Instead, the proposal allows employers and employees to arrive at a program based on their specific needs, while also providing an offset to the cost of extended employee absences.

Explanation of Provision

The provision provides a 20% refundable tax credit to small or medium-sized employers that provide family leave to their employees. "Family leave" is leave in connection with the birth of a child; the placement of a child with the employee for adoption or foster care; caring for a child, parent or spouse with a serious physical or mental health condition; or a serious physical or mental health condition that prevents the employee from performing his or her job. All employers with fewer than 500 employees are eligible for the family leave tax credit.

The amount of the credit is 20% of the cash wages that the employer provided to the employee during the period of family leave, or would have been provided to the employee during that period had he or she not taken the leave. The cash wages that would have been provided is based on the average wages for the preceding calendar year (or absent a sufficient period of employment, the preceding four calendar quarters). The maximum amount of wages taken into account for this purpose is \$100 for each business day. The maximum period of family leave for which the credit is available shall not exceed 60 business days (12 calendar weeks) in any 12-month period. This results in a maximum available family leave credit of \$1,200 per employee per year.

The proceeds of the family leave credit may be used by an employer for any purpose. For example, the proceeds may be contributed to a pool of funds provided by the employer and other employees to defray employee leave costs, paid as partial wage supplements to employees on leave or used to purchase wage continuation insurance or other insurance to cover leave related costs or to provide leave related benefits.

The credit is only available with respect to employees (whether part-time or full-time) who satisfy certain length of service requirements. Under these requirements, the employees must have been employed by the employer for at least 12 months before beginning the family leave and must have performed at least 1,000 hours of service for the employer in the preceding 12 months. Moreover, the credit applies only for the portion of family leave during which the employer reasonably expects that the employee will return to work for the employer.

In order to qualify for the credit, employers must provide employment and benefits protection to employees on family leave. Health benefits must continue during the leave under the terms and conditions that would have applied had the employees remained at work. In addition, all family leave must be provided on a nondiscriminatory basis.

102D CONGRESS
2D SESSION

To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide tax incentives for the adoption of flexible family leave policies by employers.

IN THE _____

_____, 1992
_____ introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on _____.

A BILL

To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide tax incentives for the adoption of flexible family leave policies by employers.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

SEC. 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Family Leave Tax Credit Act of 1992".

SEC. 2. FAMILY LEAVE CREDIT.

Chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (relating to normal taxes and surtaxes) is amended by adding a new section 51A to read as follows:

"SEC. 51A. FAMILY LEAVE CREDIT.

"(a) AMOUNT OF CREDIT.--

"(1) IN GENERAL.--For purposes of section 38, the amount of the family leave credit for any employer for any taxable year is 20 percent of the qualified compensation with respect to an employee who is on family leave.

"(2) LIMITATIONS ON AVAILABILITY AND AMOUNT OF CREDIT.--

"(A) 500 OR FEWER EMPLOYEES.--An employer is not entitled to a family leave credit for any taxable year unless--

"(i) in the case of an employer that is in its first taxable year, the employer had fewer than 500 employees at the close of that year, and

"(ii) in the case of other employers, the employer averaged fewer than 500 employees for its preceding taxable year. An employer is considered to average fewer than 500 employees for a taxable year if the sum of its employees on the last day of each quarter in that year divided by the number of quarters is fewer than 500.

"(B) DOLLAR CAP ON QUALIFIED COMPENSATION.--

The amount of qualified compensation that may be taken into account with respect to an employee may not exceed \$100 per business day.

"(C) MAXIMUM PERIOD OF FAMILY LEAVE.--No family leave credit will be available to the extent that the period of family leave for an employee exceeds 12 weeks, defined as 60 business days, in any 12-month period.

"(D) ADDITIONAL LIMITATIONS ON LEAVE FOR PERSONAL SERIOUS HEALTH CONDITIONS.--Leave from an employer in connection with a qualified purpose described in subsection (b)(1)(D) will qualify as family leave only--

(i) if the employee on leave has no unused sick, disability or similar leave, and

(ii) with respect to a single uninterrupted period of leave in any 12-month period.

"(b) FAMILY LEAVE.--Except as otherwise provided in this section, an employee is considered to be on "family leave" if the employee is on leave from the employer in connection with any qualified purpose.

"(1) QUALIFIED PURPOSES.--The term "qualified purpose" means--

"(A) the birth of a child,

"(B) the placement of a child with the employee for adoption or foster care,

"(C) the care of a child, parent or spouse with a serious health condition, or

"(D) the treatment of a serious health condition which makes the employee unable to perform the functions of his or her position.

"(2) DEFINITIONS OF CHILD, PARENT AND SERIOUS HEALTH CONDITION.--

"(A) CHILD.--The term "child" means an individual who is a son, stepson, daughter, stepdaughter, eligible foster child as described in sections 32(c)(3)(B)(iii)(I) and (II), or legal ward of the employee or employee's spouse and who either has not reached the age of 19 by the commencement of the period of family leave or is physically or mentally incapable of caring for himself or herself.

"(B) PARENT.--The term "parent" means an individual with respect to whom the employee would be considered a "child" within the meaning of subsection (b)(2)(A) without regard to the age limitation.

"(C) SERIOUS HEALTH CONDITION.--The term "serious health condition" means an illness, injury, impairment, or physical or mental condition that involves inpatient care in a hospital, hospice or residential health care facility, or substantial and continuing treatment by a health care provider.

"(c) CREDIT REFUNDABLE.--In the case of so much of the section 38 credit as is attributable to the family leave credit--

"(1) section 38(c) will not apply, and

"(2) for purposes of this section, such credit will be treated as if it were allowed under section 3 of this Act (relating to refundable credits).

"(d) NONDISCRIMINATION REQUIREMENT.--The family leave credit is available to an employer for a taxable year only if the employer provides family leave to its employees for that year on a nondiscriminatory basis.

"(e) OTHER DEFINITIONS AND SPECIAL RULES.--

"(1) IN GENERAL.--For purposes of this section--

"(A) EMPLOYER.--Except as otherwise provided in this subpart, the term "employer" has the meaning provided by section 3306(a)(1) and (3).

"(B) EMPLOYEE.--The term "employee" includes only permanent employees who have been employed by the employer for at least 12 months and have provided over 1000 hours of service to the employer during the 12 months preceding commencement of the family leave.

"(C) QUALIFIED COMPENSATION.--The term "qualified compensation" means the greater of--

"(i) cash wages paid or incurred by the employer to or on behalf of the employee as

remuneration for services during the period of family leave, and

"(ii) cash wages that would have been paid or incurred by the employer to or on behalf of the employee as remuneration for services during the period of family leave had the employee not taken the leave.

"(D) COMPUTATION.--For purposes of subsection (e)(1)(C)(ii), the amount of cash wages that would have been paid to the employee for any business day the employee is on family leave is--

"(i) in the case of an employee that was employed by the employer for the calendar year preceding the year in which the family leave begins, the average daily cash wages of that employee for that year, and

"(ii) in the case of other employees, the average daily cash wages of that employee for the four calendar quarters preceding the commencement of the family leave.

"(E) AVERAGE DAILY CASH WAGES.--For purposes of the computation described in subsection (e)(1)(D), an employee's average daily cash wages is his or her total cash wages for the period described in such subsection divided by the

number of business days in that period.

"(F) BUSINESS DAY.--The term "business day" includes any day other than a Saturday, Sunday or legal holiday.

"(2) EMPLOYMENT AND BENEFITS PROTECTION.--

Employers that fail to provide employment or benefits protection to employees while on family leave, or continued health benefits to employees while on family leave under the terms that would have applied had the employees remained at work, will not be eligible for the family leave credit.

"(3) EXPECTATION THAT EMPLOYEE WILL RETURN TO WORK.--No family leave credit will be available for any portion of a period of family leave during which the employer does not reasonably believe that the employee will return from leave to work for the employer.

"(4) REGULATORY AUTHORITY.--The Secretary may prescribe such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section, including guidance relating to ensuring adequate employment and benefits protection and guidance to prevent abuse of this section.

SEC. 3. COORDINATION WITH REFUND PROVISION.

For purposes of section 1324(b)(2) of title 31 of the United States Code, section 51A of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as added by this Act) will be considered to be a

credit provision of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 enacted before January 1, 1978.

SEC. 4. CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.

(a) Section 38 is amended by deleting the "plus" after subsection (b)(6) and "." after subsection (b)(7), by inserting ", plus" after subsection (b)(7), and by adding a new subsection (b)(8) to read as follows:

"(8) the family leave credit under section 51A."

(b) The heading and table of contents of Chapter 1, Subchapter A, Part IV, Subpart F are revised to read:

"Subpart F--Rules for Computing Job-Related Credits"

"Sec. 51. Targeted jobs credit."

"Sec. 51A. Family leave credit."

"Sec. 52. Special rules."

(c) The heading of section 51 is revised to read as follows:

"Sec. 51. Targeted jobs credit."

(d) Section 52 is revised by substituting "section 51(a) or 51A(a)" for "section 51(a)" each place it appears.

(e) Section 52(c) is revised by inserting the phrase "or family leave credit" after the phrase "targeted jobs credit".

SEC. 5. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendments made by this Act shall apply to family leave that commences after December 31, 1992.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 16, 1992

The President today recognized Ann Jackson of Freeport, New York, as the 894th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. Ms. Jackson has dedicated her retirement years to helping others in her community, providing a sense of well-being for neighbors, strangers, and friends.

Ms. Jackson devotes her time and talents to the community through the Young Vincentians of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the Interface Nutrition Network (INN) Soup Kitchen, and Our Holy Redeemer Catholic Church. In 1989, she founded the Young Vincentians of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul to enable teens to spend time together learning about and engaging in community service. Today, it's 20 members meet monthly to perform community service projects, such as helping disabled residents to clean and paint their homes through the Summer Work Assistance Program and organizing recreational activities for young people who are mentally disabled.

For four years, Ms. Jackson has visited the INN Soup Kitchen every Monday for three hours to set up tables, prepare food, clean up, and assist in feeding the hungry during lunch. In her own home, she prepares holiday meals for the homeless people who are fed at the Kitchen.

Every Sunday, Ms. Jackson visits and delivers the Eucharist to a homebound parishioner who is in a wheelchair. She provides regular companionship and assistance - helping the woman to get to picnics and other church events without too much difficulty by coming to her home and by helping to operate a specially-designed wheelchair van.

Additionally, Ms. Jackson volunteers every fifth Wednesday to distribute Communion at a nearby nursing home. Father Levy, the Executive Director of the St. Vincent de Paul Society for Long Island, describes her as someone in whom people can confide their concerns comfortably.

The President salutes Ann Jackson for exemplifying his belief that, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT: Miah Homstad or Karen Barnes
(202)456-6266

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 16, 1992

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

It is with great pleasure that I transmit this report on the Nation's achievements in aeronautics and space during 1991, as required under section 206 of the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958, as amended (42 U.S.C. 2476). Not only do aeronautics and space activities involve 14 contributing departments and agencies of the Federal Government, as reflected in this report, but the results of their ongoing research and development affect the Nation as a whole.

Nineteen hundred and ninety-one was a significant year for U.S. aeronautics and space efforts. It included eight space shuttle missions and six successful launches by the Department of Defense. The shuttle missions included the first such mission to focus on astrophysics and the first dedicated to life sciences research. Other shuttle missions included launch of one satellite to study the unexplored polar regions of the Sun and another to collect astronomical data from gamma ray sources. Still another shuttle mission launched a satellite to study global atmospheric change affecting our own planet. In related areas, the Department of Commerce and other Federal agencies have pursued studies of such problems as ozone depletion and the greenhouse effect. Also here on Earth, many satellites launched in 1991 and earlier provided vital support for the successful prosecution of Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm to force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. And in the aeronautical arena, efforts have ranged from the further development of the National Aero-Space Plane to broad-ranging research and development that will reduce aircraft noise and promote the increased safety of flight.

Thus, 1991 was a successful year for the U.S. aeronautics and space programs. Efforts in both areas have promoted significant advances in the Nation's scientific and technical knowledge that promise to improve the quality of life on Earth by increasing scientific understanding, expanding the economy, improving the environment, and defending freedom.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
September 16, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 16, 1992

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

I am pleased to transmit for your immediate consideration and enactment the "Family Leave Tax Credit Act of 1992". This flexible family leave plan will enable 80 percent of the workplaces in the country -- the small and mid-sized businesses that often cannot provide family leave -- to provide family leave for their employees without costing jobs or stifling economic growth. The proposal will cover 15 million more workers, and 20 times as many workplaces, than the proposals in S. 5.

This legislation will provide a refundable tax credit for up to 20 percent of total compensation, for up to \$100 a week -- to a maximum of \$1,200 -- for businesses that provide their employees with 12 weeks of family leave. An employee would be eligible to take leave under the following circumstances: the birth of a child, the placement of a child with the employee for adoption or foster care, care for a child, parent, or spouse with a serious health condition, or a serious health condition that prevents the employee from performing his or her job.

This is not federally mandated leave. It instead gives employers positive incentives to adopt responsible family leave policies and gives them the flexibility to target the specific needs of their employees. To qualify for the credit, businesses must adopt nondiscriminatory policies that provide protections for employees' jobs, benefits, and health insurance.

On May 5, 1992, the Administration transmitted the "Health Benefits for Self Employed Individuals Act of 1992" to the Congress. This proposal was also intended to help improve benefits for small businesses, without deterring economic growth, by expanding the deductibility of health insurance from 25 percent of costs to 100 percent of costs. Packaged with the Family Leave Tax Credit, we are providing a strong impetus for small businesses to develop quality benefits programs.

The Department of the Treasury has estimated the cost of the Family Leave Tax Credit at approximately \$500 million for FY 1993 and \$2.7 billion over 5 years. The combined cost of the Family Leave Tax Credit and the "Health Benefits for the Self Employed" is \$740 million in 1993 and \$7.7 billion over 5 years. These costs must be offset under the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990. In my 1993 Budget, I identified \$68.4 billion of specific mandatory spending reductions. Any of those offsets would be acceptable to the Administration. Additionally, when the self employed tax credit was transmitted to the Congress, over \$9.3 billion of these offsets were specifically suggested to pay for the proposal -- substantially more than was required. Those same \$9.3 billion in offsets are sufficient to pay for the costs of both the self employed deduction and the Family Leave Tax Credit under the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990.

I urge the Congress to take prompt action to generate constructive family leave policies that are consistent with economic growth by quickly passing this legislation.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
September 16, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 16, 1992

CITIZENSHIP DAY AND CONSTITUTION WEEK, 1992

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BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

On September 17, 1787, after 4 months of rigorous debate, study, compromise, and decision, delegates to the Federal Convention in Philadelphia signed our Constitution and submitted it to the States for ratification. Their hopes and prayers for a successful Convention had been answered. Today, more than 200 years later, we Americans continue to enjoy the blessings of liberty and self-government guaranteed by our Constitution.

When our Nation's Founders convened during the long, hot summer of 1787, leaving behind their farms and other personal interests in order to preserve our fragile Confederation of States, America looked very different from today. The United States has grown from a population of about 3,500,000 people who lived primarily along the Atlantic coast to a population of some 250,000,000 that now extends from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, as well as to Alaska and Hawaii. In 1787 the primary means of transportation was the horse. The Constitution itself was carried from Philadelphia to the Confederation Congress in New York by stagecoach, on a journey that took Major William Jackson 2 days. Today, by contrast, one can travel the same distance within hours.

Despite such dramatic changes, our Constitution remains the guiding charter of American government. This great document is, therefore, both a tribute to the wisdom and foresight of its Framers and a symbol of our abiding commitment to liberty under law.

The Framers of our Constitution were well aware of the lasting significance of their actions, and James Madison expressed a commonly held sense of destiny when he suggested that the outcome of the Federal Convention would "decide forever the fate of republican government." Our Constitution thus codifies in law the timeless truths that were first set forth in our Declaration of Independence: "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

Generations of Americans have cherished our Constitution, and hundreds of thousands have given their lives to defend the principles it enshrines. We must continue to promote knowledge of, and reverence for, our Constitution if we are to preserve this great experiment in self-government and achieve further progress for America in the generations to come. As President Calvin Coolidge said: "If we wish to build new structures, we must have a definite knowledge of the old foundations. . . . We must frequently take our bearings from the fixed stars of our political firmament if we expect to hold a true course."

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(OVER)

To become naturalized citizens, immigrants to the United States must pass an examination on the guiding tenets and basic institutions of American government, including those set forth in our Constitution. Yet the responsibilities of citizenship belong to each of us, native-born and naturalized Americans alike. We fulfill those duties when we study our Nation's history and strive to maintain the great moral and spiritual heritage that inspired our Founders' vision for America. Indeed, good citizenship goes hand in hand with traditional values of faith and devotion to family, honesty and hard work, personal responsibility, and respect and concern for others. We also fulfill our obligations as a free people when we take advantage of our many opportunities to participate in the democratic process, including the consistent and prudent exercise of our right to vote.

In commemoration of the signing of our Constitution and in recognition of the importance of informed, responsible citizenship in our system of self-government, the Congress, by joint resolution of February 29, 1952 (36 U.S.C. 153), designated September 17 as "Citizenship Day." Also, by joint resolution of August 2, 1956 (36 U.S.C. 159), the Congress designated the week beginning September 17 and ending September 23 of each year as "Constitution Week."

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim September 17, 1992, as Citizenship Day and call for the display of the flag of the United States on all government buildings on that day. I also proclaim the week of September 17 through September 23, 1992, as Constitution Week and urge all Americans to join in observing these occasions with appropriate programs and activities.

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

GEORGE BUSH

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 16, 1992

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

September 16, 1992

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

Consistent with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102-1), and as part of my continuing effort to keep the Congress fully informed, I am again reporting on the status of efforts to obtain Iraq's compliance with the resolutions adopted by the U.N. Security Council.

Since the events described in my report of July 16, 1992, Coalition members have decided upon further measures to implement Security Council Resolution 688, which requires Iraq to end the repression of its civilian population immediately, to allow immediate access by international humanitarian organizations to all parts of Iraq, and to make available all facilities for the operation of these organizations. Far from complying with Resolution 688, in recent months Saddam has increased his repression of the civilian population in both the northern and southern parts of the country. In southern Iraq, according to U.N. Human Rights Commission Rapporteur Max Van der Stoep, Iraqi authorities use jet fighters, helicopter gunships, and scorched earth methods and have drained marshlands, thereby depriving residents of food and leaving them vulnerable to military repression. United Nations workers in southern Iraq, harassed by Iraqi officials, have been unable to learn fully the extent of Iraqi repression.

Members of the Coalition have reviewed means available to assist the United Nations in monitoring Iraqi compliance with Resolution 688. The Iraqi Foreign Minister has informed the United Nations that Iraq would not accept U.N. monitors. The Coalition has decided to begin aerial reconnaissance of southern Iraq to monitor the situation. Moreover, the Coalition has announced that Iraqi aircraft and helicopters will not be permitted to fly south of the 32d parallel. This "no-fly zone" is similar to that established in northern Iraq as part of Operation Provide Comfort and will include expanded monitoring of southern Iraq from the air. As in northern Iraq, United States, British, and French Coalition forces are enforcing the no-fly zone south of the 32d parallel. As a result of the no-fly zone, Iraqi use of aircraft to conduct repression of the civilian population in the region, in particular the bombing of citizens around marsh areas, has stopped.

I have ordered U.S. participation in the enforcement of the no-fly zone and expanded aerial surveillance of southern Iraq under my constitutional authority as Commander in Chief and consistent with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102-1).

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(OVER)

Since the events noted in my last report, the U.N. Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM) has continued to investigate Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (WMD) program and to verify the destruction of relevant facilities, equipment, and weapons. The most recent ballistic missile inspection, August 8-18, 1992, found new information on Iraq's ballistic missile program, including confirmation that facilities not previously reported by Iraq were involved in that program. (In July 1992, Iraq had provided what it called a "full, final, and complete" report on its WMD program; as subsequent inspections have revealed, this report is incomplete. U.N. Security Council Resolution 687 required that Iraq provide a full report in April 1991.) The 14th nuclear inspection team, from August 31-September 7, verified the destruction and rendering harmless of facilities and equipment at Ash Sharqat and Tarmiya, two mirror-image facilities for uranium enrichment, and made arrangements for the destruction of remaining facilities. It also began water sampling of Iraqi rivers, to measure any level of radioactivity that might indicate an operative water-cooled reactor nearby. Regular inspections of declared and suspected sites will continue.

These inspection efforts have been subjected to Iraqi interference. Most notoriously, Iraqi authorities refused to admit an UNSCOM team into the Agriculture Ministry for three weeks, even though Resolution 687 requires that Iraq permit "urgent" inspections of any location designated by UNSCOM and Security Council Resolution 707 requires Iraq to allow immediate and unrestricted access to any such area. When the inspection took place, it appeared that information had been removed from the Ministry and files altered. In the weeks before entering the Agriculture Ministry, UNSCOM inspectors suffered petty acts of harassment, demonstrations by large crowds that appeared likely to become violent, vandalism of vehicles, and armed attacks; subsequent inspection teams have also been harassed. For a short time, Iraqi officials voiced opposition to the participation of Coalition members in UNSCOM inspections. They have also said that they will deny UNSCOM access to government ministries.

The Security Council and Coalition members have responded to each Iraqi interference with diplomatic means. We have been prepared to employ stronger measures, however, and our resolve has played a crucial role in obtaining Iraqi compliance. We will remain prepared to use all necessary means, in accordance with U.N. Security Council resolutions, to assist the United Nations in removing the threat posed by Iraq's chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons capability.

UNSCOM continues to face a shortage of funds. We have recently contributed \$30 million, bringing our contributions to a total of over \$40 million since UNSCOM's inception. We have persuaded other nations to contribute as well and expect at least \$30 million in additional contributions to reach UNSCOM in the next several months. More funding will be necessary, however.

Following increasing Iraqi challenges to the work of the Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission, Iraq informed the Secretary General that it would no longer participate in the Commission's work. Its announcement does not affect the Commission's competence under Security Council Resolution 687. On July 24, the Commission made a further report to the U.N. Secretary General describing its findings on the land boundary between Iraq and Kuwait. On August 26, in Resolution 773, the Security Council welcomed the Commission's decisions and underlined its guarantee of the inviolability of the boundary and its decision to take all necessary measures to that end. The physical demarcation of the land boundary is expected to be

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completed by the end of the year. In addition, in October the Commission plans to renew its consideration of the offshore boundary.

Since my last report, the U.N. Compensation Commission has continued to prepare for the processing of claims from individuals, corporations, other entities, governments, and international organizations that suffered direct loss or damage as a result of Iraq's unlawful invasion and occupation of Kuwait. The next session of the Governing Council of the Commission is scheduled in Geneva September 21-25, 1992, with a further meeting in December.

At an informal meeting on August 7, the Governing Council discussed the continuing serious financial difficulties confronting the Commission. These difficulties persist, despite a \$2 million loan from the Kuwaiti Government, received in June, and an additional \$1 million from the United States, which was noted in my last report. The Commission must now develop computer software and services needed to process claims, at an estimated one-time cost of \$2.8 to \$6.6 million and an annual cost of about \$1.2 million. Unless funding is found immediately, the Commission's financial difficulties threaten to delay or halt the entire compensation process.

Meanwhile, the Commission has released to governments the forms for claims by governments and international organizations (Form F). On July 6, the Department of State distributed the forms for claims by corporations and other entities (Form E) to over 500 potential U.S. claimants. The Department also continues to collect and review over 1,500 claims received from individuals and has scheduled its next filing of such claims with the Commission in September.

In accordance with paragraph 20 of Resolution 687, the Sanctions Committee has received notices that approximately 3.1 million tons of foodstuffs have been shipped to Iraq thus far in 1992. The Sanctions Committee also continues to consider and, when appropriate, approve requests to send to Iraq materials and supplies for essential civilian needs. Iraq, in contrast, has for months maintained a full embargo against its northern provinces. Iraq has also refused to utilize the opportunity under Resolutions 706 and 712 to sell \$1.6 billion in oil, most of the proceeds from which could be used by Iraq to purchase foodstuffs, medicines, materials, and supplies for essential civilian needs of its population. The Iraqi authorities bear full responsibility for any suffering in Iraq that results from their refusal to implement Resolutions 706 and 712.

Through the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the United States, Kuwait, and our allies continue to press the Government of Iraq to comply with its obligations under Security Council resolutions to return some 800 detained Kuwaiti and third-country nationals. Likewise, the United States and its allies continue to press the Government of Iraq to return to Kuwait all property and equipment removed from Kuwait by Iraq. Iraq continues to withhold necessary cooperation on these issues and to resist unqualified ICRC access to detention facilities in Iraq.

I remain grateful for the support of the Congress for these efforts and look forward to continued cooperation toward achieving our mutual objectives.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 16, 1992

NATIONAL BREAST CANCER AWARENESS MONTH, 1992

- - - - -

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

As we Americans once again observe National Breast Cancer Awareness Month, we can be heartened by the progress that we have made in fighting this disease. In recent years, our knowledge of breast cancer has increased significantly. Researchers continue to develop new and better means of treatment, and expanded access to breast cancer screening is enabling more and more women to benefit from early detection and intervention.

While such trends are encouraging, the National Cancer Institute reports that as many as 180,000 American women will be diagnosed as having breast cancer this year. Although most women who are treated for breast cancer in its early stages can be cured, this disease remains the second leading cause of death by cancer among American women. Hence, this month we recognize the importance of ensuring that every woman is informed about breast cancer and about the importance of screening, early detection, and treatment.

Women can take an active role against breast cancer through monthly self-examination and through clinical examinations and mammography as recommended by their physicians. Mammography is invaluable: many breast cancers can be seen on a mammogram up to 2 years before they could be otherwise detected by a woman or her physician.

Because access to such screening is vital for all women, I am pleased to report that third-party reimbursement for mammography is increasing, allowing more women to benefit from this potentially lifesaving procedure. Through Medicare, the Department of Health and Human Services helps to cover the cost of screening mammography for women age 65 and older. Private insurers offer coverage for this procedure, and a major effort is underway to inform employers how businesses can provide screening mammography.

In addition to encouraging employers, insurers, and health care providers to voluntarily develop policies that expand access to affordable mammography, the Federal Government is also helping to lead the way in research against breast cancer. In a program that has the potential to save many lives in the future, women who are at high risk for breast cancer are participating in the first large-scale study to prevent the disease. We look forward to significant results from the Women's Health Initiative, the largest-ever research effort directed specifically at women. This comprehensive program will

more

(OVER)

target the major causes of illness and death in older women, including breast cancer. In addition, the President's Cancer Panel this year established a Special Commission on Breast Cancer to undertake a comprehensive review of all aspects of the breast cancer problem and to make recommendations on how to accelerate progress against this disease.

Together with the Federal Government, private researchers, health care providers, members of breast cancer support groups, and other concerned Americans are working hard to ensure that women and their physicians are aware of each important advance in breast cancer research. This joint effort is saving lives, and during National Breast Cancer Awareness Month, we reaffirm our commitment to ensuring that it continues.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 303, has designated October 1992 as "National Breast Cancer Awareness Month."

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim October 1992 as National Breast Cancer Awareness Month. I invite the Governors of the States and the appropriate officials of all other areas under the jurisdiction of the United States to issue similar proclamations. I also encourage health care providers and other interested organizations and individuals to observe this month with appropriate programs and activities.

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

GEORGE BUSH

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 16, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

We welcome the decision by Russia to withdraw the former Soviet infantry brigade from Cuba. President Bush sought this result in discussions with President Gorbachev, and more recently with President Yeltsin. This is further proof of the international isolation of the Castro regime from the community of nations. We remain committed to freedom and democracy being fully realized by all Cuban people, and look forward to the day when Cuba joins the democracies of the Western hemisphere.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 16, 1992

The President today announced that he will amend his September 12, 1992 declaration of a major disaster in the State of Hawaii where permitted to do so by law. He will waive state and local cost-sharing requirements and allow reimbursement of 100% of eligible public assistance costs exceeding ten dollars per capita.

The additional relief to be provided by the President is consistent with a request made by Governor John Waihee. It will be granted in response to the extraordinary damage and destruction caused by Hurricane Iniki. By waving customary state and local cost-sharing requirements, the President will provide maximum federal assistance to the people of Hawaii whose lives have been so severely disrupted by this disaster.

This waiver will apply to all authorized public assistance under the law. It will provide additional help to the state in its efforts to remove debris from the disaster areas, eliminate immediate threats to public health and safety, and carry out emergency work to save lives. Assistance for temporary housing, crisis counseling, and disaster unemployment will continue to be 100% federally funded, where allowed under the law.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 16, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Joe L. Heaton of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, to be the United States Attorney for the Western District of Oklahoma for the term of four years. He would succeed Timothy D. Leonard.

Currently, Mr. Heaton serves as Special Assistant United States Attorney in the Western District of Oklahoma in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Prior to this, he served as an attorney with the law firm of Fuller, Tubb, and Pomeroy in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 1977-1992.

Mr. Heaton was graduated from Northwestern State College (B.A., 1973) and the University of Oklahoma College of Law (J.D., 1976). He was born December 12, 1951 in Alva, Oklahoma. Mr. Heaton is married, has two children and resides in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

September 16 1992

The President today declared an emergency exists in the State of Rhode Island and ordered Federal aid to supplement state and local recovery efforts in the areas affected by water contamination on August 3, 1992, and continuing.

The President's action makes Federal funding available to affected communities and local governments in the State of Rhode Island. The counties included are Providence and Washington.

Assistance can include reimbursement for required emergency measures taken, water testing and analysis, and technical assistance.

Wallace E. Stickney, director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), named Edward A. Thomas of FEMA's regional office in Boston, Massachusetts to coordinate Federal recovery operations in the affected areas.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT: FEMA (202) 646-4600.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 16, 1992

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

I am pleased to transmit herewith a report of the activities of the United States Government in the United Nations and its affiliated agencies during the calendar year 1991, the third year of my Administration. The report is required by the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Congress; 22 U.S.C. 287b).

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
September 16, 1992.

#

Dear Thad,
I just saw this.
AKIN, GUMP, HAUER & FELD, L.L.P.

A REGISTERED LIMITED LIABILITY PARTNERSHIP
INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS
*A great firm gets a great
new member. Warm Regards*

THAD GRUNDY JR.

By Burl

FORMERLY DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS,
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

9-16-92

HAS BECOME A MEMBER OF THE FIRM
AND WILL CONCENTRATE IN ENERGY LAW,
WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON INTERNATIONAL ENERGY MATTERS

RESIDENT IN THE WASHINGTON OFFICE

AUGUST 1992

1333 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
(202) 887-4000
FAX (202) 887-4288

Mr. Thad Grundy, Jr.
Akin, Gump, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.
Suite 400
1333 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

✓
CC:

Rose Zamaria (lcc)

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

September 16, 1992

Dear Kay,

Many thanks for your kind letter. You did a fabulous job chairing the Convention. You helped make it such a rousing success.

As we forge ahead into this campaign season, I am grateful for your support, commitment, and strong efforts that will help lead us to victory in November.

Barbara joins in sending best wishes.

Sincerely,



GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

The Honorable Kay Bailey Hutchison
State Treasurer
State of Texas
Post Office Box 12608
Capitol Station
Austin, Texas 78711

RZ

daily

The Honorable Kay Bailey Hutchison
State Treasurer
State of Texas
Post Office Box 12608
Capitol Station
Austin, Texas 78711



To Kay
You were such an important part
of this great Convention. Many Thanks
Ag Bush

J. D. Dumas



P.O. BOX 12608, CAPITOL STATION
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78711

KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON

TREASURER
STATE OF TEXAS

(512) 463-6000

Dear Mr President,

I want to thank you for selecting me to be temporary chair of the convention. It was the experience of a lifetime and I am very appreciative.

You had a lot of pressure to make a great speech to the convention - and - as usual - you came through! Now - we must come through

for you.

Phil Gramm and I and several others did a 10 city (medium market) tour of Texas Friday and Saturday after the convention to keep up the enthusiasm. It went very well - momentum is up for you!!

Texas loves you and Barbara - so do I!

Kay



SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
Wednesday, September 16, 1992

8:00 am	<u>Phone Interview with Oklahoma News Network (Fitzwater)</u>	Oval Office (TAB A)
8:15 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with GOP Congressional Leadership (Calio)</u>	Cabinet Room (TAB B)
8:45 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing (Scowcroft)</u>	Oval Office
9:00 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>	Oval Office
9:30 am (30 min)	<u>Pre-brief for AARP Interview and Video Taping (Smith)</u>	Oval Office (TAB C)
10:00 am (20 min)	<u>Interview with AARP BULLETIN (Smith)</u>	Oval Office (TAB D)
10:30 am (15 min)	<u>Video Taping for AARP/VOTE Program (Smith)</u>	459 OEOB (TAB E)
10:45 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
11:00 am (15 min)	<u>Pre-brief for Interviews (Smith)</u>	Oval Office (TAB F)
11:15 am (30 min)	<u>Interview with St. Louis Affiliates (Smith)</u>	Map Room (TAB G)
11:45 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
12:00 pm (75 min)	<u>Lunch</u>	Oval Office

UNP 09/15/92
7:00 pm



1:15 pm (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
1:30 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Acting Secretary Eagleburger</u>	Oval Office
2:00 pm (90 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
3:30 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Cardinal O'Connor (Demarest)</u>	Roosevelt Room (TAB H)
4:00 pm (60 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office

UNP 09/15/92
7:00 pm

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1992

REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

DATE: September 16, 1992
LOCATION: Cabinet Room
TIME: 8:15 a.m. (30 minutes)
FROM: Nicholas E. Calio *NEC*

I. PURPOSE

To meet with the Republican Congressional Leadership.

II. BACKGROUND

The Family and Medical Leave Act passed both the House and the Senate and will soon be transmitted to the White House. This meeting will serve as a forum to discuss with the Republican Leadership the Administration's alternative to the Family Medical Leave Act. Also to be discussed in this meeting will be the progress of appropriations bills and cable legislation.

III. PARTICIPANTS

See Attachment A.

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House press pool.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Members of Congress will be met in the West Lobby and escorted to the Cabinet Room for their meeting with you.

Attachment A: Participants List
Attachment B: Talking Points

PARTICIPANTS LIST

The President

Nicholas Brady, Secretary of the Treasury
Dick Darman, Director of the Office of Management and Budget

Congressional Participation - Senate

Senator Robert Dole (KS), Republican Leader
Senator Alan Simpson (WY), Republican Whip
Senator Thad Cochran (MS), Chairman, Republican Conference
Senator Don Nickles (OK), Chairman, Republican Policy
Committee
Senator Phil Gramm (TX), Chairman, National Republican
Senatorial Committee
Senator Strom Thurmond (SC), President Pro Tempore Emeritus
Senator Mark Hatfield (OR), Ranking Republican, Senate
Appropriations Committee

Congressional Participation - House

Congressman Bob Michel (IL), Republican Leader
Congressman Newt Gingrich (GA), Republican Whip
Congressman Jerry Lewis (CA), Chairman, Republican Conference
Congressman Duncan Hunter (CA), Chairman, Republican Research
Committee
Congressman Mickey Edwards (OK), Chairman, Republican Policy
Committee
Congressman Guy Vander Jagt (MI), Chairman, National Republican
Congressional Committee
Congressman Bill McCollum (FL), Vice Chairman, Republican
Conference
Congressman Joe McDade (PA), Ranking Republican, House
Appropriations Committee
Congressman Bill Goodling (PA), Ranking Republican, House
Education and Labor Committee
Congressman Fred Grandy (IA)
Congresswoman Nancy Johnson (CT)

White House Staff

James A. Baker, Chief of Staff
Robert Zoellick, Deputy Chief of Staff
Phil Brady, Assistant to the President and Staff Secretary
Nicholas E. Calio, Assistant to the President for Legislative
Affairs
David Demarest, Assistant to the President for Public Liaison
Marlin Fitzwater, Assistant to the President and Press Secretary

Boyden Gray, Counsel to the President
Ede Holiday, Assistant to the President and Secretary of
the Cabinet
Janet Mullins, Assistant to the President for Political Affairs
Roger Porter, Assistant to the President for Economic
and Domestic Policy
Dennis Ross, Assistant to the President for Policy Planning
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security
Affairs
Gary Andres, Deputy Assistant to the President for
Legislative Affairs (House)
Josh Bolten, Deputy Assistant to the President and Director,
Office of Legislative Affairs
James Dyer, Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative
Affairs (Senate)
Arnie Havens, Special Assistant to the President for Legislative
Affairs (House)
Jack Howard, Special Assistant to the President for Legislative
Affairs (House)
Virginia Lampley, Special Assistant to the President for National
Security Affairs
Kim McKernan, Special Assistant to the President for Legislative
Affairs (House)
Frances Norris, Special Assistant to the President for
Legislative Affairs (House)
Shawn Smeallie, Special Assistant to the President for
Legislative Affairs (Senate)
Linda Tarplin, Special Assistant to the President for
Legislative Affairs (Senate)
Brian Waidmann, Special Assistant to the President for
Legislative Affairs (Senate)

Other

Rich Bond, Chairman, Republican National Committee
Bill Kristol, Chief of Staff to the Vice President
Tom Scully, Deputy Assistant to the President
David Taylor, Associate Director, Office of Management and Budget

TALKING POINTS
FOR GOP CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

- Today I am going to discuss family leave.
- First, let me say, I am proud of what we have already accomplished for families.
- For example, we have a child care program that puts power in the hands of parents -- not bureaucrats. We let families choose their child care -- not the Federal government. We should provide an equally flexible approach to family and medical leave.

Card 2

- I favor family and medical leave. But the real question is how to achieve the goal.
- Now the Democrats in Congress are sending me a bill, after sitting on it for a year, that takes one approach.
- Unfortunately, they and my opponent believe in a government-dictated mandate that increases costs and loses jobs.
- My alternative to provide a family-oriented solution in the form of an incentive tax credit for small and medium-sized businesses. My opponent both encourages companies to adopt family leave policies and gives them the flexibility to target the specific needs of their employees.

Card 3

- My tax credit approach has another big advantage:
 - The Democrats bill covers only businesses with more than 50 employees, leaving out the millions of employees of small firms -- those least likely to be getting leave.
 - My solution would provide an incentive to all small and medium sized companies to provide this important benefit --so in fact my approach has broader coverage and includes those most in need.
- So I challenge the Democratic Leadership to put politics aside long enough to get something real done for families before they go home on October 3rd -- and get it done in a way that doesn't result in people being thrown out of work.

AFTER PRESS LEAVES

- Thank you all for sitting through that. The Democrats have been playing politics with the issue. Lost in all the rhetoric and fingerpointing is the fact that there is a better approach to helping families.
- This hasn't been an easy issue, and I want to thank Bill Goodling and all of you who have been and will be so helpful. I really want to work with you and anyone else who's interested to see if there's way we can get broad support for an approach that does not include a mandate.
- I want to get your thoughts, but first let me make a few points about the Supplemental, appropriations in general and cable legislation, then we'll open it up to discussion.

[Supplemental]

- Our response to the emergency needs of Florida, Louisiana, Hawaii, and Guam has been proper and appropriate. I'd like the Congress to produce a bill that I can sign. We should not play politics with human suffering.
- But our compassion should not be interpreted as a weakening of our resolve to maintain spending discipline in the appropriations process.

[Appropriations]

- As I said in Houston, I will veto any appropriations bill that is above my budget for 1993.

- The Democratic Leadership pulled out all the stops to block our efforts to adopt a balanced budget amendment. We can expect them to take a hard line on these appropriations bills.
- I want to deal with each of these appropriations bills separately.
- But, the Democratic Leadership may respond with a continuing resolution that covers a number of different appropriations bills. I am interested in your thoughts about actions we should be taking to avoid a CR and what we should do in the event we get one.

- Finally, the Cable Conference Report will be considered in the House on Thursday and in the Senate shortly thereafter. On request of those who've opposed us on this issue, we've looked at it again and again -- as recently as yesterday -- and our conclusion remains that this bill ultimately will end up raising rates, lowering service and reducing consumer choices.
- And while it might be easier politically to sign the bill, I don't believe in principle or as a practical matter for consumers the bill should be enacted. So I hope you can stick with me on this one and vote against Conference Report when it is considered in your respective chambers.
- Now we'll open it up to talk about any issues you'd like.

THE SEATING CHART FOR THIS CONGRESSIONAL
MEETING WILL BE FORWARDED IN THE MORNING.

R2

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1992

PRE-BRIEF FOR INTERVIEW WITH AARP BULLETIN

DATE: Wednesday, September 16, 1992
TIME: 9:30 A.M.
LOCATION: Oval Office

FROM: Dorrance Smith *DS*
Assistant to the President
for Media Affairs

I. PURPOSE:

To brief you on issues that may arise during your interview with the AARP Bulletin.

II. BACKGROUND:

You will be interviewed by Elliot Carlson, Editor, and Bob Hey, Managing Editor, of the AARP Bulletin. The focus of the interview will be your actions, plans and views on health care reform, social security and entitlements.

III. PARTICIPANTS:

The President
Robert Zoellick
Dorrance Smith
Tom Scully
Gail Wilensky

IV. PRESS PLAN:

Closed Press

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

-- Participants enter Oval Office to engage in briefing and they depart.

VI. REMARKS:

Possible areas of questioning will be reviewed during this briefing.

AARP and Health Care Reform

- * (1) Never touched Social Security -- Scare tactics
 - Sound footing
 - Earnings test
- (2) Notch Babies (FYI: AARP is opposed - don't bring up unless asked)
 - Seniors born from 1917-26; feel benefits cut -- equity for all after 1917
- (3) Effects of Caps on Entitlement Growth INCLUDING MEDICARE
 - Clinton claim ... not true ... cites Congressional Budget Office proposals, creature of Democratic Congress
 - Allow for increase in population and inflation for all entitlements
 - Only one Medicare proposal for beneficiaries: Reducing subsidy for recipients over \$100,000
- * (4) Health Care Reform -- This Year, Our Issue
 - Republican issue: Our plan vs. Democrats divided
 - Tax credits, competition, pooling, malpractice
 - Clinton waffling: Rationing, Poor Quality, hurt small business and workers
- (5) Long Term Care: Very expensive and difficult
 - Medicare only covers a little
 - Republicans "Medisave" to ease purchase of private insurance; trying to encourage
 - Working on -- for needy seniors
- (6) Prescription Drugs
 - Medicare doesn't cover most drugs/expensive
 - Repeal of Catastrophic Legislation
 - Managed care coverage/Health Care Reform
- * (7) Other: Inflation; Portable Pensions; Crime

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 15, 1992

INTERVIEW WITH THE AARP BULLETIN

DATE: Wednesday, September 16, 1992

TIME: 10:00 A.M.

LOCATION: Oval Office

FROM: Dorrance Smith *DS*
Assistant to the President
for Media Affairs

I. PURPOSE:

To provide an opportunity for your views to appear in the AARP Bulletin, a monthly newspaper reaching 33 million members.

II. BACKGROUND:

You will be interviewed by both Elliot Carlson, Editor, and Bob Hey, Managing Editor, of the AARP Bulletin. They will alternate asking you questions about health care reform, entitlements and social security. The interview will last twenty minutes. Governor Clinton granted AARP Bulletin an interview in mid-August. The interviews will be published side by side in the October issue of the AARP Bulletin.

III. PARTICIPANTS:

The President
Dorrance Smith
Elliot Carlson, Editor of the AARP Bulletin
Bob Hey, Managing Editor of the AARP Bulletin
Bill Fitzpatrick, AARP Photographer

IV. PRESS PLAN:

Exclusive to participants

V. REMARKS:

Possible areas of questioning will be reviewed in the pre-brief.

VI. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

- Elliot Carlson and Bob Hey enter Oval Office and are seated.
- They alternate asking questions.
- After 20 minutes, interview concludes.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 15, 1992

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM FOR VIDEO TAPING WITH AARP/VOTE PROGRAM

DATE: Wednesday, September 16, 1992

TIME: 10:30 A.M.

LOCATION: The Studio, Room 459

FROM: Dorrance Smith *DS*
Assistant to the President
for Media Affairs

I. PURPOSE:

To reach AARP's approximately 33 million members and 4,000 chapters by highlighting your commitment to the three primary voter issues for senior citizens: health care reform, personal income security and government integrity.

II. BACKGROUND:

You will tape your answers to pre-submitted questions in a 12-minute video sponsored by the American Association of Retired Persons, AARP/VOTE Program. You will read the scripted answers from the teleprompter. Each response is to be approximately 4 minutes in length. The three areas of questioning include: health care reform, personal income security and government integrity.

The video will be distributed to AARP's membership through its voter education program. Horace Deets, Executive Director of AARP, will be introducing you and Bill Clinton respectively. Governor Clinton has already taped his answers to the exact same questions.

III. PARTICIPANTS:

The President
Jim Butler, Director of AARP/VOTE
Dorrance Smith
Katherine Holt
Interface Video Crew

IV. PRESS PLAN:

Exclusive to Participants

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

- You enter the sitting Room for the application of make-up.
 - Lois Cassano applies your make-up.
 - After make-up, you proceed to The Studio, Room 459.
 - You are seated and you begin the video taping.
 - You tape messages for three areas of concern.
 - Conclusion of taping.
-

R2

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1992

PRE-BRIEF FOR INTERVIEWS WITH
ST. LOUIS AFFILIATES

DATE: September 16, 1992
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 11:00 a.m.
FROM: Dorrance Smith

I. PURPOSE

To discuss issues that may arise during your interviews with the St. Louis affiliates.

II. BACKGROUND

You are scheduled to tape three separate interviews with the St. Louis affiliates: KTVI-TV (ABC); KSDK-TV (NBC); and KMOV-TV (CBS). Each interview will last six minutes.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Robert Zoellick

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House Photographer only.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- Participants enter Oval Office.
- Participants engage in pre-brief.
- You proceed to the Map Room for interviews.

VI. REMARKS

Possible topics will be reviewed during this pre-brief.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1992

INTERVIEWS WITH ST. LOUIS AFFILIATES

DATE: September 16, 1992
LOCATION: The Map Room
TIME: 11:15 a.m.
FROM: Dorrance Smith *DS*

I. PURPOSE

To tape individual interviews with the St. Louis affiliates.

II. BACKGROUND

You are scheduled to tape three individual interviews with the following: Dick Ford, KTVI-TV (ABC/Channel 2); Dan Gray, KSDK-TV (NBC/Channel 5); and Larry Conners, KMOV-TV (CBS/Channel 4). These interviews will occur sequentially and last six minutes apiece.

Each station will include their respective interview in their local newscasts. All three affiliates carry evening news at 5:00 p.m., 6:00 p.m., and 10:00 p.m. CDT.

By blanketing the St. Louis market, you will reach approximately 1.8 million area viewers.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Dorrance Smith
Scott Sforza
Mia Kelly
Potomac/PVS production crew (4)
WHCA personnel (2)

Dick Ford -- anchor, KTVI-TV (ABC)
Dan Gray -- anchor, KSDK-TV (NBC)
Larry Conners -- anchor, KMOV-TV (CBS)

IV. PRESS PLAN

Exclusive to participants.
White House Photographer.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- You arrive Map Room.
- You tape first interview with Dick Ford, KTVI-TV (ABC).
- Dick Ford departs.
- You tape second interview with Dan Gray, KSDK-TV (NBC).
- Dan Gray departs.
- You tape third interview with Larry Conners, KMOV-TV (CBS).
- Larry Conners departs.
- Make-up artist removes your make-up.
- You depart.

VI. REMARKS

Possible topics will be reviewed during the pre-brief.

R2

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1992

MEETING WITH CARDINAL O'CONNOR

DATE: SEPTEMBER 16, 1992
TIME: 3:30 pm
LOCATION: ROOSEVELT ROOM
THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST
FROM: JANE E. BARNETT
JIM SCHAEFER

I. PURPOSE

To meet with Cardinal O'Connor and prominent members of the Lebanese-American community to discuss the future of Lebanon, the Taif agreement, and the present travel ban to Lebanon.

II. BACKGROUND

At the request of the Holy See, Cardinal O'Connor serves as President of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association. In this capacity, the Cardinal has been actively engaged with the Lebanese-American community to explore ways in which the United States can reinvest in Lebanon. Lebanon is a key issue for Catholics, since they view it as the last outpost of Christianity in the Middle East. There are approximately two million Lebanese-Americans in the United States. U.S. aid to Lebanon averages approximately 30 million dollars annually for food assistance.

Your meeting with Cardinal O'Connor and prominent members of the Lebanese-American community will focus on the fostering of closer ties between the U.S. and Lebanon. This group will raise the issue of rescinding the present travel ban to Lebanon for the purpose of revitalizing interest on the part of Lebanese-Americans. General Scowcroft has communicated to the Cardinal that intelligence reports confirm that Lebanon is still too unstable for Americans to visit and that Jim Baker discussed the present situation with Syrians and the Lebanese leaders during his last trip to the Middle East.

The meeting with this group also provides an opportunity for you to: 1) reiterate your commitment regarding full implementation of the Taif accords, through a continued dialogue with Damascus; 2) underscore your disappointment with the recent parliamentary elections in Lebanon; and 3) highlight your recent action in lifting the sanctions preventing direct shipment of air cargo from the United States to Lebanon.

Cardinal O'Connor suggested the idea of this meeting when you met with him last month in New York prior to your address to the Knights of Columbus. On March 26, 1992, Cardinal O'Connor wrote to you to propose this meeting. At that time General Scowcroft responded on your behalf and noted recent contact that his office had with Lebanese-American leaders and suggested a one-on-one (including you and him) instead. The Cardinal was disappointed with that response and therefore raised the idea of this meeting again to you.

Cardinal O'Connor's last visit to the White House was in November 1989, at the State Dinner for the President of Italy.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President

His Eminence John Cardinal O'Connor

Monsignor Robert Stern, Secretary General - Catholic Near East Welfare Association.

Monsignor James McCarthy, Priest Secretary to Cardinal O'Connor.

Mr. Anthony Abraham, Retired Business Executive.

Mr. Michael Berry, Attorney/Contacts with Amal Militia. Shi'ite.

Mr. Mounzer Chaarani, Developer. Leader of the Moslem Community in the United States.

The Honorable Thomas A. Nassif, Former American Ambassador to Morocco. Current Chairman of the American Task Force for Lebanon. Greek Orthodox.

The Honorable Selwa S. Roosevelt, Former U.S. Chief of Protocol. Druze.

Mr. Peter J. Tanous, Banker. Co-Founder of American Task Force for Lebanon. Maronite.

Dr. Jack Tohme, Physician. Current President American University Beirut Alumni. Melkite.

David Demarest, Assistant to the President for Public Liaison.

General Scowcroft, Assistant to the President National Security Affairs.

Richard Haass, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for National Security Affairs.

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House Photographer only.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

- You enter the Roosevelt Room.
- You deliver welcoming remarks.
- You participate in discussion.
- You depart the Roosevelt Room.

VI. REMARKS REQUIRED:

Talking Points to be provided by the National Security Council.

CARD 1 OF 4

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
CARDINAL O'CONNOR

- WE SHARE YOUR CONCERNS ABOUT THE RECENT PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN LEBANON. AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE MADE PUBLIC OUR DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE ELECTIONS -- WITH THE WIDESPREAD IRREGULARITIES AND THE FAILURE TO ENSURE THAT A BROAD NATIONAL CONSENSUS EXISTED ON THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ELECTIONS WERE HELD.
- WE BELIEVE THE NEW PARLIAMENT MUST SEEK NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AS ITS TOP PRIORITY AND FOCUS ON ECONOMIC RECOVERY. WE WILL TRY TO HELP WITH BOTH EFFORTS.

CARD 2 OF 4

- WE HAVE ALSO REITERATED OUR SUPPORT FOR FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF BOTH THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE TAIF AGREEMENT. IN OUR VIEW, THIS MEANS THAT THE LEBANESE AND SYRIAN GOVERNMENTS SHOULD BEGIN IMMEDIATE CONSULTATIONS TO REDEPLOY SYRIAN FORCES FROM BEIRUT TO THE BIQA VALLEY.
- WE REMAIN CONVINCED THAT OUR DIPLOMATIC DIALOGUE WITH SYRIA IS THE BEST WAY TO SECURE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF TAIF. THIS DIALOGUE AND THE TAIF ACCORD HAVE BROUGHT LEBANON ITS FIRST REAL PEACE IN MORE THAN FIFTEEN YEARS. I'D ALSO ADD THAT U.S.-SYRIAN DIALOGUE HAS PAID OFF IN OTHER AREAS DESPITE REAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OURSELVES AND DAMASCUS.

CARD 3 OF 4

- WE HAVE PRESSED DAMASCUS AND BEIRUT TO DISARM HIZBALLAH. WE ARE PLEASED THAT THE LEBANESE ARMED FORCES HAS RETAKEN CONTROL OF THE SHAYKH ABDALLAH BARRACKS IN BA'ALBAK FROM HIZBALLAH BUT WE REMAIN CONCERNED THAT HIZBALLAH AND ITS IRANIAN BACKERS HAVE YET TO BE DISARMED LIKE OTHER MILITIAS.
- LAST MONTH I LIFTED THE SANCTIONS PREVENTING DIRECT SHIPMENT OF AIR CARGO FROM THE UNITED STATES TO LEBANON. THIS IS A PRUDENT STEP IN REACTION TO IMPROVEMENTS IN THE SECURITY SITUATION IN LEBANON BROUGHT ON BY THE TAIF PROCESS AND OUR DIALOGUE WITH SYRIA. I BELIEVE IT IS STILL TOO EARLY TO LIFT THE TRAVEL BAN GIVEN OUR CONTINUED CONCERNS ABOUT POSSIBLE TARGETING OF AMERICANS BY HIZBALLAH.

CARD 4 OF 4

- (IF ASKED) THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE NEGOTIATIONS REMAIN THE BEST FORUM, IN OUR VIEW, FOR SECURING AN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM SOUTHERN LEBANON. I WANT TO ASSURE YOU THAT THE ISRAELI-LEBANESE TALKS ARE OF A PRIORITY EQUAL TO THE OTHERS.

DOOR

DOOR

General Scowcroft
National Security Council



Richard Haas
National Security
Council



Michael Berry
Attorney



Cardinal O'Connor



Dr. Jack Tohme
Pres. American
University Beirut
Alumni Melkite



Monsignor McCarthy
Secretary Priest to
Cardinal O'Connor



David Demarest
Office of Public
Liaison



Mounzer Chaarani
Leader/Moslem community



Selwa Roosevelt
Former U.S. Chief
of Protocol



Peter Tanous
Co-Founder/American
Task Force for Lebanon



The President



Thomas Nassif
Chairman/American
Task Force for Lebanon



Anthony Abraham
Retired Business
Executive



Monsignor Stern
Secretary General
Catholic Near East
Welfare Association



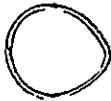
*The
Roosevelt Room*

DOOR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Daily Nite

Commander William E. Edwards,
U.S. Navy, Ret.
7736 Moanalua Way
Bay St. Louis, Mississippi 39520



CAMP DAVID

9-16-92

Dear Bill, (Grogan)
Sorry to miss you
at Gulfport - thanks
for your 9-16 note -
I strongly support

Naval Aviation - A
lot of innocent people
have been hurt.

But wisio,

W

NEW YORK LIFE
INTER-OFFICE MEMO

7882 (5-82)



M	NAME AND OFFICE, DIVISION OR DEPARTMENT	DATE	1
	PRE:IDENT GEORGE BUSH	9-16-92	
	NAME AND ORIGINATING OFFICE, DIVISION OR DEPARTMENT	SUBJECT	
	GROGAN EDWARDS	NOTE FOR YOU	

MESSAGE

Dear Mr President(Dear George);

Thank you for your nice note of several weeks ago written on Air Force One. We were at Gulfport to your rally but got lost in the crowd and since it was so hot I went and sat down on an Igloo cooler to rest. Heard you over the PA system/

The enclosed for your info. I know you are not a member of the Tailhook Club although I presented you with a gold hook tie clasp at the Chateau Estates Club when you came over to help Ken Hollis in his quest for a seat in the legislature. He is still there and does a good job for his constituents.

(Replier: write reply and return copy 2 to originator. Retain or destroy copy 1)

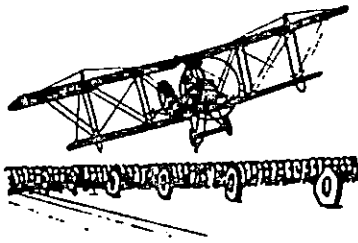
You mentioned that you had met with LTCoughlan, who initiated the complaints about the so called sexual harassment in Vegas. My West Coast contacts tell me that her reputation is not the best in the world and this was her second or third trip to the convention. Why she choose this one to complain is not understood. As I told you before this is doing more to damage the Navy and particyular Naval Aviation than any scandals of the past 100 years. Most of the accusations are unfounded and frivolous in content. I see where two of the four squadron commander4s relieved at NAS Miramar have been reinstated as the charges were groundless. Again I re-commend that you instruct SecNAV and SecDef to wind this thing up pronto and get it off the front pages.

DATE Good luck in the upcoming election. We wil.l be pulling for you.

PRINT OR TYPE NAME OF REPLIER

OFFICE, DIVISION OR DEPARTMENT

Grogan



THE TAILHOOK ASSOCIATION

P.O. Box 40
Bonita, CA 91908-0040



Phone: (619) 689-9223

17 August 1992

Dear Fellow Member:

The continuing investigations, congressional and media attention have kept the Association under siege. The good name of Tailhook has been smeared and all members of the Association have been labeled guilty because of the actions of a few at last years convention. We are moving forward, aggressively to tell our side of the story, but attitudes and perceptions will not change over night. To keep you informed on what is going on in your Association and allow you to answer questions about Tailhook with facts, I am including a copy of my letter to the new Acting Secretary of the Navy, Sean O'Keefe, a fact sheet about the Association, and a moving beyond the myths dialogue. I hope you will use them often to help vindicate the name of The Tailhook Association and our members.

The events of the past year have resulted in a substantial loss of revenue for the Association.

-In the best interest of the Navy and the Association, we canceled the 1992 symposium and convention. That event normally provided about 20% of our annual operating budget.

-The Navy's termination of support for the Association has led our corporate members to reassess their relationship with Tailhook. In several cases they have elected not to renew their membership relations. This has resulted in loss of another 15% of our annual operating budget.

-With fewer corporate members we have seen a slight drop off in advertising in THE HOOK magazine. We estimate another 5 to 10% loss in revenue.

The bottom line is that with a 40% reduction in income the Association cannot continue to operate and publish THE HOOK magazine as it has in the past without your financial assistance. We have already made substantial reductions in expenditures and we will not operate in the RED or go into debt. As we use up our small reserves, we will be forced to further reduce our small staff, maybe to a caretaker status, and future issues of THE HOOK magazine will be in jeopardy.

The only source of additional revenue is from you the members. It is your Association and it will fly or be grounded depending upon your wishes and your financial support. We believe we have a special fraternal organization that is of value to Naval aviation and that it should be kept alive. Yes, some restructuring and redirection of effort are in order and indeed are in progress. The basic structure of our society of professional carrier aviators is valid for the future.

We hope you agree.

... to foster, encourage, study, develop and support the aircraft
carrier, sea-based aircraft, both fixed and rotary wing, and aircrew...

If you do agree, you must support your Association with money to back up your feeling. We want each of our members to donate at least \$50.00 NOW. If you can't afford \$50.00, send us what you can afford to show your support for Tailhook. We want 100% member participation. Your donation will not be tax deductible as a charitable contribution, but may fit your situation as a business deduction. We do not want to mislead you to think that these donations are a long term financial solution. Hopefully, the donations will be sufficient to give us operating capital for the next year or more to see us through this crisis, past the elections, through the fallout of the DOD IG investigation, and allow us to publish THE HOOK magazine on schedule. At that point the plan is to restructure, expand our revenue base and reestablish our professional reputation.

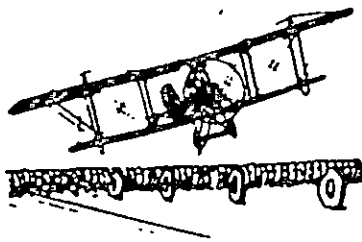
We do have money in the building fund but those donations were collected for a specific purpose and are retained in a restricted account for that purpose.

We are not crying WOLF!!!! The crisis is real! Show your support for the Tailhook Association and carrier aviation, please get your check book out today.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'W.D. Knutson', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

W.D. Knutson
Chairman of the Board



THE TAILHOOK ASSOCIATION

P.O. Box 40
Bonita, CA 91908-0040



Phone: (619) 689-9223

7 August 1992

The Honorable Sean O'Keefe
Acting Secretary of the Navy
Department of the Navy
Washington, DC 20350-1000

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Please accept my congratulations on your new appointment.

This is a difficult time for the Navy and Navy personnel. It surely must also be a tough time to be in your position, trying to come to grips with a multitude of challenges. Unfortunately, in the midst of all the issues, the word "Tailhook" has become a lightning rod for polarizing many public controversies.

The board of directors of the Tailhook Association is committed to bringing an end the acrimony that has been an outgrowth of the Tailhook 1991 Symposium. We apologize to the women involved, the Navy, and the nation for our part in what has become a source of embarrassment .

As you know, shortly after the conclusion of the '91 convention and upon learning of some acts that allegedly occurred on the third floor, the Tailhook Association board of directors immediately condemned that conduct as inappropriate and communicated details of the reported incidents in writing to appropriate Navy officials. The sequence of actions that followed, however, pushed the Tailhook Association into a position of being declared guilty before a factual inquiry had taken place.

Officials of the Tailhook Association were and continue to be angered by the Las Vegas incidents. In hindsight, we recognize the errors that contributed to the possibility of party-goers getting out of hand. Along with Navy leadership, the leadership of the Tailhook Association shares responsibility for not recognizing the symptoms of impending trouble. The fact that apparently little or no protest was raised at the scene compounded the problem. We will correct those errors in the future. We've had our wake-up call. We believe we have the obligation to make amends and to move forward with what we have learned.

... to foster, encourage, study, develop and support the aircraft
carrier, sea-based aircraft, both fixed and rotary wing, and aircrew ...

The Honorable Sean O'Keefe
7 August 1992
Page Two

At the same time, we are deeply concerned that careers and reputations of individuals innocent of wrong-doing have been jeopardized, and too many people have been undeservedly sullied by allegations, half-truths, and innuendoes. You have publicly stated that Navy morale has been "battered." We agree. So has the morale of the vast majority of the 15,500 Tailhook Association members who did not attend the 1991 symposium-convention. Of those members, approximately 3,000 persons were registered for the convention (about 1,600 in advance and 1,400 on site.) A relatively small number of persons (in your words, "a handful") has been allowed to unfairly impugn the honor and reputations of thousands of persons, active duty, retired, and civilian, whether or not they were members of the Tailhook Association; whether or not they attended the 1991 convention.

The Tailhook Association is not an organization of professional party-givers. That message has been lost in all the furor of the past 10 months. The mission of the Association is "to foster, encourage, study, develop and support the aircraft carrier, sea-based aircraft, both fixed and rotary wing and crew." Toward that end, in addition to its annual symposium, we publish a quarterly journal of carrier aviation, *The Hook*. The magazine is the only publication of its kind that links active duty and retired carrier aviation- experienced personnel with each other, and with events and persons pertinent to Navy tactical aviation, past, present, and future.

Through the Tailhook Foundation, a separate corporate entity, we annually sponsor college scholarships. Additionally, the Foundation distributes *The Hook* free of charge to more than 850 high schools and universities nationwide, exposing a broad cross-section of the nation's youth to the rich tradition and current importance of the carrier navy to our way of life.

The 1991 convention-symposium in Las Vegas included some 170 professional exhibits sponsored by the Navy, Marine Corps, and corporations of the aerospace industry. The exhibits gave those attending the convention an opportunity to review and discuss new equipment and technologies, and to give feedback to the suppliers based on the flight conditions, experiences, and expertise of those "in the cockpit." That avenue of communication between providers and users has proven to be a key feature of the convention.

For several years the most popular feature of the symposia has been the "Flag Panel," in which flag officers respond to questions on issues pertinent to carrier aviation. The panel forum offers a unique, informal dialogue between junior and senior officers addressing matters of mutual interest and concern.

The Honorable Sean O'Keefe
7 August 1992
Page Three

Additional presentations at the 1991 symposium covered a variety of subjects, including:

- The next generation of tactical aircraft.
- The F-14 Tomcat compared to the F/A-18 Hornet.
- Desert Storm tactics.
- Structure of a smaller fighting force of the future.
- The impact of down-sizing career opportunities.
- Treatment of Desert Storm POWs.
- A blueprint for the next generation of carrier air wings .

That was the program the Tailhook Association worked for an entire year to organize. It was three days of professional seminars plus a banquet dinner, a trade show, and athletic events. Yet, the events that occurred on the third floor have overshadowed the positive aspects of the best Association convention ever held. The actions of a relative handful of individuals have reduced the organization's important and serious objectives to a perceived bacchanal.

As events unfolded after the Association's initial correspondence through Navy channels, the board of directors made a conscious decision to withhold public comment for the time being. Investigations were in process, nothing was to be gained by appearing to pit the Tailhook Association against the Navy it exists to support, and we were so advised by legal counsel. "Low key" until the investigations were completed was the consensus of informal advisors. Today, however, 10 months and some three investigations later, the future is still far from clear. Near irreparable damage has been done to the Tailhook Association and we wish to make our case.

We want the opportunity to set the record straight for the Tailhook Association, as well as for the Navy. We are hoping that cooler heads will prevail and that the lessons of "Tailhook" will provide a challenge for a better future.

To the extent that the Tailhook Association is involved, we ask to be part of the solution.

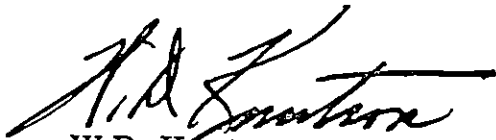
The Honorable Sean O'Keefe
7 August 1992
Page Four

We sincerely hope we will be allowed to enter a constructive dialogue with Navy officials to determine how the positive aspects of the 35-year Navy-Tailhook Association relationship can be salvaged.

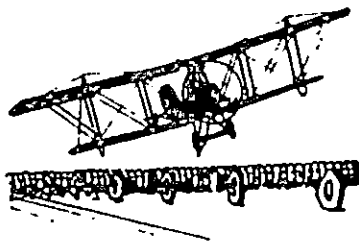
It is beyond the scope of the Association to resolve the volatile and complex issues of male and female relationships in the armed forces, but we recognize the need for forums to address those issues as they relate to tactical Naval Aviation. We believe that important opportunities in that regard exist in *The Hook* magazine and future restructured symposia.

Again, the Tailhook Association apologizes for its failures in the Tailhook matter. But, we believe that we are in this together -- men and women, active duty and retired, Tailhook leaders and active duty Navy leaders alike. We do not intend to abandon ship. We believe the Tailhook Association can continue to fill an important supporting role as Naval Aviation moves into the 21st century.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'W.D. Knutson', with a stylized, sweeping flourish at the end.

W.D. Knutson
Chairman of the Board



THE TAILHOOK ASSOCIATION

P.O. Box 40
Bonita, CA 91908-0040



Fact Sheet

Description: The Tailhook Association is a private, non-profit membership group dedicated to supporting carrier aviation, sea-based aircraft and Naval aviators, and educating the public about carrier aviation. The association's 15,500 members span the nation and include active-duty and retired carrier aviators, aircraft carrier support personnel, contractors in carrier aviation-related industries and civilians.

Background: After beginning as a small reunion in 1957, the association has continued to grow in size and stature. Incorporated in 1968, the Tailhook Association is governed by an elected board of directors.

Membership with Tailhook is open to anyone interested in carrier aviation. Annual membership costs \$25 and includes a subscription to Tailhook's official quarterly journal, *The Hook*.

Mission

Statement: To foster, encourage, study, develop and support the aircraft carrier, sea-based aircraft, both fixed and rotary wing, and aircrew.

... to foster, encourage, study, develop and support the aircraft carrier, sea-based aircraft, both fixed and rotary wing, and aircrew ...

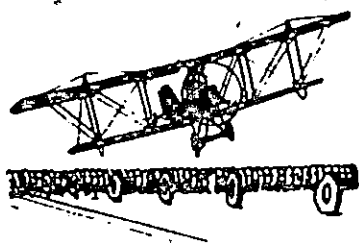
Activities: The Tailhook Association is involved in a number of activities to promote Naval carrier aviation. These include:

- * Annual symposiums that offer valuable forums between active duty Navy leadership, junior officer fleet operators and industry representatives; presentations on carrier aviation equipment, techniques and tactics; and awards luncheons and banquets. Tailhook and the Navy have long viewed these symposiums as valuable opportunities for professional development.
- * *The Hook*, the association's quarterly magazine and the only publication dedicated to telling the story of carrier aviation, past and present. It provides current and historical articles and photos relating to carrier aviation.
- * A library comprising more than 700 volumes of carrier aviation-related material.

Additionally, through the Tailhook Foundation:

- * *The Hook* is sent free of charge to more than 850 schools and universities nationwide.
- * Scholarship opportunities are provided for children of present and former carrier aviators and aircrew personnel.

8/11/92



THE TAILHOOK ASSOCIATION

P.O. Box 40
Bonita, CA 91908-0040



"Moving Beyond the Myths"

Many misconceptions surround the Tailhook Association following its 1991 symposium in Las Vegas. The following item-by-item breakdown is designed to help replace these myths with the facts.

1. **Myth:** *The Tailhook Association is a loose-knit group of Navy pilots who get together each year for a wild party.*

Fact: The Tailhook Association is a private, non-profit organization comprising 15,500 members, including retired and active Navy and Marine Corps carrier aviators, civilians and contractors in the carrier aviation industry. Headquartered in San Diego, the association is governed by an elected board of directors.

In its 35 years of existence, Tailhook has remained committed to its mission: "To foster, encourage, study, develop and support the aircraft carrier, sea-based aircraft, both fixed and rotary wing, and aircrew."

Toward this end, Tailhook publishes a quarterly magazine, *The Hook*, which is distributed to members and schools nationwide; sponsors annual symposiums to inform and educate members and the public about the latest developments in carrier aviation; and annually sponsors a college scholarship program.

... to foster, encourage, study, develop and support the aircraft carrier, sea-based aircraft, both fixed and rotary wing, and aircrew ...

2. **Myth:** *Tailhook's 1991 convention was a non-stop party that had more to do with inebriation than aviation.*

Fact: Approximately 3,000 people registered for Tailhook's 1991 convention, including approximately 170 industry exhibitors. The three-day convention included:

- * A trade show of more than 170 booths and displays by the Navy, Marine Corps and aerospace companies in the carrier aviation industry.
- * The "Flag Panel" discussions, a forum in which flag officers respond to questions on issues pertinent to carrier aviation. The panel forum offers a unique, informal dialogue between junior and senior officers addressing matters of mutual interest and concern.
- * Briefings on equipment, tactics, systems and operations that worked best during Operation Desert Storm.
- * Presentations on aviation safety, advance aircraft technologies and prisoner of war experiences.
- * A "State of Naval Aviation" address by Vice Adm. R.M. Dunleavy.
- * Comparison of the F-14 Tomcat and the F/A-18 Hornet.
- * Discussions of force structure plans for U.S. aircraft carriers, carrier wings and Naval Air Stations.
- * Annual business meeting of Tailhook membership and a reserve officers meeting.
- * Golf and tennis tournaments and a 5K fun run.
- * An awards luncheon.

- * A president's dinner for industry executives featuring an address by Adm. Frank B. Kelso II, chief of naval operations.
- * An evening banquet, featuring a keynote address by Navy Secretary H. Lawrence Garrett III.

3. **Myth:** *Tailhook officials condoned incidents of sexual harassment at the '91 convention as acceptable behavior, and attempted to cover up the facts during official investigations.*

Fact: Quite the contrary. Immediately after hearing about reports of possible sexual misconduct at the '91 convention, Tailhook officials reported the allegations in writing to proper Naval authorities. The association considers acts of sexual harassment to be unacceptable in any case.

Tailhook has strongly reiterated its policy against sexual harassment to its membership and has denounced the misconduct that occurred on the third floor of the Las Vegas Hilton.

The Tailhook Association cooperated with the investigative process in every way requested.

4. **Myth:** *Tailhook was the official host of the parties that took place during the convention weekend.*

Fact: Tailhook sponsored the symposium itself, but the private parties on the third floor of the Las Vegas Hilton were hosted by members of some of the squadrons in attendance.

5. **Myth:** *Tailhook has failed to take any steps to make amends for inappropriate conduct at its '91 symposium.*

Fact: Tailhook informed the Navy immediately after hearing reports of sexual harassment, and cooperated fully with all investigations.

The association has called for the identification and punishment of individuals who participated in acts of sexual misconduct at Tailhook '91.

Being a private corporation, Tailhook has no official authority to investigate or prescribe punishment for the conduct of active-duty personnel or civilians.

In addition, Tailhook's board of directors has taken the following steps that fall within its jurisdiction:

- * Tailhook has written a letter to Secretary of the Navy Sean O'Keefe, asking to work together with the Navy to help end sexual harassment.
- * Tailhook declared that alcohol will no longer be served during symposium events.
- * Tailhook changed the location of the symposium from Las Vegas to San Diego (before the '92 convention was cancelled).
- * *The Hook* magazine editor has been directed to expand discussion of aviation-oriented issues, including those that pertain to women.
- * Tailhook has apologized to all women who may have been objects of sexual misconduct at Tailhook '91.
- * Tailhook has in place a hotline (1-800-322-4665) which individuals may call with information about Tailhook '91.

6. **Myth:** *Tailhook members ran amok at the '91 convention, committing indiscriminate acts of sexual misconduct.*

Fact: To date, official investigations into Tailhook '91 have not identified any individuals as being Tailhook members.

8/11/92

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

daily 9/16

DATE: 9/16/92

TO: The President

FYI

FROM: **ROSE ZAMARIA**
Deputy Assistant to the President

Per Jan Naylor, Cheyrl Ladd's brother, Seth, has been hired by the IRS. He starts on the 21st in entry level position (GS 5) with potential for advancement to budget analyst. He is very pleased and happy.

*Good
CRB*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 14 Sept 92

TO: Rose Zoumaria

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

As I mentioned to Robin this morning, Cheryl Hadd's brother, Seth, has been hired at the IRS. He'll start on the 21ST as a GS5 Secretary "with potential for advancement to budget analyst". I told him I knew the President would be pleased.

/a.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable James Nowlin
United States District Judge
for the Western District of Texas
200 West 8th Street
Austin, Texas 78701



THE PRESIDENT

September 16, 1992

Tim
Dear Judge Nowlin,

Barbara and I are so sorry to hear about the loss of your mother. This is a difficult time for you and your family, but I hope it helps a little to know that we Bushes are thinking of you.

Heartfelt condolences to you and yours.

Sincerely,

*Warmest Regards,
always*

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "G. H. W. Bush", written in a cursive style.

Lamar

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable James Nowlin
United States District Judge
for the Western District of Texas
200 West 8th Street
Austin, Texas 78701



THE PRESIDENT

September 16, 1992

Tim
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Sincerely,

*Warmest Regards,
always*

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "G. H. W. Bush", written in a cursive style.

92 SEP -3 PM 5:22

MEMORANDUM FOR ROSE ZAMARIA

FROM: DEBBIE DUNN *JD*
RE: GEORGE W. REQUEST - PRESIDENTIAL NOTE
DATE: 9/2/92

George W. asked a note of sympathy be written to Judge Jim Nowlin.
Judge Nowlin's mother recently passed away.

His address:

The Honorable James R. Nowlin
U.S. Courthouse
200 West 8th Street
Austin, Texas 78701

Thank you.

Jan:

Please prepare
for the Pres'
signature.

Rose

*US District Judge
of
Western District 2
Texas
200 West*

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Charles Luckman
9220 Sunset Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90069



THE PRESIDENT

9-16-92

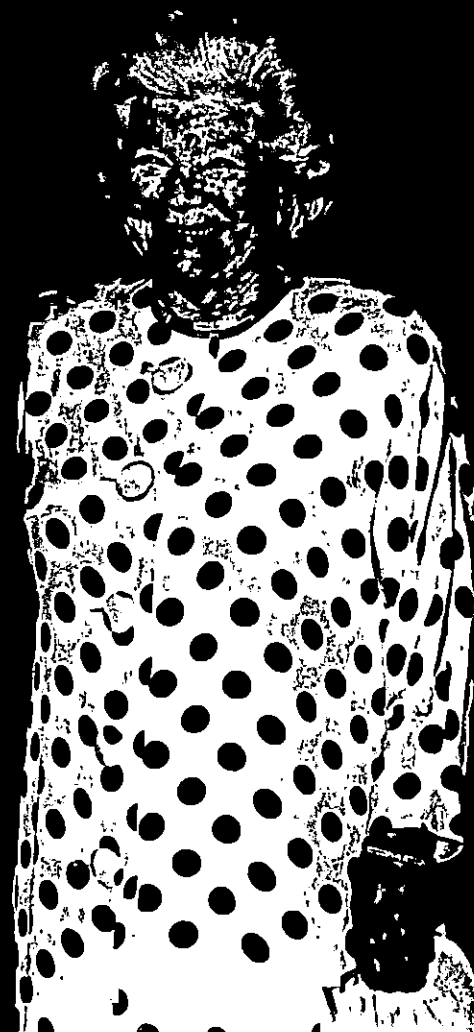
Dear Chuck -
Thanks for your
wonderfully supportive letter.

Here's the picture, happily
signed. We're not writing
of Calif. - not at all. Thanks
for your loyal support. *Cy B*

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamarra (lcc)
Jan Burmeister
Walter White

To Harriet & Chuck Luckman
from the 100 Donors

June 1992



Harriet and
Chuck Luckman

Team 100 Donors

(June 1992)

Please
use silver
pen.

Charles Luckman, f. a. i. a.

34215

August 25, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

Both Harriet and I were delighted to see you again at the Samuelian cocktail party - and to see you looking so fit.

We were pleased to receive the enclosed picture taken of the three of us. We both would consider it a great favor if you would autograph it for us.

The nomination night was a spectacular success. From the results since, it is obvious that millions of Americans thought you gave an absolutely great speech - including Harriet and me.

Having the entire family in attendance made the evening a marvelous event.

Don't let them write off California just yet. A goodly number of us are trying hard to prove the press to be wrong.

My best, as always,



Charles Luckman

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20550

9220 Sunset Boulevard • Los Angeles, California 90069

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 16, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I was saddened to learn of the death of former Representative Millicent Fenwick of New Jersey. Mrs. Fenwick represented the highest ideals of public service -- integrity, devotion to principle; and commitment to the public interest. I knew and admired her.

Mrs. Fenwick dedicated herself to New Jersey and to the United States. Mrs. Fenwick's service as Town Council Member, State Assemblywoman, Consumer Affairs Director and U.S. Representative are a testimony to her devotion to her state and her country. She will be missed, but also long remembered as a conscientious and effective public servant.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

Mrs. Bush	(in folder)
Susan Porter Rose	
Julie Cooke	
Anna Perez	
Joan DeCain	
Laurie Firestone	
Ann Brock	
Sondra Haley	
Jean Becker	
Sally Runion	
Jane Moore	
Peggy Swift	
Anne Griffith	Room 98 OEOB
Diana Kellogg	Room 157 OEOB
Secretary Baker	West Wing
Marlin Fitzwater	West Wing
Constance Horner	West Wing
Dennis Ross	West Wing
Margaret Tutweiler	West Wing
Steve Provost	Room 118 OEOB
Patty Presock	Residence
Gregg Petersmeyer	Room 100 OEOB
Shirley Green	Room 94 OEOB
Karen Connell	Room 58 OEOB
Carol Powers	West Wing
Marguerite Sullivan	Room 268 OEOB
Carolyn Washington	Room 268 OEOB
Benita Somerfield	hold one copy
First Lady Detail	Staircase
Chronological Files	
Event Files	(originals)

9-16-92

10F2

A6

Campaign '92

S. Jersey is the site of a 'family' feud

Tipper Gore attacked the President on family leave. Barbara Bush, also visiting, defended him.

By Jodi Enda
INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

Beneath the blond hair and bright smile, Tipper Gore has teeth.

And she bared them yesterday at the Bush administration, accusing it of (gasp) not valuing families.

"Whenever you take a look behind their rhetoric on family values and ask, 'What have they done to help families?' the answer is, 'Nothing,'" Gore said during an interview at a Deptford campaign stop. "As a matter of fact, they have stood in the way of things that would help strengthen and value families."

Specifically, she said, President Bush has vetoed a family leave bill once, and is poised to do so again.

Not entirely by coincidence, Gore's foray into South Jersey — for a roundtable discussion on family leave with some "real people" — came on the heels of a visit yesterday by the GOP's top family maven, first lady Barbara Bush.

Bush, for her part, said her husband understood and shared the dreams of American families, and therefore was the best candidate to protect them.

"Families, fairness, progress and jobs — that's what this president is all about," she told a few hundred people gathered in Stratford for the opening of Camden County's Republican campaign headquarters.

What the President is not about is requiring companies to give employees time off without pay to care for new children or sick relatives, according to his wife. He is expected to veto a bill passed by Congress — and backed by many Republicans — that would mandate family-leave policies for companies with 50 or more workers.

"I know he's for a family-leave act, but a voluntary act," Barbara Bush told reporters during a brief question-and-answer session. "Our feeling was that it would cost a lot of money and put a lot of people out of jobs."

"To lose jobs and put businesses out of business is not the business George Bush is in," she said.

But experts doubt a family-leave mandate would damage corporations, in part because it would affect only 5 percent of the country's employers while protecting half the workforce. The congressional General Accounting Office estimates the bill would cost companies \$5.30 a year for each worker covered.

"It would not cost jobs," said Gore, whose husband, Sen. Albert Gore Jr., is the Democratic vice presidential nominee. "That is a typical Republican response, because they're on the side of the wealthy and the powerful."

And to bring home the point that family leave helps — you guessed it — families, Gore met with five adults (and one baby) who benefited from New Jersey's family-leave law. Coincidentally, it was former Gov. Thomas H. Kean, now chairman of Bush's New Jersey campaign, who in 1990 signed a family-leave bill similar to the federal legislation just before leaving office.

Seated around a cloth-covered and cookie-laden picnic table in the back yard of Rita Curran, Gore discussed the circumstances that are causing four women and one man to take time off work. Curran's husband had three strokes; Dawn Cooper of Mullica Hill is having a baby; Bernice Miedzins of Woodbury cares for elderly parents, who are in poor health, and a son who is mentally retarded, and Michael and Susan Dellaquila of Sicklerville have a baby with severe breathing problems.

All praised the state law and their employers for saving their jobs during hard times.

cont.

9/16-92

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"These people were very passionate about what the leave act has meant to them," Gore said afterward. Without New Jersey's law, she said, "they probably would have had to give up their jobs, gone on unemployment and cost us as a society more in the long run."

When presidential nominee Bill Clinton chose Al Gore as his running mate, some speculated it was due in no small part to the "pro-family" activities of Tipper Gore, who successfully campaigned to get music companies to voluntarily label recordings that contain adult or violent lyrics. (She was deemed "a cultural terrorist" by Frank Zappa.)

She has transferred that energy and devotion to the Clinton-Gore campaign. She smoothly fended off GOP attacks on Clinton's lawyer wife, Hillary, as well as Clinton's draft record. The Democratic nominee has struggled with charges that he dodged the draft during the Vietnam War.

Tipper Gore said those issues were "diversionary tactics" by desperate Republicans.

"They would rather talk about something that divided the country and tore us apart 25 years ago than the problems they're responsible for because of their rule the last 12 years," she said. "They don't want to talk about rising unemployment. They don't want to talk about the number of people who have lost their jobs and their health-care benefits. They don't want to talk about the two to three million Americans who are homeless. ..."

"Not that they're bad people, but that they have subscribed to a philosophy which is that the rich and powerful get theirs and then it can trickle down to the rest. Well, it's not trickling down to the rest."

Barbara Bush said, as her husband has, that the problem lies with the Democratic-controlled Congress.

"Think of George as the pilot of a huge airplane loaded with your hopes and dreams for a better future," she said. "He takes off, he reaches his destination, he circles the field, he's trying to come in. He can't land because the controller, Congress, is out to lunch."

Then she paused, adding, "A long lunch."



For The Inquirer / BOB HILL

Barbara Bush mingles with the crowd in Stratford, where she helped open Camden County's Republican campaign headquarters.

9-16-92

Values vs. cost of living



Manhattan: To Mrs. Bush and Mrs. Quayle: I believe you are both out of touch with family life in America. The number of children you have is not the issue: whether you stay home or work is not the issue. The issue for me and many families is: Can you raise healthy, happy children in America today if you are not rich? Many mothers have to work full-time to pay the rent, the utilities, the food, clothing and medical expenses, the costs of everyday life. Both I and my husband have to work, and we have to pay for child care. Have you ever tried to find affordable child care? Nationwide, it's incredibly difficult; in New York City, it is a major undertaking. So what are you and your husbands, the President and vice president, doing to make that any easier? The child-care package passed a couple of years ago provided nothing for middle-class families. The child tax credits we get now don't pay for Pampers. There are no national standards for child-care centers.

Where are your family values when we need them?

Clara S. Haignere

9-16-92

E2

Newsmakers

Politics unusual

■ A book on **Ted Kennedy** and the Washington elite co-authored by an insider — ex-Kennedy staffer **Richard E. Burke** (with **William and Marilyn Hoffer**) — is due out Sept. 28. St. Martin's Press, publisher of the tome, titled *The Senator: My Years With Ted Kennedy*, promises it will be "vivid, detailed and startling."

The National Enquirer is reportedly already hooked: The Washington Post reports that the tabloid made a six-figure

offer to St. Martin's for serialization rights to the book.

Meanwhile, **Barbara Bush** has been seen in unfamiliar circles. The audience was surprised, for example, when she won the raffle Sunday at New York's Carnegie Hall. "This is hysterical," **Marilyn Horne** announced after drawing the winning ticket. Bush won a trip to Scotland. But it wasn't the first lady, it was Barbara Bush, wife of Rochester educator **David Bush**. "It's been fun," she says, "and as long as everyone still likes the Barbara Bush, it's all right with me."

9-15-92

Candidates' wives warn of GOP tactics

WASHINGTON — Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore yesterday urged thousands of Democratic activists to redouble their efforts for the ticket and warned of what they called "diversion and distraction" by the GOP camp in the final weeks of the campaign.

Republicans will launch a late effort "based on fear, negativism and a strategy desperate to stay in power," Hillary Clinton told an audience of nearly 3,000 at a \$100 per person brown-bag lunch sponsored by the Democratic National Committee.

The longest and loudest applause came when Tipper Gore spoke of the Democratic position favoring abortion rights. "We're not for abortion, but we feel that it is for women a constitutional right and individual liberty," she said.

JOHN W. MASHEK

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

THE WASHINGTON POST

The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ **Ross Perot** told reporters waiting for him outside of C-SPAN's Capitol Hill studios Friday that he had circled the block a few times in order to avoid the network's previous guest—Dan Quayle. And indeed, he missed him by just a few minutes.

■ Conspicuously absent from Sharon Rockefeller's coffee for Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore yesterday were the wives of the House.

■ **Democratic leadership**—Heather Foley, Jane Gephardt and Judy Bonior. Among those who did show, however, there was a lot of house gawking going on, particularly over the original Childre Hassams and Gustav Klimts. Tipper confided that her favorite rally sign so far has been: "Put away the pearls, Babs, Hillary's on her way."

■ **Richard Dreyfuss** has filed for divorce from his wife of nine years, Jaramia. The two, who separated in February, have three children, and the actor, 44, is seeking joint custody.

■ **Elliot Wigginton**—founder of the Foxfire folk life project in Georgia that spun off into the magazine, books and TV movie—was indicted yesterday in Clayton, Ga., on a child molestation charge. Wigginton, 49, who had been teaching at the University of Georgia, was suspended from that post because of the impending charges, a university spokeswoman said. Wigginton denied the allegation in a statement yesterday.

What Hillary Clinton Really Said

Did Hillary Clinton really write an article that says marriage is like slavery? Did she really say that children should be able to sue their parents over who takes out the garbage? More generally, does she really want government empowered to run roughshod over families? In fact, she said none of these things. I have read all of her published writings on the law relating to children, and her statements bear little resemblance to the campaign rhetoric used to describe them.

Nothing in Mrs. Clinton's publications suggests that she is anti-family or out of the mainstream on children's issues. If political motivations were different, she

Rule of Law

By Douglas Laycock

might be attacked from the left instead of the right. One of her proposals was that states should be much tougher on juvenile delinquents, because "rights are extended on a premise of individual responsibility." (I describe these publications in the past tense, because they all date from the 1970s.)

Almost everyone agrees that the state should protect children from abuse and neglect. The problems are how to define abuse and neglect, and how to identify it. It is very hard for the state to know what is going on inside a family, and the costs of error are very high. Children mistakenly left with their parents may be murdered or maimed, but if children are removed from their parents, both children and parents will suffer emotional pain and loss of basic human rights.

There is no simple solution to these difficulties, and Mrs. Clinton did not purport to offer one. She said the state

should do more to assist intact families, so that it would not so often have to decide whether to remove a child from his family. She proposed to formalize the practice of considering the child's own wishes in cases where the child is competent to express them; most judges and social workers already did that, and state laws required it in many contexts.

Perhaps most important, she proposed to tighten and formalize the standards for coercive state intervention into family life. She argued that "state interference with family privacy should be minimized because of the state's unwillingness, or inability, to care for children as well as most families do." She insisted on "standards that limit the amount of discretion vested in decision-makers."

In many states at the time she wrote, the formal standard for judicial intervention in the parent-child relationship was "the best interest of the child." She rejected that standard because it gave too much discretion to the state; it became "a rationalization by decision-makers justifying their own judgments about a child's future." Five years later, the Supreme Court unanimously said that it too would reject the best-interest standard.

Mrs. Clinton opposed "the various bills of rights" for children proposed by activists in the children's rights movement. These "manifestos" would create "socio-psychological rights" with "vague enforcement guidelines." More generally, she emphasized "the limited ability of the legal system to prescribe and enforce the quality of social arrangements."

Of course it is easier to see the need for objective standards than to formulate them. Mrs. Clinton suggested two standards.

At one point she suggested a purely medical standard: "Parental behavior that does not result in medically diagnosable

harm to a child should not be allowed to trigger intervention, however offensive that behavior may be to the community." In another passage, discussing compulsory education laws, she went beyond the medical model to recognize any harm that is both irreversible and serious. But "if the consequences seem reversible or insubstantial, the assumption that the parent knows best should probably continue to govern."

The closest she came to saying that a child should be able to sue his parents was her suggestion that "a competent child should be permitted to assert his or her own interests." But legally assertible "interests" would be defined by her proposed standards for intervention. That is, the competent child could assert his interests in protection from medically diagnosable or serious and irreversible harm inflicted by his parents. Any lesser interest would not be a ground for coercive state intervention in a family.

Assuming Mrs. Clinton meant to permit children to sue without adult assistance, that would be a change more of form than of substance. Children can already sue their parents, but they must do so in the name of an adult — any interested adult in some states, representatives of social service agencies in others. Judges commonly appoint independent counsel for children when that appears necessary to protect their interests. As a practical matter, a child needs adult assistance to proceed effectively in court, and it makes little difference whether the suit is formally brought in the name of the child or in the name of the child's adult representative.

Mrs. Clinton did compare marriage to slavery, but the comparison was historical and in context entirely uncontroversial. She simply listed legal institutions in which the legal rights of some persons were wholly entrusted to other persons.

Through the mid-19th century, married women were legally subordinate to their husbands. In this one respect, their status was similar to that of slaves and children. Mrs. Clinton's comparison went no further; she did not even hint that most women were treated like most slaves. And she immediately noted that the legal dependency of children is largely explained by their "physical, intellectual, and psychological incapacities."

The modern relevance of this comparison was left implicit. I take her point to have been that good intentions are not enough, that legal regimes to protect dependent persons may harm them instead. The historical examples were simply one more reason to re-examine our law and institutions for protecting children, to see if their original good intentions could be better achieved in practice.

We are long past the time when parents had absolute power over children. There is broad political consensus for child labor laws and for mandatory vaccinations and health checks at the start of the school year. There is consensus for compulsory education, despite deep disagreement about the respective roles of public, private and home schools. And there is overwhelming consensus for state protection against abuse and neglect.

The question is no longer whether the state should sometimes intervene in family life, but when and how and under what standards. Mrs. Clinton's proposed answers to those questions are thoughtful and balanced. Reasonable people can agree or disagree, especially with respect to the inevitable difficulties of implementation. But the charge that she is anti-family is a distortion without basis in her writings.

Mr. Laycock is a law professor at the University of Texas, Austin.

9-16-92

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School-Choice Plan On Ballot in Colorado Puts State in Spotlight

By WILLIAM CELIS 3d

In the newest battleground over "school choice," a ballot initiative in Colorado would give parents up to \$2,500 in public money each year to cover the expense of private or parochial schools and even of educating a child at home.

The citizen-led initiative, which is on the ballot in November, has touched off another rancorous debate over the merits of school choice, in which parents are allowed to use public dollars at whatever schools they wish. Opponents assert that if the measure is approved it will undermine public schools by siphoning money away from them. But proponents say giving all parents more choices will improve public schools through competition.

Although the only poll published so far shows that the measure has more support than opposition, both sides say public opinion on the measure is about evenly divided right now.

Because Colorado has the only

of the State Board of Education. "It really isn't just about education. It's about people from all different backgrounds and walks of life and coming together and learning about one another. That's how the country was built."

Last week, the State Board of Education voted 6 to 1 to oppose the initiative and 7 to 0 to reaffirm support of choice in and between public school districts.

"This is going to be a battleground for school choice for the whole country," said Phil Fox, a lobbyist for the Colorado School Executives Association, which represents 2,100 superintendents and principals. "If it's approved, it will energize other people in other states to do the same. This is a defining vote that could go either way, and that personally scares the hell out of me."

Although other states and cities offer choice programs, they fall short of Colorado's initiative. Milwaukee has a plan that offers \$2,500 vouchers for use at private schools. Minnesota has several different statewide choice plans for students, with school district money following the student to his or her new school; the most widely known Minnesota program involves public schools only, and another plan includes contracted private schools teaching nonsectarian courses. But the Colorado measure is much broader than both because of its inclusion of all private schools and home schools.

By the Numbers

Under the Colorado initiative, which would go into effect in the 1993-94 school year if approved, parents who send their children to private schools would receive a voucher equal to 50 percent of a school district's average spending per student. That sum could range from \$2,100 to \$2,500, depending on the average amount a local school district now spends on each student.

Parents who teach their children at home would be reimbursed for the money they spend on instructional materials, educational trips and tutors up to the 50 percent threshold. But the initiative would bar parents from paying themselves a salary to teach their children at home. The initiative does not specifically outline how the state should safeguard against parents' using the vouchers to profit illegally; the state General Assembly would be responsible for coming up with safeguards.

In the 1991-92 school year, about 3,300 children were educated at home and about 38,600 attended private or parochial schools in the state, which had a student enrollment of about 635,000 in all schools.

The stage for the Colorado initia-

Both sides see a battleground over public money for parents.

choice initiative on a ballot this fall — efforts to get one on the California ballot failed — both sides expect the campaign to draw inordinate interest, turning the state's measure into a national litmus test for school choice, an approach to education supported by the Bush Administration.

"It's a good initiative, and it advances the notion of giving parents and students greater educational opportunities," said Lanny Griffith, assistant secretary of education for intergovernmental and interagency affairs.

While the measure has drawn considerable fire, opposition to the home-schooling component has been vociferous, in part because of the rising popularity nationally of educating children at home. As many as 500,000 children are being taught at home, according to 1990 estimates.

Critics maintain that it is detrimental to a child's academic and social development. But supporters call home-schooling the ultimate in choice, and Mr. Griffith says the Education Department considers home schools an appropriate option for voucher money along with private or public schools.

"We seem to be losing touch of what public education is all about," said Sybil Downing, the chairwoman

tive was set earlier this summer when a citizens' group called Coloradans for Choice collected 91,000 signatures in eight weeks in June and July, well over the 50,000 needed to put the measure on the ballot.

"We're supported by a broad-based group, and it includes folks like myself upset with the options in public schools," said Ron Pierce, a spokesman for the 1,600-member volunteer citizens' group based in Denver. "Private and home-school families also want support for their efforts."

Although the initiative closely resembles one that was defeated by Oregon voters in 1990, supporters of the Colorado initiative, which was written by a small group of voucher experts in the state, maintain that their measure is better written and better defined than the Oregon plan.

'Some Breathing Room'

The initiative has attracted widespread grass-roots support from parents like Charles and Diane Carson, who this year began their second year of teaching their 12-year-old son, Nathan, and 7-year daughter, Noelle, at home. Mrs. Carson says the measure would give the family, whose finances are stretched by home-school expenses, some breathing room.

"This initiative would definitely allow me to stop working part time," said Mrs. Carson, who lives in the Denver suburb of Littleton. "We definitely feel like we are doing a far superior job of educating our children, and this initiative would help us continue that effort."

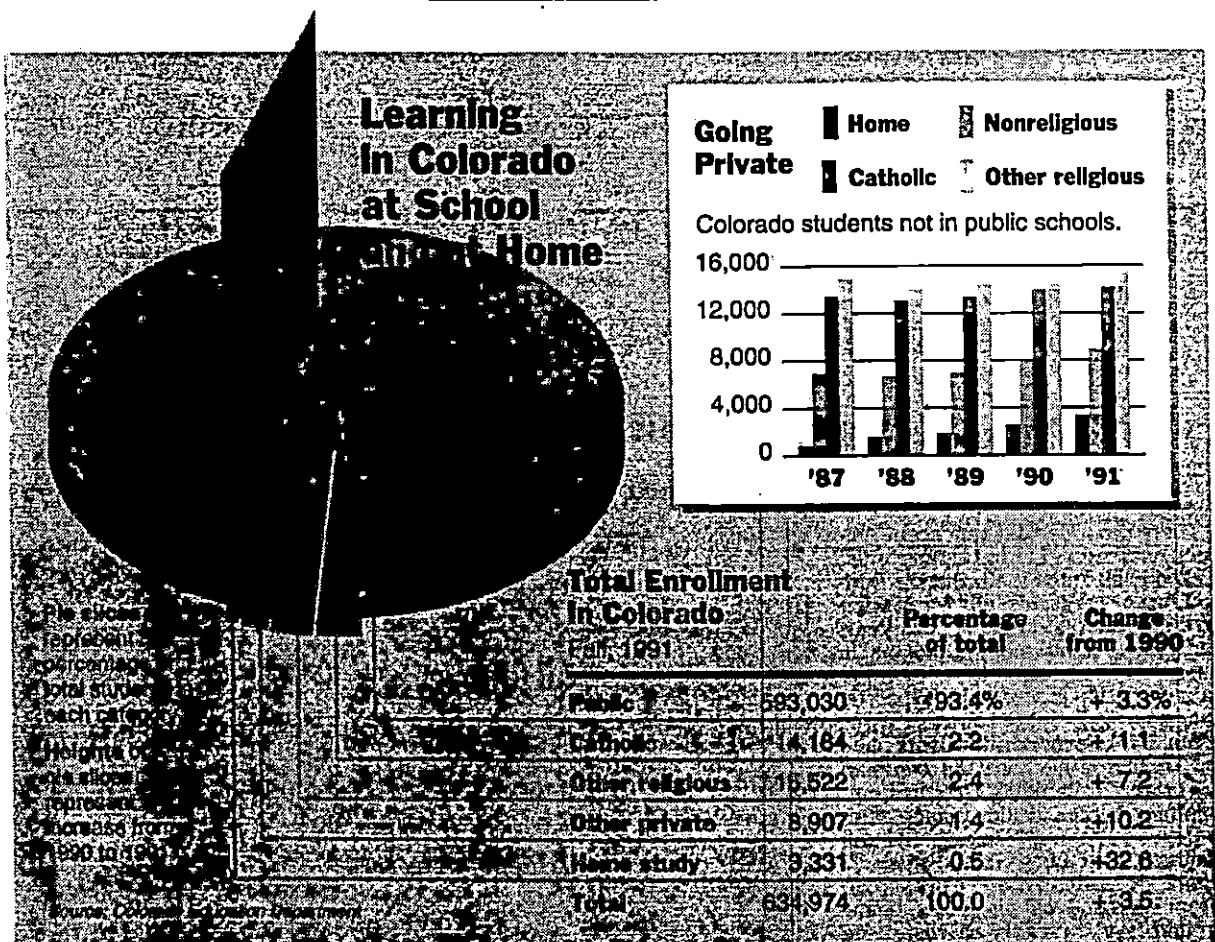
Mrs. Carson estimates the family would spend less than \$2,500 each to buy books, hire tutors in subjects like math or science and take the children on field trips.

"Even though we're ahead in the polls, the debate is just getting under way, and we expect to be the focus of national opposition, from groups like the National Education Association," said John Andrews, the 1990 Republican candidate for governor and now the executive director of the nonpartisan, nonprofit Independence Institute, a Denver public policy research organization. The N.E.A. is the na-

Cont.

9-16-92

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The New York Times

tion's largest teachers' association. "A breakthrough in any one state would lead very rapidly to market reform schools throughout the country," Mr. Andrews said.

Acknowledging the measure's significance, opponents have initiated efforts to combat it in a big way. On Tuesday, an umbrella group of several education establishment groups, including associations representing teachers, administrators and parents, will open a fully staffed operating called No On Vouchers.

"We see this pretty simply," said Jeanne Beyer, a spokeswoman for the 28,000-member Colorado Educa-

tion Association, the state affiliate of the N.E.A., whose task it will be to enlist the state's corporations in opposing the measure. "The association at every level is opposed to the use of public tax dollars to private schools and home schools. We just don't believe tax dollars should be used for private schools and home schools. It's not a complicated issue."

Opponents maintain that some already underfinanced schools in the state's 176 districts would be undermined further if the initiative passed. According to the state Legislative Council, the research arm of the Colo-

rado General Assembly, public schools would lose from \$90 million to \$180 million, depending on how many students now in private schools or home schools took advantage of the vouchers if they were available.

The initiative's potential effect on school financing has been a big worry in this state. A separate initiative on the November ballot, organized by Gov. Roy Romer, would raise \$385 million by increasing the state sales tax by 1 cent. Without the increase, Mr. Romer said, state support to public education would sustain additional cuts that would be crippling if the voucher plan was also approved.

APP
Interview





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The New York Times

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

BUSH HOLDS BACK IN DIGS AT CLINTON OVER DRAFT ISSUE

COMPARISONS ARE INVITED

President, Addressing Leaders
of Guard, Suggests Rival Is
Less Fit to Command

By MICHAEL KELLY
Special to The New York Times

SALT LAKE CITY, Sept. 15 — In a day marked by some of the most subtle political jousting of the campaign, President Bush today took note of the controversy over Gov. Bill Clinton's draft record but said he did not want to attack his opponent over it. He invited an audience of National Guard officers instead to compare the candidates' credentials to be Commander in Chief.

Standing in front of a massive blue curtain and flanked by larger American flags before several thousand conventioners of the National Guard Association, Mr. Bush began his thrusts at Mr. Clinton by noting, as if in an aside, that "there has been a lot of controversy swirling around about service to country, about using influence to avoid the military."

Referring to recent news reports, he added: "And I've read a great deal of speculation saying that I was going to come out here and use this forum to attack Governor Clinton. I want to tell you, I do feel very strongly about certain aspects of the controversy swirling around Governor Clinton. But I didn't come here to attack him."

Implications Are Clear

Even as he disclaimed any intention to attack the Democratic nominee, Mr. Bush drew several implicit comparisons, each pointing to the same conclusion — that Mr. Clinton was not to be trusted as the nation's military leader.

Mr. Bush's digs at Mr. Clinton over his draft record were mostly indirect and heavily veiled, an approach that allowed the President to maintain a dignified distance from what might be taken as negative campaigning.

But this approach, by its oblique nature, also allowed the Arkansas Governor, who spoke to the same group shortly after Mr. Bush, to ignore the President's remarks. Instead, Mr. Clinton, after asserting he had the backbone to make military decisions as President, turned the subject back to one that favors his candidacy, the performance of the economy under Mr. Bush.

Clinton on the Economy

"If you look at the last 12 years, we now have a chance to assess whether the trickle-down theory has worked," he said. "In 1980, we had the highest wages in the world; now we're are 13th and dropping. The census figures themselves demonstrate that over two-thirds of the American people, including most of the people enrolled in National Guard units in every state in the United States, are working longer work weeks for lower wages than they were making 10 years ago."

The audience responded with polite, but not overwhelming, enthusiasm to both men, awarding them with what seemed an almost calculated balance of attention. There were appropriate bursts of applause and a brief standing ovation at the end of each speech.

The speeches today followed a day of tactical moves by both campaigns. By

Continued on Page A19, Column 1



The Overview

Bush Refrains From Attacking On Draft Issue

Continued From Page A1

announcing that he would appear in place of Vice President Dan Quayle, Mr. Bush raised expectations that he would jab at Mr. Clinton's lack of a service record and his youthful expressions of "loathing" for the military. Expectations were heightened further when Mr. Clinton altered his schedule to appear before the same audience and respond to an anticipated attack.

But Mr. Bush's speech was not as direct an attack as the Clinton campaign had feared. Clinton campaign officials said they knew halfway through Mr. Bush's draft-related remarks that they would not have to use the rebuttal speech that Paul Begala, a top Clinton aide, and several other campaign strategists had worked on until 4 A.M.

After the principals retired, each not only unbloodied but even unruffled, their seconds rushed to claim that each man got the boost he needed.

Bush strategists exulted over the fact that their threat of a Presidential attack on Mr. Clinton's greatest area of vulnerability had forced the Democratic candidate to alter his schedule, fly from California to Utah and accept an invitation he had previously declined.

"A trap? Let's just say we can't believe he walked into it," said Torie Clarke, a spokeswoman for the Republican campaign. "This guy wants to be Commander in Chief, but he can't avoid the land mines on the campaign trail."

'We Won a Draw'

Clinton aides claimed triumph on the assertion that their rapid response to Mr. Bush's threat had forced him to soften his attack, thus leaving Mr. Clinton free to ignore the President's digs, and to walk away unscathed.

"We won a draw today," said one Clinton campaign official, speaking on a condition of anonymity. "In and out of the lion's den without a toothmark on us. Maybe just a little hair on the blazer."

In his speech, Mr. Bush offered a retrospective defense of the National Guard and Mr. Quayle for the pounding he said both had taken four years ago. He said that Mr. Quayle had been "savagely attacked and ridiculed by the national press for going into the National Guard," and that the Guard had been attacked "as a haven for draft dodgers."



President Bush addressing a rally in southeast Denver yesterday after an appearance in Salt Lake City.

The defense of Mr. Quayle had a sharp point to it, giving Mr. Bush an opening for an indirect criticism of the way Mr. Clinton has handled questions on his draft record. He praised what he called Mr. Quayle's "candor" on a subject that Mr. Clinton has been accused of being less than forthcoming.

"No candidate has ever been attacked more unmercifully than Vice President Quayle," Mr. Bush said. "But he stood his ground. And he answered every question calmly and with candor, and he told the truth. And this is service to country."

Having thus implicitly raised questions about the way Mr. Clinton had handled similar questions about his draft days, Mr. Bush asked, almost reflectively: "Why do these questions even matter? Why are they part of our national debate?"

"They matter," Mr. Bush said, "because, despite all our problems at home, we can never forget that we ask our Presidents to lead the military, to bear the awful responsibility of sending your sons and daughters in harm's way."

As Mr. Bush recalled a letter he received from a mother whose son, a

helicopter pilot, had died in the Persian Gulf war, his voice grew thick and cracked with emotion, and a few people in the audience seemed near tears as well. Any President, he said, might have to face the same thing.

"And does this mean that if you've never seen the awful horror of battle that you can never be Commander in Chief? Of course not. Not at all," he said. "But it does mean that we must hold our Presidents to the highest standard, because they might have to decide if our sons and daughters should knock early on death's door."

'Back to Our Turf'

Clinton aides said they had expected a more direct assault and said they saw Mr. Bush's glancing references as an opportunity. "We recognized that it was an implicit attack, but it was so scaled-back that we were not forced to respond," said one Clinton campaign official. "That gave us a huge opening to turn the subject back to the economy, back to our turf. And, since Bush we had a clear field."

Thus, Mr. Clinton, speaking without notes and appearing relaxed, took the podium and gave a speech that mixed

calls for a strong defense and a well-equipped National Guard with a long disquisition on the subject the campaign believes is deciding the race so far in Mr. Clinton's favor, his ideas for economic renewal.

Calling for a better trained, better educated work force, he drew sustained applause when he said: "A trained force is the answer. If it worked in the Persian Gulf, believe me, it will work in the factories, in the farms, in the small businesses, on Main Street, in the heartland of the United States of America to bring the country back."

Judging from scattered samples of reaction among the mostly middle-aged, crisply-uniformed men in the room, Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton were both reasonably well received.

"I understood what the President was doing, saying he didn't want to make references to his opponent's problems, and then going ahead and subtly making them," said Maj. Kent Demars, of the Utah Army National Guard. "But the economy is the big issue, as far as I'm concerned. And the Governor's speech was much better than the President's on this, much more vibrant, much more impressive."

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

Clinton Retains Significant Lead in Latest Survey

By ROBIN TONER

Despite President Bush's efforts to rebuild his political base, Gov. Bill Clinton is holding on to both a significant lead in this race and the support of important elements of the Reagan-Bush coalition, according to the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll.

The poll shows Mr. Clinton with strong backing from young people, suburbanites, independents, Roman Catholics and Democrats who said they voted for Ronald Reagan and Mr. Bush.

Riding a wave of economic discontent, the Democratic nominee now has the backing of 49 percent of the voters over all, compared to 37 percent who say they are supporting Mr. Bush, the poll shows. Despite Mr. Bush's efforts to refocus his campaign and repackage

Democrat Runs Strong Among Major Parts Of Reagan's Bloc

his economic agenda, those standings are essentially unchanged from the last Times/CBS poll three weeks ago.

The public mood remains ominous for the President, with 63 percent of all adults saying that most American families today are worse off financially than they were four years ago.

The economy is far and away the biggest issue on voters' minds. When asked what issue the candidates should be talking about most, 46 percent vol-

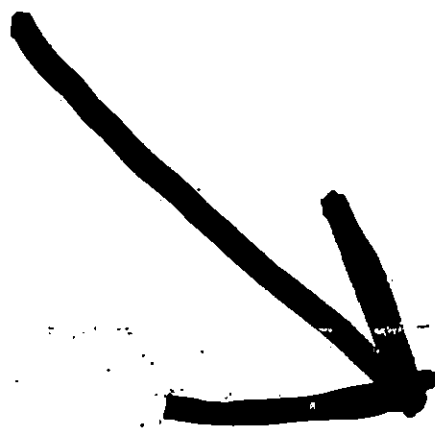
unteered economic problems. Only 1 percent said candidates should most emphasize "family values," one of the central themes of the Republican convention. The Bush campaign has de-emphasized that theme in recent days.

Mr. Clinton, so far, does not appear to be seriously hurt by the resurgence of the draft issue; 79 percent said the allegations that he manipulated his draft status to avoid going to Vietnam would have no effect on their vote. Still, the Republicans have only begun to focus on that issue in recent days, and some political experts say it is too soon to tell its full impact.

In general, there were signs of potential tightening in the race. Voters are now closely divided over which candidate they expect to win in November; whereas in early August they were overwhelmingly predicting a Clinton victory. Moreover, Mr. Clinton's favorability rating has slipped, and Mr. Bush showed some slight improvement in his job ratings, especially in foreign policy.

For all of that, the poll highlights the formidable task facing Mr. Bush and his new political team, headed by James A. Baker 3d, the White House chief of staff. Conducted Wednesday to Sunday, the poll provides a detailed look at the electorate now that both party conventions are over, the dramatic swings in public opinion associated with them have wound down and

Continued on Page A17, Column 1



The New York Times

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Poll

Clinton Keeps Lead With Support From Many Who Voted G.O.P.

Continued From Page A1

the race has entered its autumn stretch.

The survey, based on telephone interviews with 1,329 adults, including 1,006 registered voters, has a margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points.

A Crucial Group Defects

The poll shows that Reagan Democrats have returned in large numbers to the party of their heritage: Fifty-nine percent of the Democrats who said they voted for Mr. Bush in 1988 said they supported Mr. Clinton today, along with 64 percent of the Democrats who said they voted for Mr. Reagan in 1984.

Other groups that provided the Republicans with important support in the 1980's are also now with Mr. Clinton. The Democrat has a 2-to-1 edge among voters aged 18-to-29, for example. He is also the choice of 48 percent of suburban voters, compared to 38 percent who say they are backing Mr. Bush.

Catholic voters, a crucial group in the industrial Midwest and such big Eastern states as Pennsylvania, are also breaking Mr. Clinton's way, 47 percent to 37 percent. Mr. Bush has tried to target Catholic voters with promises of tuition vouchers that could be used in parochial schools.

From an ideological standpoint, the poll suggests that Mr. Bush's efforts to shore up his conservative base this year have left him vulnerable among the voters in the center. Thirty-two percent of the voters who consider themselves independents say they are backing Mr. Bush, while 47 percent say they are supporting Mr. Clinton. Similarly, just 29 percent of the voters who consider themselves moderates are backing Mr. Bush, while 55 percent are backing Mr. Clinton.

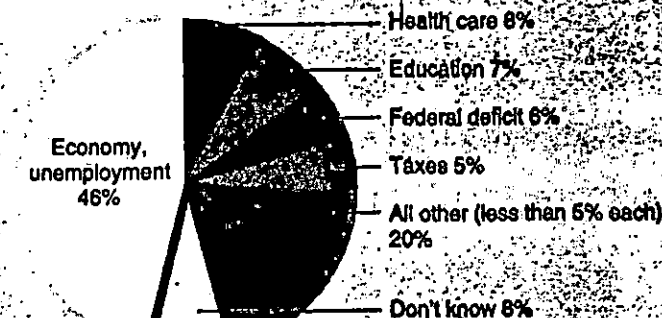
Not surprisingly, Mr. Bush is running strongly among conservatives, where he leads Mr. Clinton 62 percent to 28 percent, and among those who define themselves as religious fundamentalists. The President also shows strength among those aged 30-to-44, where he is trailing Mr. Clinton by only four percentage points and among those aged 65 and older, where the candidates are virtually tied.

Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton are evenly dividing the votes of whites, which went heavily Republican in the last three elections.

Still, Mr. Clinton is running ahead of the country. A separate poll, focused on Ohio, which Mr. Bush almost certainly needs to carry to reach the 270 electoral votes necessary to win, shows the race there to be a statistical dead heat.

What the Voters Want to Hear

What one issue do you wish the candidates would talk about most?



Based on telephone interviews with 1,006 registered voters nationwide, Sept. 9-13.

The New York Times

How the Two Polls Were Taken

The latest nationwide New York Times/CBS News Poll is based on telephone interviews conducted Wednesday through Sunday with 1,329 adults around the United States, excluding Alaska and Hawaii, of whom 1,006 said they were registered voters.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was selected by a computer from a complete list of exchanges in the country. The exchanges were chosen so as to assure that each region of the country was represented in proportion to its population. For each exchange, the telephone numbers were formed by random digits, thus permitting access to listed and unlisted numbers alike.

In addition, throughout the state of Ohio telephone interviews were conducted Saturday through Monday with 867 adults, of whom 678 said they were registered voters. The sample of Ohio telephone numbers was provided by Survey Sampling Inc. of Fairfield, Conn.

For both polls, within each household one adult was designated by a random

procedure to be the respondent for the poll. The results of each poll have been weighted to take account of household size and number of telephone lines into the residence and to adjust for variations relating to region, race, sex, and age. The national poll was also weighted by education.

In theory, in 19 cases of 20 the results based on such samples will differ by no more than a few percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by seeking out all registered voters in the population. For the national poll it is plus or minus three points; for the Ohio poll it is plus or minus four.

The potential sampling error for smaller subgroups is larger. For example, for results based on registered voters 18 to 29 years old nationwide, it is plus or minus eight percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the poll.

49 percent said they would trust Mr. Bush on this front, while 44 percent said Mr. Bush might make a serious mistake. Fifty-two percent had that fear about Mr. Clinton.

Both candidates are judged skeptically when it comes to taxes. Fifty-eight percent said they did not believe that Mr. Bush would deliver on his promise to cut taxes across the board, and 63 percent said they did not believe that Mr. Clinton was any less likely than past Democratic candidates to raise taxes and increase Federal spending. And 52 percent said Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton were equally likely to raise taxes.

Caring and Credibility

Mr. Clinton is given the edge on compassion and empathy. Sixty-seven percent said the Governor cared about their needs and problems, while only 44 percent said Mr. Bush cared.

In general, 32 percent said they held a favorable opinion of Mr. Clinton, while 29 percent said they held unfavorable views. The favorable rating was a slight decline from the last poll, when 36 percent saw him favorably. Still, it is better than the 31 percent favorable, 44 percent unfavorable rating given Mr. Bush.

Both candidates have their own particular credibility problem. Twenty-five percent said they did not believe that Mr. Clinton was truthful about how he avoided the draft, while 42 percent said he was. In Mr. Bush's case, 55 percent said the President was hiding things the public needed to know about his involvement in the Iran-contra affair, although that percentage has changed little for the last four years.

There were a few signs of improvement for Mr. Bush. His approval rating was up to 42 percent, from 38 percent in the poll after the Republican National Convention in mid-August. He was given better marks on his handling of foreign affairs, 56 percent approval, up from 48 percent before the convention. And 64 percent said they approved of the way the President handled the Federal response to Hurricane Andrew.

There were some intriguing hints of two wild cards if the race turns out to be tight. Ross Perot retains a significant following, with 14 percent of the registered voters saying they would vote for Mr. Perot if they see his name on the ballot, which they are likely to do.

And the poll suggests that the contrast between Vice President Dan Quayle and Mr. Clinton's running mate, Senator Al Gore of Tennessee, is costing the Republicans about three percentage points. When asked to suppose they were voting only for President, and not Vice President, too, 50 percent of the voters said they preferred Mr. Clinton and 41 percent Mr. Bush.

The overall rankings of the Times/CBS News poll track those of other polls released by news organizations in recent days. A Newsweek poll issued last weekend showed Mr. Clinton with a 15-point lead. The ABC News-Washington Post poll released this week showed Mr. Clinton with 54 percent, to 38 percent for Mr. Bush.

Bad News, and Good

The economy continues to drive this election and darken the public's mood. Forty-six percent said future generations of Americans would be worse off than people today, for example, while only 22 percent said they would be better off.

And the poll suggests that Mr. Bush is being harshly judged for his response to the economic downturn; only 27 percent said the President had offered specific ideas for getting the country out of recession, while 53 percent said Mr. Clinton had.

Mr. Bush, on the other hand, is given a strong edge in his conduct of international affairs, with 62 percent saying they were confident in his ability to handle an international crisis, while only 27 percent said they were confident about Mr. Clinton in that situation.

Mr. Bush is also given the edge on trustworthiness to handle "all the problems" that will confront a President:

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

The New York Times | CBS NEWS Poll

How Groups of Voters Divide

If the 1992 Presidential election were being held today, would you vote for George Bush for President and Dan Quayle for Vice President, the Republican candidates, or for Bill Clinton for President and Al Gore for Vice President, the Democratic candidates?

	BUSH/ QUAYLE	CLINTON/ GORE	UNDECIDED
Democrats	9	81	9
Independents	32	47	17
Republicans	76	18	5
Liberals	21	72	7
Moderates	29	55	12
Conservatives	62	28	8
18-29 years old	30	63	5
30-44 years old	41	45	11
45-64 years old	36	49	11
65 and older	40	43	13
Men	37	50	9
Women	37	49	12
Less than high school	35	38	20
High school graduate	35	52	9
Some college	43	47	9
College graduate	39	50	9
Income under \$15,000	31	51	14
\$15,000-\$30,000	37	50	10
\$30,000-\$50,000	37	51	9
\$50,000-\$75,000	43	49	6
Over \$75,000	43	47	10
Northeast	37	52	8
Midwest	35	48	12
South	39	50	9
West	38	47	14
Big cities	21	66	12
Medium-sized cities	46	46	7
Suburbs	38	48	11
Small towns and rural areas	38	46	11
White	43	44	10
Black	7	83	10
White Protestant	47	40	9
Catholic	37	47	12
Democrat who voted for George Bush in 1988	25	59	13
Democrats who say they voted for Ronald Reagan in 1984	21	64	11

Based on nationwide telephone interviews with 1,008 registered voters conducted Sept. 9-13. Those who said they would not vote are not shown.

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

Ohio Voters

Smattering of Fire but Mostly Unease in a District That Bush Carried in '88

By DON TERRY

Special to The New York Times

LAKEWOOD, Ohio, Sept. 15 — A few weeks ago, Jane Shade got so scared at what she saw on the nightly news that one morning she did something she had never done before: she registered to vote.

What frightened the 30-year-old housewife was how well Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas was doing in the polls compared with her choice in the fall election, President Bush.

"I think George Bush is in trouble and he needs every vote he can get," Mrs. Shade said as she sat on her front steps here with her two young children. "If Clinton is elected, I'm scared taxes will go up."

On the other side of this middle-class suburb of tidy lawns, wooden porch swings and American flags almost as common as curtains, Michael Burke, 32, said he, too, had recently been shocked into action.

"This country can't afford another four years of George Bush and the Republicans," Mr. Burke said. "I registered to vote for the first time in my life about a month ago, right after I got laid off."

Officials in both parties point to Ohio and its neighbors in the industrial heartland as a make-or-break front in the fall campaign. Recent history, at least, is on Mr. Bush's side.

Four years ago he handily won Ohio, including the largely white 19th Congressional district, where Lakewood is situated, about 10 miles west of Cleveland. The Democrats have carried the state only three times since 1948.

But things change. According to a new New York Times/CBS News poll, the contest in Ohio is a tossup, with Mr. Bush's support within one percentage point of Mr. Clinton's.

Judging by the voices heard in Lakewood, where 97.2 percent of the 60,000 residents are white, the story is no different in this worried but comfortable pocket of America, which in 1992 had 9,762 registered Democrats, 4,115 Republicans and 22,360 independents.

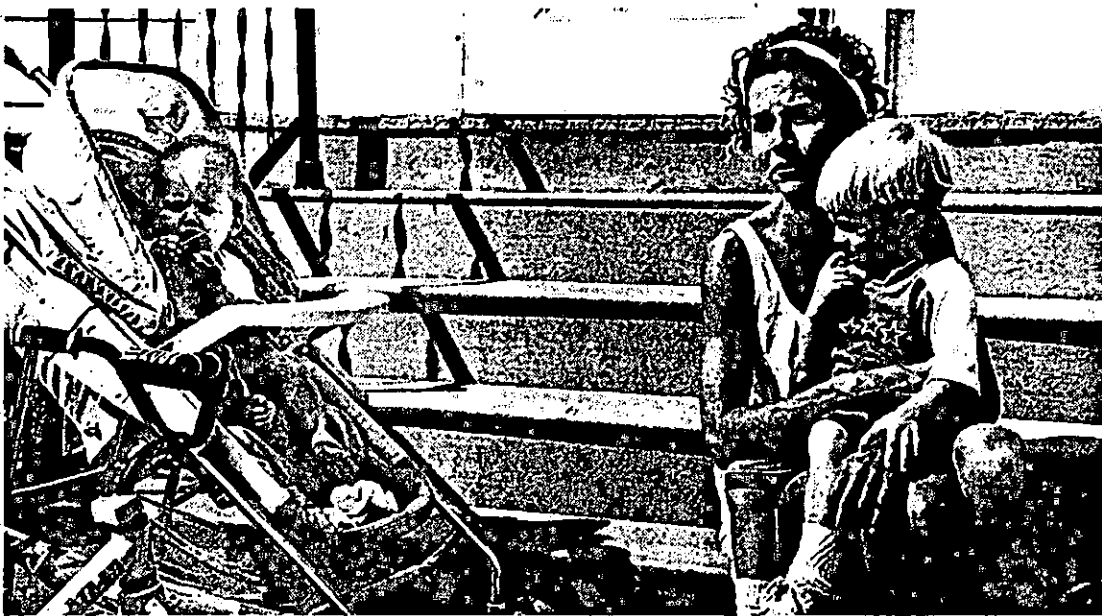
The battle appears to be nip and tuck.

"I voted for Bush the last time," said James Cureton, a 30-year-old plant maker for a printing company. "Now it seems like he's kind of lost in the wilderness."

Others, like 31-year-old Marty Steward, a computer programmer, who voted against Mr. Bush last time, now say they are moving toward casting their ballot for him this time because "he is a known quantity."

But if the election were held today, disillusion and disgust would give both candidates a run for their money.

"I'm not happy about either guy,"



Photographs by Roger Mastroianni for The New York Times

"I think George Bush is in trouble and he needs every vote he can get," said Jane Shade of Lakewood, Ohio, who registered to vote after hearing

that Gov. Bill Clinton was ahead in the polls. "If Clinton is elected, I'm scared taxes will go up." With her were her children, Abigail, left, and Eric.



"I have my flag out everyday except rainy ones," said Rose Slavik of Lakewood. Mrs. Slavik said she was supporting Gov. Bill Clinton for President. "I'm a patriot and a Democrat from way, way back."

said Larry Lansberry, a 24-year-old auto-parts salesman. "I think I'll probably stay home on Election Day."

Robert Cureton, a generation older, said both candidates had ignored the most important issue: saving jobs. "The blue-collar worker doesn't have

a chance anymore," said Mr. Cureton, a 50-year-old factory worker. "When we go home at night, we don't know if we'll have a job in the morning because all the plants are moving overseas."

Even when people here say they are supporting a particular candi-

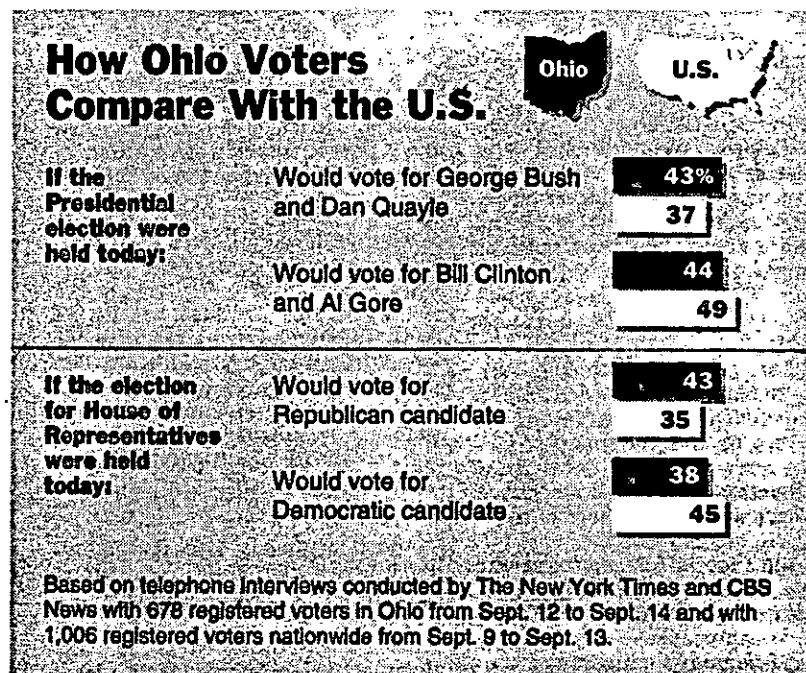
date, many qualify their statements. Wholehearted support is hard to find.

"I'll probably vote for Clinton," said Janet Birchard, a 49-year-old fraud investigator for the Cuyahoga County welfare office. "Why? Let me choose my words carefully: Because the alternative is so repulsive."

The New York Times

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Ms. Birchard said health care was her No. 1 Presidential issue. In better times, she added, character might be an issue, but "it's not a primary concern to me because I think there are character flaws, serious ones, on both sides."

But here, as in so much of America, the most important issue on almost everyone's list was the economy. Education, homelessness and health care were frequently mentioned as major but still secondary issues in more than two dozen interviews.

As he hurried down Quail Street, a copy of "The Perfect Résumé" under his arm, Robert Jacobs, 35, said: "I think Clinton has a good chance because of the economy. People want a change. We need one."

Not everyone agrees. A few blocks away, Mike Greene, a 27-year-old car salesman, declared, "I'm 100 percent Republican. Always have been, always will be."

The economy, Mr. Greene said, is his primary concern, though national defense is also important. He said he considered Mr. Clinton weak on military and foreign affairs. But he said the issue of Mr. Clinton's draft status during the Vietnam War and what the Arkansas Governor has since said about it was "like bringing up ancient history."

He said he was confident that most of his friends and co-workers would be voting for Mr. Bush. Then Mr. Clinton's theory. "Anyone voting for Clinton?" he shouted with a smirk to his colleagues in the showroom.

Of the six salesmen nearby, only Duane R. Spence raised his hand.

"They just think they're Republi-

cans," Mr. Spence said, flashing a smirk of his own at his co-workers. "But they don't make enough to be Republicans. They're fooling themselves."

Down Detroit Street, Wendy McKenzie was working her second job; at a flower shop. She is also a secretary.

"These days you have to work two jobs to get by," she said. "Right now, I'm leaning toward Bush. I have three kids and education is very, very important to me. I like Bush's voucher plan. My kids should be able to attend the school of their choice."

Ms. McKenzie, 31, is leaning but has not fallen. She said that she voted for Mr. Bush in 1988 but that she had not made up her mind this time.

So the door remains open for Mr. Clinton, though not as widely as a few weeks ago, before the latest reports about his draft record.

But for everyone who worried about Mr. Clinton's record, someone else held up Vice President Dan Quayle and his own military record as an antidote. Mr. Quayle served in the Indiana National Guard during the Vietnam war.

Rose Slavick, 65, was making her neat lawn neater when she stopped to talk politics. An American flag was flying from her red-brick front porch.

"I have my flag out everyday except rainy ones," she said. "I'm a patriot and a Democrat from way way back. So was my father."

Mrs. Slavick said she would support Mr. Clinton. "He hasn't been totally honest about the draft business," she said, "but Quayle avoided it, too. So they're even-steven on that."

U.S. Bank Regulators Scale Back Rise in Fees for Deposit Insurance

By STEPHEN LABATON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 15 — Bowing to political pressure, Federal regulators today cut in half a proposed increase in the insurance premiums that banks pay to the deposit insurance fund — and exempted three-quarters of the industry from any increase at all.

The decision by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation to set the rate increase at an average of 10.4 percent, half the amount proposed in May, came after intense lobbying by the Bush Administration and the banking industry.

The increase takes effect on Jan. 1, two weeks after regulators will begin to seize more troubled banks under a new banking law. The higher premiums are intended to cover the cost of insuring depositors in these failing banks.

Treasury Holds Sway

The unanimous action reflects the tightening grip by the Treasury Department over the agency just three weeks after the sudden death of its chairman, William Taylor. He had

sought an average increase of 22 percent, to 28 cents for every \$100 in deposits, and had provided the swing vote in May for tentative approval of that increase.

Banks now pay insurance premiums of 23 cents for every \$100 in deposits. After Jan. 1, the strongest institutions would continue to pay the current rate, the weakest banks and savings associations would pay 31 cents, and the average increase would be 2.4 cents.

The Administration has sought in this election year to convey the impression that the worst is behind the banking and savings and loan industries and it pointed to today's decision as a kind of ratification of that view.

"I think this is a reasonable approach," said Deputy Treasury Secretary John E. Robson, who played the

Continued on Page D2, Column 1

Continued From Page A1

pivotal role for the Administration in shaping the new rates. "It recognizes the fact the industry has had a substantial improvement over the past few months."

But many bank analysts and regulators believe that a recent surge in the industry's earnings is only temporary, a creation of this year's drastic plunge in interest rates. Those low rates have enabled the banks and savings associations to widen the difference between the amount they charge borrowers and the yields they pay depositors, and also earn new revenue from the wave of mortgage refinancings. The banks have also made money on government securities, which they have been holding in record amounts, even as they have been making fewer corporate and real estate loans.

As the anemic economy and high unemployment have become dominating issues in the Presidential campaign, the Administration has moved vigorously to relax lending, appraisal and examination regulations in an effort to stimulate more borrowing. It has also effectively abandoned its quest for more money from Congress for the stalled bailout of the savings and loan industry, which by some estimates will wind up costing taxpayers about \$500 billion, including interest, over the next 40 years.

But critics like Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, the chairman of the House Banking Committee, have accused the regulators of playing politics with bank failures and

putting off the industry's troubles until after the election.

Mr. Gonzalez, a Texas Democrat, has compared this year to 1988, when the Reagan Administration denied the existence of a problem in the savings and loan industry before the newly elected Bush Administration began to acknowledge it.

Mr. Gonzalez and other Democrats today challenged the decision to halve the proposed increase, arguing that the deposit corporation should have used the climate of strong bank earnings to shore up the insurance fund.

Move Called 'Misleading'

"The board's reluctance to raise premiums further sends the misleading message that all is well in the banking industry and that the worst is behind us," said Representative Charles E. Schumer, the Brooklyn Democrat who is a senior member of the Banking Committee. "The F.D.I.C. basically caved to the banks. If we learned anything in the 80's, it's that you need to set up a cushion in the good times to get you through the bad times. Today's decision was bad policy. And as an indication that the F.D.I.C. has lost its backbone, it's worse."

Senator Donald W. Riegle Jr., the Michigan Democrat who heads the Senate Banking Committee, said the vote "a mistake" that puts "at greater risk" the repayment of the huge loan granted by Congress last year to the F.D.I.C. to keep it afloat.

"When the industry is reporting record profits is precisely the time it can most easily afford to rebuild the bank insurance fund," he said in a letter earlier this week.

But Mr. Robson disagreed, saying

Shifting the Deposit Insurance Burden

The new fee structure for deposit insurance, effective Jan. 1, 1993. Currently, all banks pay a flat fee of 23 cents per \$100 of deposits.

Capital Category	Supervisory groups		
	Healthy	Supervisory concern	Substantial supervisory concern
Well capitalized	23 cents per \$100 9,115 institutions	26 cents per \$100 1,766 institutions	29 cents per \$100 164 institutions
Adequately capitalized	26 cents per \$100 192 institutions	29 cents per \$100 164 institutions	30 cents per \$100 174 institutions
Under-capitalized	29 cents per \$100 18 institutions	30 cents per \$100 26 institutions	31 cents per \$100 222 institutions

Source: Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

The New York Times

fees should be set based on anticipated need, not on the resources of the industry. "It should be run on an actuarial basis and not on the ability to pay at the moment," he said. Bank executives applauded the F.D.I.C. decision but some said it should have gone further and not raised the average rates at all.

At the end of June, the insurance fund that protects \$3 trillion in bank

deposits had a deficit of \$5.5 billion and even with the new premium increases, the fund is not expected to show a positive balance until well after the year 2000.

Today's vote on the premium increase is the final action on a plan to have stronger banks pay less insurance and weaker banks pay more, ending the 58-year-old system of having all banks pay the same rate.

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Economists View Election

Special to The New York Times

DALLAS, Sept. 15 — A poll published on Monday by the National Association of Business Economists found two-thirds of the membership expecting that the Democratic nominee, Bill Clinton, would be elected in November and that economic growth under him would probably be higher than during a second Bush term.

Of 243 respondents to the survey, 52.8 percent said growth would be better under Mr. Clinton, 22.7 percent said it would be worse and 24.5 percent said it would be the same. A

majority, 52.8 percent, also said that regulation, inflation, the budget deficit and interest rates would be higher than under Mr. Bush while the dollar and the stock market would be lower.

A majority also held that the trade deficit under Mr. Clinton would be either higher than during a second Bush term or would be no different than under Mr. Bush.

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

Gay Bashing, the Quayle Way

Hatred of gay Americans was written into the Republican Party platform and trumpeted from the speakers' podium in Houston. Vice President Quayle didn't initiate these ugly sentiments but he exploited them at the convention and afterward, right along with the arch-practitioners Pat Robertson and Patrick Buchanan.

Now the Vice President is trying to backpedal from Houston in a disingenuous way. He wants to hint at fairness for gay people while humoring the zealots who revile them. In a television interview last weekend, Mr. Quayle said repeatedly that homosexuality was "a wrong choice," though researchers remain uncertain whether sexual preference is "chosen" or inherited. Then he tried to soften the statement by declaring that the Bush Administration had a policy of nondiscrimination toward gay people.

Even conservative gay Republicans don't buy that. Their Log Cabin Federation voted unanimously to withhold its endorsement of the Republican ticket and condemned the platform because it opposes applying civil rights laws to gay people.

Last week Mr. Quayle said, implausibly, that the Administration's stance on gay issues had been "misinterpreted, misreported." When asked about the anti-gay sentiments expressed by Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Robertson, the Vice President replied that the worst rhetoric had come from people other than the President and himself.

That's a shabby defense. Pat Buchanan and Pat Robertson spewed the venom in Houston. But Mr. Quayle later exploited it by saying again and again that homosexuality was "wrong."

Mr. Quayle needs to stop encouraging the haters, before the ugliness gets out of control.

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Bill Clinton's Vietnam Test, Cont'd.

President Bush had the grace to say in his speech to the National Guard Association yesterday that never to have seen "the awful horror of battle" did not mean "you can never be Commander in Chief." By forgoing a more frontal attack on Bill Clinton's record of draft avoidance, Mr. Bush conveyed an impression of moral magnanimity.

It's only an impression; his co-campaigners, including Vice President Quayle, are still picking at the scab. "Once again he has misled us," Mr. Quayle said yesterday while campaigning in South Dakota.

By Governor Clinton's own admission he has handled this issue badly. Having failed to explain himself clearly, he remains vulnerable on his position on draft avoidance.

Successive generations have looked differently on going off to war, depending in part on whether the cause was righteous like World War II or divisive like Vietnam. Whatever their feelings, voters are rightly interested in how national candidates reacted to the demands imposed by the wars of their time.

Many young men served and died, some fled to Canada and many, like Mr. Clinton, delayed being drafted in various ways. The evidence remains incomplete, but in view of the Governor's confusing responses some of the doubts may fairly be resolved against him.

That evidence indicates that he gave his Arkansas draft board a runaround in 1968 and 1969. He signaled his intention to join an R.O.T.C. unit, then withdrew about the time his draft exposure abated, and he thanked a guard official for "saving me from the draft."

Even so, fairness compels weighing his conduct against that of thousands of other young men — including Dan Quayle — who pulled every string and tried every trick to escape going to Vietnam. What's more relevant than what he did then is what he says now. The Republican focus remains effective because of Mr. Clinton's checkered responses to numerous damaging disclosures.

For example, Mr. Clinton at first denied having been called up for service at one point in 1969. Later, confronted with the disclosure that he had in fact received an induction notice, he lamely explained that the induction notice was ineffective and thus not worth mentioning.

And just the other day, when asked about a report that a relative sought favored treatment for him in 1969, he gave an offhand but arguably misleading answer: "It's all news to me." That overlooked the fact that he had been informed of the allegation just last spring.

In 1969 and again in 1992 Mr. Clinton rendered a respectable accounting of his views about the Vietnam War. But his accounting now for his actions then remains unpersuasive.

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Senate Votes to Rebuild Base Destroyed by Storm

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 15 — The Senate voted today to rebuild a vastly scaled-down Homestead Air Force Base into a mostly civilian complex, which would provide some relief to South Florida and head off a political quarrel.

The Senate Appropriations Committee last week rejected the Bush Administration's proposal to rebuild the base at a cost of \$480 million, prompting charges from the White House that Democrats were not committed to rebuilding the hurricane-ravaged area.

Vice President Dan Quayle inserted Homestead into his campaign schedule last weekend to repeat the Administration's promise to do all it could to rebuild the air base, which has been an anchor to the local economy.

Florida's two Senators urged Senator Robert C. Byrd, the West Virginia Democrat who is chairman of the Appropriations Committee, to reconsider the decision to close the base. But they settled for an amendment that restored \$66 million to rebuild the control tower and the runway, replace radar, fuel tanks and electronic navigational equipment as well as to pay for an environmental cleanup.

The measure, which was passed by a

A scaled-down civilian role for Homestead.

voice vote of the full Senate, did not authorize the Air Force to redevelop the base, although it left open the possibility of a full reconstruction in the future. In all probability, Homestead will become a civilian airfield, although a Defense Department official said the Drug Enforcement Administration and other agencies would probably use it for anti-narcotics surveillance.

Senator Connie Mack, Republican of Florida, pressed to reinstate Homestead as a military base against a resistant Democratic leadership. But he went along with his Democratic colleague, Senator Bob Graham, in supporting the compromise, saying in an interview, "I would have liked a lot more, but in this business you take what you can get."

Aid for rebuilding the scaled-down field will come as part of a \$10.47 billion bill providing emergency assistance, mostly directed at Florida and Louisiana. The legislation has already grown

from the \$7.45 billion approved by the Appropriations Committee last week, in large part as a result of the ravages of Hurricane Iniki on Hawaii. The committee had agreed to pass \$26 million to clean up the base, a sum now added to the additional \$66 million.

The appropriation bill passed easily by a vote of 84 to 10. The House is expected to take similar action.

Administration officials have strongly suggested that President Bush could veto the bill because he is unhappy with the decision not to rebuild the base in full, and with a provision that would prevent the Government from employing nonunion workers in federally financed construction projects.

The White House has also objected to a provision of the bill that would delay the implementation of regulations restricting abortion counseling at federally financed family planning clinics.

In an unusual break among Republicans on the Senate floor, Senator Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon, the ranking Republican on the Appropriations Committee, reprimanded the Administration for threatening to veto the legislation, and at least six other appropriation bills that Mr. Bush says are too expensive.

"We need to use the nation's resources to help fellow citizens in trouble."

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

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Clinton's Invited Guests Hope to Bash Arkansas

"Washington, come on down!"

That was Mr. Clinton's invitation to Washington insiders, especially those in the Bush Administration, when he delivered his acceptance speech at the Democratic Convention in July.

"We took one of the poorest states in America and lifted it up," the Governor said. "So I say to all of those in this campaign season who would criticize Arkansas, come on down, especially if you're from Washington."

The price is right. They're coming. Today and tomorrow.

There'll be a half dozen or more of them, top Republican officials like Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin, Gov. John Ashcroft of Missouri, Samuel K. Skinner, the general chairman of the Republican National Committee, and Michael R. Deland, chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality.

They're all primed to traipse the length and breadth of Arkansas, painting Mr. Clinton as "the failed Governor of a small state" and ridiculing some of his most repeated campaign boasts — that he has been a great manager, a great environmentalist and a great friend of both labor and industry.

"Come on down!" These words will live in infamy," predicts a Bush-Quayle campaign flier.

Quayle Is Closer To the Action

So how is Dan Quayle doing this far, this time around?

Through most of the 1988 Presidential campaign, Mr. Quayle was a phantom candidate, the off-trail nominee, showing up in places that time had forgotten. His political profile was rarely higher than the fold of the local paper or the evening news on the local cable channel.

And that's the way his handlers wanted it. Because early in the campaign Mr. Quayle suffered from a seemingly incurable case of political foot-in-mouth disease.

This year, this far, things are going better for the Vice President.

There was considerable speculation that once James A. Baker 3d returned to the White House to run the 1992 Bush-Quayle campaign, much as he ran the 1988 campaign, Mr. Quayle would again be banished to the political outback.

Not yet. No love is lost between the men, but Mr. Baker has apparently seen nothing so far that requires such a drastic political demotion.

True, Mr. Quayle is seldom seen with the President. True, he is spending much of this week in Idaho, Montana and South Dakota. And true, he is still preaching mostly to groups of the Republican true-believers, bringing them to their feet with his hard-right thundering about family values.

But on any given weekend he also shows up on one or more of the nationally televised Sunday news shows, and about every 10 days he unloads a substantive speech in a place like Los Angeles or Washington that zings in the ears of Bill Clinton and Al Gore like a fingernail scraping across a blackboard.

Wait! The Video Is Coming Soon

Governor Clinton was on his way to Notre Dame the other day to give his version of the family values speech when his aides handed out a news release that said he had been endorsed by the "Official Madonna Fan Club" — copy of club letter attached.

Talk about family values. Here was some grist: The news release was filled with supposed quotations from Mr. Clinton based on titles of Madonna songs and movies, complete with boldface highlighting. Like: "I just want to thank my lucky stars. I think this endorsement sends a loud and clear message to the Bush-Quayle campaign: Poppy don't preach."

Out came the laptops computers. Tap. Tap. Tap.

In fact, the 10,000-member Madonna fan club has endorsed Mr. Clinton, seeing him as the true standard bearer of family values, according to Robert Del Vecchio, the club's director. But the rest of the news release was just fun and games. Any other day, given a good night's sleep and a hot meal, the red flag of skepticism would have gone up among the reporters traveling with the campaign. But this day some of them actually wrote articles.

Blame Dee Dee Myers, the Governor's campaign press secretary and self-described material girl.

B. DRUMMOND AYRES JR.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

Trade Pact vs. Environment: Clash at a House Hearing

By KEITH SCHNEIDER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 15 — House Democrats and the Bush Administration clashed today over the environmental impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement, with lawmakers asserting that safeguards are inadequate and the Administration acknowledging that the treaty would prevent the United States from directly enforcing tough conservation rules in Mexico.

Under insistent questioning by Democratic members of the House Ways and Means Committee, William K. Reilly, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, said that if Mexico chose to relax its environmental standards to attract American factories, "we have no direct recourse to apply sanctions to that company's products."

Mr. Reilly's statement came in the first of two Congressional hearings this week in which the Bush Adminis-

tration is expected to defend the proposed treaty against attacks by Democrats who say its environmental provisions are weak and will encourage manufacturers to exploit differences in the two countries' enforcement programs to gain a competitive advantage.

Immediately after the hearing, Robert T. Matsui, Democrat of California and a member of the Ways and Means trade subcommittee, said that unless the treaty was renegotiated to provide much stronger provisions for resolving environmental disputes, its chances for approval next year by the House are slim.

"Essentially, what the agreement now provides is a chance for Mexico to wink and not enforce its own laws and attract our businesses," Mr. Matsui said in an interview. "Right now, the only way to enforce environmental laws is through negotiations. That isn't enough, and we think that is a

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major issue that must be renegotiated."

Since June 1990, when the Administration indicated its strong desire to negotiate a free-trade agreement with Mexico, environmental groups have pushed to have their concerns addressed directly in the text of the accord. The White House and the United States trade representative, Carla A. Hills, resisted the pressure, saying that environmentalism had no proper place in considering new trade pacts.

But in May 1991, the Administration turned to five national environmental groups for support when it looked as though the House might defeat the legislation allowing the Administration to begin negotiating the pact. The National Wildlife Federation and the World Wildlife Fund subsequently helped in drawing up provisions in the accord. And the Administration acceded to demands from Mr. Reilly that the Environmental Protection Agency be allowed to advise American negotiators.

The accord, completed and made public last week, was touted by Mr. Reilly today as the "greatest trade treaty ever negotiated," and the "only one that contemplates specific sensitivity to environmental concerns."

A Central Campaign Issue

President Bush has cited the agreement as a centerpiece of his program to balance economic growth with environmental goals and has said it will benefit the American and Mexican economies. The agreement has generated strong support in Wall Street investment houses and the board-

rooms of most industrial corporations.

Gov. Bill Clinton, the Democratic Presidential candidate, has not decided whether to support or oppose the accord. Mr. Clinton and his running mate, Senator Al Gore of Tennessee, who is also an expert on international environmental issues, are coming under increasing pressure from environmental organizations, labor groups, farm organizations and small businesses to reject the agreement. These groups say free trade with Mexico will hurt conservation efforts and penalize workers by undermining United States protections for health, safety, the environment and wages.

"When you open up free trade between countries with unequal standards of living, there is a tendency to reach equilibrium in wages, health protections, and environmental regulations unless there is specific language to prevent this," said John Cavanagh, a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, who is helping to organize opposition to the pact. "That means our wages and standards go down or Mexico's go up. What is happening here is that this agreement gives all the rights to corporations and no responsibility."

Labor Secretary Lynn Martin also appeared today to tell the Ways and Means Committee that the agreement would create more American jobs than it destroyed. But she steered clear of providing new figures for how many jobs might be lost.

Ms. Martin caused dismay within the Administration last week, when she told the Senate Finance Committee that the program through which her department planned to help workers displaced by the agreement was based on studies showing that up to 150,000 workers could lose their jobs. These studies have also shown that new jobs would exceed the jobs lost.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

Cable TV Regulation Battle Heats Up Before Showdown

By EDMUND L. ANDREWS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 15 — As opposing sides intensified their lobbying on a bill to regulate cable television prices and accused each other of deception, a leading House Democrat charged today that it would cost consumers heavily and vowed to fight it.

Final votes are scheduled in the House and Senate in the coming days, and the bill is virtually assured of passage in both, by wide margins. But an alliance between cable television companies and Hollywood producers has been trying to generate enough opposition to sustain a veto by President Bush.

Since he took office Mr. Bush has vetoed 31 bills, and none of the vetoes have been overridden.

The new opposition to the cable regulation bill came from Representative Jack Brooks, Democrat of Texas and chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, who charged that the bill would cost consumers billions of dollars. Mr. Brooks has long sided with Hollywood studios in opposing a provision that would require cable companies to pay royalties to over-the-air television stations for the right to carry their signals.

Concern About Voters

With election-season sensitivities running high, supporters and opponents of the measure are cloaking themselves in the garb of consumer advocates. Mr. Brooks, a senior House Democrat who is frequently an

opponent of big-business groups, may provide enough wavering lawmakers with the rationale to change their earlier votes in favor of cable regulation.

The measure's supporters consider it a major consumer initiative that will attract middle-class voters who are angry about soaring cable television prices and indifferent service, but President Bush has long threatened to veto it, arguing that it represents excessive regulation.

"It is going to pass by a very large majority, I think, in the House and Senate," House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, Democrat of Washington, predicted today. He said he expected the House to vote on Thursday.

The real battles are primarily between cable television operators and over-the-air broadcasters. The cable industry has been running ads on cable channels charging that the bill is loaded with concessions to special interest groups that will raise prices rather than lower them.

Cable companies have also spawned a flood of mail to Congress by stuffing bills to their customers with leaflets charging that the legislation could increase prices by \$23 to \$51 a year. The companies argue that television station owners, for example, will be able to tack on extra fees that will drive up the prices.

But supporters of the legislation argue that the leaflets distort the truth by attributing their calculations to the Commerce Department when

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the data came from the cable industry itself. Supporters of the bill have called for an investigation of the ads by the Federal Trade Commission.

Station Owners Fight Back

Meanwhile, the National Association of Broadcasters has been urging owners of television stations to counter the cable industry by telling their news departments to "tell it like it is," "generate the news stories" and expose the alleged distortion. The internal association memo, obtained last week by Senator Tim Wirth, Democrat of Colorado, prompted several House Republicans to demand their own Congressional investigation to see whether television stations were violating the terms of the broad-

cast licenses by serving as their owners' propaganda outlet.

The reality is probably less dramatic than either side portrays it. Representative Edward J. Markey, Democrat of Massachusetts, the bill's sponsor in the House, said today that rates would merely "go up less than they would have if there was no legislation."

He has said that rate regulation is merely an interim measure, and that what is really needed to bring prices down is more competition in the cable industry. The bill is intended to address that problem eventually through licensing requirements designed to encourage the development of rival companies.

The House and Senate passed separate but similar versions of the bill by overwhelming margins earlier this year, and a conference committee worked out differences between the two measures last Wednesday.

Commission Would Set Guidelines

The final version would require the Federal Communications Commission to set guidelines for regulating the price of basic service that consists primarily of retransmitting the signals of local over-the-air stations.

In addition, the F.C.C. would have to establish procedures to resolve complaints of unreasonable prices charged for premium services like Home Box Office or the Disney Channel.

Mr. Brooks, along with Hollywood producers who have been heavy Democratic contributors, are fighting a provision that would allow local television stations to demand that cable companies pay royalties for the right to retransmit their broadcasts. Currently, cable systems receive an automatic license to do that. The Hollywood producers are afraid the provision will cut them out of royalties that should be coming to them.

Mr. Brooks argued that the bill now before the Congress would leave the broadcasters free to charge whatever they wanted. "The limit is the sky," he said, vowing that his goal was now to "beat the bill" if at all possible.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

Excerpts From Clinton Speech to National Guard

SALT LAKE CITY, Sept. 15 — Following are excerpts from Gov. Bill Clinton's speech today to the convention of the National Guard Association here, as transcribed by Reuters.

I agree with the comment made by President Bush here today that we are facing a new and different global economic challenge. But I disagree that it has come on us all of a sudden. We have been in the midst of an emerging global economy for well over a dozen years now. And for a dozen years, we have been governed by a theory of economic response to that challenge, which has been euphemistically dubbed trickle-down economics.

The theory holds that Government has a very limited responsibility to help the American people prepare to compete and win in a global economy

and that the most effective national Government is that which keeps taxes lowest on those who have the most money, because they will in turn invest that money in job growth and development in our country, making us stronger in global competition.

If you look at the last 12 years, we now have a chance to assess whether that theory has worked. In 1980 we had the highest wages in the world. Now we are 13th and dropping.

The census figures themselves demonstrate that over two-thirds of the American people, including most of the people enrolled in National Guard units in every state in the United States are working longer work weeks for lower wages than they were making 10 years ago, when you make adjustments for inflation.

Other nations with which we compete, which are growing more rapidly — nations which realize that economic security is a part of national security and that in that sense national security has to begin at home — have a totally different approach to the world's challenges.

And we must learn from that and craft a uniquely American approach.

I believe it is time to abandon trickle-down economics, not to go back to tax and spend and divide the pie, but to go forward with a theory that says we have to invest and educate and train and compete; that we do not have a person to waste; that we need a national economic strategy of partnership between Government, business, labor and education to dramatically increase the incentives for peo-

ple in the private sector in new plant and equipment, in research and development, in the commercial technologies that will give us the same lead in the economy that the defense technologies give us on the battlefield and in training the best educated work force in America.

Over the last few months, as I have entered this race for President, I have had the opportunity to talk to a number of people who were active in the last two administrations who were called Reagan Democrats. Many of them have come home to support our campaign, not because I'm a Democrat, but because they believe in the defense policies I have outlined, and more importantly they know that national security begins with economic security.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

Excerpts From Speech By Bush to Guardsmen

SALT LAKE CITY, Sept. 15 — Following are excerpts from President Bush's speech today to the convention of the National Guard Association here, as transcribed by Reuters.

The President has got to stand up for an America second to none. And he must be able to say America is safe as long as America stays strong.

I learned the value of military strength the hard way. And some of you might identify with this, commanders of the Guard units. I learned it the hard way, by sending our troops into battle.

And I am proud of our accomplishments, thankful that I've been able to give the order so many parents, presidents long to give for many of our nuclear forces to stand down from alert. Proud to be the first President in 50 years to lead an America that's not at war, hot or cold.

But the fact is for all the great gains we've made for freedom, for all the peace of mind that we've secured for the young people in this country, the world remains a dangerous place.

No, our work in the world did not end with our victory in the cold war. Our task is to guard against the crises that haven't caught fire, the wars that are waiting to happen, the threats that will come with little or no warning.

And I make this promise: as long as I am President our services will remain the best-trained, the best-equipped, the best-led fighting forces in the world. This is the way to guarantee the peace.

And as one who has held this office for four years, I hope that when evaluating the two men who want this job, Americans will not ignore the President's role as Commander in Chief.

There has been a lot of controversy swirling around about service to country, about using influence to avoid the military. And I've read a great deal of speculating saying that I was going to come out here and use this forum to attack Governor Clinton.

I want to tell you I do feel very strongly about certain aspects of the controversy swirling around Governor Clinton. But I didn't come here to attack him. I came to defend and support the National Guard, and those who serve in it.

Four years ago, Dan Quayle was savagely attacked and ridiculed by the national press for going into the

National Guard. His critics attacked the Guard as a haven for draft dodgers. And those critics are wrong.

Why do these questions even matter? Why are they part of our national debate?

They matter, because despite all our problems at home, we can never forget that we ask our Presidents to lead the military, to bear the awful authority of deciding to send your sons and daughters in harm's way.

I remember the night of Desert Storm.

And in the months after that fateful night, I received letters from proud parents, and I tried to read as many as I could.

But I lingered longest on the occasional notes from the parents whose son or daughter had not returned. And this summer I got a letter from a woman in Illinois, and her son had been lost in a helicopter accident. No body, no body, ever discovered. And on the day she received word, she received a letter from her son. And he said: "Mom and Dad, don't worry about me. I love the Marines, and I love my country."

And this July the mother wrote, as a gold star mother, "It is difficult to accept my son's death, but he's alive in my heart."

"And I could be bitter with the military and God, but my son would never want me to."

I know the commanders here know I feel a little emotional about this. But you get letters like these. And you can almost see the faces, faces of youth and innocence. And you feel the weight of the job, sending a son or daughter, sending a son or daughter into combat, believe me, is the toughest part of the Presidency.

And most Presidents never learn that lesson because, thank God, most don't have to ask others to put their lives on the line.

But every President must ask: does this mean that if you've never seen the awful horror of battle that you can never be Commander in Chief? Of course not. Not at all.

But it does mean that we must hold our Presidents to the highest standard, because they might have to decide if our sons and daughters should risk early on death's door.

Los Angeles Times

The Confrontation That Wasn't

PERSONAL TELEPHONE
FROM 803 0433
WASHINGTON, DC 20500

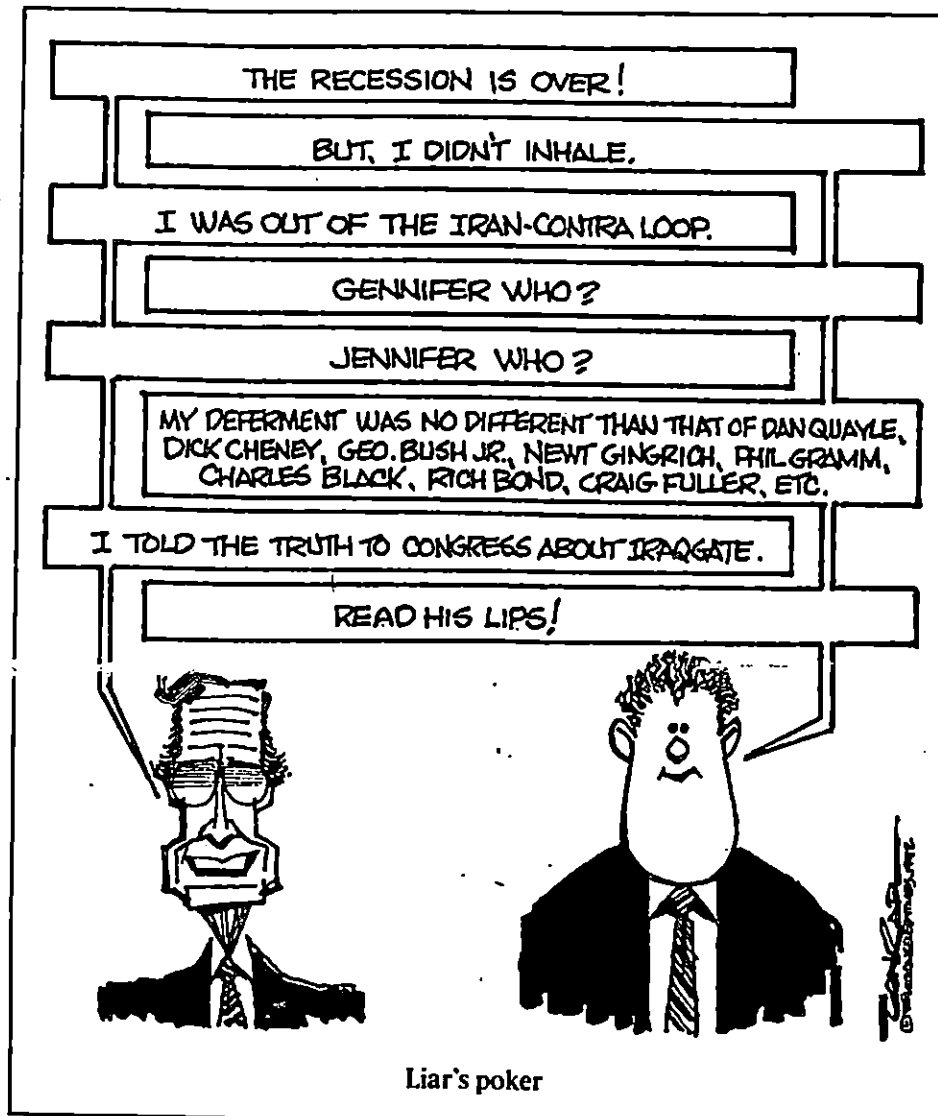


Agence France-Presse



Agence France-Presse

Bush and Clinton speak to National Guard Assn. convention in Salt Lake City. An expected face-off on draft issue did not materialize. A7



Los Angeles Times

Candidates Posture as the Economy Rots

Even if Clinton wins, can he shed his Wall Street advisers and find some courage?

By ALEXANDER COCKBURN

Watch the presidential candidates flail away at each other and ask yourself whether either of them has the slightest idea what to do about the economic emergency facing the nation.

There's no mystery about what this emergency consists of. Just look at California, home to over a tenth of the country's economic activity. If you think the bloodletting over the state budget just concluded in Sacramento was bad, wait till next year.

California's crisis, which is merely the national crisis writ large, reflects the classic cycle of austerity logic. Chop spending and jobs and the economy shrinks. People have less money to spend, economic activity slows, and down we go.

Election campaigns and the pitiless scrutiny of the press don't tell us much about what the man who ends up living in the White House for the next four years will actually do.

If you take President Bush's rhetoric seriously, which nobody does, he is promising to take almost a trillion dollars out of federal spending over the next five years, without raising taxes. This would spell the elimination of any federal aid to the poor.

Ignore what Bush is saying and try to forecast what he'll do. The database of the last four years offers nothing much but pleas to lower the capital gains tax rate, which even his own chief economic adviser says will do nothing for economic growth.

What about Bill Clinton? Most of what he has put on paper about his economic plans is waffle, contrived to dodge Republican bullets.

Prowl through Clinton's economic manifesto and the only evidence of a strategy to put the country back on track is the "Rebuild America Fund," which promises \$20 billion for transportation and infrastructure, environmental technology and defense conversion, to be balanced by cuts elsewhere in the budget.

This is mostly testimony to the spavined cowardice of conventional economic debate.

It's quite likely that Clinton will be sitting in the White House. Can we learn anything about his likely economic strategy from the advisers who stand at his elbow?

Various cabals are maneuvering for advantage. The most powerful faction—which raises much of the money for the Clinton campaign—is the Wall Street crowd headed by Roger Altman, an investment banker and vice chairman of the Blackstone Group.

Don't expect any turnaround if Altman and associates win President Clinton's ear. Their agenda is the well-worn trail to continued stagnation: budget-cutting, a tiny increase in public spending. Blackstone's chief, sometimes touted as Clinton's Treasury secretary, is Pete Peterson, senior curator in the museum of dead economic ideas, most of them about the therapeutic potential in raising the savings rate and thus creating new capital. There's plenty of capital around. The problem is getting it invested in productive areas.

Hovering on the fringe of the Altman faction and rushing their resumes to the Clinton campaign are familiar specters from the Brookings Institution, notably Charles Schultze and Barry Bosworth. These are the budget balancers and austerity-mongers who guided Jimmy Carter to his economic downfall. Clinton aides even hint they might give a big job to Mr. Austerity himself, Paul Volcker.

Since Clinton's most demonstrable asset is his instinct for survival, he is presumably capable of realizing that Wall Street plus Brookings points his presidency toward the graveyard. He may therefore listen to advice from the Harvard economist Robert Reich, even to the Economic Policy Institute, which calls for big public spending.

Reich preaches public investment in education and infrastructure, which is nice, but such things cost money. What do you do if business is not prepared to pony up its share of the tax bill? California's infrastructure and education are still superior to Arizona's, but Hughes Aircraft announced recently that it is moving three plants to Arizona, costing California 4,500 jobs.

With all his talk about training, Reich never explains which well-paid jobs these highly qualified workers are supposed to be heading toward.

What Clinton needs and what the nation needs is commitment to a big-spending program, kicking in immediately with \$60 billion to \$120 billion. There has to be public control of investment, serious planning for post-Cold War conversion.

Alexander Cockburn writes for the Nation and other publications.

Bush Urges \$166 Million to Halt Spread of A-Weapons

From a Times Staff Writer

ALBUQUERQUE—President Bush on Tuesday called on Congress to shift \$166 million in savings gained this year from shutting down a major nuclear weapons project to new projects designed to guard against nuclear proliferation.

The request, which follows an Administration decision to halt construction of a \$1-billion tritium-producing nuclear reactor, was described by Energy Secretary James D. Watkins as a shift in priorities from "swords to plowshares."

Bush announced the proposal during a campaign visit to the Sandia National Laboratories, where he said scientists would begin new efforts to help "detect and prevent the spread of weapons on land, at sea and in space."

At a briefing for reporters here, Watkins said the program would be designed to help thwart efforts like that pursued by Iraq's Saddam Hussein to develop nuclear weapons technology.

The Sandia facility, where jobs have been threatened by other budget cuts, would stand to gain about \$64 million a year under the proposal.

Watkins said the new influx would "dampen the downswing in a very cherished commodity that we call our national laboratories."

Bush did not directly mention the job-creation aspects of the program.

But the event was the latest in a series of campaign appearances he has used to dispense federal largess.

The proposal, which Bush submitted to Congress on Tuesday, also designates \$20 million for programs to clean up nuclear waste at the Savannah River Plant in South Carolina.

The site was to be the home of the new reactor producing tritium, an isotope which functions as the trigger to detonate nuclear weapons.

As a result of the decision to halt production of the new reactor, the United States no longer produces tritium.

But the Administration contends that its stockpiles are now sufficient to maintain a fully functioning nuclear arsenal.

Los Angeles Times

Bush Raised Taxes 178 Times, Say Democrats

By WILLIAM J. EATON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—House Democrats charged Tuesday that President Bush raised taxes 178 times during his four-year term compared with Republican allegations that Democratic nominee Bill Clinton increased taxes 128 times during his 12 years as governor of Arkansas.

The Democratic Study Group, which leveled the new charges, said they were based on an analysis by the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service of revenue-raising measures of all kinds approved by Bush since taking office in 1989.

While scores of the "tax increases" listed in the study were tariff increases imposed in trade disputes, the study group's report said it used the same standards for Bush that Republicans used for Clinton. The GOP's count of Arkansas "taxes" included anything that produced additional revenue for the state—including extension of the dog-racing season.

"We don't embrace this method of counting tax increases but George Bush began it," said Rep. Bob Wise (D-W.Va.), chairman of the study group. "We are simply applying the same superficial analysis to his own record."

By the same standards, the study also said, there were 448 tax increases during the eight years that President Ronald Reagan was in office and Bush was his vice president.

The study said there were an average of 56 "tax increases" a year under Reagan, 51 a year under Bush and 11 a year while Clinton was governor of Arkansas.

Even while playing his part in the political numbers game, Wise acknowledged that all the figures are misleading.

Most states raised taxes in the 1980s as the federal government reduced its assistance to them, Wise said, and Arkansas was no exception.

In accepting the GOP nomination for reelection last month, Bush posed a question: "Who do you trust in this election—the candidate who has raised taxes one time and regrets it, or the other candidate, who raised taxes and fees 128 times and enjoyed it every time?"

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

Bush Plan to Change Lending Law Draws Fire

Housing Activists Push for Stronger Community Reinvestment Act

By Joel Glenn Brenner
Washington Post Staff Writer

Community activists yesterday blasted a Bush administration proposal to change a law that requires banks to lend to poor and minority neighborhoods, saying lenders would abandon these areas were it not for the statute.

The 15-year-old Community Reinvestment Act, or CRA, aims to stop discrimination known as redlining—named for the practice of drawing red lines around sections of cities where financial institutions refuse to make home mortgage loans.

Bankers have complained loudly that the act requires costly and burdensome paperwork in an attempt to force them to make loans they would gladly make anyway.

But the activists charged yesterday that discrimination persists and more legislation, not less, is needed.

"Neither banks nor regulators have yet delivered the promise of the Community Reinvestment Act," Gilda Haas of Communities for Accountable Reinvestment told the subcommittee on housing of the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs. "To talk about dismantling this legislation now is an insult."

To help ease the "regulatory bur-

dens" on the nation's banks, the Bush administration this summer sent legislation to Congress that would exempt small institutions from regulatory scrutiny of their lending, as CRA requires.

The Credit Availability and Regulatory Relief Act of 1992 also proposes

"To talk about dismantling this legislation now is an insult."

— activist Gilda Haas

that institutions deemed by regulators to have "outstanding" community lending practices be given "safe harbor" from community protests and that regulators look favorably on investments made outside a bank's community when evaluating its lending.

But those who testified said these changes would eliminate what little incentive bankers have to lend to minority and low-income borrowers.

"Whatever significant level of community investment exists today exists

because of the act—it is the only force that stands between the needs of our communities and the efforts of the [banking industry] to sacrifice these needs," said Calvin Bradford of Community Reinvestment Associates, a research firm that specializes in fair housing issues.

Those who testified yesterday called for broadening the enforcement of CRA to cover lending to businesses and consumers.

And they demanded that federal regulators step up their enforcement of the act, citing statistics showing that more than 85 percent of the nation's financial institutions have passed their federal CRA examinations.

"How is it possible that so many institutions pass their CRA examinations and yet we know that lending discrimination persists?" asked Michael Bodaken, who serves as community reinvestment coordinator for Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley.

Bodaken said that two of California's largest banks, Bank of America and Wells Fargo, ranked 11th and 43rd, respectively, in home mortgage lending in South Los Angeles, the area devastated by riots earlier this year.

Yet, he said, regulators recently rated both banks "outstanding" in CRA compliance.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

Robert J. Samuelson

Risky Industry, Timid Government

We are now witnessing an intriguing example of what might be called "anti-industrial policy." Instead of promoting new industries and technologies, government obstructs them. The case at hand involves a new generation of mobile telephones and pocket-size personal computers. Their growth may be blocked by a move in Congress to favor old industries threatened by the newcomers. The case is especially instructive now, because so much of the presidential campaign has focused on how government should nurture American economic competitiveness.

The lesson here is simple: The best policy is often for government to get out of the way. These new businesses are potentially huge. Consider the precedent of cellular telephones. In 1982, the Federal Communications Commission opened the radio spectrum to cellular phone companies. Since then, they have invested \$9.3 billion in equipment and buildings, and the number of cellular subscribers has reached 9 million. The FCC now wants to repeat this process by allocating radio frequencies to new mobile computers and pocket phones.

Enter Sen. Ernest "Fritz" Hollings, Democrat of South Carolina. Hollings is chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, which oversees the FCC. The radio frequencies the FCC picked for the new services are now used by electric utilities, railroads and gas pipelines. The FCC proposes they move to higher frequencies. The mobile-phone and computer companies need lower frequencies because their batteries won't work well at higher ones. Existing users complained, and Hollings backed them. He introduced—and the Senate passed—legislation that would stop the FCC from making the move for at least eight years.

Hollings's motives are murky. His opponents allege politics. He's up for reelection and is playing to contributors. This may be unfair; Hollings may genuinely fear disruption. But the reason isn't important. His proposal, if it were to become law, could suffocate new technologies, while other countries quickly provide radio frequencies for new uses. Japan will launch a new mobile phone service in 1993, reports John Battin of Motorola, a big maker of mobile phones. "On Day One, there will be 15 [equipment] suppliers," he says. "So while we're pushing paper, they will be building up volume and expertise."

The new mobile phones would be pocket-size and cheap enough (projected price: \$100 to \$300) to create a mass market. Sales of the new phones are estimated between 30 million and 60 million units over a decade. "They would replace cordless phones," says Michael Verneti of Telocator, a trade group of mobile phone companies. "You could take one to the supermarket. Kids would take them to the mall."

As for computers, companies like Apple and Hewlett-Packard envision notebook models and small laptops that could send information back to the home office, receive electronic mail or send fax messages. Computers within the same office might communicate with each other via radio rather than being wired together. Within five years, perhaps 20 percent to 25 percent of new personal computers could offer radio communications features, says David Nagel, head of Apple's advanced technology group.

Let me note here a modest conflict of interest. While reporting this column, I discovered that The Washington Post Co.—for which I write and in which I'm a small shareholder—owns 70 percent of American Personal Communications, which hopes to operate new mobile phone systems. So I want to be scrupulously fair about the objections to the FCC's proposal.

The electric utilities, railroads and gas pipelines need reliable communications. The utilities, for instance, transmit data that report breakdowns. That's essential to prevent spreading blackouts. The utilities and railroads also argue that the wholesale abandonment of their present frequencies is unnecessary, because new technologies would allow everyone to share frequencies. This is true and gets to the nub of the issue: Today's users can be served while still accommodating the new.

Where frequency sharing is possible, it will occur. New users have an incentive to share, because they would have to pay existing users to move. Where sharing isn't practical—say, congested markets like New York—the utilities and railroads can get reliable service at higher frequencies. Indeed, the band proposed by the FCC is already heavily used by some utilities; for example, the Potomac Electric Power Co.

The radio spectrum is a scarce resource that's supposed to be allocated in the public interest. Allocations made 20 or 30 years ago may not fit today's needs. If old users can frustrate change, new technologies will be stillborn. This does not mean that all new technologies will succeed. Optimistic market forecasts could prove to be froth. Some snide commentators (including me) have suggested that midget phones and computers are often status symbols and techno-toys. But the judgment of their worth should be made by consumers—not pundits, bureaucrats or politicians.

Hollings subverts this process. Not only has the White House complained but so have Democrats in the House, who defend the FCC's independence to allocate frequencies. But Hollings may yet prevail or intimidate the FCC into being more restrictive. At worst, this would hurt two of America's strongest industries: communications equipment and computers. Or it might put the utilities and railroads in a position to demand large payments to vacate their existing frequencies. These payments would be above their out-of-pocket costs—which have been virtually guaranteed—and would amount to unwarranted windfalls.

The larger issue here involves how government fosters healthy industry. There have been all manner of proposals: tax incentives, more research and development spending, grants to support new technologies. But the real work of building successful industries occurs in the market. Someone has to create products, respond to customer needs and cut costs. It's a risky process of trial and error, constant refinement and continual learning. Above all, government needs to let this happen and to allow the winners to reap the rewards.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

THE WASHINGTON POST

David S. Broder

With Two Economic Plans, We Have a Choice

Had George Bush been paying attention in New Hampshire, he would have known he could not get through this campaign year without an economic policy booklet of his own.

In the leadoff primary state, which almost always sets the pattern for presidential politics, Paul Tsongas, the winner on the Democratic side and leading write-in on the Republican, handed out copies of "A Call to Economic Arms," his policy prescription for America, the way Billy Graham gives away Bibles. Bill Clinton saw what Tsongas was doing and rushed out his own 15-page economic manifesto, which he has been revising and expanding ever since, until it now has reached 232 pages in slick-cover, commercial paperback form as "Putting People First."

Last week, Bush belatedly put out his own economic handbook, the 29-page "Agenda for American Renewal," and distilled its contents into a comprehensive speech to the Detroit Economic Club and TV commercials that are the best of his campaign.

The development can be attributed to new White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III and his deputy Robert Zoellick. Having twice in the past month expressed skepticism about Baker's willingness to let anything as dangerous as policy content infect any campaign that

he is supervising, let me now give him his due. He and Zoellick have in fact put Bush in a position to compete on the issues that count most to voters—jobs and the economy—and even to claim a policy mandate should the president squeeze out a reelection victory.

Bush is a long way from being able to claim that victory. As many in the press were quick to point out after last week's manifesto appeared, Bush is more likely to be judged on his economic record than on his promises, and his record has left a lot of room for improvement.

Nonetheless, the agenda Bush put forward is a serious and substantial one, and with Clinton's earlier statements, voters now have what they deserve, a choice of policies as well as of candidates.

Without attempting an overall scorecard, let me suggest why comparison shopping will be helpful to voters. Take trade and education policies as examples.

As I read them, the president has a much clearer vision of the potential of expanded trade as a major lever for American economic growth than does his rival. Bush and his able special trade representative, Carla Hills, have a formidable track record in this area. They have pushed the Europeans for major barrier-

lowering steps in the still incomplete GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) talks and have negotiated major trade liberalization treaties with Canada, Mexico and other nations in this hemisphere.

Bush's promise to expand such free-trade agreements across the Atlantic and the Pacific is precisely the kind of big ambition America needs. Clinton, like most governors, has sought foreign investment for his state and has encouraged his native industries to export. But other governors, in both parties, have outworked him in this area. And in this campaign, he has hedged his past support for liberal trade policies as a sop to the unions and their supporters in Congress, who fear lower barriers will mean job losses to Mexico and other low-wage countries. Where Clinton hesitates, Bush has been bold.

It will do the United States little good to open new markets, however, unless our workers become so productive that their wages are not pulled down to the level of emerging competitor nations. That means education and training, and in this area, Clinton has credentials that Bush lacks.

For a decade, Clinton has made Arkansas a leader in education reform. He organized his

fellow governors in that effort. Bush's "education summit" in 1989 would have foundered on partisan bickering were it not for Clinton's intervention. Clinton and John Sununu, then White House chief of staff, negotiated the last-minute compromises that saved the summit.

Clinton and his wife, Hillary, know the education-and-training field inside out. No one who has heard either of them can doubt the commitment they share. Bush, by contrast, dawdled on finding a strong education secretary and only this year gave his backing to a serious job-training initiative. In this campaign, courting Catholic voters, he has chosen to emphasize the most marginal and controversial element of his education package—vouchers for private school pupils. He has been unwilling to put nearly as much effort into promoting the other, more essential reforms being advanced by Education Secretary Lamar Alexander, who worked closely with Clinton on this issue when they were fellow governors.

These are only two of two dozen policy areas where comparisons of records and programs are now possible. Let the rating game begin.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

Richard Cohen

The Draft Flap

If you were seeking the political core of Bill Clinton and poked into him to find the muscle of conviction, where would your finger stop? I ask that question because you would have thought Vietnam was one area. Maybe not. Clinton was against the war but willing to fight it anyway. As a clear statement of principle this one needs some work.

Republicans from President Bush on down would like you to think that Clinton shirked his military duty during Vietnam and has lied about it ever since. But if that's the case then we are a nation of shirkers whose legions include Vice President Dan Quayle, who hid from the war in the Indiana National Guard, and Pat Buchanan, who hunkered down in the Nixon White House. To both these Vietnam hawks, war—like pro football or something—is a spectator sport. Their specialty is cheering.

As for Bush, it's both true and admirable that he not only fought in World War II but that he also volunteered for the service and chose Navy aviation. No clerk-typist he. But the president takes political rhetoric to the point of farce when he compares the two wars. Vietnam was not World War II. It was a different sort of cause. It was, in fact, a lousy cause.

In his new book "Kissinger," Walter Isaacson reminds us that even so famous a hawk as the former secretary of state had concluded by 1968 that the Vietnam War could not be won. Others agreed and thought, moreover, that it should not be fought at all. Clinton was one of those. The morality of those who chose not to fight is now in question. A better

question, though, has to do with the morality of politicians who sent men to fight a war that could not be won and should not have been fought in the first place.

For that reason, Clinton's attempts to avoid the draft are hardly evidence of immorality, lack of patriotism or anything else. Men are not automatons. The government cannot simply say fight here or fight there and not expect those it has asked to wonder about the cause. Clinton did precisely that. He pronounced the cause bogus—he said he "opposed and despised" it—and wrote in his now-famous 1969 letter to the University of Arkansas ROTC that he wanted no part of it.

But where Clinton is culpable is in his obvious attempt to be a walking contradiction: an opponent of the war who nevertheless was eventually willing to fight it by ultimately giving up his draft exemption. The formulation has the feel of a wooden nickel. My assumption is that Clinton did everything he could to stay out of the war. The last thing he probably wanted—the last thing any of us back then wanted—was to confront the possibility of going into combat. Then we would have to choose between our country and our principles. Only a callow fellow like Quayle could, in hindsight, belittle that predicament.

To my mind, the flap about Clinton's draft record is not about something he did two decades ago and not about his integrity. It's about his not-very-admirable insistence on having things both ways, on so fudging matters that everyone walks away thinking they are in agreement. By self-definition, he is a

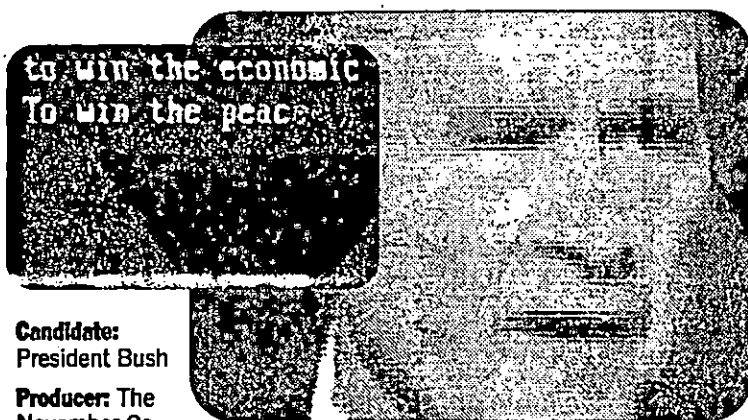
centrist. On occasion, though, he is simply a muddle.

The imperative to be thought kindly of by everyone defines Clinton. It accounts for his successes, for his stunning ability to be acceptable to the voters of Arkansas and to the leftist intellectuals of Washington. But it also accounts for some of his difficulties—the "Slick Willie" label, for instance—and why, even though it was apparently true, his insistence that he never inhaled marijuana produced guffaws.

By October, the presidential race will tighten up. Neither Clinton nor, to my mind, the nation can afford questions about integrity and principle that inure to Bush's benefit and leave the Democrat without a loyal constituency of his own. The president's recently announced economic program, a hash of Hooverism, is one example why. For Americans who have lost a job, for Americans who cannot find a job, the president had nothing substantive to say. The ship of state is beached, but the skipper says, "Steady as she goes." As anyone but him can see, she goes nowhere.

Clinton has turned an understandable and prosaic attempt to avoid the Vietnam draft into a question about integrity and principle. The attempt to be both hawk and dove, this refusal to be candid, can cost him politically and represents nothing less than a diversion. The issue, after all, should not be how he got out of the draft but how America is going to get out of the economic fix it's now in. If it becomes the former, he has no one to blame but himself.

30-SECOND POLITICS



Candidate:
President Bush

Producer: The
November Co.

Time: 60 seconds

Audio: The world is in transition. The defining challenge of the '90s is to win the economic competition. To win the peace, we must be a military superpower, an economic superpower and an export superpower. In this election you'll hear two versions of how to do this: Theirs is to look inward, ours is to look forward. Prepare our people to compete, to save and invest so

we can win. Here's what I'm fighting for: open markets for American products, lower government spending, tax relief, opportunities for small business, legal and health reform, job training and new schools built on competition ready for the 21st century.

Background: With pictures of warplanes taking off, a computer screen tapping out the script and music played in crescendo, this ad lends drama to an old message: Bush's acceptance speech last month at the Republican National Convention. While the president calls for "lower government spending," he has

spent recent weeks announcing military contracts, disaster aid and farm subsidies in key states. Bush has also not said how he would pay for his \$10 billion job-training program, his health care program or his proposed tax cuts, all touted here. The "open markets" line is a reference to Bill Clinton's refusal to embrace the North American free-trade pact, although that may be lost on many viewers.

—Howard Kurtz

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

In Battle of the Running Mates, Rhetoric Reflects Roles, Prospects

Quayle's Weak Image Seen as Biggest Single Danger Facing Gore

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

TULSA—When Vice President Quayle talks about his Democratic opponent, Sen. Albert Gore Jr. comes off as a living, breathing human being who happens to have some peculiar ideas about the environment and taxes.

But in Gore's oratory, Quayle never really comes up. The main character in the Tennessee Democrat's stump speech is a bumbling corporate entity called "Bushandquayle" that just can't get anything right when it comes to the nation's economy.

Quayle loves to cite Gore's best-selling book, "Earth in the Balance," as an example of environmental extremism, and regularly castigates Gore as "the biggest spender in the United States Senate." Gore keeps the focus collective and ends virtually all his speeches by leading crowds in lusty chants of his signature line, "It's time for them to go!" Everybody knows who "them" is.

The differences between the Quayle and Gore stump speeches tell much about the roles, prospects and popular standing of the two nominees for vice president.

Quayle's unpopularity is obvious from the polls, so there is no real need for Gore to try to drag him down further. Quayle, on the other hand, has to shore up a lagging President Bush by mustering every bit of evidence available to prove the Democratic ticket is dangerous. With the polls suggesting Gore is helping Clinton, Quayle also needs to undermine his opponent's moderate image and try to prove him as dangerous as any liberal Democrat.

But the battle of the running mates is also a more subtle game, involving an irony reflected day after day on the campaign trail.

On the one hand, Gore smiles and nods when he's introduced as a man whose skills and intelligence make voters far more comfortable with him than Quayle as a potential president. Even allusions to Quayle are enough to produce cheers and laughter at Democratic rallies.

But Quayle's weak image turns out to be the greatest single danger Gore faces this year. Gore aides fear that expectations of Quayle are so low that even if Gore bests Quayle during the vice presidential debate likely to take place next month, Quayle would still win simply by stringing together some coherent sentences and surprising people.

So if Quayle wants his ego boosted, all he has to do is hitch a ride on Gore's campaign plane: Gore and his staff spend as much time building Quayle up as Quayle spends tearing Gore down.

"He's a much better candidate, I think he is more mature now, than four years ago," Gore said in an interview Sunday. "He learned a lot in the last four years. . . . I think he's more capable as a campaigner."

Yet even Gore cannot play the expectations game with a straight face. "I'm sure that after thoughtful stories like this one," he said with a grin, "expectations will be brought into line with reality."

In fact, both Quayle and Gore are much better candidates in 1992

"He's a much better candidate, I think he is more mature now, than four years ago."

—Sen. Albert Gore Jr.
on Vice President Quayle

than they were in 1988, when Gore ran unsuccessfully for the Democratic presidential nomination and Quayle made his inauspicious debut as Bush's running mate. Both seem more relaxed and self-confident and both seem to revel in their work.

The bigger change is in Quayle. A partisan and an enthusiast by temperament, Quayle seems at home—as he never did in 1988—in his role as chief slasher-and-burner of Clinton, Gore, "the Democrat Congress," government regulation and taxes.

He also takes quiet satisfaction in the fact that the Bush campaign has largely turned to themes he has been promoting for more than a year: "legal reform," private school vouchers, tenant ownership of public housing and a return to "read my lips" low-tax policies.

He is still not always smooth. At stop after stop last week, he shouted the name of his favorite television show, "MUUURRRPHY BRRRRROOWN!" It always came out a little too loud and with such eagerness that he seemed to add several syllables to each word.

Substantively, his "family values" campaign ran into the rocks at the Republican National Convention.

He thus spends a lot of time insisting that he has not backed away an inch from his views, while reassuring voters that there is substance, not intolerance, behind his arguments. This sometimes leads in odd directions: Last week, he said that deregulation was about family values, because cheaper phone calls and airline tickets brought families together.

Still, "family values" has won Quayle something he never had: the makings of his own national constituency among social conservatives. Quayle's crowds include partisans like Linda Jones, a mother of three who cheered Quayle at a rally last week in Grand Junction, Colo. "The family is the most important institution in this country," she said. "I appreciate it that he's standing up and saying it."

For Gore, this is close to a no-lose campaign: On Nov. 4, he will be either vice president-elect or a much stronger presidential contender for 1996.

More than most politicians, Gore is far different when he is off the record than when he is on. When he knows he won't be quoted, Gore can be relaxed and witty. When the format switches to a formal interview, Gore speaks as if he feels duty-bound to apply heavy doses of starch to each word.

This year, the private, more relaxed Gore is creeping into his stump speaking. Sometimes, he even seems to be drawing inspiration from a man who often upstaged a more wooden Gore in the 1988 Democratic debates: Jesse L. Jackson.

Gore always gets cheers when he recites the Bush record on jobs, personal income, consumer confidence—"down"—and unemployment, bank failures and welfare easements—"up." To draw laughs and loud cheers for the next part: "Everything that should be down is up. Everything that should be up is down. They've got it upside down. We're going to turn it right side up."

Jackson's trademark close to his speeches is "Keep hope alive!" Gore often gets crowds shouting a simplified version, the single word "Hope!"

But whatever happens, don't expect Gore to start bashing Quayle. It wouldn't be prudent. "I don't have anything in the world against Dan Quayle," Gore insisted, "other than the fact that he is part of the Bush-Quayle administration."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

For Bush Aides, Positive Tack Isn't a Winner

Draft Issue Maneuver Points To More Attacks on Clinton

By Ann Devroy and Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writers

The Bush campaign's attempt to focus attention on Democratic nominee Bill Clinton's draft record underscores the increasing belief among the president's advisers that a mostly positive campaign laying out a second-term agenda by Bush will not be enough to win the election.

Their concern grows out of fears that last week's effort by Bush to present a coherent, second-term economic program—a week seen by many in the campaign to be Bush's best in months—did more to energize the campaign itself than to move the voters. "We have got to either persuade voters the second term will be significantly different—that Bush will be a different president—or that a Clinton term will be too dangerous," one Republican official said.

Yesterday, the Bush campaign was claiming at least a tactical victory after Clinton abruptly changed his schedule and went to Salt Lake City to answer charges he expected the president to make in a speech before the National Guard Association annual convention. The president ended up raising the issue only indirectly, allowing Clinton not to mention it at all, and prompting the Democrat's aides to claim they had put the draft issue behind them. [Details, Page A12.]

A senior administration official said the objective in deciding last week to replace Vice President Quayle with Bush at the convention was twofold: engage Clinton in "psychological warfare" to rattle him; and force him off his economic message while forcing the news media to again raise questions about Clinton's credibility in explaining his draft history.

As a result of their efforts, a Bush aide said yesterday, Clinton "tore up his schedule, the media was forced to talk for two or three days about Clinton and the draft issue, and we could take the high ground." The official added, "We didn't have to do anything direct to get the same result: another day of rehashing Clinton and the draft."

But the view from Clinton's Little Rock headquarters, not surprisingly, was sharply different. Having raised expectations that he would directly attack Clinton, Bush flinched yesterday, in the view of the Arkansas governor's senior advisers. Clinton, who was prepared for several contingencies, thus ended up throwing away plans for a direct response on the draft and zeroed in on the president and the economy.

See REPUBLICANS, A12, Col. 1

REPUBLICANS, From A1

The Bush campaign makes it clear that further attacks on Clinton are likely. "We're not going to start moving until we rip the skin off the guy," said one official, an indication of negative ads likely to begin airing soon.

Another official said the Bush-Quayle campaign could not launch a full-scale attack on the issue of Clinton's credibility until it had "laid a positive foundation." Asked what that foundation consisted of, the official pointed to last week's speeches, then said only half-jokingly, "The only reason you take the high road is to get to the low road."

Bush aides said they will continue to make the draft part of the campaign dialogue. "Surely, you jest," one Bush adviser said when asked whether the president's campaign would drop the issue. "We will keep whispering in America's ear until it is time to hit them with the hammer." When will that be? "In due time."

It is not clear whether Bush officials believe there is significant new information yet to surface on Clinton and the draft. But Clinton officials say the draft issue won't help Bush much. "We find that almost two-thirds of voters say this is not an important issue," said Stan Greenberg, Clinton's pollster. "Even more say they've heard enough on this."

Greenberg added that nearly two weeks of publicity on the draft issue has not eroded confidence or trust in Clinton, according to his polls. "There's no rise in our negatives," he said.

With barely seven weeks left until Election Day and Bush stalled a

dozen or more points behind his challenger, the strongest, and perhaps only, hope for the Bush team, in their assessment of their own focus groups and public polling data, is not Clinton's military record but his credibility.

"Ask any group an open question about what they think about Clinton

and the word 'trust' comes up over and over. You combine the draft with raising other questions about his credibility to make voters keep those concerns in their minds," said the official.

A Washington Post-ABC News poll taken Wednesday through Sunday showed that Bush had made no headway and remains 15 points behind Clinton among likely voters.

But Clinton officials argue that the more time Bush spends raising questions about Clinton's credibility on the draft or other issues, the more "it says the Republicans think these issues are more important than the economy," as one put it.

The Clinton team, which is monitoring the impact of the draft issue as closely as the Republicans, has made a parallel assessment that as long as they keep voters focused on the economy, the White House will be theirs. Republicans implicitly concede they are right.

One Republican official said that polling done last week by a GOP entity found that, by better than 2 to 1, voters think Bush's new economic agenda is a campaign document, not a governing blueprint.

"We have a long way to go to persuade voters that Bush will actually govern differently the second term than he did the first," the Republican said. "The verdict is in on Bush's first term no matter what poll you look at. By a margin of 60 to 40, they think he did a poor job and that means we lose."

As a result of their efforts, a Bush aide said, Clinton "tore up his schedule, the media was forced to talk for two or three days about Clinton and the draft issue, and we could take the high ground."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

As Election Day Nears, Confirmations Are Slowing

White House Accuses Hill Democrats of Dawdling on Nominations, With Aid From a GOP Maverick

By Helen Dewar and Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writers

Because of foot-dragging by optimistic Democrats, or cautious career planning by pessimistic Republicans, or a combination of both, the pace of Senate action on Bush administration appointees is slowing as the Nov. 3 elections approach.

As of last week, administration officials said there were nearly 190 nominations on Capitol Hill awaiting confirmation, involving prospective judges, ambassadors and policy-making officials in various government agencies. Most of the nominations are before the Judiciary, Labor and Human Resources and Foreign Relations committees.

"Anything we get now would be a plus," said one White House aide.

But action has not stalled completely. Despite charges by administration officials that Senate Democrats are dawdling in hopes that Bill Clinton will win the White House and put Democrats in the jobs, senior committee aides say action on dozens of nominations is possible before Congress adjourns for the year early next month.

White House aides concede the president is sending fewer nominations to Capitol Hill, both because it is more difficult to lure qualified candidates to Washington for what could be short-lived jobs and because the chance of getting most nominations through the Democratic Senate is slim.

Key Senate Democrats say that, while some nominations may be blocked because of the impending elections, others are on the docket for action before adjournment.

To the dismay of some House Democrats, Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.) has said his committee will continue to process judicial nominees "as late in the year as possible."

Rejecting a complaint that Rep. John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.) and other House members lodged with Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine), Biden has continued to schedule votes on some of Bush's 59 judicial nominees who are still before his committee along with 16 nominees for Justice Department jobs.

Action on six more nominations is set for this week.

David Lavalley, spokesman for the judiciary panel, said Biden is troubled by complaints about large case backlogs in federal courts and does not consider nominees to those courts to be as politically important as nominees to appeals courts. "At the District Court level, they're administering justice, not making philosophical decisions," Lavalley said.

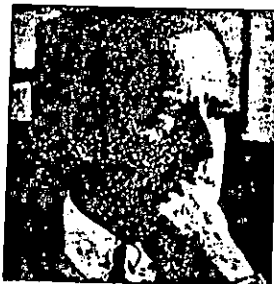
Last Friday, White House counsel C. Boyden Gray accused the Senate of slowing the pace of action on nominees this year, saying it has been behind that of recent election years. Consequently, he said, a large number of seats on the federal bench will go unfilled. "We're seeing fewer confirmations and more vacancies left," he said.

That contrasts with Lavalley's assertion that the committee is "operating against tradition." The panel has approved a "record number" of judicial nominees in a presidential election year, when the Senate is controlled by one party and the White House by another, he said.

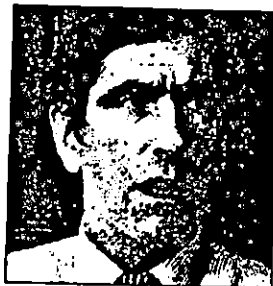
Gray said, however, that his count shows only 54 of 113 judicial nominations have been approved this year, leaving 59 administration nominees still before the panel and 109 vacancies. That pace is well behind 1988

SENATE BOTTLENECK

Nearly 190 nominees await confirmation on Capitol Hill, including prospective judges, ambassadors and policy-making officials, prompting White House counsel C. Boyden Gray to complain that the slow pace will leave many seats unfilled. Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.) said his panel plans to process judicial nominees "as late in the year as possible." Some appointments were blocked as legislators like Sen. Larry Pressler (R-S.D.) awaited White House action on state nominations.



Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.)



White House Counsel C. Boyden Gray



Sen. Larry Pressler (R-S.D.)

THE WASHINGTON POST

when the Reagan administration filled about 70 percent of its 58 nominations and 1980 when the Carter administration got 80 percent of its through a Democratic Senate, Gray said.

Part of this year's backlog may be attributed to a 1990 law creating 85 new judgeships, but Gray said the Senate has moved faster in the past to fill new positions.

Senate Democratic aides acknowledged that the pace of action on judges could have been faster. But they blamed the problem on a slow flow of nominations from the White House, along with the lengthy 1991 confirmation fight over Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas and ensuing squabbles over disclosure to senators of FBI reports on judicial nominees. They also said the White House earlier this year rejected a request for more investigators to handle the expanded workload created by new judgeships.

The Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, which has jurisdiction over departments dealing with most social welfare programs, has 37 nominations before it. But the White House is expecting action on them this week.

The Foreign Relations Committee, with 35 nominations to review, also is continuing to approve candidates, according to committee aides. But several subcommittee chairmen have indicated they only will approve career Foreign Service officers for ambassadorial appointments, letting several nominations the White House wanted die in committee.

Among those are Texan John Frank Bookout Jr., in line to be ambassador to Saudi Arabia, and Nicolas Salgo, former owner of the Watergate complex, to be ambassador to Sweden. Bookout is reportedly a friend of White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III and Salgo has held a

number of diplomatic posts, including ambassador to Hungary. Salgo headed a review of the new U.S. Embassy building in Moscow that was found to be infested with Soviet listening devices.

A stall on political nominations is not unusual in a presidential election year. In the past, there have been times when even career appointees were put on hold, committee aides said.

Paradoxically, one reason the Senate was slow to act on some of Bush's appointments last month was a move—called a "hold"—by Sen. Larry Pressler (R-S.D.) to block consideration of all nominations until the White House acted on several South Dakota nominations. Angry over delays on judicial and prosecutorial nominees for his state, Pressler invoked his senatorial privileges and temporarily blocked action on 31 presidential nominees awaiting final Senate action.

Before Pressler lifted his request Aug. 11, he was chastised by GOP leaders on the Senate floor. The senator replied that he was frustrated by his inability to get Gray, the White House official who screens judicial candidates, to return his telephone calls.

"I am kind of beaten down," Pressler said after being rebuked by Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) and Minority Whip Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.).

"But this leads to the philosophical question of what does the senator from a small state do in a situation like this when he is trying to protect his state?" he asked colleagues as he dropped his hold on the nominations. "... I think this is a good exchange. Maybe I am learning something."

Staff writer John M. Gashko contributed to this report.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

Bush, Clinton and the Draft Issue: En Garde at the Guard

By Edward Walsh and Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writers

SALT LAKE CITY, Sept. 15—President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton duelled at a discreetly safe distance today during separate appearances before the annual convention of the National Guard Association here, never directly addressing the question of Clinton's attempts to stay out of the military during the Vietnam War.

An expected confrontation over Clinton's draft record did not materialize as Bush spoke carefully and for the most part indirectly about what he called "the controversy swirling around Governor Clinton" while the Democratic presidential nominee ignored the subject.

But the president did pointedly and at times emotionally speak about the "awful authority" invested in the commander in chief, saying that every presidential candidate should be held to the "highest standard" because he "might have to decide if our sons or daughters should knock early on death's door." Bush also implicitly tried to contrast Clinton's handling of his draft history with the "candor" displayed by Vice President Quayle four years ago when he came under attack for joining the National Guard during the Vietnam War.

In the end, it was left to officials of the rival campaigns to claim tactical victory in the near-confrontation set up when Clinton abruptly altered his schedule so he could appear here today and personally respond to an expected Bush attack on his draft record.

Torie Clarke, the Bush-Quayle campaign press secretary, said that in changing his schedule, Clinton was lured into a trap and had helped keep the draft issue alive.

"We can't believe he walked into this," she said. "This guy wants to be commander in chief, but he can't avoid the land mines on the campaign trail."

"The point of all this is that voters want to hear about their lives and their futures, not somebody else's lives and somebody else's



Bush referred only to the "controversy swirling around" his Democratic foe.

past," replied Paul Begala, a senior consultant to the Clinton campaign. "They want the election to be about the economy. I think Bush finally understood that today, which is why he gave the speech he gave."

Begala also said that by not directly challenging Clinton on his draft record before an audience of about 4,000 active and retired Army and Air Force National Guard members, Bush in effect put the draft issue aside. "I think it's largely behind us," he said. "The president said as much today.... If they

want to win the election they better talk about the economy."

Dee Dee Myers, the Clinton campaign press secretary, said a section of Clinton's speech responding to a direct attack on the draft had been prepared but not used when an attack did not materialize.

Both candidates were warmly received and cheered as they extolled the accomplishments of the National Guard and promised to retain the Guard and the reserves as an important part of the nation's military structure. But random interviews with those in the audience also sug-



Addressing the National Guard convention later, Clinton ignored the issue.

gested that Clinton's draft record may not be as large an issue in the election as the Bush campaign hopes.

One exception to this was Lt. Col. James M. Drake, 45, of Frankfort, Ky., who said, "I went to Vietnam. I didn't go hide from it. He [Clinton] hid from it and that's not the guy I want to be my commander in chief."

A more typical reaction came from Maj. Drue Ross, 46, of the Utah National Guard. "It doesn't bother me," he said. "I think many people back in those days did what

they could to get out of the draft.... He did what he felt was right. He wasn't against the military, he was against the war."

Ross, who said he usually voted Republican, said the major issue for him was "the direction the country is going to go." He added, "I think there are things that need to be fixed and I don't know if either one has the right answer."

Republican strategists believe that Clinton's draft record is only one element but an important one contributing to questions among voters about the Arkansas govern-

or's personal character and trustworthiness, and it was in this broader context that Bush addressed the subject today.

"There's been a lot of controversy swirling around service to country, about using influence to avoid the military," he said. "And I've read a lot of speculation that I was going to come out here and use this forum to attack Governor Clinton. I want to tell you that I do feel strongly about certain aspects of the controversy swirling around Governor Clinton, but I didn't come here to attack him. I came here to defend and support that National Guard and those who serve in it."

Bush, who omitted any mention of his own service as a Navy pilot during World War II, also drew an implicit contrast between Clinton and Quayle, whom he said had been "savagely attacked and ridiculed by the national press" but who "stood his ground and answered every question calmly and with candor. He told the truth and this is service to country."

"Why do these questions even matter? Why are they part of our national debate?" the president asked. "They matter because despite all our problems at home we can never forget that we ask our president to lead the military, to bear the awful authority of deciding to send your sons and daughters in harm's way."

His voice choked with emotion as he appeared to be fighting back tears, Bush read a part of a letter from a woman in Illinois whose son was killed during the Persian Gulf War, adding that "sending a son or daughter into combat, believe me, is that toughest part of the presidency."

"Does this mean that if you have never seen the awful horror of battle you can never be commander in chief?" Bush asked rhetorically. "Of course not. Not at all. But it does mean that we must hold our presidents to the highest standard because they might have to decide if our sons or daughters should knock early on death's door."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

Mr. Clinton and the Draft

BILL CLINTON'S draft record continues to be congenial ground for President Bush's reelection drive. The president confounded press and political anticipation yesterday that he would directly attack Mr. Clinton's record and account of his record. But the speech he gave was crafted to reflect on that record by implication in every line. Having previously derided Gov. Clinton as "the commander of the Arkansas National Guard"—a term he used in a comic way—he now chose to address the National Guard Association in Utah with no derision and to sing its praises—and to celebrate Vice President Dan Quayle's Vietnam-era Guard service. Even as he said he would not deliver the attack that some had expected on the Clinton draft record, he observed that there is "a lot of controversy swirling about service to country, about using influence to avoid the military." (That last word, "military," had a touch of art to it: Mr. Quayle did not avoid the military though, like Mr. Clinton, he did avoid the draft.) Mr. Bush went on, fairly, to underline a requirement to hold to the "highest standard" anyone taking on the commander in chief's burden of sending American soldiers into battle.

Maybe it will help the president to have his party and the press keep the draft issue alive. It's certainly not going to help Mr. Clinton, particularly if it throws him on the defensive, which is one part of its purpose. But our sense is that people pretty well already understand what Mr. Clinton did, in which case it may be less exploitable as an issue than Mr. Bush thinks.

It's clear that Mr. Clinton tried to avoid the draft as

it approached, and ended up with a deferment on the strength of a promise to join an ROTC unit he had no great desire to join. A few months later, apparently uncomfortable at what he had done, he gave up the deferment and reexposed himself to the draft. By that time his chances of being drafted were less but still not entirely negligible; they came to depend on a lottery. He drew a high number and escaped. The governor has not been eager to discuss this subject; yesterday, for instance, following the president to the Utah podium, he skipped over any mention of it. On certain points, he has, in our judgment, fudged the truth, but for the most part, when forced to discuss the difficult subject, he has been straight enough that there can be no doubt what happened.

The question for the country is whether what he did at the time and what he has said since are disqualifying. Mr. Bush's hope is plainly yes; our sense, on the strength of the record so far, is no. A lot of good people were torn over that war; a lot of Americans came to think that it was morally wrong; and plenty of members of Mr. Clinton's generation, including some now prominent in both parties, managed in one way or another to avoid it. None of that was pretty, but it would be a strange final cost of that war to allow it to read a large part of an entire generation out of national politics.

People will reach their own judgment of Mr. Clinton's character, just as they will of the president's. Both need to be reached in the light of an entire life's record, and in the light of the country's current needs.

Uranium Buy: The Democrats Thought of It First

The Sept. 1 article "U.S. to Buy Russian Uranium" correctly stated that President Bush's decision to buy bomb-grade uranium from Russia's dismantled nuclear warheads was the "biggest swords-into-plowshares agreement of the post-Cold War era." Reporter Thomas Lippman was also on target in noting the election-year spin the president gave to the proposal.

Unfortunately, nowhere in the story was the fact that this decision to buy ex-Soviet special nuclear materials and convert them into commercial grade fuel was similar to a proposal offered by Senate Democrats last year and that the administration's acceptance of the idea represents something of an about-face.

Last Nov. 21 Sen. Claiborne Pell and I introduced the "Nuclear Weapons Security and Plowshares Act of 1991" to address the problem of Soviet nuclear warhead disposal. The only signifi-

cant difference with the administration's current proposal was that our bill proposed to acquire the material through barter of U.S. agricultural commodities rather than by direct cash purchase.

Efforts to attach similar language on the Nunn-Lugar legislation for dismantling ex-Soviet nuclear weapons failed, in part because of opposition from the administration and Senate Republicans. However, earlier this year the administration's aid package to the former Soviet republics did include language authorizing the "purchasing or otherwise acquir[ing]"—i.e., barter—of special nuclear materials.

Concern about administration inattention to the issue was sufficient for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to declare recently: "Current arms control agreements provide for the elimination of delivery systems but do not address the issue of the dangerous and growing

stockpile of weapons-usable fissile materials in retired nuclear warheads . . . the risk of clandestine or unsafeguarded international transfer of fissile materials presents a relatively new and highly dangerous threat."

Nevertheless, as late as early summer administration witnesses before the committee appeared unwilling to embrace the concept of acquiring special nuclear materials. Mr. Lippman's observation that President Bush added an "election-year note" to his announcement might also have included a bit of history about the administration's mixed record on this issue.

ALAN CRANSTON
U.S. Senator (D-Ca.)
Washington

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Country artist Travis Tritt has been banned permanently from "The Tonight Show With Jay Leno" because his manager would not cancel Tritt's scheduled November appearance on "The Arsenio Hall Show" to do the NBC program instead...

Manager Ken Kragen says his dispute with "Tonight" executive producer Helen Kushnick also caused another country artist, Trisha Yearwood, to be dropped from a scheduled appearance on Leno's show...

"Tonight" sources confirmed the efforts to book Tritt and that Yearwood had been dropped, according to the L.A. Times...

Efforts to reach Kragen and Kushnick yesterday were unsuccessful. But Kragen told the Times that Kushnick "basically said: 'Look, real simple, Travis Tritt is never going to do this show again. You and I are going to see each other around town, we're never going to talk again. It's your loss, you and the record company'..."

There have been a lot of unconfirmed reports of the very rough competition between the Leno and Hall programs, including reports that "Tonight" has pressured stars to appear on the network show first.

Kragen, who managed Kenny Rogers and was a major force in organizing the "We Are the World" and "Hands Across America" national relief efforts, is the first big manager or agent to go public with a story of the pressure...

He has subsequently booked Yearwood on "Arsenio" for Oct. 15, the same night she had been due to appear on "Tonight"...

Kragen told the Times that "Tonight" started calling about Tritt last month when promotion for his new album, "Trouble," took off. But Tritt already was booked for the Hall show. According to Kragen, Kushnick expected him to cancel Tritt's appearance with Hall to return a favor that "The Tonight Show" did for Tritt earlier in his career...

Oldies but Still Goodies

"Walter Cronkite's 20th Century" on the CBS Radio Network will be discontinued after Friday, Sept. 25, as the former anchor loses his last regularly scheduled assignment at CBS after more than 40 years...

Ted Danson, star of NBC's "Cheers," will be the National Press Club luncheon speaker on Tuesday, Oct. 13, in his capacity as chairman of the American Oceans Campaign, dedicated to cleaning up the seas. Probably answer some questions about the TV show, though...

Hillary Clinton will join the "Club Mom" panel during her one-hour visit to ABC's "Home" show today (Channel 7 at 11)...

NBC will air "SPY Magazine 1992" in December. The one-hour special will feature Spy's annual year-end summary of the top 100 "most annoying, appalling and alarming people, events and trends"...

And then there was "From the Heart of America: A Larry King Town Meeting" Sunday night on CNN... which did a 2.0 rating and a 3 share, representing 1.2 million cable homes, double the audience of Larry's first town meeting in January, staged in Pittsburgh...

"ABC World News Tonight With Peter Jennings" won the early evening news race for the 151st time in the past 154 weeks, averaging an 8.5 rating and a 19 share. "CBS Evening News With Dan Rather" was second at 7.9/17, and "NBC Nightly News With Tom Brokaw" was third at 7.6/17 for the week ending Sept. 13. And I'll tell you something else: One year ago last week, CBS and NBC had exactly those same ratingzzz and shares!...

Front-running CBS has chosen the lonely path this year, and has started to count the 1992-93 season from this past Monday night, whilst A.C. Nielsen and its pals at ABC and NBC won't start counting until Sept. 21...

Goofy as that may sound, you'd have to say that CBS got off to a great start Monday with its new season. A one-hour pilot of "Hearts Afire," starring John Ritter and Markie Post, did a 14.8/25 in the national Nielsens, topped by an hour repeating Murphy Brown's baby shower (16.7/27) and then the birth of her son (18.0/28). The repeats set up next Monday night's season premiere, presumably with all its Quayle jokes...

Meanwhile, ABC was launching Robert Ulrich's "Crossroads," which proved to be a bumpy intersection at 7.6/13. The "Monday Night Football" game between Cleveland and Miami, underwatched because the game wasn't sold out and a blackout was in effect in Cleveland, and because hurricane-struck Miami is still very short of Nielsen meters, registered only a 14.4/25...

Over on NBC, "Fresh Prince" returned for a new season, with a 13.3/23, as did "Blossom" (13.4/22)...

CBS says it's a new season because Nielsen started the 1991-92 season a year ago this week

and so the old one ran out last week after 52 weeks and Nielsen should have started counting a new one Monday and besides 79 percent of this week's programming on all three networks is original. CBS also maintains the viewers are ready for a New Season!...

CBS research boss David Poltrack said "we're perplexed" by the Nielsen decision to delay a week and pointed out that Monday's cumulative rating for the three networks was 40.0/66, compared with a 46.2/73 for the first night of the 1991-92 season exactly a year ago, suggesting a large missed boat...

Poltrack, however, said CBS will "reassess" its decision to go it alone when the baseball playoffs begin next month...

More Numberzzz

The new lineups of syndicated shows began head-to-head competition Monday on Washington stations. It is of course Much Too Early to Tell how it's all going to come out, but here's how they scored in their debuts:

At 9 a.m., Regis and Kathie Lee on Seven did a 4.5/20 against a 3.6/16 for Donahue on Four and a 2.6/12 for Montel Williams on Nine...

At 10 Seven's "Geraldo" led with a 5.8/26, compared with a 3.0/0 for "Family Feud Challenge" on Nine and a 2.6/12 for Jerry Springer on Four...

At 4 p.m., Oprah Winfrey led with a 9.1/29 on WJLA, compared with a 6.4/20 for "Eyewitness News" on WUSA and a 3.6/11 for Sally Jessy Raphael on WRC...

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

Monday night, Whoopi Goldberg debuted at 11 on WDCA with a not-bad 2.8/6. A half-hour later, Arsenio Hall on Nine registered a 4.8/15, Jay Leno on Four got a 2.6/8, and much later (after the game) "Nightline" did a 3.8/23 on Seven...

And, oh, by the way, locally Monday night, "Crossroads" did a 6.0/10 and the NFL game on Seven did a 17.1/30; "Hearts Afire" on Nine did a 14.0/23 while the two Murphys did a 20.0/30 and a 19.4/29. Over on Four, "Fresh Prince" did a 17.0/29 and "Blossom" a 16.3/26. The Monday night football game did a 17.1/30 on Seven, while Bob Urich's "Crossroads" did a 6.0/10. Each local ratingzzzz point represents 18,514 TV homes...

Urich shouldn't feel too bad. On PBS Monday night, the Metropolitan Opera's "Ghosts of Versailles" averaged a 0.6 rating and a 1 share in 23 of Nielsen's big-city overnight markets...

Chicago produced the biggest audience among the Ghostbusters, averaging a 1.6/2, while the audience for the Los Angeles PBS station was "below measurable standard," a nice, typically PBS way of saying no rating, no share. Channel 26 here registered a 0.8/1...

TV Ratingzzzz

Following are the top 20 network prime-time shows last week, ranked according to the percentage of the nation's 93.1 million TV households that watched, as measured by the A.C. Nielsen Co. A share represents the percentage of actual sets-in-use tuned to a particular program when it aired.

Rating	Share	Network
1 19.3	34	ABC
2 18.6	30	ABC
3 17.0	28	ABC
4 15.3	28	CBS
5 15.0	25	ABC
6 14.9	23	FOX
7 14.1	24	ABC
8 13.6	24	ABC
9 13.4	23	NBC
10 13.4	21	CBS
11 13.3	24	ABC
12 13.1	25	ABC
13 13.0	22	NBC
14 13.0	22	CBS
15 12.5	25	ABC
16 12.4	21	CBS
17 12.2	20	CBS
18 12.0	21	ABC
19 12.0	19	ABC
20 11.9	19	CBS

ABC, with a lot of help from the Washington Redskins and five other hits in the Top Ten, had no trouble winning the primetime race last week, averaging an 11.2/20 compared with a 9.2/17 for NBC and an 8.3/15 for CBS...

ABC, thanks to the steamy movie about Carolyn Warmus, "A Murderous Affair," even took a rare Sunday win over CBS, while also winning Monday, Tuesday and Friday nights...

In other highlights, the premiere of CBS's "Frannie's Turn" was 26th, CBS's "Brooklyn Bridge" was 35th, "2000 Malibu Road" tied for 38th and "Flying Blind" on FOX tied for 54th...

CBS's "Middle Ages" dropped to 68th, the CBS's Back to School special tied for 80th with FOX's "Down the Shore" premiere, while ABC's "'92 Vote" special tied for 82nd...

The Final and Usually Fatal Five Plus One for the week ending Sept. 13 included, in order, FOX's "Parker Lewis" and CBS's "Freshman Dorm," tied for 92nd, followed by FOX's "Bill & Ted's Excellent Adventure," a repeat of CBS's "Brooklyn Bridge" and, tied for 96th and last place, a Lyndon LaRouche campaign special and Saturday night's U.S. Open Tennis overrun, both on CBS...

HIGHLIGHTS

- The debut of "The Hat Squad" and the return of "48 Hours" on WUSA.
- The season premieres of "Unsolved Mysteries" and "Seinfeld" on WRC.
- The New York Philharmonic's "150th Opening Night Celebration" on WETA.
- And the returns of "Coach" and "Home Improvement" on WJLA.

Public Broadcasting

Live From Lincoln Center: New York Philharmonic 150th Opening Night Celebration. Kurt Masur conducts, with guest soloist Kathleen Battle (Channel 26 at 8).

Primetime Movie

Children of a Lesser God (1986). William Hurt is a teacher for the deaf who falls in love with a former student (Channel 20 at 8).

Series Pilot

The Hat Squad (CC) (Channel 9 at 8) is previewed by Tom Shales on Page B1.

Series Returns

Unsolved Mysteries (CC). A report on a dazzling light show over New York and Connecticut (Channel 4 at 8).

Seinfeld (CC). In a one-hour episode, Jerry and George dream up an idea for a television series (Channel 4 at 9).

Home Improvement (CC). Tim is oblivious to Jill's romantic signals (Channel 7 at 9).

Coach (CC). Hayden is ecstatic after winning the first game of the season and makes a bold step with Christine (Channel 7, 9:30).

48 Hours (CC). A 90-minute episode on the crime of kidnapping (Channel 9, 9:30).

Series

Beverly Hills, 90210 (CC). Brenda reveals all in a TV interview (Channel 5 at 8).

Melrose Place (CC). Billy has a brush with crime (Channel 5 at 9).

Star Trek: The Next Generation (CC) (R). The ship's archaeologist returns to claim her son hours after her death (Channel 20 at 10).

Late Night

The Arsenio Hall Show (CC). With Susan Dey and Martin Lawrence (Channel 9, 11:30).

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With Juliette Lewis, Jake Johannsen and Vince Gill (Channel 4, 11:35).

Thursday Morning

Today (CC). With Malcolm-Jamal Warner, and Gene Shalit reviews Woody Allen's "Husbands and Wives" (Channel 4 at 7).

Good Morning America (CC). With Whoopi Goldberg and former surgeon general C. Everett Koop (Channel 7 at 7).

CBS This Morning (CC). With a report on Barbra Streisand and a look at new cars (Channel 9 at 7).

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992 *

Bush tells Guard of his life-and-death decisions

By Paul Bedard
and J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

SALT LAKE CITY — President Bush yesterday tearfully recalled his decision to send "sons and daughters" to their death in Panama and the Persian Gulf as he fueled doubts that Democrat Bill Clinton has the integrity and character to make such tough choices.

Mr. Clinton also spoke to the 4,000 attending the U.S. National Guard Convention 90 minutes later but never mentioned his draft history or the draft-dodging accusations swirling around his campaign.

Mr. Bush said he did not intend to attack Mr. Clinton on the draft issue although he felt "very strongly about certain aspects of the controversy," but rather came to "defend and support" the National Guard.

But the president said "we must hold our president to the highest standard, because they might have to decide if our sons and daughters should knock early on death's door."

There had been wide speculation that Mr. Bush would attack Mr. Clinton, as his aides have, for failing to "come clean" on efforts to avoid the draft during the Vietnam War.

Instead, Mr. Bush heaped high praise on the Guardsmen who

served, including Vice President Dan Quayle, whose own Guard service, the president said, "was savagely attacked and ridiculed by the national press."

The president said Mr. Quayle's critics "attacked the Guard as a haven for draft dodgers, and those critics are wrong."

His defense of Mr. Quayle was a veiled attack on Mr. Clinton, who has often been caught changing his story

on the degree of influence he sought to avoid the draft.

"No candidate has ever been attacked more unmercifully than Vice President Quayle. But he stood his ground and he answered every question calmly and with candor and he told the truth and this is service to country and I'm very proud of the vice president and very proud of the National Guard," Mr. Bush said to loud applause.

Mr. Quayle last week called on Mr. Clinton to "come clean" on his draft record. Mr. Quayle also said that Mr. Clinton in 1988 advised the then-Indiana senator just to tell the truth to make the issue dissolve.

While Mr. Bush said combat service isn't needed to serve as commander in chief of the military, he argued that any president must be

see BUSH, page A8

ingrained with the highest level of integrity and honesty.

Mr. Clinton, anticipating a Bush attack on the draft issue, abruptly changed his schedule to appear here the same day as the president. But he did not delve into his history of being a student at Georgetown and Oxford universities who escaped the draft through deferments, promised participation in ROTC and a possible Naval Reserve billet.

Instead, the Arkansas governor used the forum to contrast his vision of the National Guard with the president's.

Mr. Clinton countered Mr. Bush's charge yesterday that his plan to cut the defense budget by \$60 billion more than the president has proposed would harm national defense. Mr. Clinton told the Guardsmen not to focus on the raw numbers.

He said the difference between the two proposed budgets is only 5 percent — made up partly from fewer troops in Europe, less money for the "Brilliant Pebbles" program of the Strategic Defense Initiative, and a greater reliance on the National Guard.

"I do not want to imply there will be no cuts. There will be cuts, but I want a stronger role for the Guard and the reserves than is called for in President Bush's force plan," Mr. Clinton said.

"I will never allow a hollow army. We still must have the best-equipped and best-trained military to meet today's threats," he said.

Clinton strategist Paul Begala said the substance of yesterday's speech showed that Mr. Clinton did not feel the pressing need to address the draft issue again.

"Voters want this election to be about their lives and their families and their jobs, and that's what we're going to make this election about. I tell you, every time he gets off of that voters get angry," Mr. Begala said.

Mr. Begala, asked about Mr. Bush's vocal support of Mr. Quayle's Guard service, said it was a "defense" of the vice president.

Bush campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke said Mr. Clinton's sudden change of plans to address the convention on the same day as the president was surprising.

"We can't believe he walked into it. ... This guy wants to be commander in chief, but he can't avoid the land mines," she said.

"Here's a guy who didn't serve in the military. Here's a guy who a lot of people say had a lot of strings pulled to keep him out. Here's a guy who didn't tell the truth about this," Miss Clarke said.

A Bush aide said that Mr. Clinton apparently had fallen for the pre-speech hype that suggested the president was going to lance Mr. Clinton. Instead, Mr. Bush's moving speech left Mr. Clinton with virtually nothing to react to.

While most Guardsmen interviewed said the question of military service and the Vietnam draft was not a defining issue for them, the question of presidential character was. And many of these Guardsmen had lingering questions about Mr. Clinton's truthfulness in telling his story.

"What matters to me is not what efforts he took to get around the draft, but if he lies, that's what matters," said Army National Guard Lt. Neal Loidolt of Minnesota. "We're not talking about what color his socks are. You don't make mistakes [about draft history]."

Maj. Stephen Jackson of Utah, who described himself as a conservative, said he liked Mr. Clinton's views on defense policy but he was "looking forward to a time when he comes clean in my mind. ... It's a matter of integrity."

Mr. Bush's message was very similar to, but sharper than, the one he gave earlier this month when both he and Mr. Clinton addressed the American Legion on the same day.

The president tearfully recalled the night he sent U.S. jets into battle with Iraq and especially a letter from an Illinois woman whose son died in a helicopter accident.

On that day, she received word, she received a letter from her son and he said, 'Mom and Dad, don't worry about me. I love the Marines and I love my country.' This July, the mother wrote, 'As a gold-star mother, it is difficult to accept my son's death. But he is alive in my heart and I could be bitter with the military and God, but my son would never want me to.'

"You feel the weight of the job sending a son or daughter — sending a son or daughter into combat, believe me, is the toughest part of the presidency. And most presidents never learn that lesson because, thank God, most don't have to ask others to put their lives on the line. But every president might," he said.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992 *

'You could almost see the faces of innocence'

SALT LAKE CITY — Here are excerpts from speeches by President Bush and Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton to the National Guard Association Convention yesterday.

President Bush

"There's been a lot of controversy swirling around about service to country, about using influence to avoid the military, and I've read a great deal of speculation saying that I was going to come out here and use this forum to attack Governor Clinton. I want to tell you I do feel very strongly about certain aspects of the controversy swirling around Governor Clinton, but I didn't come here to attack him. I came to defend and support the National Guard and those who serve in it. . . .

"But why do these questions even matter? Why are they part of our national debate? They matter because, despite all our problems at home, we can never forget that we ask our presidents to lead the military, to bear the awful authority of deciding to send your sons and daughters in harm's way. . . .

"I know the commanders here know I feel a little emotional about this, but you get letters like these and you could almost see the faces of youth and innocence. And you feel the weight of the job sending a son or daughter — sending a son or

daughter into combat, believe me, is the toughest part of the presidency. And most presidents never learn that lesson because, thank God, most don't have to ask others to put their lives on the line. But every president might. . . .

"I hope that whomever is elected to this office, at whatever time in the future he doesn't have to face the awful decision that I had to face twice, and I hope that the next four years will pass — indeed, I hope the next four decades will pass — without the blood of young Americans being shed on foreign shores. And today, we can say this future is possible, but no one can say for sure it will happen. . . .

"My opponent proposes to cut nearly \$60 billion beyond which my civilian and military experts believe is responsible, 60 billion more than the cuts that I have proposed. . . . At other times in our history, political leaders rushed to carve apart our military — we remember that — leaving only a hollow shell, and then other Americans paid a big price — paid even with their lives for those mistakes."

Bill Clinton

"When the American people choose a president, they want someone they can trust to act in moments of crisis. Every president in the last half-century has had to confront the

fateful decision to put some Americans in harm's way. I do not relish this prospect, but neither do I shrink from it. If elected, I will ensure that we have the resolve and the strength, constantly, to deter, sometimes to fight, and when we fight, always to win. . . .

"I will never allow a hollow army. It is true, as the president said this morning, that my five-year defense budget contains somewhat less money than his does, but listen to the difference: \$1.36 trillion in my budget, as opposed to \$1.42 trillion in his over five years, a difference of only 5 percent. . . .

"Other nations with which we compete, which are growing more rapidly, nations which realize that economic security is a part of national security, and that in that sense, national security has to begin at home, have a totally different approach to the world's challenges. . . .

"My fellow Americans, what is killing this country today is not the size of our challenge but the dimension of our disbelief. And we need faith and conviction that we can confront these problems in an American way that goes beyond the kind of paralysis we've had at home for the last 10 years, that reflects the same sort of spirit and determination and commitment of resources that we saw in Desert Storm."



President Bush holds a National Guard cap he was given after telling the National Guard Association about the difficulty of being commander in chief.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992 *

Impasse could cancel Tuesday debate

ASSOCIATED PRESS

The bipartisan commission that wants to sponsor three presidential debates said yesterday it needs President Bush's agreement to participate by today or it will have to cancel plans for Tuesday's debate.

Democratic nominee Bill Clinton accepted the commission plan when it was first released in June. But Mr. Bush balked at the proposal. He wants two debates instead of three and prefers a panel of journalists moderating, instead of the commission's proposal for a single moderator, allowing the candidates time to question each other directly.

Mr. Bush's reluctance to debate Mr. Clinton in an open forum and his demands for a more rigid format are reminiscent of positions he took four years ago in negotiations that ultimately were decided in Mr. Bush's favor.

This year, however, Mr. Bush is behind in the polls as the quadrennial debate over debates intensifies, and Mr. Clinton

appears less likely to give in to Bush demands than Michael Dukakis was four years ago.

Still, the differences between the two campaigns were nowhere near resolved yesterday afternoon, so it appeared the bipartisan commission's schedule for three debates would be the first victim of the argument.

"Unless both the Bush and Clinton campaigns have agreed by 10 a.m., Wednesday, Sept. 16 to debate at Michigan State University, the Sept. 22 debate will have to be canceled," the commission statement said. "There will not be sufficient time to put together the necessary logistics for an effective debate unless work can start by [Wednesday] evening."

As was the case in 1988, Mr. Bush has entrusted James A. Baker III to handle debate negotiations, and Mr. Baker is trying to play hardball in hopes of securing the best format for his candidate.

For now, at least, the Clinton campaign is refusing the Bush campaign's call for

private negotiations to work out a deal.

"Our message to Mr. Clinton is: We want to debate," White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said yesterday. "Why doesn't he want to sit down and work out dates and locations?"

But the Clinton camp said anew there was nothing to work out and again asked Mr. Bush to accept the commission's plan. Clinton aides said Mr. Bush should make any demands to change the commission's format or schedule at a public commission meeting.

Mr. Baker, according to Bush campaign officials, believes Mr. Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle would perform better in the more rigid format, which allows for shorter answers and would be more predictable than an unscripted debate.

"I would figure that [Mr. Baker] is a little afraid of too much mixing it up and would rather stay with a pat format where you can give practiced answers," said GOP strategist John Sears.

Clinton aides suggested much the same as they sought to portray Mr. Bush as afraid to debate Mr. Clinton head-to-head.

"They just want to script him," said Clinton communications director George Stephanopoulos. "The commission has a good format. If candidates have questions for each other, they can ask them. That's the way it should be."

In 1988, the original proposal was for three presidential debates and a single moderator. But Mr. Dukakis ultimately agreed to Mr. Baker's request for two debates with a panel of journalists.

But Mr. Sears and others said Mr. Clinton has more leeway because of his lead in the polls; Mr. Dukakis was trailing Mr. Bush during the 1988 negotiations.

"The guy that is ahead has the greatest power," Mr. Sears said. Asked who needed the debates most, Mr. Sears said: "The person who is behind, and right now that is the president."

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992 *

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

Where's the beef?

Ross Perot scolded the presidential candidates again yesterday, asking them for "hard [economic] plans that people will buy" instead of the hash they are serving.

"The thing they always underestimate is how smart the American people are," Mr. Perot said. "The American people understand what's going on. They understand shams and finesses, and so far these plans are soft."

He offered this assessment in an interview on ABC's "Good Morning America" at a time when polls suggest that one out of six voters supports him despite "suspension" of his campaign two months ago.

Badger underdoggery

Republican Mark Neumann is trying to do what no man has ever done: defeat Democratic Rep. Les Aspin in the land of milk and honey that is Wisconsin's 1st Congressional District.

To get a little attention, Mr. Neumann has been distributing a poster that pictures "Ten Things You Haven't Seen in Wisconsin Lately." Included were the Loch Ness Monster, D.B. Cooper and Elvis (who gets so little rest these days).

Also pictured were Amelia Earhart, a UFO, Jimmy Hoffa and — yes, you guessed it — Mr. Aspin, the 11-term veteran who is also chairman of the House Armed Services Committee.

Unfortunately, this innocent effort to get the voters' attention has been roundly attacked for accuracy.

Elvis was spotted recently in a Wisconsin mall.

The new journalism

P.J. O'Rourke could scarcely get a word in amid the questions asked



Take it from P.J. O'Rourke, one's choice of Beatles really matters.

by the Rolling Stone crowd in its interview with Bill Clinton, which revealed that the Democratic candidate's favorite Beatle is Paul McCartney.

That news was deeply disturbing to Mr. O'Rourke, who subsequently noted that the word on Mr. McCartney could only be viewed as critical information "at a moment in history when America cries out for a president whose favorite Beatle is Ringo."

Discussing other revelations from the candidate, Mr. O'Rourke was moved to observe what we now

offer as our text for the day:

"Successful politicians did not get to be successful politicians by being dumb enough to tell reporters the truth."

Hold the nudes

The New York Post says Penthouse publisher Bob Guccione has reportedly decided not to publish his collection of nude photos of Gennifer Flowers, the Arkansas thrush and self-proclaimed intimate of Gov. Bill Clinton.

According to the newspaper, Mr. Guccione is no fan of the policies of President Bush. Clinton intermediaries also did what they could to dissuade him from publicly sharing those photographs with music lovers everywhere.

In this connection, however, it seems an important health service to note that the Harvard Heart Letter disclosed last week that 78 percent of the deaths associated with sexual activity involved extramarital sex.

More Truman fuss

Former President Gerald Ford knew Harry Truman and Mr. Clinton is no ... well, you know the rest of it.

But for the record in our effort to keep you abreast of the continuing debate over Truman impersonations, the former Republican president weighed into this weighty issue on the side of the GOP incumbent.

"I am deeply concerned that

there is some false impression that there is a relationship between Clinton and Truman on several fundamental issues," he said in a tone that indicated this was nothing to be lighthearted about.

"The facts are that George Bush and Harry Truman have more in common."

Limbaugh watch

A tip from a perceptive Beltway irregular: Rush Limbaugh fans need to get out their VCRs. His new television show can be seen by Washington-area cable subscribers from WWOR in New York at 12:30 a.m. That's right, 30 minutes past midnight. In Baltimore, it comes on later: on WMAR from 1:30 to 2:05 a.m.

Spelling report

The latest development in the ongoing saga of political spelling, which has so engaged us as a people this year, comes from Sen. Edward Kennedy.

The Massachusetts Democrat submitted a report on the bill on the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, saying the measure "seeks to make this office a beacon of educational excellence."

Whether it is "potato" or "excellence," those e's are tough on guys in elective life.

Pundit Leno

NBC's Jay Leno offers this additional evidence of a sluggish economy:

"A California high school is the first high school in America to have a Taco Bell, a Pizza Hut and a Kentucky Fried Chicken right on campus."

"Not for lunch — but for Career Day."

— Alan McConagha

"USA TODAY hopes to serve as a forum for better understanding and unity to help make the USA truly one nation."

—Allen H. Neuharth
Founder, Sept. 15, 1982



Peter S. Prichard
Editor

Karen Jurgensen
Editor of the
Editorial Page

Thomas Curley
President and Publisher

SEPT. 16, 1992

Mexican free-trade pact can boost U.S. economy

OUR VIEW Clinton should join Bush in support of the free-trade pact with Mexico; it means jobs and growth.

A leader must have vision to see beyond the next election.

President Bush has shown such vision in pushing for expanded U.S. trade — starting with his recently concluded negotiations to add Mexico to the free-trade pact with Canada.

And Democratic candidate Bill Clinton can display his leadership by rejecting the protectionist calls from some of his backers. If he's for free trade, as he says, he should get off the fence and support this pact.

America's future is at stake.

As the USA's 78 million baby boomers age, they'll need to save more for retirement. That means consuming less.

If new markets aren't found to replace lost consumption, businesses will have

to cut back, as they are doing in this recession. Then unemployment will rise and living standards fall. It's that simple.

World trade solves that problem.

The free-trade pact with Mexico would open wider an 88 million-person market by tearing down tariffs 2.5 times higher than U.S. rates. Economists say the pact will create 325,000 U.S. jobs and \$50 billion added wealth for both nations in five years.

More than that, the pact could lead to similar deals with other Latin American nations that finally are heeding decades of U.S. calls for more open markets.

The sticking point is what to do about the 150,000 U.S. workers who lose jobs in the process. The answer isn't protectionism. It's retraining.

Clinton has a more extensive retraining plan than Bush to keep U.S. workers competitive in the global marketplace.

But for any retraining to work, jobs must be created to retrain for. More open trade creates them. It helps the USA save without raising joblessness. Trade barriers close the door not only on foreign goods but on U.S. workers.

And any candidate who can't see that should get his vision checked.

U.S. trade

Canada is the USA's largest trading partner, with 17.1% of U.S. trade.

Others:

Japan	15.3
Mexico	7.0
Germany	4.7
Britain	4.4

Source: Int'l Monetary Fund

This trade pact is wrong

OPPOSING VIEW Send the flawed Mexican treaty back to the drawing board and try again next year.

Last week, Labor Secretary Lynn Martin confessed in testimony before Congress that the North American Free Trade Agreement would kill 150,000 jobs, an amount equal to the population of Warren, Mich., or twice the number of layoffs announced by General Motors. Coming during a long recession, this announcement probably dooms an agreement that, done right, would be an engine for economic growth and social justice throughout our hemisphere.

A good trade agreement would reduce poverty, illegal immigration, pollution in the border region, labor and human rights abuses. It would lift economic growth, exports and living standards. But the administration's version of

NAFTA would realize none of these goals. Instead, it validates Mexican protectionism and provides no funding to retrain workers, build pollution-control facilities or provide human dignity to impoverished Mexican workers.

Several U.S. industries — energy, glass, automobiles, even wine — are virtually excluded from the Mexican market for as much as 10 years, even as already low tariffs on imports from Mexico are reduced or abolished. As written, NAFTA will hasten the exodus of U.S. jobs to Mexico and drag down the wages of manufacturing workers.

In the last year, George Bush killed unemployment benefits, proposed a sham job-retraining program, vetoed growth incentives to end the recession and now tells Congress to expect NAFTA to produce huge job losses. NAFTA is rapidly becoming a symbol to the American people of everything wrong with Republican economics. To preserve support for free and fair trade, to improve economic conditions everywhere in the hemisphere, NAFTA should be renegotiated and submitted for congressional approval by President Clinton next year.



USA TODAY
By Rep. Richard A. Gephardt, D-Mo., House majority leader.

"USA TODAY hopes to serve as a forum for better understanding and unity to help make the USA truly one nation."

—Allen H. Neuharth
Founder, Sept. 15, 1982



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SEPT. 16, 1992

End political one-upmanship; let's start helping real families

**Today's family is sharply
different from idealized past.**

Congressional approval last week of a family-leave bill is but the latest escalation in the ongoing war of one-upmanship between Democrats and Republicans over which party best represents family values.

By timing the vote two months before the election, the Democrats are calling attention to the vast disparity between what the Republicans say about family values and what they are willing to do to nurture and protect families.

Citing the high cost to business, President Bush has threatened to veto the bill, which would require large employers to give workers 12 weeks of unpaid leave to care for newborn or sick children and ailing parents. He vetoed a similar bill two years ago.

Although the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and other business groups oppose the measure, it would cost just \$5.30 a year per covered employee, according to one estimate by the General Accounting Office.

Bush's opposition to a federally mandated family-leave policy is out of touch with the needs of today's working families.

All the party's rah-rah, pro-family rhetoric is nothing more than a shortsighted attempt to recapture and put to political use the supposed wholesomeness of a long-gone era when mommy stayed home and cared for the kids while daddy went off to work.

That attitude ignores and distorts the realities of today's families, presented so starkly in a new study by the Population Reference Bureau. The study, titled "New Realities of the American Family," documents how fam-



By Zita Arocha, a Bethesda, Md., writer.

ilies today are much more diverse and complex than they were 50 years ago when the breadwinner/homemaker family was the norm.

In most families today, both husband and wife work. The number of women and men raising children alone is on the rise. Stepfamilies are a common occurrence.

According to the study, between 1940 and 1990, the proportion of breadwinner/homemaker families declined from about 70% to about 20%, while the proportion of dual-worker families jumped from 10% to 40%.

Other demographic trends that have altered the family unit:

- ▶ Almost 60% of mothers with children under age 6 were in the labor force in 1991; in 1960, one in five women with preschool-age children worked outside the home.

- ▶ The divorce rate increased nearly 40% between 1970 and 1990 and now hovers at about 4.7 divorces per 1,000 population.

- ▶ Men and women are delaying marriage. The median age at first marriage in 1950 was 22.8 for men and 20.3 for women. In 1991, the median age was 26.3 for men and 24.1 for women.

- ▶ One-third of all marriages in 1988 were remarriages for one or both partners.

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

- ▶ About half of all children today are expected to spend some part of their childhood in a single-parent family.

Given these demographic realities, it's difficult to understand why Republicans don't embrace policies like emergency leave that strengthen all families.

As the report's authors, Dennis Ahlburg and Carol De Vita, note: "Valuing the family should not be confused with valuing a particular family form. . . . Recognizing the diversity of American families and addressing the complexity of their needs must lie at the

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

Gore Treads Softly as Environmental Point Man, Fearing GOP Efforts to Label Him an Extremist

By TIMOTHY NOAH

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — During a recent campaign appearance at a paper-recycling plant in Portland, Maine, Democratic vice presidential candidate Albert Gore noted with interest the German "Green Dot" law, which makes manufacturers responsible for disposal of the packaging waste they create.

But when a reporter asked if the Clinton-Gore ticket would favor a "Green Dot"

CAMPAIGN
★ **92**

law in the U.S., Mr. Gore stiffened slightly. "I'd want to study it," he said cautiously, then went on to cite the need to be "sensitive to the differences" between the U.S. and Germany.

As the author of the best-selling ecotome "Earth in the Balance," Sen. Gore has inevitably become the Clinton campaign's point man on the environment. But the Tennessee Democrat has turned into a point man who is reluctant to make points on the subject.

The reason is fear of attacks from the Republicans, who long for additional ammunition for their charge that he is an environmental extremist. Even before he became a candidate, Mr. Gore had a tendency to balance emotional rhetoric about the planet's fragile state with cautious incrementalism in proposing legislative remedies. But since he joined the Democratic ticket, he has become downright tight-lipped about discussing specifics.

Instead, he sticks mostly to generalities, criticizing the Bush-Quayle administration for offering a "false choice" between economic growth and a healthy environment and proclaiming that the U.S. "ought to be leading the environmental revolution."

Mr. Gore justifies his strategy by explaining that he is "trying to lay the groundwork for why we face a global challenge, what the major components of it are, why it's in our best interests economically as well as environmentally to play a leadership role." After this "educational" process is over, he says, he will begin to outline environmental solutions.

But environmental writer-activist John Javna, author of "50 Simple Things You Can Do To Save The Earth," takes a different view. He says that Mr. Gore has adopted "a moderate tone" because "any environmentalist running for office has to be concerned" about being labeled an "extremist."

Indeed, Mr. Gore is so careful when discussing the environment that he is frequently outflanked by his audience. At a recent children's question-and-answer session beside Lake Champlain in Burlington, Vt., the candidate seemed momentarily

taken aback when a child asked whether recycling should be made mandatory in all states. Mr. Gore stalled by asking the children why they felt more strongly about environmental issues than their parents do. Eventually, he said that in most cases "incentives to recycle make more sense than mandates" from the federal government requiring states to do so.

Mr. Gore's running mate certainly doesn't lack for prescriptions on how to clean up the environment. Mr. Clinton has called for "revenue neutral" tax incentives for use of recycled materials; increasing Corporate Average Fuel Efficiency (CAFE) standards for automobile manufacturers to 40 miles per gallon by the year 2000, up from 27.5 miles per gallon today; designating the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge as a wilderness area to stop offshore drilling; and limiting U.S. carbon dioxide emissions to 1990 levels by the decade's end to slow depletion of the ozone layer.

But Republicans, in a classic case of having it both ways, have gone after Mr. Clinton for being weak on the environment—citing his Arkansas record—while sticking Mr. Gore with the "extremist" tag.



Sen. Albert Gore

Just last week, in a Shreveport, La., news conference, Energy Secretary James Watkins released a transcript of a satellite interview Mr. Gore gave a Santa Barbara TV station a few weeks before while campaigning in Monterey Bay, Calif. In response to a question about protection of the California coast, Mr. Gore said, "I think that a ban on offshore drilling ought to be extended on the — to all of the coastal waters of the United States." Mr. Watkins charged that so sweeping a ban would "cost thousands of jobs for the working men and women in the U.S. domestic oil industry."

As a result of this attack, Mr. Gore was forced to amend his earlier remark by saying that he favored a moratorium only on new offshore drilling in environmentally sensitive areas, a considerably narrower position that would permit drilling to continue on existing oil leases. Meanwhile, the Clinton campaign issued a news release pointing out that Michael DeLand, chairman of the White House Council on Environmental Quality, had recently boasted that President Bush himself "declared a moratorium on offshore drilling for 99 percent of the West Coast" and the "ecologically sensitive" Florida coast.

Mr. Gore's perceived vulnerability on environmental issues stems largely from "Earth In The Balance," which proposes an environmental "Marshall Plan" and

various new taxes to promote conservation of precious resources. But Mr. Gore offers few details in the book about how such policies would be achieved. Although Vice President Dan Quayle has suggested that such a plan would cost \$100 billion a year, for example, in fact the book merely observes that \$100 billion is what the original Marshall Plan would cost today if calculated at the same fraction of the U.S. gross national product. In any event, the notion hasn't been endorsed by the Clinton campaign, and even Mr. Gore's campaign manager, Mark Gearan, distances the candidate from it by saying Mr. Gore "laid that out as a series of ideas to be thought about and contemplated" rather than acted upon.

The campaign has been less successful in dismissing criticism that Mr. Gore's tone in the book is impolitic and apocalyptic. Mr. Gore describes the environmental crisis as an "ecological Kristallnacht," and describes civilization as "addicted to the consumption of the earth itself . . . We seem increasingly eager to lose ourselves in the forms of culture, society, technology, the media, and the rituals of production and consumption, but the price we pay is the loss of our spiritual lives."

Still, Mr. Gore's book has received a boost from one unlikely source — Mr. Bush's Environmental Protection Agency chief, William Reilly. In a televised interview last month, Mr. Reilly did offer some criticisms of the book's advocacy of additional taxes and stringent CAFE standards. Overall, however, he said "I have a lot of respect for that book" — a comment that drew him a swift rebuke from the White House.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

Senate Approves Hurricane Aid Bill That Boosts Funding to \$10.5 Billion

By DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The Senate approved a package of almost \$10.5 billion in federal loans and emergency aid to help Southern states and Hawaii recover from the devastation of Hurricanes Andrew and Iniki.

The 84-10 vote followed revisions adding more than \$3 billion to the initial measure. And the cost far exceeds prior emergency legislation for even such back-to-back disasters as Hurricane Hugo and the California earthquake in 1989.

The total includes an estimated \$4.7 billion in direct loans and guarantees extending federal credit to victims of the storms through such agencies as the Small Business Administration and Federal Housing Administration. The remainder is largely direct grants and aid to help defray the costs of damage, but the measure rejects the Bush administration's proposal to rebuild Homestead Air Force Base as a military facility.

Instead, approximately \$66 million is allocated to make the airfield viable, and though Customs and law enforcement agencies would continue to have a government function at Homestead, the base's real future may lie as an alternative for general aviation now flying into Miami.

The action came as a House-Senate conference committee separately approved an estimated \$22 billion energy and water bill that would continue funding for the superconducting supercollider and seeks to strike a compromise with the Bush administration over future nuclear weapons testing.

The giant atom smasher, which was threatened with a cutoff of all funds by a House vote earlier this year, would receive \$517 million in the fiscal year beginning Oct. 1, a modest increase over current funding but 20% below the administration's request.

Both sides accepted the new number as part of the back-and-forth trading on budget issues. But the nuclear test ban language carries a symbolism that will be more difficult to resolve politically. The White House had threatened a veto after both houses sought to ban any tests for most of the new fiscal year; the compromise yesterday would insist on a moratorium for five months ending March 1.

Oregon Sen. Mark Hatfield, the ranking Republican on the Appropriations panel and a chief proponent of the moratorium, said the revisions went too far. And lawmakers agreed that the proposed compromise will be subject to amendment when

Bush and Clinton avoided an expected clash over the Democrat's draft history as both men delivered back-to-back speeches to a National Guard convention in Salt Lake City. Instead, Bush urged voters to consider that a president has the power to send Americans into war, and Clinton responded that he was ready to lead the military.

the measure comes back to the House and Senate floors.

The disputes over the test ban and supercollider have received the most attention, but the underlying bill is an annual battleground for energy and water interests competing for federal dollars.

With virtually no public notice, an estimated \$100 million was allocated yesterday for select university construction projects, at least half of which weren't in the initial legislation. Leading members of the Appropriations panel from New Jersey, Alabama, and Indiana shared in the largess, and people familiar with the proceedings said that one of the projects was funded at the request of Speaker Thomas Foley.

Sen. Bennett Johnston (D., La.), chairman of the subcommittee, used his position to benefit Southern contractors by attaching a provision requiring the Army Corps of Engineers to allocate a greater share of its annual dredging budget to private companies. New Orleans dredgers are among the major beneficiaries of the agreement, which would open up 7.5 million cubic yards of work to private bidding. And in the best tradition of his Republican rivals, Mr. Johnston described the corps' own dredging operations as an example of "gold-plated" government passing its costs on to local ports.

Trade Deficit Grew Sharply In 2nd Quarter

By DAVID WESSEL

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — The broadest measure of the U.S. trade deficit expanded to \$17.8 billion in the second quarter from \$5.9 billion in the first, the Commerce Department said.

The second-quarter current-account deficit, which reflects financial flows as well as trade in goods and services, was the largest for a quarter since the \$22.7 billion deficit in the fourth quarter of 1990.

The wider deficit reflected a sharp increase in the merchandise trade deficit, mostly from a rise in imports. Surpluses in services and investment income narrowed.

Because of contributions from U.S. allies to pay for the Persian Gulf War, the U.S. ran a current-account surplus in the first half of last year. But with foreign economies weakening and demand for U.S. goods falling, the deficit is growing again.

The merchandise trade deficit widened to \$24.4 billion in the second quarter from \$17.2 billion in the first. The trade surplus on services contracted to \$13 billion from \$13.8 billion. The surplus in dividends, interest and other investment income shrank to \$1.4 billion from \$4.5 billion. And government and private transfers to foreign recipients came to \$7.7 billion, up from \$7 billion in the first quarter.

The Commerce Department also reported that net capital inflows, the difference between foreign capital flowing into the U.S. and U.S. capital flowing abroad, increased to \$37.4 billion in the second quarter from \$14.3 billion in the first.

Bush to Seek Rule Waivers For Banks in Disaster Area

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration plans to ask Congress to give federal regulators authority to waive bank and thrift rules for as much as a year in natural disaster areas.

The proposed legislation is designed to help banks respond to the need for loans to repair recent hurricane damage in Florida and Hawaii, but it would allow similar flexibility after future disasters. Regulators could grant waivers if they determine that the safety and soundness of banks and thrifts wouldn't be compromised.

John Dugan, assistant Treasury secretary for finance, said one area where flexibility is necessary involves appraisals. Current rules requiring firm appraisals for real estate loans make it difficult for banks to lend money in hurricane-destroyed areas.

U.S. purchases of foreign securities showed little change in the quarter. But foreign investors, after cutting back on purchases of U.S. securities in the first quarter, increased them in the second. Foreigners bought U.S. Treasury securities valued at \$10.3 billion after selling \$800 million of the securities in the first quarter.

Purchases of private securities rose to \$10.9 billion in the second quarter from \$4.6 billion in the first. An additional \$6 billion of foreign direct investment in U.S. plants and companies was recorded in the second quarter; in the first, foreign direct investment fell by \$3.8 billion.

The breakdown of capital flows is imprecise. The department said its statistical discrepancy, or the sum of all errors and omissions in recorded capital transactions, amounted to an unusually large \$19.6 billion in the second quarter.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Schedule	Schedule of the President Re: Wednesday, September 16, 1992 [FOIA exemptions redacted] (2 pp.)	9/16/92	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, September 16, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 12/23/2024	OA/ID Number: 90718-005
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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
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P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]



SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
Wednesday, September 16, 1992

8:00 am	<u>Phone Interview with Oklahoma News Network (Fitzwater)</u>	Oval Office (TAB A)
8:15 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with GOP Congressional Leadership (Calio)</u>	Cabinet Room (TAB B)
8:45 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing (Scowcroft)</u>	Oval Office
9:00 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>	Oval Office
9:30 am (30 min)	<u>Pre-brief for AARP Interview and Video Taping (Smith)</u>	Oval Office (TAB C)
10:00 am (20 min)	<u>Interview with AARP BULLETIN (Smith)</u>	Oval Office (TAB D)
10:30 am (15 min)	<u>Video Taping for AARP/VOTE Program (Smith)</u>	459 OEOB (TAB E)
10:45 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
11:00 am (15 min)	<u>Pre-brief for Interviews (Smith)</u>	Oval Office (TAB F)
11:15 am (30 min)	<u>Interview with St. Louis Affiliates (Smith)</u>	Map Room (TAB G)
11:45 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
12:00 pm (75 min)	<u>Lunch</u>	Oval Office

UNP 09/15/92
7:00 pm



Time	Activity	Location
1:15 pm (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
1:30 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Acting Secretary Eagleburger</u>	Oval Office
2:00 pm (90 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
3:30 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Cardinal O'Connor</u> (Demarest) (TAB H)	Roosevelt Room
4:00 pm (60 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
4:30	Interview w/ Prime Time Live	Map Room
7:41	POTUS In	
8:00	POTUS begins Phone Interview with Oklahoma News Network.	
8:06	Sec. Baker, Calio In	
8:07	Phone Interview Ends	
8:10	Fitzwater In	
8:11	Fitzwater Out	
8:11	Calio Out	
8:18	POTUS Out to Cabinet Room	
9:02	POTUS In	
9:05	(b)(3) Howe, Scowcroft In	
9:12	Sec. Baker In	
9:16	(b)(3) Out	
9:29	All out but Sec. Baker	
9:45	Baker Out, Zoellick, D. Smith, Tom Scully, Wilensky In	
10:04	Zoellick, Scully Out	
10:07	Elliot Carlson, Bob Hey, Bill Fitzpatrick In / Fitzpatrick Out	
10:35	Carlson, Hey Out	
10:38	POTUS, D. Smith Out to OEOB	
10:43	POTUS In hold	
11:03	POTUS Out to H/H	
11:08	POTUS In w/ D. Smith	
11:09	D. Smith Out / Sec Baker In	
11:10	Larry Tisch In	
11:17	Mrs & Mr. Bob Hope In	
11:18	Baker & Tisch Out	
11:20	POTUS Out to Residence w/ Hopes Hopes Depart from Dip. Rec Room	
11:29	POTUS In Map Room for Three St. Louis Interviews.	
11:58	POTUS Completes Interview	
12:01	POTUS Departs Res. to lower Horseshoe Pit	
12:06	Sec. Baker In	
1:07	Baker Out	
1:12	Kathy Super In	
1:27	Eagleburger, Scowcroft In	
1:28	Sec. Baker In	
2:13	Sec. Baker Out	
2:16	Eagleburger, Scowcroft Out	
2:35	Phil Brady, Chris Vein In	
2:37	" " " " Out	
3:24	Sec. Baker In	
3:32	POTUS, Sec. Baker Out to Cabinet Room	
4:08	POTUS In	
4:12	D. Smith In	
4:14	Sec. Baker In / Out	
4:15	D. Smith Out	
4:16	Dennis Ross, Gail Wilensky, D. Smith In	
4:22	All Out 11:15/03	
4:30	All In to Dip. Room	
4:33	All In Map Room	
4:38	All Out to Dip Room	
4:40	All Out to Oval	
4:42	All In Oval	
4:	Ross Wilensky, D. Smith out	