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Folder Title:
Thursday, September 17, 1992 [3]

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AIR FORCE ONE

9-17

White,

Nice from

Georgia's big

Carpet man.

CB/

attach.



AIR FORCE ONE

9-17

George W

The big

carpet man

sends you

his regards.

CB

attestum

daily

Beaulieu of America, Inc.

600 5th Ave.
P.O. Box 4539
Dalton, GA 30721-1539

Carl M. Bouckaert
President

OFFICE: 1-404-278-6666
TELEFAX: 1-404-226-7069

September 16, 1992

The President George Bush
The White House
West Wing
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

On August 3rd, I had the great pleasure of flying with you on Air Force One from Washington, D.C. to Dalton, Georgia.

I have purposely waited to write you this thank you note, to make sure this letter could be handed to you personally.

I cannot express enough how much I enjoyed that trip and how much Mr. Roger De Clerck, my father in law, appreciated receiving his personal letter from you. He definitely is looking forward to get our family together with yours.

May I take this opportunity to wish you all the best for the remainder of the campaign, and if anybody tells you the economy is bad, tell them to call me, we will be up 20% in a difficult year. Please keep the dollar and the interest rates low and America will conquer the world.

Thank you again for your great leadership, and we are looking forward to 4 more years! Please send my best regards to Mrs. Bush, and your whole family, especially George Jr. and Neal.

Very respectfully yours,



Carl M. Bouckaert
President

CMB/kkc

ATTACHMENTS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Aug. 3, 1992

Dear Mr. De Cloek -

Your son-in-law Carl
flew to Georgia with me
today. I had met him before
and he has been most hospitable
to two of my sons.

He told me that you &
I are the same age, and he
showed me pictures of your
wonderful family. Unfortunately
your daughter was not with
us.

Barbara and I have
a close-knit family, too. All
5 are married, all 5
still come home.

This is a personal letter
simply to tell you how
impressed I was with

Carl and with the
wonderful picture he painted
of your close-knit family.

Carl has no idea

I'm writing this note, but

the family there sure

struck a wonderful chord

with me.

Respectfully Yours,

Ag. Baum



ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

R. Z
mail to
name/address
inside book

5



ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

daily

9-17-92

Dear Bill,

I was
glad to sign
this as
requested by
Newt Gingrich

Best Wishes

Ly Bush

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. William B. Smith
1761 Sherry Lane
Jonesboro, Georgia 30236

William B. Smith
1741 Sherry Ln.
Jonesboro Ga

To
Wm B. Smith
With Best Wishes,
J. B. Smith

Sept. 17, 1992
Jonesboro, Ga



WALTER KRAUTH

THE PROPERTY OWNERS' FRIEND

TAX RELIEF



WALTER KRAUTH SAYS: "There's only one reason why I am running for Tax Commissioner: **FAIRNESS.**

All taxpayers should be treated fairly. It's unfair, wrong and sad that some special interest property owners have avoided paying property taxes for over 15 years, while we've committed to hard work to pay our taxes every year. Current property tax appraisals are unfair. The fair property appraisal is what you paid for the home, it should never change from that amount."

WALTER KRAUTH WANTS TO:

- * Collect delinquent property taxes.
Almost \$8,000,000 in property taxes have not been collected.
- * Support reforms to the residential tax appraisal system.
Property tax appraisals should be fixed at your original purchase price.
- * Utilize the latest technology.
24 hour automatic teller machines to make it easier for you to purchase your car tags and pay your taxes.
- * Institute "Quality Management" techniques.
Every citizen must be treated fairly and with respect.

Meet & Greet

The President of the United States

George Bush

Thursday, September 17

The Avery of Walnut Creek

Gates open at 1:30 pm

Directions on Back

This ticket required for admittance

PAID FOR BY BUSH/QUAYLE '92 GENERAL COMMITTEE, INC.

I-285

I-75

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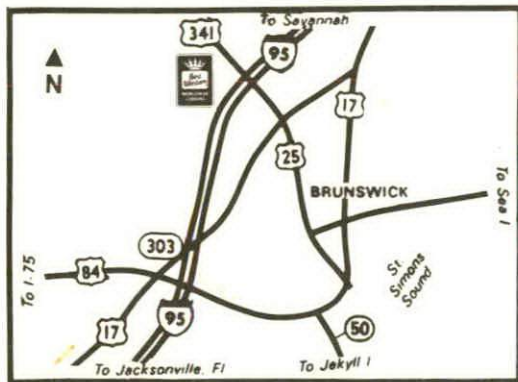
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POOL REPORT #2

Atlanta, Georgia

Thursday, September 17, 1992

No one came back on the plane but when we landed in Atlanta the expanded pool asked Marlin about his ROTC comments. "I'll leave it where it is. I have nothing more to say." "It's a very important issue. I think Americans should focus on it." Pressed to say more he said, "I'll leave it to you all to read the letter. Just read the letter." When asked whether we should believe the letter, Marlin responded, "It's up to you." There was no crowd at the airport to greet the President so he waved at your pool before boarding the limousine. He said, "Cheer up. We are going to win don't worry about it." Someone complained that he had not given a news conference in a long time to which he responded, "You are doing a good job at getting the news out. That's all that matters."

Motorcade uneventful. Few signs. Few people. No protestors.

Clara Bingham - Newsweek

Amy Bayer - Copley

Pool Report -- Flight from Andrews to Enid Oklahoma 9/17

Mid-flight, Marlin came back to chat. He started out with a description of today's speeches. In Enid, it will be a "substantive address that compares our economic programs versus Clinton's." The speech in Georgia will be about Housing programs. "Two pretty substantive speeches today" Marlin said. Marlin mentioned that the "American economy is stable and a safe haven for foreign capital," and that tomorrow is the Clinton campaign's deadline for a response on the debate debate. "Clinton says he'll debate anytime, any place. We've got an offer out there. Maybe he figures he's far enough ahead that he doesn't need to debate...." said Marlin. Then, without any prompting from your pool, Marlin dropped a bomb. He referred to ^{Eugene} Col. Holmes's letter in the Washington Times and said, "I Think ^{and other news agencies} that's a letter that every American should read because it goes to the heart of why Bill Clinton should not be the president of the United States. It shows that at a very young age, he was trying to have it both ways and was avoiding personal responsibility. He was deceitful and he still cannot tell America the facts about what happened related to his problem ~~wxxx~~ with the ROTC and the draft. A very moving letter from Mr. Holmes and I think it deserves wide scrutiny." When asked whether the GOP campaign had anything to do with the letter, Marlin said "Not to my knowledge. The first time I heard about it was when the Washington Times called me last night." When asked why the president didn't discuss the draft issue directly in Utah, Marlin said, "I don't know that we have to say very much about it. I think it's a very damning kind of a letter, makes people also ~~be~~ focus on the original Clinton letter which also was very troubling."

2-2-2-2- pool report

When asked why the draft issue didn't seem to have much resonance with the voters, MARlin said, "Well, that's up to the American people. I nevertheless think (it's) ~~it's~~ a very ~~dramatic~~ telling kind of indicator of the way he approaches problems, his own life and the world around him, and the country ought to take a pretty close look at it. The issue is not the war. The issue is how he approaches problems. Mr. ~~Doublespeak~~, on all these policy issues that he deals with, reflects a certain attitude and a way of dealing with problems that he first demonstrated in this case. It doesn't matter whether it's taxes or the free trade agreement or all the other issues that he's on both sides of the question on. you can see it very clearly in these early decisions about his own future and his ~~own~~ life in the military"

CVara Bingham, Newsweek

John Masheck, Boston Globe

DRAFT SCHEDULE
(as of September 17, 1992)

Brief Cam

CAMP DAVID VISIT
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18 - MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18

4:00 p.m.	Margaret, Marshall and Walker Bush arrive Camp David.
4:30 p.m.	George, Laura, Barbara and Jenna Bush arrive Dulles Airport and proceed directly to Camp David.
To Be Determined	The First Lady arrives Camp David.
5:15 p.m.	The President arrives Camp David.
5:27 p.m.	Columba, George P., Noelle, and Jebby Bush arrive Dulles Airport and proceed directly to Camp David.
8:00 p.m.	Neil, Sharon, Lauren, Pierce, and Ashley Bush arrive Washington National Airport and proceed directly to Camp David.

OVERNIGHT GUESTS:

George and Laura Bush
 Barbara and Jenna Bush
Neil and Sharon
 Lauren, Pierce, and Ashley Bush
Columba Bush
 George P., Noelle, and Jebby Bush
Margaret Bush
 Marshall and Walker Bush

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1992

7:30 a.m. Sig Rogich and the November Group (approximately 11 people) arrive Camp David and begin set-up for 9 a.m. filming of the First Family.

9:00 a.m. Bobby Koch and Sam and Ellie LeBlond arrive Camp David.

10:30 a.m. Margaret, Marshall and Walker Bush depart Camp David.

1:00 p.m. Filming concludes. Buffet lunch at Laurel.

After Lunch Sig Rogich et al depart Camp David.

2:00 p.m. Doro Koch arrives Camp David
(approx.)

OVERNIGHT GUESTS:

George and Laura Bush
Barbara and Jenna Bush
Neil and Sharon Bush
Lauren, Pierce, and Ashley Bush
Columba Bush
George P., Noelle, and Jebby Bush
Bobby and Doro Koch
Sam and Ellie LeBlond

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1992

9:00 a.m. The President and Mrs. Bush attend Chapel.

8:45 a.m. Columba, George P., Noelle, and Jebby Bush depart Camp David enroute Dulles Airport.

10:45 a.m. George, Laura, Jenna and Barbara Bush depart Camp David enroute Dulles Airport.

12:15 p.m. Neil, Sharon, Lauren, Pierce, and Ashley Bush depart Camp David enroute Dulles Airport.

Page 3

To Be Determined

Bobby and Doro Koch depart Camp David accompanied by Sam and Ellie LeBlond.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1993

7:50 a.m.
(approx.)

The President and Mrs. Bush depart Camp David enroute Andrews Air Force Base and New York.

STAFF AT CAMP DAVID:

Don Rhodes
Paula Rendon
Orlando Frilles
Dr. Burt Lee
Major Kim Siniscalchi
Major John Wissler
Michael Busch/Press
Bruce Bowen/USSS

MOVIES:

TO BE DETERMINED

Patty Presock

Mr. A. Bruce Mainwaring
Chairman
UTI Corporation
Collegeville, Pennsylvania 19426-0992

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

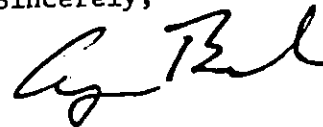
September 17, 1992

Dear Bruce,

Just a quick note to thank you for a very successful meeting with the employees and families of Uniform Tubes. I enjoy spending time with people committed to education and job training. Your company is doing a great service to its community with UTI2000.

Please thank all the participants for sharing their ideas and comments with me. With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "G. Bush", is written below the word "Sincerely,".

Dr. James N. Holton
Superintendent
Norristown Area School District
503 Stonybrook Drive
Norristown, Pennsylvania 19403

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

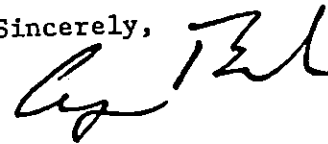
September 17, 1992

Dear Dr. Holton,

Just a quick note of thanks for my visit to Norristown High School. I was delighted to have the opportunity to welcome such an enthusiastic group of students back to school.

Norristown has been a shining example of the "community approach" toward educational excellence. I salute you and all your staff for your great efforts in America 2000. Please send my best wishes to all the students for a great year.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "G. Bush", written over the word "Sincerely,".

Mr. Gordon B. Hattersley
President
Uniform Tubes, Incorporated
Collegeville, Pennsylvania 19426-0992

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

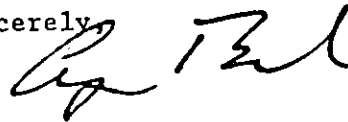
September 17, 1992

Dear Gordon,

I just wanted to drop you a quick note of thanks for a great meeting with the employees and families of Uniform Tubes. Visits like ours are always very productive for me, and I appreciate all you did to make it such a success.

UTI2000 sounds like a good program and a great service to the community. You've set an example that all businesses should follow. Good luck and best wishes.

Sincerely,

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

daily

Mr. Stan Curtis
President
USA Harvest
8117 Spring Lake Drive
Louisville, Kentucky 40241

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

September 17, 1992

Dear Stan,

A belated but heartfelt thank you for a wonderful time at the Harvest Game in Kentucky. Barbara and I really enjoyed relaxing with friends while watching one of my all time favorite sports.

Thanks, again, for your warm hospitality. Here's some souvenir photos that come with our best wishes.

Sincerely,

George Bush



To Stan
A great day!! Your work helps and inspired
so many. All Best
C. T. End

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

Thursday, September 17, 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)

THE REPUBLICAN WOMAN

JULY • AUGUST • SEPTEMBER • 1992

ISSUES SPOTLIGHT

President George Bush: Working to Create Greater Opportunity for America's Women



First Lady Barbara Bush exemplifies the Administration's dedication to education

No President in the history of our nation has done more to expand the role of women in society than George Bush. From the number of women who serve in his administration to progressive ideas for education reform, President Bush is constantly working to develop programs that conform to the American woman's changing needs.

Through a historic number of appointments, President Bush has created a new source of role models for today's working women. Women like Elizabeth Dole and Lynn Martin in the position of Secretary of Labor; Carla Hills, U.S. Trade Representative; Barbara Franklin, Secretary of Commerce; Elaine Chao, Director of the Peace Corps; Connie Newman, Director of the Office of Personnel Management and Pat Saiki, head of the Small Business Administration demonstrate that women are a vital and necessary part of the Bush Administration.

Consider these facts:

President Bush has appointed women to 42 percent of all top-level government positions.

More than 55 percent of Confidential and or policy making positions made by President Bush have been filled by women.

More than 38 percent of presidential appointments are held by women.

Women fill almost 28 percent of the senior executive service appointments.

56 women have been appointed to senior policy making positions. 20 hold or have held the most senior positions in cabinet or independent agencies.

President Bush has nominated 36 women to the federal bench.

The President's belief in elevating the role of women in the workforce does not end with his own administration.

When the President signed the Civil Rights Act of 1991 into law last December, a major component of that act was the Glass Ceiling Initiative, aimed at opening doors of opportunity for America's working women.

The Glass Ceiling Initiative concentrates on policies that recognize merit, opportunity and choice, not merely numbers.

The Department of Labor, along with its Women's Bureau, is working toward changing the way Americans do business. The Bush Administration is aware that women make up 50 percent of the nation's consumer market and 50 percent of the potential labor pool, and are eager to address women's growing role.

Education and awareness are important first steps toward changing policies and attitudes. Through the efforts of President Bush, Elizabeth

ISSUES SPOTLIGHT



Marilyn Quayle, running in 'The Race for the Cure', has been an outspoken advocate for women's health care research

Dole, Lynn Martin and Women's Bureau Director Elsie Vartanian, the words "Glass Ceiling" have become familiar to men and women in the labor force. The need for women to break through the corporate glass ceiling has become a popular topic for the media as well as women's and business groups.

President Bush's appointment of Antonia Novello to U.S. Surgeon General (the first Hispanic and first woman to hold the post) and Dr. Bernadine Healy, Director, National Institutes of Health, has given American women an ear and a voice regarding their health care issues.

The Bush Administration has proposed a 24 percent increase to \$515 million in funding for breast and cervical cancer prevention for FY 93. The funds are to be used to expand public education efforts on cancer prevention and control, and to pay for mammograms and pap smears for the needy and Medicare receptionist.

X Marilyn Quayle has taken an active role in efforts to raise awareness about breast cancer. Mrs. Quayle's testimony on Capitol Hill lead to the passage of the Breast and Cervical

Cancer Mortality Prevention Act, which established a grant program to assist states in providing mammograms and pap tests to underprivileged women.

Additionally, the Bush Administration has proposed the Women's Health Initiative, the largest study of women's health care issues to evaluate preventative measures for cancer, heart disease and osteoporosis.

The image of First Lady Barbara Bush reading to a child is a familiar one to people around the globe. The Bush's belief in family values and education rings true throughout the Administration.

In over 1,100 communities in 43 states parents and teachers are signing onto the America 2000 education initiative striving for excellence and testing for results. Now the President has launched the "GI Bill for Children," patterned after President Roosevelt's GI Bill for Veterans. The new plan will grant annual \$1,000 elementary and secondary scholarships to children in middle and low-income families.

For families who want more for their children, the GI Bill for Children makes sense. Rather

than pouring more money into the failing school systems, the GI Bill puts the money into the hands of the parents, allowing them to choose their children's schools while forcing public schools to become more competitive. Public schools that participate will keep at least \$500 for each child they enroll.

President Bush has asked for \$500 million for FY 93 to begin the program. That's enough to fund scholarships for children in 50 cities the size of Trenton, New Jersey or 25 the size of San Jose, California.

Under the guidance of the President, the Department of Labor is developing a national and regional program to encourage math and science education for young girls and women. The program will increase America's competitiveness and involve more women in a nontraditional field of study.

By creating innovative programs and commissions specifically designed for American women today, the Bush Administration is ensuring a more secure future for our daughters and granddaughters.

[Handwritten scribble]

Tue 15-Sep-92 14:46 EDT

X Barbara Bush campaigns in South Jersey

STRATFORD, N.J. (UPI) — Barbara Bush hit the campaign trail in New Jersey on Tuesday, opening a South Jersey headquarters for the Bush-Quayle campaign in Stratford.

The First Lady spoke for about 15 minutes to an enthusiastic crowd of several hundred campaign workers, school children and local residents gathered outside a converted fast-food restaurant. She said President Bush is the only candidate who can "walk the walk and talk the talk when it comes to family values."

Bush said she does not know if her husband will sign the family leave bill, adding that she hopes companies grant leave without compulsion.

Asked if she had been watching Murphy Brown lately, including the episode re-broadcast Monday in which Murphy becomes a single mother, Bush said she has been on the campaign trail. That episode attracted criticism from Vice President Dan Quayle, who accused the show's producers of devaluing the role of fathers.

Bush continued on to a fund-raising lunch and then headed to Delaware.

The visit was scheduled two weeks ago and then postponed when Bush joined her husband on a tour of the wreckage left by Hurricane Andrew in Florida.

Tipper Gore is scheduled to visit Deptford on Tuesday for a back-yard discussion of the family leave bill. Hillary Clinton was in New Jersey on Monday, talking to working mothers at a Newark child-care center.

Tue 15-Sep-92 19:47 EDT

Highlights from Tuesday's Presidential Campaign Activities
By The Associated Press

Here are Tuesday's developments on the presidential campaign trail:

Hillary Clinton toured a Newark, N.J., day care center, part of a program to help young mothers. "We have a very big national problem. Our children are in trouble in the country. Families are in trouble," said Mrs. Clinton.

X Barbara Bush campaigned in southern New Jersey. "He's gonna win," Mrs. Bush said. "People are going to say 'who do I trust?'"

Wed 16-Sep-92 16:30 EDT

Bush to come back to New Jersey

BASKING RIDGE, N.J. (UPI) — President Bush plans to visit New Jersey on Friday, his second visit to the state in less than two weeks.

Bush will address AT&T employees at the company's corporate headquarters in Basking Ridge. With 50,000 workers, the company is the largest private employer in the state.

Republican presidential candidates have carried New Jersey in every election for more than two decades. But Democrat Bill Clinton has been leading in recent polls, and Bush does not want to become the first GOP loser since Barry Goldwater in 1964.

Bush's New Jersey visit will be his fourth since the June primary. His wife, Barbara Bush, opened a Camden County Bush-Quayle headquarters on Tuesday and spoke at a fund-raising lunch.

Wed 16-Sep-92 12:47 EDT
Associated Press Editorial Review Service

The Huntsville (Ala.) Times on abortion:

The more we think about it, the more we think Barbara Bush was right. The debate over abortion doesn't belong in partisan politics. ...

At the Republican National Convention, the party adopted a platform calling for a constitutional amendment banning abortion. President Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle have since been busy trying to distance themselves from the controversial position. ...

Cut to Baltimore: There, a number of Roman Catholic churches took up a special collection to help finance the opposition to an abortion referendum question.

The proposition on the Nov. 3 ballot would guarantee women the right to an abortion in Maryland if the U.S. Supreme Court moves to restrict access. Should a U.S. constitutional amendment outlaw abortion, Maryland's law would become invalid.

Catholic clergy defended both the collection and the fact that it will be used to finance a political group on one side in a ballot issue. ...

Church leaders have a right - even an obligation - to speak out on what they consider moral issues. But when they start giving out money to political interests, they're playing another game entirely.

The Cincinnati Enquirer on women in business:

One of the best-kept secrets of the much maligned administrations of Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush could be the success of women.

That's right. Unmentioned in presidential-campaign rhetoric is the phenomenal, government-aided increase in the 1980s in the number of small businesses owned by women. The total increased to around 4.1 million by 1987 from about 2.6 million in 1982, according to the Census Bureau's last 5-year business analysis.

Citing the increase, the General Accounting Office (GAO) refers in a new report to Congress to efforts of the Small Business Administration (SBA) to promote and help women-owned enterprises.

The GAO report cites SBA efforts to get federal agencies, voluntarily, to give firms owned by women a fair share of government procurement contracts.

At a time some groups portray the Reagan-Bush era as anathema to women, the GAO study offers objective evidence to the contrary. The national policy to promote women-owned small businesses was established by the Carter White House in 1979. But Presidents Reagan and Bush have been vigorous in implementing it.

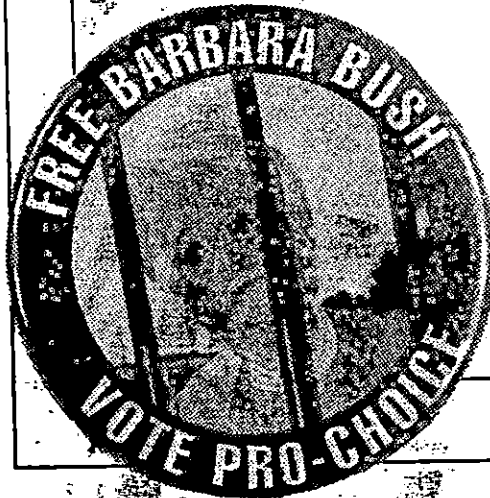
THE WASHINGTON POST

The Reliable Source

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Bar Behind Bars

A hot-selling button from the Clinton-Gore booth at the Minnesota State Fair last week.



Chicago Tribune, Wednesday, September 16,

Quotables

"If you gave the average American a bullet and asked whether he would shoot the lawyer or the insurance company man, you'd create a lot of angst out there."

—Clinton campaign strategist James Carville, on President Bush's attacks on his opponent as a tool of plaintiff's lawyers; Clinton aides say Bush is beholden to the insurance industry.

"If the two of them were on the ballot, I could go play golf today."

—Bush campaign aide Charles Black, on the comparative popularity of Barbara Bush and Hillary Clinton. X

"I can't believe she's so good and so old."

—Magdalena Maleeva, 17, after beating 35-year-old tennis legend Martina Navratilova in the second round of the U.S. Open.

Letters

READERS BITE BACK



The Mother of Us All

Marjorie Williams's portrayal of Barbara Bush ["Barbara's Backlash," August] was, for the most part, the picture of a lady who grew up in an earlier time, with different standards and different rules about what marriage should be. It was also a fairly accurate look at someone who is sensitive about her appearance, protective of her family, thoughtful about her place in the world, strong in her convictions, and a perfect complement to her husband. How very human that makes her seem!

Where Williams attempted to make her seem inhuman, in our opinion, was in her dealings with her staff. Perhaps it is not strange that the only people who felt compelled to discuss her "difficult," "demanding," "autocratic," and scary tendencies were those who would not allow their names to be printed.

We knew someone who very much enjoyed working for Barbara Bush for more than eight years, beginning in the vice president's residence. Our aunt was a volunteer, along with many others, paid and unpaid, who worked for Mr. and Mrs. Bush for a decade and found them to be warm, caring, and appreciative. She was treated like family even though she was only part of the secretarial staff, and though she had to leave her job due to a serious illness, our aunt was still included in the annual staff parties and received lovely notes from Mrs. Bush. When she succumbed to the illness this year, Barbara Bush took time from a hectic schedule of campaigning and of planning her daughter's wedding

to write a personal letter of condolence to our family.

Our experience has been of a woman largely different from the one described. She has been represented to us as nothing less than a nice lady. After all, who would volunteer for eight years to work for a tyrant?

JOANNE R. BOBO
Fullerton, California
LYNNE M. REITER
Brea, California

We have all known for years that George Bush is a wimp. What confounds me is that your article assumes that the country is in love with Barbara. Nothing could be further from the truth. At least Nancy Reagan didn't camouflage her bitchiness with a mask of "everyone's mother."

SUSAN ELSON
Miami Beach, Florida

Of course Barbara Bush is tougher than Nancy Reagan; that is why she is beloved by her husband and children and many grandchildren. Being a politician's wife (especially a Republican's wife) isn't for sissies. In my view, she's everything any woman should strive to be.

MARTHA SILK
Randolph, Massachusetts

Youth and beauty! Youth and beauty! The battle cry of our age. But as my mother used to say, "Pretty is as pretty does." To me, Barbara Bush is a truly pretty woman.

ANDERSON STONE
Glendale, California
(Continued on page 40)

NURIT KARLIN

Letters

(Continued from page 32)

Bad old Barbara Bush—how dare she have a strong personality, say what she thinks, be loyal to her family, jealously protect her privacy, and exercise good manners too, in between casting flinty stares with those cruel eyes that are painfully distended from Graves' disease? The next time my mother comments on the condition of my hair or my weight, instead of thinking that she is showing interest or concern or just being her outspoken self, I will know she's being judgmental, domineering, caustic, and sarcastic. An old bitch like that Barbara Bush.

KATHLEEN F. GOODWIN
Covington, Virginia

I would much prefer to vote for a man who is in an equal partnership with his wife than for a man who hides behind his wife. Hillary Clinton is a very strong and intelligent woman who supports her husband and still has her own thoughts and voices her opinions.

VANESSA DELANY
Sioux City, Iowa

Barbara Bush is the type of role model that young women in this country need. Like Rosalynn Carter, she is a dedicated wife and mother, she's smart, strong, and suave, and she's nobody's fool. I have nothing but respect for and pride in our First Lady. As the saying goes, "Behind every successful man stands a woman."

KATHLEEN HERRINGTON
Phoenix, Arizona

The Washington

EW

FIRST LADY'S PRE.

WP

NYT

WT

USA

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

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GOP Fund-Raising Trouble

In Shift, Bush Plays Catch-Up With Democrats

By Ann Devroy
and Charles R. Babcock
Washington Post Staff Writers

When President Bush goes to New York to address the United Nations on Monday, a rushed addition will be on his schedule: a small private dinner that his campaign hopes will raise \$750,000.

In the week after that, fund-raisers in Chicago and Dallas have also been added to the president's schedule, and in October he'll be going to at least two more as the Republican National Committee finds itself in the unaccustomed role of playing catch-up to the Democrats in raising money for the presidential campaign.

For Bill Clinton, Bush's Democratic opponent, October will not be so concerned with money. A key fund-raiser, Rahm Emanuel, said yesterday that Clinton's schedule for the month will be "determined

solely by the electoral map, not the need to raise money."

The GOP traditionally has a huge fund-raising lead over the Democrats. But since Clinton was nominated in July, the Democratic National Committee has been collecting checks at a record pace. The DNC raised an over-all total of \$10.1 million in July and \$17.3 million more in August; the RNC, by comparison, raised about \$7 million in July and \$7.4 million last month, according to committee officials. For the year, that puts the RNC slightly behind its Democratic counterpart in total donations.

The core of Bush and Clinton's funds is the \$55 million each one receives in federal matching funds. The parties are allowed to raise an additional \$10 million solely for their candidate's campaign—a limit the Democrats have already

See MONEY, A15, Col 1

reached and the Republicans are far from reaching. A final source of money is the millions more in large individual, corporate or union checks—so-called soft money—that can be spent in key states on get-out-the-vote drives and other activities that help all party candidates. The Republicans are also behind in their goals on that.

This year the GOP has fallen so short of its fund-raising objectives that Robert A. Mosbacher, Bush's chief fund-raiser in 1988, was asked late last month to leave his post as general chairman of the Bush-Quayle committee to return to the RNC as the main money man.

RNC Chairman Richard N. Bond told new White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III "he wanted only two things—Mosbacher and firm dates," said one source, referring to the party's inability under former chief of staff Samuel K. Skinner to get Bush committed to firm dates for RNC fund-raising events.

Mosbacher resisted, sources said, until Baker, a longtime friend, made a direct appeal, arguing that if he had to leave his State Department post to return to the White House, Mosbacher should give up his job to return to fund-raising.

"When I came over here, we were a fair amount behind budget or I wouldn't be here," Mosbacher said in an interview. "Since, then I've been gratified by the response."

He said the party's small-donor, direct-mail receipts—the core of its fund-raising—have rebounded after dropping off earlier in the year. A recent solicitation signed by Barbara Bush has had "a great response," he said.

Individuals can give up to \$20,000 a year to a national political party under federal law. Such funds can be used for the \$10 million direct expenditure each party can make for its presidential ticket. The GOP calls the program the "presidential trust" and its chairman is Bush friend Bobby Holt of Midland, Tex.

Holt said yesterday the account has raised about \$2.4 million so far and will raise the rest of the \$10 million with the events scheduled for the president, Mrs. Bush and Vice President Quayle.

Initially, the RNC hoped to raise \$46 million in soft money. One official called the figure, set in May, "a proposed first cut budget, what you do in the perfect world." Mosbacher said the plan now is to raise "less than half that," and sources said about \$6 million is in the bank.

In 1988, Mosbacher set up Team 100, which raised about \$25 million in \$100,000 donations, in response to a concerted DNC soft money effort.

Nearly every trip Bush takes includes some fund-raising event, most for the soft money program called Victory '92. This week, for example, he attended receptions in California, Utah and Oregon. But because it is so close to the election, his schedule is not flexible enough to accommodate as many events as his fund-raisers would like.

Mosbacher said that "to some degree we sort of spoiled people in 1988 by making the president available for fund-raising events. We don't have time for as much of that now. What we're doing is more direct fund-raising the old-fashioned way, calls, visits, letters."

While many donors give "out of loyalty and positive feelings" about Bush, he added, "at least as many people give out of fear. As the business community sees what the Clinton economic plan is they get very frightened."

Robert A. Farmer, the Clinton campaign's treasurer and the chief fund-raiser for 1988 Democratic nominee Michael S. Dukakis, scoffed at Mosbacher's appeal. "Isn't that sad that's all they have to try to sell, to try to make Bill Clinton look dangerous?"

Farmer said Democratic contributors were energized by the Republican National Convention's focus on "family values" and attacks on Hillary Clinton.

It also helps, of course, to be ahead in the polls. "At this point four years ago, the numbers had changed for Governor Dukakis. This year we are getting stronger. And people are reacting to that. . . . There is a direct correlation to success in fund-raising and the perception of winning."

The RNC is now fighting those same poll numbers. Describing a recent experience, one Republican said: "I call this guy up and say, 'The president is coming to town and I'd like you to be part of the presidential trust for \$15,000 and join him for dinner.' And the guy says, 'Geeze, the static on this phone is terrible. I can't hear a thing you're saying. I'll call you right back.' And he never calls back. And you call him back and he's in meetings all day. . . . Get the picture?"

INSIDE NEW YORK

By Anthony Scaduto, Doug Vaughan, A.J. Benza and Linda Stasi

Fast Facts

BUSH LEAGUES? There's been some talk around that if he loses the upcoming election, George Bush (who used to play baseball at Yale in 1906) will be offered the job of baseball commissioner to replace the ousted Fay Vincent. But, baseball insiders tell us, there's one big problem: Bush's son, George W. Bush, is a partner in the Texas Rangers, a possible conflict of interest for Daddy. (Seeing as the savings-and-loan biz and funny biz didn't seem to conflict, we say, why should this?) Such a conflict could be a real pain in the cash flow — the baseball job pays more than triple what Bush makes as president — \$850,000 vs. \$200,000. But you get richer being president, we hear.

UPSTAIRS / DOWN-TOWN: Jean Marsh, whom everybody knows from "Upstairs Downstairs," has been having a run on A&E with her BBC hit "The House of Elliot." Marsh flew into town to tape intros for the show this week and said, "I'm so glad to be getting back to New York and all the newspapers. In the countryside I can't keep up. Is it true the Duchess of York's son is having an affair with Woody Allen?" Anything's possible.

Edited by Linda Stasi

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

The Washington Post

Style

Hillary, the Homemaker?

Candidate's Wife Brings Cookies, Advice to Weekday TV Audience

By Carla Hall

Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 16 — And so, once again, it all comes down to the cookies. Here's Hillary Clinton, at 8 this morning, about to go on ABC's "Home" show to talk about herself and her family, offer parenting advice, discuss the key to lasting friendships and pretty much solve all your problems. She would even share her chocolate chip cookie recipe.

But she refused to bake the cookies herself.

"They told me she's so sick of the cookie thing," says ABC publicist Patti McTeague, referring to Clinton's press aides. And they were, of course, referring to her now infamous remark, "I suppose I could have stayed home, baked cookies and had teas." (Which was just part of her response to Jerry Brown's charge that her law firm benefited unfairly from its connection to the Arkansas governor's wife.)

Still, Hillary Clinton is here, following in the well-worn footsteps of a number of political candidates endeavoring themselves to home viewers—Jimmy Carter frying catfish on a Des Moines talk show; Vice President Hubert Humphrey talking to puppets on a Midwest TV show.

But for Hillary Clinton, who is running for nothing, it's a case of trying to get known as something other

See HOME, C8, Col. 1.

than a hard-edged career woman and lightning rod for Republican criticism. Though that criticism appears to have backfired and Hillary Clinton's favorable rating has risen some, she is still working on her image.

And what better place to do it than "Home"—an ABC network show broadcast every weekday morning—hosted by Sarah Purcell and Gary Collins and full of the traditional tips on how to make slipcovers and determine your child's allergies as well as segments on finances, women and alcohol, exercise and health. Politicians, particularly women, have made appearances—Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, California state Treasurer Kathleen Brown and Marilyn Quayle pushing her novel—and Clinton herself has been on before.

The significance of the show's unseen audience—those 4.3 million women, mostly at home with children and above-average incomes—was not lost on anyone. As for the visible audience, here in the studio, there are about 75 of them, mostly women, many retirees. And those interviewed seem perfectly amenable to Clinton.

Off the pristine stage with its several sets—one living room, one honey dining room with a table laden with fruit where Clinton will join the show's "Club Mom" to offer parenting advice—the hallways are crowded with props and people. Secret Service agents cluster everywhere.

And in the cluttered offstage kitchen, Clinton's Chips, as Hillary's cookies have been named, sit unceremoniously on tin plates awaiting their call. Baking duties fell to Charles Wise, known as "Bear" for the heft of his frame, who does the actual cooking for most of the chefs appearing on the show (following their recipes, of course.)

Clinton glides onto the set a few minutes before 8 in a soft blue two-

piece outfit with a sweater and low-heeled black pumps. No headband. Perfect hair. (Although maybe not to Christophe, one of Beverly Hills' most famous hairdressers, who is observed talking to Clinton's traveling press aide, Lisa Caputo, and gesturing at Hillary's image on the monitor.)

The woman who can deliver a rousing campaign speech and has been known to give her husband an introduction more energetic than his own speech is poised and confident but subdued.

"When she came in in a sweater outfit, I knew we were going to see another side of her," says co-host Purcell after the show, giving Clinton high marks on her performance. "I think it's going to dispel a lot of concepts that have been out there about her—that she's cold and unemotional and not concerned about the home."

On the air, Purcell tells her, "I was telling Gary this morning, these headlines—you know, the Hillary Factor or the Hillary Problem: You must feel like you have another last name." Clinton, laughing heartily, says, "A lot of it I don't pay much attention to. . . . Mostly what I feel is people are trying to get to know Bill and me and I think that's good."

"Frankly like her," says audience member Carolyn Hewitt, who owns

a restaurant and catering business. "I'm into higher education and emancipation of women." And the cookie comment, did it bother her? "No—and I'm a graduate home economist," she says.

A number of people in the audience can't even recall the comment that seemed to polarize opinion about Hillary Clinton.

For the Club Mom segment, women sit around a table and dispense advice on letters from mothers with questions about their children. They

each introduce themselves—"And I'm Hillary Clinton and my husband is Bill Clinton"—everyone laughs—"and we have a wonderful daughter, Chelsea, who's 12."

Clinton offers her advice after the other three mothers weigh in on things ranging from missing an important event with their child to battles over makeup. "We've set limits—like the pierced-ear argument—" offers Clinton. "We've told Chelsea that's a decision she can make when she's 13."

From call-in viewers Clinton gets asked about single-parent families. "Oh, Ann, I appreciate that question. Family values should begin with valuing all families. . . ."

And finally from a caller comes the question to clarify her cookie comment. "Well, Christa, I'm glad you asked that," she says. "I was not making any comment about the importance of full-time mothering. I was referring to the role of First Lady, which some people think should only be confined to ceremonial functions. . . . Most of us are trying to do what I'm doing—balance the responsibility of home and work. The last thing we need to do is divide women. We need to support the choices women make."

Finally—the cookies. "Bear" brings them out on a glass platter.

Hillary confides the secret ingredient: oatmeal.

What's wrong with not baking cookies or baking cookies? My goodness, in this day and age, says Jean Siegel, a Clinton supporter in the audience.

"I really wished we had had more time to talk about her being a litigator, because being a female litigator is kind of rare," says Purcell later, adding that she spent three hours the night before reading up on Clinton. She is asked if any subjects were off-limits.

"Well, you didn't hear any questions about Jennifer Flowers, did you?" Purcell asks dryly.

"Well, that was decided by our producers. That's been done to death," adds publicist McTeague.

Later, as Charles "Bear" Wise is pattering in his kitchen, he offers an opinion of Hillary's cookies. "I told her she needed baking powder, not baking soda," he says. "She said she'd try it."

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

HILLARY Clinton has gotten a great deal of ink in the course of the campaign — far more than most would-be first ladies. This makes sense in that she's a professional woman who's spent a fair bit of her career making and commenting on public policy.

The career, of course, is logical in itself — she's a Baby Boomer. And in view of the nature of her work, it's no surprise that much of the attention has focused on her political sensibility.

The Clinton campaign can't complain about the focus on Mrs. Clinton's politics. Gov. Clinton and his team, from the outset, made a point of highlighting Mrs. Clinton's engagement in public life and public issues. The first time I saw Bill Clinton speak during this campaign, Mrs. Clinton preceded him to the podium and spoke — at length — about children and education.

As the campaign progressed, some of the media attention turned out to be negative. Mrs. Clinton, of course, has also been the beneficiary of a highly positive press. An article by Gary Wills published several months ago in *The New York Review of Books* discussed her as an important and creative legal scholar.

But in other forums — beyond the rhetoric at the Republican National Convention — her scholarship and activism have been examined by less sympathetic eyes.

She's been criticized for the political orientation of the New World Foundation, whose board she served on — and briefly headed — during the 1980s. The hard-left disposition of the foundation seems inarguable. During her tenure, its grants went to the National Lawyers Guild and CISPES (the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El

HILLARY'S VIEWS: A LEGITIMATE ISSUE



ERIC
BRENDL

Salvador) — two groups with historical ties to the American Communist Party — as well as to the conspiracy-oriented Christie Institute and to other, in her words, "progressive activist organizations."

While her personal role in grant-making decisions remains unclear, the foundation's larger disposition is plain. In any event, walking through the foundation's activities, and Mrs. Clinton's role in them, seems entirely reasonable. After all — to understate the matter significantly — Mrs. Clinton, by universal acknowledgment, is an important policy adviser to the Democratic candidate for president of the United States.

Advisers of lesser clout have been — and will be, over the next several weeks — subjected to considerable ideological scrutiny.

It is appropriate, therefore, to examine her legal writings on children's rights. And while partisan efforts at distortion are inevitable, it's also true, as Michael Barone notes in *U.S. News and World Report*, that much of what's been said in efforts to ameliorate the radical implications of her work is disingenuous, if not ridiculous.

(As Barone puts it: "Don't believe analysts who dismiss her [Hillary Clinton's] proposal to reverse the presumption that a child is incompetent as just a petty tinkering with the law. As any law student knows, if you change the presumption, you change the law. Imagine what would happen if you changed the presumption of innocence in criminal trials to a presumption of guilt.")

That Clinton's advisory team is undergoing careful scrutiny as to ideological orientation would seem to indicate that many analysts — as well as prospective Clinton supporters — aren't sure they know where he'll stand on important policy questions. It would be an error to attribute hostile intent to everyone engaged in inquiries of this sort.

Clinton hails from the moderate wing of a party that, for two decades, has been moving sharply leftward. This gives rise to legitimate questions.

Can he bring the Democratic Party back into the

American political mainstream? Is he inclined to do so? Who has greater influence over the Arkansas governor: Left-wing economic theorist Derek Shearer, a longtime personal friend, or Democratic Party moderates like Rob Shapiro of the Progressive Policy Institute and Roger Altman of the Blackstone Group? In the foreign-policy realm, parallel questions arise.

Students of the Clinton campaign cannot but be struck by the degree to which the governor himself is in the driver's seat. Neither he nor Sen. Gore is a creature of professional handlers — an encouraging

shifted left with the advent of Paul Tsongas and then hovered slightly to the right of Jerry Brown during the latter's brief, bizarre ascendancy.

But is Clinton for or against free trade? Is he sensitive to the nuances of the affirmative action/reverse discrimination debate — and where does he stand personally on the question of counting by race?

In short, there's a fair bit that even those who follow the campaign — including potential Clinton supporters — still don't know. And this, I think — as much as anything else — accounts for

It's as proper to turn the spotlight on her politics as it is to focus on any of the other advisers to Gov. Clinton

circumstance.

But it remains that no president has ever mastered every detail of the job; it can't be done. Inevitably, aides — who become appointees — have an impact on policy.

Moreover, Clinton is himself a deft politician with an extraordinary ability to straddle. He entered the campaign as the most moderate, pro-business candidate in the Democratic field,

the special interest in Hillary Clinton's views. It's reasonable to assume that she provides something of a window into her husband's mind.

Does Bill Clinton share his wife's certainty that Americans "owe a debt" to Anita Hill for "her courageous testimony?" The inescapable implication here is that Clarence Thomas, a sitting justice of the U.S. Supreme Court,



HILLARY CLINTON
The Anita Hill question.

perjured himself before the Senate Judiciary Committee during his confirmation hearings. (As it happens, most Americans, according to opinion polls, believe exactly the opposite took place.)

Gov. Clinton, to be sure, criticized the Thomas appointment, charging both that it was "ideological" and that Thomas lacked requisite judicial experience. But perjury is a horse of a different color. Moreover, Clinton himself has indicated — at least with respect to abortion — that "ideology" will play a role in his own appointments to the High Court.

Hillary Clinton will probably be a minor factor in the election. Recent polls tell us that the number of Americans less likely to vote for Gov. Clinton because they're ill-disposed toward Mrs. Clinton is statistically insignificant (14 percent say they're "less inclined" to support him; 9 percent are "more inclined" to do so; 74 percent say she'll have no impact on their decision).

But the interest in Mrs. Clinton — in where she stands and what she believes — isn't inappropriate or surprising. Indeed, it would be extraordinary — and quite sad — if a potential first lady with her history of outspokenness and engagement didn't arouse the interest of an informed electorate.

For working parents, day care the choice instead of family

From Chicago Tribune wires

WASHINGTON—Working parents are increasingly turning to day-care centers, instead of relatives, to care for their preschool children, according to a U.S. Census Bureau report released Tuesday.

Meanwhile, in families in which both parents are employed, many parents work different shifts to take turns being at home, the report shows.

Jean Kim and her husband Patrick Dixon of Evanston, Ill., are a good example of the scheduling gymnastics some couples undertake to raise a family and not go broke doing it.

They rarely spend time together at home. Kim cares for their two children—ages 1 and 4—while her husband works normal weekday hours as a human resources consultant. On weekends, Dixon takes care of the children while Kim works 12-hour shifts as a hospital nurse.

"We needed the two incomes

and child care just would have been prohibitive for us," Kim said.

The arrangement isn't easy, but there were no other options. Kim and Dixon come from Indiana and have no relatives nearby.

The census report found that in 1988, 26 percent of the 9.5 million children under the age of 5 with working mothers were cared for in organized child-care facilities, compared with 13 percent in 1977.

The portion of preschool children with working mothers who were cared for in the home dropped from 34 percent to 28 percent during the same period.

Only 8 percent of these children were cared for in their homes by extended families in 1988, compared with 12 percent in 1977. The portion cared for in relatives' homes dropped from 18 percent to 13 percent over the time span.

The study said the average weekly child-care cost per U.S. family in 1984 was \$54, up from \$44 a week in 1974. The \$14 increase was due to the shift from

POOL REPORT #2

Atlanta, Georgia

Thursday, September 17, 1992

No one came back on the plane but when we landed in Atlanta the expanded pool asked Marlin about his ROTC comments. "I'll leave it where it is. I have nothing more to say." "It's a very important issue. I think Americans should focus on it." Pressed to say more he said, "I'll leave it to you all to read the letter. Just read the letter." When asked whether we should believe the letter, Marlin responded, "It's up to you." There was no crowd at the airport to greet the President so he waved at your pool before boarding the limousine. He said, "Cheer up. We are going to win don't worry about it." Someone complained that he had not given a news conference in a long time to which he responded, "You are doing a good job at getting the news out. That's all that matters."

Motorcade uneventful. Few signs. Few people. No protestors.

Clara Bingham - Newsweek

Amy Bayer - Copley

Pool Report -- Flight from Andrews to Enid Oklahoma 9/17

Mid-flight, Marlin came back to chat. He started out with a description of today's speeches. In Enid, it will be a "substantive address that compares our economic programs versus Clinton's." The speech in Georgia will be about Housing programs. "Two pretty substantive speeches today" Marlin said. Marlin mentioned that the "American economy is stable and a safe haven for foreign capital," and that tomorrow is the Clinton campaign's deadline for a response on the debate debate. "Clinton says he'll debate anytime, any place. We've got an offer out there. Maybe he figures he's far enough ahead that he doesn't need to debate...." said Marlin. Then, without any prompting from your pool, Marlin dropped a bomb. He referred to Col. ^{Eugene} Holmes's letter in the Washington Times and said, "I think ^{and other news agencies} that's a letter that every American should read because it goes to the heart of why Bill Clinton should not be the president of the United States. It shows that at a very young age, he was trying to have it both ways and was avoiding personal responsibility. He was deceitful and he still cannot tell America the facts about what happened related to his problem ~~wxxx~~ with the ROTC and the draft. A very moving letter from Mr. Holmes and I think it deserves wide scrutiny." When asked whether the GOP campaign had anything to do with the letter, Marlin said "Not to my knowledge. The first time I heard about it was when the Washington Times called me last night." When asked why the president didn't discuss the draft issue directly in Utah, Marlin said, "I don't know that we have to say very much about it. I think it's a very damning kind of a letter, makes people also ~~fx~~ focus on the original Clinton letter which also was very troubling."

2-2-2-2- pool report

When asked why the draft issue didn't seem to have much resonance with the voters, MARlin said, "Well, that's up to the American people. I nevertheless think (it's) ~~y~~ it's a very ~~dramatic~~ telling kind of indicator of the way he approaches problems, his own life and the world around him, and the country ought to take a pretty close look at it. The issue is not the war. The issue is how he approaches problems. Mr. ~~Doublespeak~~, on all these policy issues that he deals with, reflects a certain attitude and a way of dealing with problems that he first demonstrated in this case. It doesn't matter whether it's taxes or the free trade agreement or all the other issues that he's on both sides of the question on. you can see it very clearly in these early decisions about his own future and his ~~own~~ life in the military"

Cvara Bingham, Newsweek

John Masheck, Boston Globe

The Honorable Perry Lee DeLoach
Mayor of the City of Claxton
Post Office Box 829
Claxton, Georgia 30417

~~Blind~~ cc: (outgoing)
Jack Guy (FYI)
Done -



THE PRESIDENT

9-17-90

Dear Mayor DeLoach,

Jack Guy passed
along to me your letter of
support and encouragement.
May we share.

I will with this election
based some on the very
points you make in your
letter, and some on good
loyal supporters

My Best Regards,

Co. Bush

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Jack O. Guy
F & G Institutional Trading, Inc.
Suite 260
2 Concourse Parkway
Atlanta, Georgia 30328

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Perry Lee DeLoach
Mayor of the City of Claxton
Post Office Box 829
Claxton, Georgia 30417



The President

Sept. 1992

*To Mayor Perry Lee DeLoach
With Appreciation - Best Wishes,
Liz Bush*

CITY OF CLAXTON

Office of the Mayor

Claxton, Georgia, 30417

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Jack Guy

For the Honorable Mr. President George Bush

FROM: Perry Lee DeLoach, Mayor of Claxton, Georgia

Mr. President:

The American people need to be told that peace, doesn't come cheap. Ask the American people what their Freedom is worth.

Then ask them where Governor Clinton was when the American Troups went to Panama and brought that Dictator General Noriega back with them and tried and found guilty of many crimes, then tell the American people that President Bush was there.

Then ask Governor Clinton where he was, when the Berlin Wall came down, then tell the American President Bush was there.

Ask Governor Clinton where he was while President Bush was removing communism from the face of the earth and bringing about a new and safer world, then tell the American people that the President was there and led the world.

Tell the American people that the victory in the Gulf Was after President Bush put together the greatest united effort ever assembled in the World. Then tell the American people that death to King Hussein would have been to light a sentence for him, being a broken prisoner in his own Country, is the kind of punishment he needs and deserves.

Mr. President Good Luck and Gods most richest blessings.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ms. Brenda Buza
HCR 71, Box 142
Machias, Maine 04654



THE PRESIDENT

September 17, 1992

Dear Ms. Buza,

Thanks for your touching letter about Mr. Grant. I am one of his biggest fans, so his strong words of support mean so much. Please let him know that I appreciate his thinking of me and send my warmest best wishes.

Your confidence and support also mean a lot to me and I am grateful to have your vote again this year. With sincere thanks to you and our dear friend, Arthur Grant,

*Brenda - I learned an awful lot from "Mr. Grant" - Sincerely, [Signature]
a lot about 'right from wrong' -
he was tough but very fair -*

cc: (in & outs)
✓ Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)
Jan Burmeister
(for Priv)



THE PRESIDENT

September 18, 1992

Dear Mr. Grant,

Just today I saw a wonderful letter from a Brenda Buza, whom you know.

She said some wonderful things about you, stating that you had vouched for my character.

I just want to thank you for that. I told her, in reply to her letter, that you had taught me a lot about life—about "right from wrong".

I hope this finds you in good health. This has been a mean and ugly year, but I am confident we will win. I want to finish the job, mend the sluggish economy and do more for the young people of this country.

Warmest Personal Regards,

CB

Brenda—
I wrote this to
Mr. G. today

THE

Mr. Arthur E. Grant
Cherryfield, Maine 04622

Dear Mr. Grant,

Just today I saw a wonderful letter from a Brenda Buza, whom you know.

She said some wonderful things about you, stating that you had vouched for my character.

I just want to thank you for that. I told her, in reply to her letter, that you had taught me a lot about life-about "right from wrong".

I hope this finds you in good health. This has been a mean and ugly year, but I am confident we will win. I want to finish the job, mend the sluggish economy and do more for the young people of this country.

Warmest Personal Regards,

Ag Buza *

* Poppy back
+ her

HCR 71 Box 142
Mach 12 SEP 92 04:54
August 26, 1992

92 SEP -1 AM 2:12

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

The American people must write more letters to you than you could ever possibly read, but I hope with all my heart that this one reaches you. I have a very sweet story that I know you would love to hear. I want to assure you that you have no more ardent supporter--outside your own family--than your old school teacher, Mr. Arthur Grant.

I have known Mr. Grant for several years and know the admiration that this ninety-three year old gentleman has for you as a person. Therefore it was natural yesterday when I saw Mr. Grant to ask him how he thought the President would do in the election. He looked at me and said he thought it was going to be tough "but I'm not giving up on him. He's a good boy!" Then he told me that you come from a wonderful family with a fine reputation, that you are a man who can be trusted, and that you have "all the qualities that are necessary to be the President of the United States". Your friend summed up his remarks to me by stating his hope and confidence that in the final analysis the majority of the people of the United States will ask themselves who has the expertise and the experience to do the job and they will "cast their votes for the President".

With all due respect, Mr. President, I am sure that you have no campaign spot that is more compelling than the words straight from the heart of this remarkable, brilliant, and articulate gentleman. He impressed me with his high regard for you and for the principles that you represent. I want you to know that I was happy to vote for you last time, but I went through a period of uncertainty as I watched almost every minute of both conventions this summer. The Democrats and the liberal media have ultimately done you the favor of convincing me that I should vote for you once again, but this time I will cast my vote for you with more confidence than ever because of our friend, Mr. Arthur Grant.

Sincerely yours,

Brenda C. Buza

Brenda C. Buza

note

Mr. Dale Owens
General Manager
Louisville Redbirds Baseball Club
Post Office Box 36407
Louisville, Kentucky 40233

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON
September 17, 1992

Dear Dale,

What a wonderful time I had watching the Louisville Redbirds at the Annual Harvest Game in Kentucky! Thanks so much for a great day. My only regret was that we could not stay for more of the game.

Barbara and I send our best wishes to you and the entire team.

Sincerely,

George Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Atlanta, Georgia)

For Immediate Release

September 17, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Victor Jackovich, Mara M. Letica, and E. Allan Wendt as Ambassadors to Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia, respectively. The naming of Ambassadors will complete the establishment of full diplomatic relations with these nations. Their mandate is to foster a viable, political, economic, and trading partnership between the United States and these countries, including the development of democratic and market-oriented reforms. The dispatch of our Ambassadors will allow the U.S. to work more closely with Bosnia, Croatia, and Slovenia to bring about a settlement of the conflicts in the region. In addition, their mission is to encourage the ongoing peace negotiations, including facilitating the delivery of humanitarian assistance to those suffering in the region.

Victor Jackovich, of Iowa, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, to be Ambassador of the United States of America to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Currently, Mr. Jackovich is the Executive Assistant to the Counselor at the United States Information Agency. Prior to this, he was in Bulgarian Language Training School at the Department of State, 1990-1991; Cultural Affairs Officer in Moscow in the former Soviet Union, 1988-1990; Information Officer in Nairobi, Kenya, 1983-1986; Cultural Affairs Officer in Bucharest, Romania, 1980-1983, and Branch Public Affairs Officer in Kiev in the former Soviet Union, 1979-1980. Mr. Jackovich also served as the Chief of the Yugoslav Service at the Voice of America, 1976-1978.

Mr. Jackovich was graduated from Indiana University (B.A., 1970; M.A., 1971). He was born on April 24, 1948 in Des Moines, Iowa. Mr. Jackovich is married, has one child and resides in Arlington, Virginia.

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Mara M. Letica, of Michigan, to be Ambassador of the United States of America to Croatia. Currently, Ms. Letica is an attorney and General Counsel of the Letica Corporation in Rochester, Michigan. She is a founder of the Croatian American Association, where she has served as Secretary-Treasurer from 1990-1992. The Association was founded to provide information about the independence movement in Croatia and to support U.S. recognition of Croatia.

Ms. Letica has also served as an attorney with Bullivant, House, Bailey, Pendergrass and Hoffman, P.C. in Portland, Washington, 1982-1985; and in the Office of Prosecuting Attorney Criminal Division in Seattle, Washington, 1980. Through the Letica Corporation, Ms. Letica has organized humanitarian assistance programs to Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Ms. Letica was graduated from the University of Michigan (B.A., 1976) and the University of Puget Sound (J.D., 1981). She was born January 11, 1955 in Kaiserslautern, Germany. Ms. Letica is married, has two children and resides in Bloomfield Hills, Michigan.

E. Allan Wendt, of California, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador of the United States of America to the Republic of Slovenia.

Since 1987, Ambassador Wendt has served as Senior Representative for Strategic Technology Policy at the State Department. Prior to this, he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Energy and Resources Policy, 1981-1986; Counselor for Economic and Commercial Affairs at the American Embassy, Cairo, Egypt, 1979-1981; Director of the Office of International Commodities at the State Department, 1975-1979; State Department Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, 1974-1975. He was given the Department of State's Award for Heroism in 1968.

Ambassador Wendt was graduated from Yale University (B.A., 1957) and Harvard University (M.P.A., 1967). He was born November 8, 1935 in Chicago, Illinois. Ambassador Wendt currently resides in Orange County, California.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Embargoed for Release
Until September 18, 1992

September 17, 1992

The President today recognized the volunteers of the Early Gang Learning Experience (EAGLE) program of Sacramento, California, as the 896th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. EAGLE volunteers work to make their community a safe, crime-free place to live.

Philip Henderson, a Sacramento Sheriff's Deputy, founded the EAGLE program to help the Sacramento community detect and prevent the involvement of young people in gangs. Five volunteers -- Deputy Henderson, an ex-gang member, the mother of a gang member, a drug counselor, and a school vice principal -- give three presentations a week to parents, school districts, and other concerned citizens. Deputy Henderson uses his knowledge, personal accounts, and statistics to inform citizens of the gang problem from a law enforcement perspective. An ex-Los Angeles gang member turned minister describes his gang experiences, covering how and why youth become involved in gang life. The mother offers advice to other parents about what to do if their children are in gangs. The drug counselor and the vice principal discuss the burden that gangs place on the education system.

EAGLE volunteers, having reached over 3,000 people this year, raise community awareness of the escalating problem of gangs in the Sacramento area by offering helpful information to parents and others on early detection and intervention. By conducting workshops with students in schools and colleges, EAGLE seeks to equip the community to work effectively against gangs and help young people leave them to seek positive social alternatives.

The President salutes the volunteers of the Early Gang Learning Experience (EAGLE) program 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
(Enid, Oklahoma)

For Immediate Release

September 17, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate James H. Payne, of Oklahoma, to be United States District Judge for the Northern, Eastern and Western Districts of Oklahoma. He would succeed Dale Cook.

Since 1988, Judge Payne has served as United States Magistrate Judge for the Eastern District of Oklahoma. Prior to this, he was a partner in the law firm of Sandlin and Payne, 1973-1988; and an Assistant United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Oklahoma, 1970-1973.

Judge Payne was graduated from the University of Oklahoma (B.S., 1963) and the University of Oklahoma Law School (J.D., 1966). He served in the United States Air Force, Judge Advocate General's Corps, 1966-1970. He was born March 5, 1941 in Lubbock, Texas. Judge Payne is married, has two children and resides in Muskogee, Oklahoma.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Enid, Oklahoma)

For Immediate Release

September 17, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Walter B. Prince, of Massachusetts, to be United States District Judge for the District of Massachusetts. He would succeed John Joseph McNaught.

Since 1988, Mr. Prince has been in the practice of law with the firm of Peckham, Lobel, Casey, Prince & Tye as a partner. Prior to this, he served as General Counsel for the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority, 1985-1988; as a partner with the law firm of Brown & Prince, 1980-1985; as an Assistant United States Attorney, 1976-1980 and Chief of the Major Drug Traffickers Prosecution Unit, 1977-1980, of the United States Attorney's Office for the District of Massachusetts; and as a Trial Attorney for the Roxbury Defenders Committee, 1974-1976.

Mr. Prince was graduated from Boston State College (B.S., 1971) and Boston College Law School (J.D., 1974). He was born August 15, 1948 in Boston, Massachusetts. Mr. Prince is married, has three children and resides in Pembroke, Massachusetts.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

(Atlanta, Georgia)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

September 17, 1992

The President today announced that he has amended his August 28, 1992, declaration of a major disaster in the Territory of Guam to waive Territory and local cost sharing requirements, where permitted to do so by law, to allow reimbursement of 95 percent of eligible Public Assistance costs exceeding \$10 per capita, and to waive the cost sharing requirement for the Individual and Family Grant program as allowed under the provisions of the Insular Act.

This additional relief provided by the President was in response to a request made by Governor Joseph Ada. It was taken in response to the unprecedented damage and destruction caused by Typhoon Omar. By waiving customary Territory and local cost-sharing requirements, the President can provide maximum Federal assistance to the people of Guam whose lives have been so severely disrupted by this disaster.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Enid, Oklahoma)

For Immediate Release

September 17, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Timothy K. Lewis, of Pennsylvania, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Third Circuit. This is a new position created by Public Law 101-650, approved December 1, 1990.

Since 1991, Judge Lewis has served as a United States District Judge for the Western District of Pennsylvania. Prior to this, he served as an Assistant United States Attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania, 1983-1991; and as an Assistant District Attorney for Allegheny County, 1980-1983.

Judge Lewis was graduated from Tufts University (B.A., 1976) and Duquesne University School of Law (J.D., 1980). He was born November 2, 1954 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Judge Lewis is married, has two children and resides in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Atlanta, Georgia)

September 17, 1992

REGULATORY REFORMS TO REDUCE THE COSTS OF HOMEOWNERSHIP
FACT SHEET

As part of his continuing effort to reform and streamline government regulations, the President today announced that the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) will release today an important reform designed to reduce the cost of homeownership and thereby to spur residential construction.

The President acknowledged that this reform, which does not require Congressional action, will have a more limited impact than the \$5000 tax credit for first-time homebuyers that he has proposed to Congress. But, the President declared, "I will continue to do everything I can on my own to get the economy moving, even if Congress sits on its hands."

- o The administrative change released today will reduce mortgage insurance premiums on 15-year, FHA-insured mortgages.
- o HUD estimates that, for those who choose a 15-year mortgage, this change will reduce the up-front FHA insurance premium by an average of \$650 (based on an average loan of \$65,000). It will also reduce the annual insurance premium by \$165 to \$325 -- for a total savings of approximately \$2500 to \$6000 over the life of the loan.
- o This change is made possible by HUD's determination that 15-year mortgages pose a significantly smaller risk to the FHA insurance fund than longer term mortgages.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Atlanta, Georgia)

For Immediate Release

September 17, 1992

The President today appointed Kay Bailey Hutchison, of Texas, to be a Member of the Commission to Promote Investment in America's Infrastructure. This is a new position.

Since 1991, Ms. Hutchison has served as Treasurer for the State of Texas. She has also served as senior vice president and general counsel of RepublicBank Corporation, 1978; and later co-founded Fidelity National Bank of Dallas. Ms. Hutchinson served as vice chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board, 1976-1978. She also served in the Texas House of Representatives, 1972-1976.

Ms. Hutchison is currently a member of the Anthony Commission on Public Finance; and also co-chair of the National State Debt Management Network.

Ms. Hutchison was graduated from the University of Texas (started undergrad studies in 1964 and completed coursework for B.A., 1992) and the University of Texas School of Law (L.L.B., 1967). She was born July 22, 1943 in Galveston, Texas. Ms. Hutchison is married and currently resides in Austin, Texas.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Atlanta, Georgia)

For Immediate Release

September 17, 1992

The President today recognized the volunteers and staff of PROJECT MENTOR of Wye Mills, Maryland, as the 895th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. The volunteers offer community college students meaningful employment opportunities and the hope of economic advancement.

Established two years ago, PROJECT MENTOR addresses the need for academic, personal, and cultural support for first year students at Chesapeake College, a community college, by matching students with volunteer mentors -- professionals who are working in careers that the students plan to pursue. Among the 120 mentors are business professionals, college alumni, retirees, older students, and single-parent homemakers. They are matched with new students each year to offer them role models, to encourage them to stay in school, and to introduce them to employment and career opportunities.

Mentors meet with students at least twice a month during the school year and often meet weekly. They help students prepare resumes and practice for interviews and direct them to career development workshops, job fairs, and lectures. The experiences and contacts that the volunteers offer enable the students to begin effective searches for interesting, rewarding careers. Students develop the confidence and self-esteem needed to pursue opportunities, and many of them become volunteers and mentors themselves.

PROJECT MENTOR has been highly successful in encouraging students to finish college. Nationally, just 48 percent of community college students continue for a second year of studies. PROJECT MENTOR participants have had a retention rate of 70 percent, and their average GPA is higher than those students who do not participate in the program.

The President salutes the volunteers of PROJECT MENTOR 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
(Enid, Oklahoma)

For Immediate Release

September 17, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO ENID COMMUNITY

Enid Convention Hall
Enid, Oklahoma

10:15 A.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Please be seated.
(Applause.) Good morning, everyone, and thank -- hey, let me tell you something. There's something about Enid; you really make a guy feel at home. (Applause.)

May I thank Don Nickles. I'll have more to say about him in just a minute. And while I'm on the subject of thanks, let me compliment Mark McCord on his introduction of Senator Nickles and getting this whole event together -- all the civic clubs. (Applause.)

And I want to thank all the leaders here on the dias joining me this morning, and bring attention to several guests. In particular, I want two to join me in the United States Congress this fall -- Bob Anthony, right here. You see him behind us. (Applause.) And Ernest Istook, running in the 5th District. (Applause.) And Charles Ford for the State Senate. And may I salute Mr. Grey and Mr. Divilbliss, and Mr. Key, and Mary Rumph, our leaders; Neva Hill, and thank you very much for your leadership, all of you back there, and all of you out here -- on your efforts on behalf of the Republican Party here in Oklahoma.

Let me just say a word about your Senator. I work with him closely. He has taken the lead in changing this alternative minimum tax that will help stimulate the domestic drilling business. We don't need to depend on foreign oil so much. (Applause.) He understands the importance of a strong defense. And I thought of that when he and I flew in on Air Force One to Vance. We must keep our country strong. Yes, we've made progress, but we've got to stay strong. And he understands American agriculture and the need to sell abroad.

Oklahoma sets the pace in agricultural exports. And Don Nickles is with you every inch of the way. (Applause.)

Now, I've come here today to the "Bright Star of the Great Plains" to discuss perhaps the most serious issue that Americans face this fall. This a wonderful turnout and politics is in the air; but today I approach this opportunity you've given me not as a "rally," but as a great chance to discuss for the whole nation our economic future, and of the very real choices that my opponent and I offer for shaping that future. It's a serious talk, not a rally speech, and I hope you'll bear with me.

Enid is the perfect place for this discussion, for in many ways your community is a metaphor for America. Here in your history we can find the forces that have made us the world's greatest economic power.

Yesterday, as Don was reminding you, you marked the 99th anniversary of the Land Race -- a peculiarly American experiment.

MORE

The government set up the competition in 1893, but then got out of the way, stood back -- to let free people work -- work their miracles. (Applause.) And 99 years later, we see the results all around us: hard working ranchers, some of the world's best oilmen. And Enid has become a thriving center of commerce, a hub of transportation, a producer of goods sold in every corner of the Earth.

A government planner might conjure up this miracle, but only a free people could have produced it. (Applause.) The lesson it teaches should guide us as we look to the challenges ahead.

We stand today at the edge of a new era. At the close of a long and costly war, democracy is sweeping the globe. The fear of nuclear holocaust that gripped us for 45 years is receding. Our kids no longer go to bed at night worried about nuclear war. That is dramatic change. (Applause.) These are world-shaping changes -- and I am proud of the role that my administration has taken in bringing them about.

Now we have an opportunity to refocus our attention to the problems at home. Americans recognize the world is in transition. We feel it in our homes and in our neighborhoods.

In Detroit last week at the Detroit Economic Club, I presented my Agenda for American Renewal -- a look at what's wrong in America, and what's right. And I offered a comprehensive, integrated approach to win the new global economic competition -- to create the world's first \$10 trillion economy -- by early in the next century. (Applause.)

My agenda includes 13 actions that I will pursue in the first year of my second term -- and I will fight for every one of them. (Applause.)

I want to be specific about what I have to offer America because I want a mandate to change things and to govern. I built a mandate in the Persian Gulf -- and look what we got done. And I want to do the same thing here at home. Because just as America has achieved a lasting political and military security, we can and will forge an economic security -- right here in Oklahoma; right here in all the rest of the states in the United States of America. (Applause.)

Yes, change is underway, because change is the nature of America. Oklahomans know that. Yet change must be a tool for us, not against us. So we must never grasp change blindly -- without considering seriously where these changes will lead us, or what they will mean in our daily lives.

That's why this afternoon -- or this -- yes, almost afternoon -- I want to lay out the differences between my agenda and my opponent's plan. These distinctions are fundamental: they shape our approach to every major issue in this election -- from education to health care to the renewal of the American economy.

The first difference is the most profound, for it goes to the heart of the matter: what makes our economy grow? Or more precisely, who makes an economy grow?

My answer is: individual working men and women make it grow. (Applause.) My opponent puts his faith in different people -- the government planners. He believes that Washington -- the government -- will produce economic growth through -- quote, and here's his word -- "investing" -- unquote -- your money more wisely than you can.

To understand where these differences come from, you have to look at the differences in who we are and what we believe.

I came out west, like a number of you -- let's see, in 1948 Barbara and I moved over across the way to Midland and Odessa -- to work in the oil field supply business, and then to become an independent producer and a drilling contractor. I spent half my adult life in business, and I have the ulcers to prove it. (Laughter.) With a lot of help, a lot of help from the tool pushers and the roughnecks and the drilling superintendents and everybody else, and then some strong Oklahoma partners, I built a company from the ground up, created jobs, and paid my taxes.

By contrast, my opponent chose to run for office at an exceptionally early age. He wanted to determine how the people's taxes should be spent -- how to shape people's lives through more government programs.

I never forgot, nor will I, my days in the Texas oil fields -- some successes; yes, some dry holes; some twist-offs, some flawless completions. And I never forgot the economic philosophy that I learned there in the field -- to unleash the aspirations of the ordinary person with the extraordinary dreams. Aspirations lead to enterprise. And enterprise creates jobs and wealth -- and the opportunity that knows no difference among color, creed or social class. (Applause.)

And you look at the differences. My opponent and his advisors propose something quite different. Their writings refer to European models and industrial policy. And that's an academic term for letting the government pick economic winners and losers. Their ideal is not the entrepreneur, but the government planner -- the lawyer or the policy professor who flatters himself that he understands the American economy better than the workers and the entrepreneurs who have their sleeves up and really make it work.

My opponent and his advisors can trace their intellectual roots to the social-engineering ideas popular at the turn of the century. The old social -- some of you historians remember this -- those old social engineers advocated large-scale government ownership to give the state the leading role in the society and economy. Today, European governments are still selling off the inefficient industrial monstrosities that were born from those ideas -- and Mexico and Argentina to our south are soaring because they're also ridding themselves of government-owned enterprises. (Applause.)

Over the years those early social engineers became interventionist liberals who wanted to create a welfare state. They sought to "level" differences, to tax success, to redistribute wealth. They ended up paralyzing the private sector. That's one reason some European countries today are stuck with unemployment rates around, if not higher than 10 percent. And it's why ordinary Europeans are rebelling against anything that even smacks of the elite central government.

Now, my opponent is drawn to these views; he and a number of his advisors studied them at Oxford in the 1960s. But they are shrewd enough to know that the welfare state doesn't sell in America, so my opponent labels his latest technique for government management "investment." Those are his words. No matter what you call it, it's still big-time government spending directed by Washington planners who want to reorder social and economic priorities. And we cannot have that. (Applause.)

I ask you to look at the plans. My opponent's approach exploits the market, but fundamentally distrusts it. Where the market can be rough-edged, they prefer academic tidiness. Where the market is often unpredictable, they prefer the false certitude of social engineering -- fashioned by a new economic elite of the so-called "best and brightest." The best

and the brightest are right out here in middle America where you know what's going on. (Applause.)

From Santa Monica to Cambridge, my opponents are cranking up their models -- ready to test them, on you.

And so at a decisive moment in history comes your choice about who should lead the American economy -- the government planner or the entrepreneur, the risk-taker. And I stand with the private sector and with the risk-taker. (Applause.) From Mexico to Eastern Europe, from Russia to South China, command-and-control economies have been dismissed as failures. And the individual is being set free, private enterprise unleashed, bureaucracies shut down.

And at the exact moment that the rest of the world is going our way -- why should we ever want to go their way? (Applause.) What are we supposed to say to a world suddenly copying our ideas about free enterprise? Just kidding? (Laughter.)

This is the most fundamental disagreement between us: whether the driving engine of growth is government interventionism or entrepreneurial capitalism. But from this one disagreement flow many, many others, with important practical consequences for our economy, our nation and, yes, for your family.

Take our second disagreement over the issue of taxes. He wants to raise taxes; I want to cut taxes. (Applause.) You see, I believe our tax system is fundamentally the product of a wartime economy. The cost of fighting two World Wars and a Cold War vastly expanded the number of people who had to pay taxes, and raised marginal tax rates.

High tax rates created pressure for exceptions -- tax loopholes. The discovery and enlarging of loopholes has, in turn, created a vast industry of accountants and lawyers and tax specialists, all paid by special interests seeking favored treatment.

During the 1980s -- and I think you all will remember this -- we slashed the tax on labor, increasing incentives for work and creating 21 million jobs. (Applause.) And now we need to lower the tax on capital -- encouraging more investment that will create more jobs. (Applause.)

My opponent calls for raising marginal rates again. His approach will cut the demand for labor -- unless you happen to be a lawyer or an accountant or a lobbyist.

And there's a motive to his madness. My opponent needs the money to pay for his social engineering. And he says it will come from the rich. He neglects to mention that two-thirds of the -- quote -- "rich" he's targeting are family farmers and small business owners. And his theory is that you may not live the lifestyle of the rich and famous, but you can be taxed like you do. (Applause.)

And this leads me to our third major difference: government spending. Again, the contrast couldn't be more plain. He wants to raise government spending, I want to cut it. (Applause.)

The federal government today -- now listen to this one -- spends almost a quarter of every dollar of our national income. When you add state and local spending -- your local taxes, your state taxes -- the figure is about 35 cents out of every dollar going to some level of government.

And my opponent thinks government should be bigger. He's already called for \$220 billion in new spending, on top of

today's \$1.5 trillion -- so government can lead our economy with new, quote, "investments." And Newsweek suggests that the actual cost could be three times that.

My proposal to reduce the growth of spending has three parts: a cap on the growth of mandatory spending, excluding Social Security; a freeze on domestic spending; and the elimination of 246 programs and more than 4,000 projects that we don't need and that we cannot afford. (Applause.)

And I want this discipline -- and so does Don Nickles, I might add -- I want this discipline backed up with a balanced budget amendment and a line-item veto. (Applause.) And I want to give you the right to take up the 10 percent of your tax payment and dedicate it solely to cut spending and the deficit. (Applause.)

My opponent says he would like to cut a government program, too. One program in the entire federal budget -- the honeybee subsidy -- worth \$11 million. And incidentally, on that subject, that worldwide important subject of the honeybee -- Senator Gore has voted two times to save the honey bee subsidy. (Applause.)

My opponent ducks the subject of serious spending cuts. He's proposed only about \$7 billion in cuts in mandatory spending over five years. And that amounts to about two percent of what we've proposed -- to cut the growth of mandatory spending, excluding Social Security. What I proposed cut it by \$300 billion. (Applause.)

The trends are clear. He wants to increase government's share of the national wealth, and I want to decrease it.

Now, the fourth defining difference -- opening foreign markets for American goods. (Applause.) Again, there's two contrasting approaches. Oklahoma is one of the nation's leading grain exporters -- 65,000 Oklahoma jobs are supported by trade. And that number will grow, if we open more foreign markets. And that's why I've negotiated the North American Free Trade Agreement -- or they call it NAFTA -- and why I want a network of free trade agreements with other countries.

I want lower-priced goods for American consumers. And I know that, given the chance, the American worker can outthink, outcompete, outcreate any worker in the entire world. And that's true of the Oklahoma farmer. (Applause.) And that's true of the Oklahoma manufacturer. (Applause.)

Now there was time when my opponent said he favored open trade. Other times -- usually after meeting with the big union leaders, the bosses up there in Washington -- he has no opinion at all. In fact, the labor bosses have let him off the hook -- saying they won't press him on this issue until after the election. Now, asked about the free trade pact with Mexico he now says -- and here's an exact quote -- "When I have a definitive opinion, I'll say so." You cannot be on all sides of every issue if you want to be President of the United States of America. (Applause.)

That indecision could have disastrous consequences. Make no mistake: An indecisive president will produce a protectionist trade policy. And over the past 20 years, Congress has become much more protectionist. Changes in the way Congress operates have significantly increased the power of individual members. And the established special interests have targeted each one with a great deal of success. And these local interest groups will conspire with their clients in Congress to keep out competition altogether. And only the President can speak for the national interest.

And the marriage of convenience between the special interests and powerful congressmen poses particular dangers to free trade. Entrepreneurs are very good at taking advantage of foreign markets; they are not good at taking these lobbyists out to lunch. (Applause.) And so if you feel that Oklahoma is right in exporting as much of its wheat as it does, then you must have a President who is firmly committed to opening markets -- at home and abroad. (Applause.)

You know, frankly, I believe that when Americans shop we should give the first look to products marked "Made in the USA." (Applause.) Our quality revolution has made American products the best in the world. But they will only remain the best if American business opens itself to competition. Competition gave American business its competitive edge, and competition will keep it sharp.

And then there's a fifth difference between my opponent and me: our attitudes toward government regulation, mandates and monopolies. I want to minimize federal intrusion in the workings of the marketplace. (Applause.) And my opponent sees regulation as he sees taxes and spending -- as a chance to reorder society according to the planner's blueprint.

Of course, I believe firmly in government's obligation to protect the health and safety and rights of its citizens, of course. I fought for both the Clean Air Act and the Americans With Disabilities Act. Both will require new regulations -- but we're proceeding to implement them in the most efficient and least burdensome way possible.

Last year, Americans expended 5.3 billion hours just to keep up with federal regulations. That's like watching every pro football game on television back-to-back for the next 12 million -- 268,000 years. (Laughter.) That's not including playoffs.

That's why I have ordered a top-to-bottom review of government regulations, to assess each new rule's impact on economic growth. (Applause.) And in this agenda I am outlining, I have called for adding "sunset" provisions to all new regulation.

Look at health care -- a case study of our different attitudes toward government regulation. I believe everybody should have health care. My health care reform will bring health care to those without it by giving them the means to choose the kind of care they want. It will harness the forces of competition to control costs. And in keeping the government out, it keeps the quality of our health care up. (Applause.) Our health care is the finest in the world -- and I want to keep it that way.

My opponent, by contrast, says that government will simply issue an edict: Costs shall not rise. And he will order businesses to provide health care or pay for it -- though he never quite says how. It sounds simple, sounds even seductive.

But that's not the way the world works. My opponent's new dictates and taxes won't cure the health care problem; they will just make the economy sicker. (Applause.) From Warsaw to Prague to Moscow, government price controls have led to one thing: rationing of service. In health care, that will mean longer lines, inefficient service, and lower quality.

Our difference in approach to government's role shows up across the board.

In child care -- I fought to empower parents to choose from a public agency, a relative, or a church. Give the parents the choice. (Applause.) My opponent wanted a government-knows-best policy.

In education -- I am fighting to give parents scholarships to choose the best schools for their kids -- public, private or religious. (Applause.) My opponent bows to the special interests who say parents should only choose government schools.

Now, lastly, my opponent and I disagree on an issue crucial -- absolutely crucial -- to small businesses, and also to small communities. I believe that our legal system is out of control, heading for an accident. (Applause.) The litigation explosion has discouraged risk-taking and innovation, the life's blood of entrepreneurial capitalism. Today Americans spend up to \$200 billion in direct costs to lawyers -- far more than our competitors in Asia and Europe.

Again, when it comes to legal reform, the difference is clear: I'm for it, and my opponent and the trial lawyers want to kill it. In fact, one trial lawyer from Arkansas solicited funds for my opponent by writing: "I can never remember an occasion when he failed to do the right thing where we trial lawyers were concerned."

A truly competitive America cannot afford a President who worries about doing the right thing for the trial lawyers. (Applause.) You see, I believe we need to sue each other less and care for each other more. (Applause.) These, then, are the six core differences between my agenda and my opponent's plan. There are others, but all relate to America's central challenge -- the challenge of securing peace and prosperity in a totally new era.

We may talk about the same issues, but the similarity ends there. My opponent and I both hope to take America -- we go off in very different directions.

He would unite the presidency and the Congress to achieve one end above all others: more government -- a government that taxes more, and spends more, and regulates more, encourages more lawsuits, and shuts off more products from the markets that Americans create.

Those aren't new ideas. They're bad ideas. And they've been tried before.

Buying my opponent's prescription for the economy would be like going out to the used car lot down the road and buying the lemon that you got rid of 12 years ago. (Applause.) Only this time, there would be higher taxes, higher interest rates, and higher inflation. This is not a good deal for America.

Now, on July 20th, 1988, my opponent nominated Michael Dukakis for President. And it was a rather lengthy speech -- makes this one look like the Gettysburg Address. (Laughter.) He praised Michael Dukakis then as a master of innovation, the architect of the Massachusetts Miracle. (Laughter.) Six months later the Miracle was a curse, and Massachusetts teetered toward bankruptcy.

I think America can do without that kind of innovation. There are some kind of changes America simply cannot afford.

I look to a different kind of future. We can build on our strengths. With inflation kept safely behind bars, our entrepreneurs can turn to the challenges they love to face: transforming their dreams into wealth, their risk-taking into jobs for all Americans.

And the result won't be the mirage of innovation conjured up by government planners. It will be a wave of genuine

innovation and prosperity, created by free men and women, exploiting opportunities unprecedented in our history. (Applause.)

If you get the feeling I'm optimistic about the future of the country, you are right. (Applause.) We're the United States of America. (Applause.) So this is the choice we face -- this is the choice we face in November. And so I ask when you make that choice, please consider carefully which candidate's agenda best fits your beliefs, our national heritage, and our hope for a lasting peace and prosperity.

Thank you so much for listening. And may God bless the United States of America. Thank you. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

10:56 A.M. CDT

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Enid, Oklahoma)

For Immediate Release

September 17, 1992

NATIONAL POW/MIA RECOGNITION DAY, 1992

- - - - -

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

As we Americans celebrate the collapse of imperial communism and the expansion of democracy around the world, we are especially grateful to the courageous United States military personnel who defended the cause of freedom in war. Yet, while we welcome improved prospects for international cooperation and peace, we also remember our fellow Americans who continue to suffer the uncertainties of wartime: the families of American service members and civilians who are still listed as missing and for whom the fullest possible accounting has not yet been made.

As a sign of our Nation's commitment to obtaining the answers that these families seek, on September 18, 1992, the flag of the National League of POW/MIA Families will be flown over the White House, the U.S. Departments of State, Defense, and Veterans Affairs, the Selective Service System headquarters, and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. This black and white emblem will continue to symbolize America's clear, unequivocal resolve to keep faith with those who so faithfully served and defended us.

Through the eyewitness testimony of former American prisoners of war, we know that many were subjected to extreme deprivation and torture, in violation of fundamental standards of morality and in stark contravention of international agreements governing treatment of war prisoners. Their experiences have not only underscored our debt to those who risked their lives and liberty for our sake but also strengthened our resolve to secure the return of any Americans who may still be held against their will. Doing so remains a matter of highest national priority, as do our efforts to obtain the fullest possible accounting for the missing and the repatriation of all recoverable remains of those who died as a result of their service to our Nation. On this occasion, we renew our pledge to obtain the answers that the families of these Americans deserve, in order that they may gain the peace of certainty and share more fully in the celebration of freedom's expansion around the globe.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim September 18, 1992, as National POW/MIA Recognition Day. I urge all Americans to join in honoring former American POWs as well as those service

more .

(OVER)

members and civilians who are still missing and unaccounted for as a result of serving our Nation. I also encourage all Americans to join in saluting the families of these individuals for their dedication to the truth and for their perseverance in seeking answers. Finally, I call on State and local government officials, as well as private organizations, to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies 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 17, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT OLYMPIC FLAG JAM '92

Georgia Dome
Atlanta, Georgia

8:07 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. And Bill Hybl, thank you for that introduction. And to Lieutenant Governor Pierre Howard, and Ambassador Andy Young, and Robert Holder, IOC member Anita DeFrantz, entertainers -- special entertainers, Dick Clark and Whitney Houston, Gladys Knight. And of course, Billy Payne, a Bulldog on the field, a bulldog for these Olympics. (Applause.) Sir, I salute you for what you've done for Atlanta and all America.

You know, it's been said that if the South begins anywhere it begins in Atlanta. (Applause.) Let me speak for millions of Americans. If the 1996 Olympics begin anywhere they begin in Atlanta tonight. And look at this wonderful new Dome. What a metaphor for this region's can-do spirit. And this setting: thousands of Georgians, all members of the family called America.

Look at this Olympic flag, a symbol of the kind of world we want where differences are solved peacefully, not violently. What a great night to back in the heart of the south.

A little while ago Whitney Houston sang about a "precious moment in time." And already you should be proud of some precious memories, for once again, the South has made the impossible possible.

Skeptics said that no American city could impress the Olympic Committee so soon after Los Angeles -- but you did. And their trust means Atlanta will host the 100th anniversary of the Olympic Games. (Applause.) Skeptics said you'd never win the Games on your first attempt, no city ever had -- but you did. (Applause.) And in 1996 you'll host a record number of countries, the largest peacetime event of the 20th century.

And the Games are coming just as Americans are coming together. The capital of Georgia is about to become the sports capital of the entire world. (Applause.) And as it does, let's remember past Olympics, for this event is like a tapestry -- seamless, indivisible. And for me, tonight is like Yogi Berra says -- Deja vu all over again.

Last month I got to meet the 1992 Summer Olympic Team at the White House. And the team competed hard, as America always has. Competed to win -- and did -- as America always does. And think of it. In Barcelona, we won 108 medals, the most ever since 1904 in a nonboycotted Olympics. (Applause.)

The games showed how the Olympics have changed the world, changed the world for the better, athletically as well as economically. And they occurred without boycotts, without terrorism, without politics. And that is as it should be.

MORE

And Carl Sandburg once wrote, "The Republic is a dream. Nothing happens unless first a dream." With us tonight are the people who this year made dreams a reality. They showed how the Olympics are not just poetry in motion, but history in action. Athletes -- heroes -- who made us proud to be Americans and made America proud.

Ladies and gentlemen, I give you, and I am proud to present the United States Olympic Athletes. (Applause.)

END

8:10 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Enid, Oklahoma)

For Immediate Release

September 17, 1992

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
THE MAJORITY LEADER OF THE SENATE,
AND THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS OF THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE SENATE

September 17, 1992

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Senator:) (Dear Congressman:)

I am writing to express my strong opposition to the Conference Report to accompany S. 12 (Cable Television Consumer Protection and Competition Act of 1992), which the House and Senate will consider in the next several days.

This legislation will hurt Americans by imposing a wide array of costly, burdensome, and unnecessary requirements on the cable industry and the government agencies that regulate it. The heavy-handed provisions of the bill will drive up cable industry costs, resulting in higher consumer rates, not rate reductions as promised by the supporters of the bill.

The bill will also restrain continued innovation in the industry, cost the economy jobs, reduce consumer programming choices, and retard the deployment of growth-oriented investments critical to the future of our Nation's communications infrastructure.

My vision for the future of the communications industry is based on the principles of greater competition, entrepreneurship, and less economic regulation. This legislation fails each of these tests and is illustrative of the Congressional mandates and excessive regulations that drag our economy down.

Congress would best serve consumer welfare by promoting vigorous competition, not massive re-regulation.

For these reasons I will veto S. 12 if it is presented to me, and I urge its rejection when the House and Senate consider the Conference Report.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

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Enid Oklahoma

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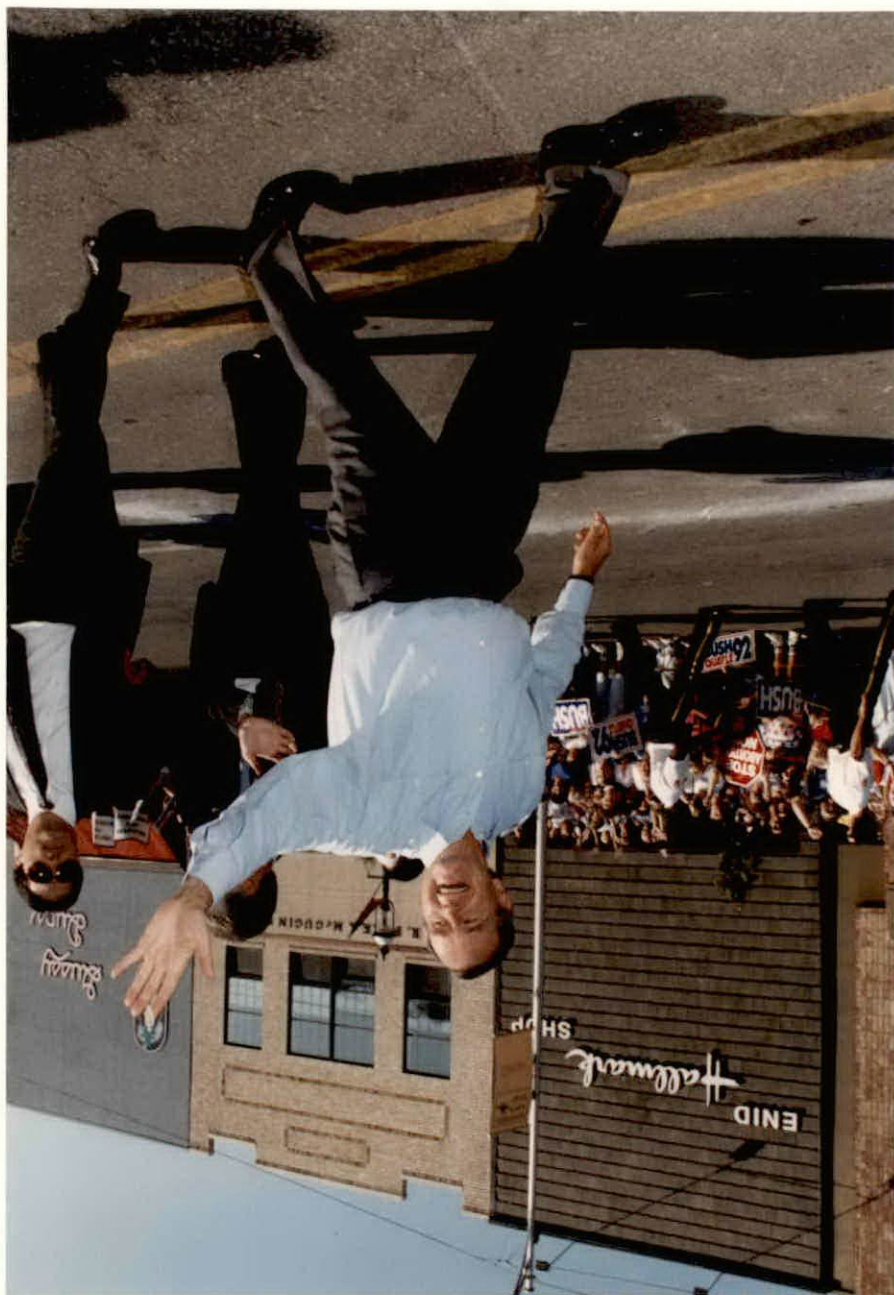
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Enid Oklahoma

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Bill
Dan

OFFICIAL WHITE-HOUSE PHOTO 17SEP92 OU P035927 -006 -

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Foreign Affairs

LESLIE H. GELB

Sell Now, Pay Later

Saudi-Taiwan: hasty arms sales.

Few voices now cry caution over prospective multibillion-dollar sales of fighter aircraft to Saudi Arabia and Taiwan despite considerable risks that the sales will trigger new and dangerous arms races.

Neither party wants to be accused of scuttling the 40,000 jobs that could be at stake. Few experts dispute that Riyadh needs more air power to defend against Iraq and Iran, or that Taipei's aging air force must be modernized to check China's growing military punch.

To derail the sales, both houses of Congress would have to reject them within the next 30 days. That is not going to happen. But the U.S. can act now to blunt the attendant risks.

Before the Congressional clock stops ticking, legislators and Administration officials owe explanations to themselves and the public. They need to face and deal with the fact that these sales run counter to long-established U.S. policies. They must also think about how to cope with their negative long-term side effects.

Since the Carter Administration, the U.S. has been wary of sparking arms races in the Mideast. President Bush reaffirmed this policy after the Persian Gulf war when he spoke of "halting the proliferation of conventional and unconventional weapons in the Middle East," though he immediately pledged to support "the legitimate need of every state to defend itself." To address arms control, parties to the Mideast peace process and potential arms suppliers are meeting in Moscow this week.

The sale of 72 F-15's to Saudi Arabia, which would more than double

the number of that nation's high-performance aircraft, ostensibly contradicts wise arms control precepts. Saudi forces legitimately arrayed against Iraq and Iran can also be used against Israel.

Israelis are not happy. They do not regard the Saudi royal family as a particular threat. But they fear the possibility of moderate Saudis being overthrown by Islamic fundamentalists.

There are ways to hedge against this. For example, Washington can limit the sale of spare parts and ammunition for the F-15's and thus control their use, if need be. But it is not clear that Mr. Bush is attending to such matters.

Israel also deserves an offsetting military boost and seems well on the road to getting it. The F-15 sale should not be concluded before the Israeli package is agreed upon.

The Administration should try to warn Russia and China against "compensatory" sales to potential aggressors like Iran and Syria. Given their financial needs and the U.S. sales, Beijing and Moscow will not welcome lectures. But it still makes sense for Washington to urge future restraint by all.

The sale of 150 F-16's to Taiwan is an even more significant policy reversal than the F-15 deal. In the Chi-

nese-American communiqué of 1982, the U.S. reaffirmed that Taiwan was part of China and explicitly promised not to increase the quantity or quality of arms for Taiwan. Washington further undertook to reduce military sales to Taiwan over time. The F-16 sale would violate this commitment.

The Administration is doing all it can to minimize the impact of this breach. It will replace older Taiwanese aircraft only on a one-for-one basis and will sell only early and less capable models of the F-16. Administration officials are also working hard in private to dissuade Taipei from also buying French Mirages, which are more potent than the early F-16's.

But despite all this tiptoeing, China threatened to pull out of the Mideast arms control talks Tuesday. Thus the U.S. needs to do more. It has to stress America's equally binding commitment to provide for Taiwan's defense until peaceful reunification with the mainland. China has to understand that as long as it goes on increasing its military spending and striking power, Washington has no choice but to fulfill its obligations to Taiwan.

Better for the U.S. and China to deal with the spiraling effects of arms sales in a new and broader context. Perhaps the time has come for conventional arms control talks in Asia.

Such long-term concerns are being swept aside by President Bush and Governor Clinton as they race to catch the jobs-wind and conclude the Saudi and Taiwanese sales before the November elections. Whoever wins will live to regret the haste. □

Too Young for Day Care

By Andrew Cherlin

President Bush is expected to quickly veto the family leave bill, which passed the House last week, 241 to 161. The bill mandates that companies with 50 or more employees offer an unpaid, 12 week leave to workers with new or newly adopted children. It is unlikely that the veto will be overridden. Before this scenario unfolds, the President and his Congressional supporters should consider the results of the first large-scale national study of the effects of day care — evidence that full-time day care, as against having a parent home, may harm children under the age of 1.

The study, supported by the Labor Department and the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, began in 1979 with a nationwide sample of young adults, who have been reinterviewed annually. In 1986, their children were given psychological tests and the parents were asked about the children's behavior. The parents were also asked about work and child care arrangements since the children were born.

Two research teams independently analyzed the information obtained in 1986 for about 500 3- and 4-year-olds

Andrew Cherlin, professor of sociology at the Johns Hopkins University, is editor of "The Changing American Family and Public Policy."

and released their findings. Both found that scores on a word knowledge test that predicts school performance were lower for children whose mothers had worked outside the home while the children were less than 1 year old.

The research teams differ somewhat on which children are at greatest risk. The analysis by Sonalde Desai of the Population Council and P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale and Robert T. Michael of the University of Chi-

Workers with infants need family leave.

cago concluded that harmful effects on word knowledge were limited largely to boys. But Nazli Baydar of the Battelle Institute of Seattle and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn of Columbia University reported negative effects for girls as well; they also concluded that the effects were greatly reduced if the mother worked less than 10 hours per week.

The studies did contain some good news. The researchers found that word knowledge and behavior problems were not affected if mothers worked after their children were 1 year old. If this is true, then public and corporate policies that subsidize

day care for children age 1 and over would not be harmful to their development.

Still, the findings on infants are worrisome. The problem is particularly acute in the United States, where about one-fourth of mothers of infants hold full time jobs. In Britain, only about one-tenth of mothers of infants are employed full-time. Even in supposedly avant-garde Sweden, a smaller percentage of mothers of infants work full time: most take paid leaves and many work shorter hours for several years.

The Administration, which maintains that family leave would mean government interference in the workplace, argues that mandatory leave would be expensive for employers. But a survey in four states that already have similar family leave laws, conducted by the Families and Work Institute in New York City, found that only 12 percent of the businesses reported significant cost increases.

The alternative, employer or government subsidies for high-quality day care for infants, would be very expensive because more care givers are needed for infants than for older preschoolers.

The best option is for employers to provide new parents with work leaves, and the current bill is a good first step. If President Bush's election year commitment to family values isn't just rhetoric — if he truly thinks that supporting families is important — he should sign this bill. □

Economic Scene | Peter Passell

Fewer Mandates, Fewer Votes

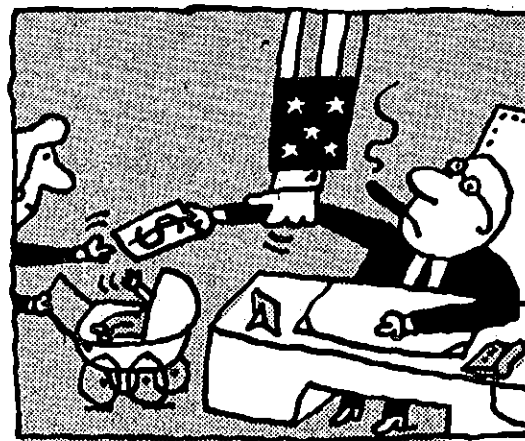
READ his lips: no new mandated benefits. President Bush, tarred as a congenital flip-flopper, is making a stand. The catch, at least from the perspective of his supporters, is that the President is manning the ideological barricades against a very popular piece of legislation passed last week by Congress — legislation that practically screams family values.

The bill, requiring big companies to grant unpaid leave to full-time employees with newborns or seriously ill family members, has drawn fire from the Republicans' traditional allies in business. But Mr. Bush's stance is hardly likely to win votes in the suburbs, where stay-at-home mothers are becoming as rare as wood-paneled station wagons.

And ironically, the principle Mr. Bush is defending — the right of labor and management to haggle freely over compensation and working conditions — is one he has largely honored in the breach. William Alpert, an economist at the University of Connecticut, notes that the President signed a bill increasing the minimum wage and enthusiastically supported legislation that requires employers to accommodate the disabled.

The family leave bill, timed by Congressional Democrats to maximize the President's pre-election embarrassment, is virtually identical to the one he vetoed in 1990. It gives employees the option of taking up to 12 weeks to tend a new baby or care for a family member who is seriously ill.

Employers would be obliged to pick up the tab for any existing medical benefits and guarantee leave-takers comparable jobs on their return. But the law would apply only to businesses with at least 50 employees. And a company's highest-paid 10 percent of workers would be exempted.



The coverage, then, would largely affect employers who could cope by hiring temporary workers or shuffling job assignments. A 1990 report commissioned by the Small Business Administration and written by Mr. Alpert and Eileen Trzcinski of Cornell University estimates that the annual cost to business would be no more than \$825 million, or about \$7 a year per worker. Or perhaps nothing at all: a study for the Families and Work Institute in New York concludes that the costs would be more than offset by savings in reducing labor turnover.

Indeed, Lawrence Katz notes that the bill would exact far less from business than is demanded in other affluent countries. In Canada, for example, women have a right to 10 months off the job for pregnancy and newborn care, with the first 15 weeks at 60 percent of salary. And the Eurocrats in Brussels are aiming at a European Community standard of 14 weeks with 80 percent pay.

Why, then, the fuss here? Republican dissenters on the House Labor Committee offer a laundry list of objections. Few Americans, they say, rank parental leave as a high priority. And Federal meddling would undermine initiatives by states in setting their own labor standards. Moreover, fam-

ily leave requirements would give employers incentives to discriminate against women of child-bearing age.

This last sally draws blood. There is some evidence that paid family leave requirements in Germany and Sweden have undermined women's opportunities. But Mr. Alpert scoffs at the idea that the tame American law, which exempts all employees in small businesses and senior managers in large ones, would deepen the ruts on the mommy track. And Mr. Katz suggests that a uniform standard might actually reduce discrimination in companies that already provide a leave option: With just one-third of corporate America providing the benefit today, generous companies must worry more about attracting employees inclined to use it.

The core conservative argument, one that unites libertarians and business lobbies, is blanket opposition to government mandates. "One aspect of American economic life that should remain private," writes Doug Bandow, a senior fellow at the Cato Institute, "is the negotiation between employers and employees regarding the terms under which they will cooperate."

Still, family leave seems an odd place to dig in. Federal law is full of workplace standards on everything from overtime pay to the vesting of pension rights. And while the threat of the big enchilada of mandates, employer-financed health care, has given business a new reason for concern, Mr. Katz thinks it is "absolutely ridiculous" to think a penny-an-hour family leave mandate would serve as the edge-of-the-wedge to \$2-an-hour compulsory health insurance.

One former Bush Administration official at present at the creation believes it was, in fact, the innocuous quality of the family leave mandate that undid the White House. The Administration's initial stance on a seemingly unimportant measure, he speculates, was left to policy nerds more concerned with principle than the President's popularity in the shopping malls. And once articulated as a matter of principle, the White House was stuck with it.

The New York Times

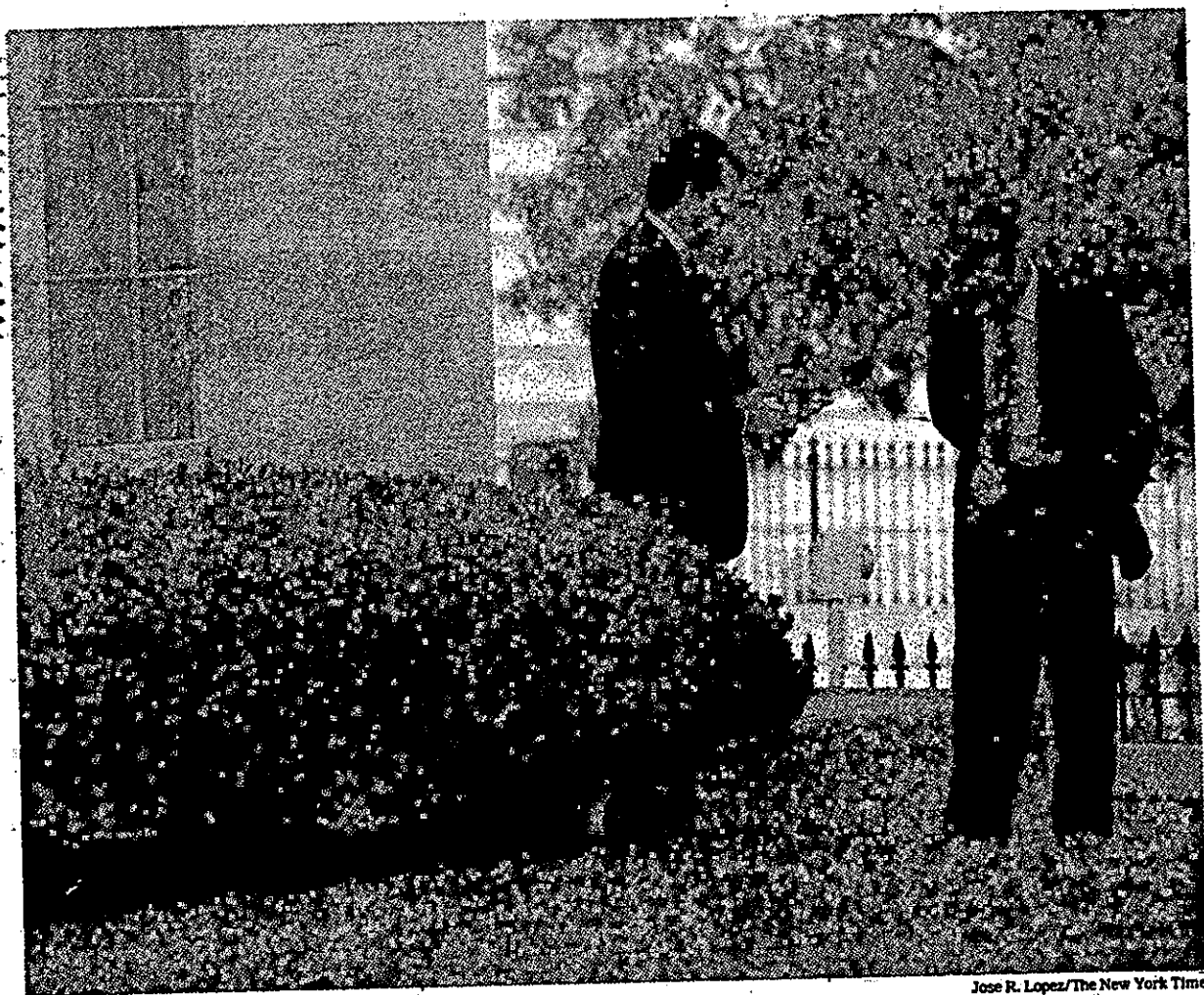
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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

The 1992 Campaign

"They both come to my house. We serve

them a martini. And we have an exchange between the two." **TOM BROKAW**



Jose R. Lopez/The New York Times

Rich Bond, Republican National chairman, left, speaking with Nick Calio, assistant to the President for legislative affairs, after they attended a meeting

yesterday in Washington at which President Bush urged Congress to offer a tax credit to companies that provide family emergency leaves.

The Overview

Secrecy Over TV Ads, or, the Peculiar Logic of Political Combat

By ELIZABETH KOLBERT

Clinton Adds to the Mystery

THE CLINTON CAMPAIGN'S strategy for the upcoming election is shrouded in mystery. The campaign, which has been running for several weeks, has not yet revealed its strategy for the upcoming election. The campaign, which has been running for several weeks, has not yet revealed its strategy for the upcoming election.

ON THE SCREEN, the Clinton campaign's strategy for the upcoming election is shrouded in mystery. The campaign, which has been running for several weeks, has not yet revealed its strategy for the upcoming election.



program and could be hard to tell in Congress. While there are many questions about how the plan would be carried out, it is conceivable that eight million jobs could be created under the right economic conditions.

PRODUCER Clintonable Creative Team

SCRIPT Mr. Clinton

"Government just isn't working for the hardworking families of America. We need fundamental change, not more of the same."

"That's why, I've ordered a comprehensive plan, a road map to rebuild America, create eight million new jobs, invest in education and job training, insure quality, affordable health care for all."

"We're going to ask the rich to pay their fair share so the rest of America can finally get a break. And to get the government back on your side. Read it yourself. Together, we can make America work again."

ACCURACY It is not certain that the plan would create eight million jobs, but it is conceivable that eight million jobs could be created under the right economic conditions.

Political Triage

"Analyzing the media buy is some of the most important strategic information you can get," said Tad Devine, a top aide to Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas in his 1988 Vice-Presidential campaign. "It's easy to say, 'We're running a 50-state campaign.' But there is no lend-lease for television. When you go in and you plunk that money down, you say, 'This is our strategy for winning the Electoral College.'"

Like triage, every Presidential advertising strategy involves a set of grim decisions: this state can be saved, this one cannot. But it is triage with a twist. Each candidate wants to use his own resources most efficiently while at the same time forcing his opponent to squander his.

Such complex calculations can lead to peculiar results, like candidates' broadcasting commercials in states they have no hope of winning. "There's definitely a cat-and-mouse game," one Bush campaign aide said. "If you're going to write off a state but you know that your opponent needs to win that state, you still might put up an attack to get them to waste resources."

In this world of feint and counterfeint, the more expensive a state's media markets are, the more likely that state is to be used for campaign sabotage.

The Bush team, for example, is worried that the Clinton campaign will go on television in Texas, a state with several high-priced markets that falls into the "must win" category for the President.

Spend Here, Lose There?

A few well-timed attacks could be a sign that the Clinton camp really believes it can win Texas and is about to undertake a full-scale assault, or just a ploy to get the President to spend money in the state he calls home.

"That would be a big deal if you make Bush spend a couple of million dollars in Texas, because it might mean you win Michigan," Hank Morris, a Democratic consultant, said.

The Clinton team, meanwhile, has similar fears about California. Earlier

The campaign in its cloak-and-dagger phase.

this summer the President's aides put out the word that they were considering a major advertising push in California, a push that so far, at least, has not occurred.

Most analysts say that at this point the President has little hope of winning California; still, a Bush campaign advertising blitz there could throw the Clinton campaign's plans into disarray, forcing it to take money that had been earmarked for the Midwest and spend it in the expensive West Coast media market.

Daily Calculations

At this point, neither side has arrived at its final strategy; calculations are fluctuating not only in response to the opposition but also in response to new data. Almost every day, top staff members for the Bush and Clinton campaigns receive updated lists of priority states — states that are not yet in their column but perhaps with enough prodigal could be.

These priority states are identified on the basis of elaborate and detailed information about the economy, the

latest polls, the states' election history and, in the case of the Bush campaign, data about what kind of press coverage the President has received lately in the state.

At the same time, battles are still being waged within each campaign over advertising tactics. At Bush headquarters, the fight is between those aides who believe the campaign should tailor different advertising messages to different media markets and those who believe it should spend most of its money sending out a unified message on network television. (On Sunday, the campaign began an advertising campaign on the networks, broadcasting a 60-second commercial on the President's economic plans.)

"There's a big debate going on within this campaign over whether you can run a national campaign or whether it's worthwhile to fight state by state," one Bush campaign aide said.

Positive and Negative

Within the Clinton camp, the debate centers on whether to continue to run positive ads, like the one it put on the air yesterday on Mr. Clinton's economic plan, or to switch to more negative ones that focus on President Bush's record. Mr. Clinton himself was reported last week to be favoring the latter approach but was talked out of it, at least temporarily.

What keeps the spy-vs.-spy game going is the fact that the information is not available in a centralized location. To keep tabs on the other side, the campaigns have to rely on word of mouth from their media buyers or else employ legions of volunteers to check the records of the television stations in every media market in the country.

Last week, when the Clinton campaign put a new commercial about welfare on the air, the Governor's aides assumed that the Bush campaign would know within a few days where it was showing. (Among the states where the commercial was broadcast, according to one Bush aide, are North Carolina and Georgia.) But the campaign was not about to give away information that it could make its opponent work for.

"Why make it easy for them?" Mr. Clinton's media adviser, Mandy Grunwald, said.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Most House Primaries Defy Anti-Incumbent Mood

By ADAM CLYMER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 16 — Though anti-incumbent attitudes are running higher than a decade ago, only two Representatives lost bids for renomination in primaries on Tuesday.

The latest New York Times/CBS News Poll showed that a third of registered voters said they wanted to cast ballots against their incumbent lawmakers in House races, as against a fifth of voters in polls a decade ago.

Nonetheless, the only incumbents who lost their primaries were Representatives Chester G. Atkins of Massachusetts, seeking his fifth term, and Stephen J. Solarz of Brooklyn, seeking his 10th. Both are Democrats.

Mr. Atkins's campaign suffered because of redistricting and because he was found to have written 127 overdrafts at the House bank. Mr. Solarz was responsible for 743 overdrafts, the fifth highest total, and he chose to run in a new district constructed to favor a Hispanic candidate and almost devoid of his longtime constituents.

The other 24 Representatives who faced primary voters in 7 states won, although some barely squeaked through. Many others in those states did not face a primary challenger.

Shift to 1-Party Control

The latest telephone poll, conducted from Sept. 9 through Sept. 13, disclosed one interesting shift in public opinion.

For many years Americans have preferred to have the White House and Congress controlled by different parties as a check on power. But in this poll, 47 percent said it would be better to have the Presidency and Congress in the hands of the same party, while 31 percent favored divided control. As recently as early August, 45 percent pre-

Two veterans lose out to redistricting and the bank scandal.

ferred divided control, while 35 percent disagreed.

The shift may have been caused by President Bush's repeated complaint that he has been unable to get Congress to do what he wants. But it is hardly leading to the political conclusion Mr. Bush would prefer; 45 percent of the 1,006 registered voters surveyed said they would vote for a Democratic House candidate, while 35 percent said they would vote for a Republican.

The margin of sampling error in the poll was plus or minus three percentage points.

But the public's preference for one-party control was thin and dependent on partisan hopes.

The general question was whether it was "better for the country to have a President who comes from the same political party that controls Congress."

But the poll also asked whether the current situation would be improved if the Republicans controlled both branches, then asked if it would be improved if the Democrats controlled both branches. On each of those questions voters were evenly divided, with only 20 percent endorsing control by either party.

Among Tuesday's winners in House primaries, several may still face tough tests in November. They include two Massachusetts Democrats: Nicholas Mavroules, a seven-term Representative who got 47 percent of the vote in a three-candidate field and is under a Federal indictment for extortion; and nine-term Representative Joseph D. Early, who got 37 percent of the vote in a five-way race, even after the House ethics committee listed him as one of members who had written the most overdrafts on an account in the House bank.

Another embattled winner was Representative Gerry Sikorski, a five-term Minnesota Democrat who won 49 percent of the vote to defeat two other candidates after 697 overdrafts and after being criticized in his district for dropping his opposition to abortion.

Florida Poll

Florida Emerges as Major Presidential Arena After Decades of Voting Republican

Floridians Appraise Hurricane Relief

Statewide Dade County

Do you think... responded adequately to Hurricane Andrew... or do you think it could have done much better

The military 85% 12% 92 6

The Red Cross 72 18 80 14

The Federal Government 40 55 49 48

The Florida state government 39 55 38 56

The Federal Emergency Management Agency 31 48 39 45

Private insurance companies 32 34 45 35

Based on 1,112 interviews in Florida, of which 355 were in Dade County, conducted Sept. 10-14 by telephone and in person.

The New York Times

The New York Times | CBS NEWS Poll

How Views Compare In Florida and the U.S.

Florida U.S.

Approve of the way George Bush is handling his job as President 43 42

Disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President 46 48

Approve of the way George Bush has handled the response to Hurricane Andrew 61 64

Disapprove of the way George Bush has handled the response to Hurricane Andrew 33 29

Approve of the way George Bush is handling the economy 20 19

Disapprove of the way George Bush is handling the economy 72 75

If the Presidential election were held today: Would vote for George Bush and Dan Quayle 42 37

Would vote for Bill Clinton and Al Gore 48 49

If the election for U.S. House of Representatives were held today: Would vote for Republican candidate 42 35

Would vote for Democratic candidate 43 45

Say George Bush cares about needs and problems of people like them 50 44

Say Bill Clinton cares about needs and problems of people like them 62 67

Based on telephone interviews by The New York Times and CBS News with 1,112 adults, including 785 registered voters, conducted in Florida from Sept. 10 to Sept. 14 and with 1,329 adults, including 1,006 registered voters, conducted nationwide from Sept. 9 to Sept. 16.

The New York Times

How the 2 Polls Were Conducted

The latest nationwide New York Times/CBS News Poll is based on telephone interviews conducted Sept. 9 through 13 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 to assure that each region of the country was represented in proportion to its population. For each exchange, the telephone numbers were formed by random digits, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted numbers.

In addition, interviews in Florida were conducted Sept. 10 through 14 with 1,112 adults, of whom 785 said they were registered voters. So that residents of Dade County could be compared with the rest of the state, 355 interviews were conducted there; because of hurricane damage to homes and the local telephone system, 270 of these interviews were conducted in person. The results were then adjusted to reflect Dade County's share of Florida's population. Respondents were interviewed in English or Spanish.

The sample of Florida telephone num-

bers was provided by Survey Sampling Inc. of Fairfield, Conn. The in-person interviews were conducted by Belden and Russonello Inc. of Washington in 31 locations in Dade County.

For both polls, within each household one adult was designated by a random procedure to be the respondent for the poll. The results have been weighted to take account of household size and number of telephone lines into the residence and, for the national poll, by region, race, sex, and age. The national poll was also weighted by education.

In theory, in 19 of 20 cases 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 Florida poll it is plus or minus four points.

The potential sampling error for smaller subgroups is larger. For example, for residents of Dade County it is plus or minus five 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.

The 1992 Campaign

"Well, I lost two jobs during the last

two years, and I directly relate that to Mr. Bush." ELIZABETH WHITE

Florida Emerges As a Key Arena In the Campaign

By LARRY ROHTER
Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, Sept. 16 — After voting Republican in every Presidential election but one over the last 40 years, Florida has emerged as an unexpected battleground in the race between President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton, according to new polls.

The latest New York Times/CBS News Poll, taken Thursday through Monday, gave Mr. Clinton a slim advantage in Florida, 48 percent to 42 percent, with 10 percent undecided. Another poll, published today in The Miami Herald, gave Mr. Bush a slight advantage, 48 percent to 41 percent, with 11 percent undecided.

Given the margins of sampling error in the two polls, the state and its 25 electoral votes, viewed by Republican strategists as essential to the President's re-election, are plainly up for grabs.

Rating on Storm Relief

The Times/CBS poll of 1,112 residents of Florida, the nation's fourth most populous state, showed that while a majority approved of Mr. Bush's handling of the crisis after Hurricane Andrew, Mr. Bush received little political benefit from his actions in the storm's aftermath and his decision to support the rebuilding of Homestead Air Force Base at an estimated cost of nearly \$500 million.

Over all, 61 percent of all Florida residents interviewed for the poll, and

Continued on Page A20, Column 1

65 percent of those in Dade County, which bore the brunt of the most expensive natural disaster in American history, said they approved of Mr. Bush's handling of the hurricane crisis. But only 40 percent described the Federal response as "adequate" and 60 percent said the response should have been faster.

The survey indicated that Mr. Bush's high marks for his handling of the hurricane are severely undercut by dissatisfaction with his management of the nation's economy. More than 70 percent of those polled said they disapproved of his handling of economic matters, which most of those polled said ought to be the issue that the Presidential candidates talk about most.

"Well, I lost two jobs during the last two years, and I directly relate that to Mr. Bush," said Elizabeth White, an unemployed 35-year-old Clinton supporter from the Miami suburb of Kendall. "Because the economy is so bad around here, my job was eliminated."

Even supporters of the President faulted him on economic issues. Juan Boitel, a 51-year-old maitre d'hôtel, said he would vote for Mr. Bush "because of the way he has handled international politics, especially the way he took care of Saddam Hussein," but he described the economic situation as "terrible."

"There's no money in the streets anymore," Mr. Boitel said. "The restaurants are empty, the unemployment rate is high and people are not buying cars and clothing like they used to."

Race Is Dead Heat

The Times/CBS News survey is based on 1,112 telephone and face-to-face interviews with adult Florida residents, including 785 who said they were registered voters. The margin of sampling error is plus or minus four percentage points, meaning that the race in Florida is a statistical dead heat. In order to compare the Miami area with the rest of the state, 355 interviews were conducted in Dade County of which 270 were face-to-face interviews, needed because of hurricane damage to many individual homes and to the telephone system.

The Miami Herald poll, which was conducted by Mason-Dixon Opinion Research Inc., was based on telephone interviews with 804 registered voters and has a margin of sampling error of between three and four percentage points. While it showed Mr. Bush with a slight lead, in statistical terms the race was a tossup.

Since President Harry S. Truman carried Florida in 1948, no Democratic Presidential nominee except Jimmy Carter in 1976 has won the state, and Mr. Carter was Governor of neighboring Georgia at the time. The Bush campaign attaches so much importance to keeping Florida in the Republican column that the President's son, Jeb Bush, is chairman of the statewide campaign.

"Intuitively, I think we are ahead and in a close race," Jeb Bush said today when asked to comment on the poll results. "That's my own feeling, but how does one really know? The good news for us is that our Republican base is back and we're doing well in conservative Democratic areas, and that is enough to win in this state."

"Whether we are up or down right now, we have a plan," the younger Mr.

Bush also said. "And that plan is not predicated by what the polls show in September." He added that "it doesn't matter what Bill Clinton does," because "we are going to use phones, mail and door-to-door to turn people out."

It appears, however, that the President will face a race down to the wire, requiring a substantial commitment of time, money and campaign workers to

a state he easily won, by nearly a million votes, in 1988.

Nationwide, according to the Times/CBS News poll, Mr. Clinton has the backing of 49 percent of the voters, compared with the 37 percent who say they support Mr. Bush.

The President's support appears firmer in Florida than nationwide. Only 35 percent of his supporters here say they harbor reservations about Mr. Bush, compared with 44 percent of those responding in the national sample.

"Clinton refused to go to war, and he doesn't know what it means to fire a shot, so I could never vote for him," said Adelfa Braker, 58, who operates a small apparel business out of her home here.

But in a state where questions of foreign policy, particularly toward Cuba, Israel and Haiti, are often indistinguishable from local affairs, Mr. Bush has derived no extra benefit from the tough stance he has taken against President Fidel Castro of Cuba and Haitian boat people. Approval of his handling of foreign affairs is virtually the same here, 58 percent, as in the nation as a whole.

But in some other respects, Florida residents have a more favorable image of Mr. Bush than is the case elsewhere in the country and that gives the Bush campaign a base upon which to build.

Nationwide, 44 percent of registered voters polled said they thought the President "cares about the needs and problems of people" like them. But in Florida, half the respondents said they thought Mr. Bush cared about them and their problems.

For Mr. Clinton, 67 percent of the nationwide sample said they thought he cared about their problems, as against 62 percent in Florida.

Republicans can also find encouragement in voter sentiment in favor of their party's candidates for the House of Representatives in a state whose House delegation will gain four seats, to 23, next January as a result of population gains in the 1990 census. Nationally, voters favor Democrats over Republicans by 45 percent to 35 percent, but here the two parties are in a dead heat.

The poll indicates that blame for the perceived slowness and inefficiency of the hurricane relief effort has fallen not on Mr. Bush, who made two trips to Dade County in the days after the storm, but on the Federal Emergency Management Agency, whose performance was described as adequate by only 31 percent of Floridians. Private insurance companies were also widely criticized, with only 32 percent of those polled saying that the industry's response was adequate.

The military was the Government unit most widely praised for its role after the hurricane, winning the approval of 92 percent of Dade County respondents and 83 percent of those statewide. The performance of Florida's state government, which is controlled by Democrats, was considered to be no more efficient than that of the Federal Government.

Bush Won't Yield, So First Clash Is Off

Continued From Page A1

Mr. Clinton, who has vowed to show more than a debate. The panel approach often said the result seemed more like a news conference than a debate. The critics of the panel approach often said the result seemed more like a news conference than a debate. The critics of the panel approach often said the result seemed more like a news conference than a debate.

FLIZWATER COLLECTS DELAYS

campaigns are very protective and concerned about their prerogatives and the interests of their candidate." Mr. Fitzwater, saying that "some of it is our fault," acknowledged that the Bush campaign has been dragging on responding to the commission's plans for three debates.

But the officials also said that the cancellation of the first clash lessened the intensity of the three-way encounter between the candidates.

been better to have had a somewhat
tort debates with Richard M. Nixon in
1960, once observed that "it might have
been give-and-take."

panels are even more emphatic about the need for a change. Tom Brokaw, the NBC News anchor, was only half kidding in an interview when he suggested a starker format: "They both come to my house. We serve them a

Roone Arledge, the president of ABC News, said in an interview: "There should be someone there to keep time and keep some decorum and steer the discussion on to a different topic if they're only talking about one thing. But this idea of having a group of reporters who try to dream up impossible questions tends to be staved and

are still debating the appropriateness of Bernard Shaw's asking Gov. Michael

"Mr. Arledge said, 'but it turned out to be a very productive question; it showed that Michael Dukakis was a very cold person.'"

Mr. Shaw, who said he worked two days to come up with the question, defended it as relevant because "Bush had really been beating up on Dukakis, calling him the 'ice man.'" But Mr.

Aljuna Melo Del Rio for The New York Times

"Egos are independent-minded," Mr. Shaw said. "When you have five reporters sitting on a log, it's rare that these reporters are going to howl to the discipline of sensible journalism and follow up a competitor's question when that question begs to be followed up." A review of the two Presidential debates in 1988 shows that while the pan-

was asked, "Isn't the phrase 'no new taxes' misleading the voters?" Mr. Bush dismissed the question in his two-minute period and was never pressed with a direct follow-up.

dates. Mr. Brokaw said he does not think he would be a distraction, but he also made clear that he would not mind stepping aside for a lesser-known host.

"Just so long it's not Geraldo or Regis and Kathie Lee or Sally Jessy Raphael," he said. "Then you'd have a problem."

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Bush and Clinton Lob Economic Plans

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 16 — The Presidential race moved into a transcontinental bidding war on the economy and compassion today as President Bush offered a \$500 million tax credit to companies that provide family emergency leaves and Gov. Bill Clinton outlined a \$1.5 billion program to revive the inner cities.

Campaigning at opposite ends of the country — Mr. Bush in the Oval Office and Mr. Clinton in Los Angeles — both candidates tried to focus attention on their economic proposals.

Trying to move beyond questions about his draft status in the Vietnam War, Mr. Clinton traveled to the precincts of Los Angeles that were shattered by rioting last spring and sought to put flesh on the economic proposals he has outlined in recent months in vague terms.

Subsidized Savings Accounts

The Democratic Presidential nominee offered a plan to "move people from welfare to payrolls to businesses," which would include the creation of banks to stimulate investment in urban areas and federally subsidized savings accounts for the urban and rural poor. Mr. Clinton backed up his appeal with a new television commercial that showed him sitting on his desk with an American flag behind him, declaring that "government just isn't working for the hard-working families of America."

Mr. Bush, taking a day off from the stump, remained in Washington, where he put the final touches on what aides said would be a "major economic speech" that he would make on Thursday. His aim, they said, is to draw a point-by-point contrast between his ideas and Mr. Clinton's.

Pursuing the White House's effort to undermine public trust in his opponent, the President "will point out the economic consequences if you follow the Clinton plan — higher taxes, re-regulation among them — and make the case that Americans can't afford to take those risks," said Judy Smith, deputy White House press secretary.

This morning Mr. Bush called Republican lawmakers to the White House to provide a forum for announcing his own family leave plan — to give companies with fewer than 500 employees a tax credit of up to \$1,200 if they give their workers leave for personal and family emergencies.

No Expectation of Passage

Mr. Bush called on Congress to take up his bill immediately. But White House officials acknowledged that the President was sending the measure to Capitol Hill at this late date with no expectation that it would get any real consideration, much less actual passage, before Election Day.

The bill, which the White House was still drafting as Mr. Bush announced it at the hastily scheduled meeting with the Republican lawmakers, was primarily intended to give the President political cover when he vetoes another family leave measure that was passed by Congress last week and would require companies to give their workers unpaid emergency leaves.

Clearly vexed at being cornered on such a politically popular issue as family leave so close to the election, Mr. Bush complained testily about the timing of the family-leave bill that was sent to him by Congress, calling it "very peculiar and highly political."

The Congressional bill would require businesses with more than 50 employees to provide unpaid leave in family emergencies. The President has threatened to veto it, and he accused Congress today of trying to force him into a politically embarrassing position by sending him the bill so close to the election.

Similar Bill Vetoes in 1990

But the White House seemed hard pressed to explain why Mr. Bush was sending up his own bill now. The President vetoed a family leave measure in 1990, saying he opposed the idea of requiring businesses to provide leaves,

A coast-to-coast bidding war on family leave and inner cities.

but he did not offer any alternative bill.

Mr. Bush's proposal would cost \$400 million to \$500 million, the White House said, promising to offer cuts in other programs to avoid increasing the Federal budget deficit.

It would provide credits of up to \$20 a day for as many as 60 days of leave in any 12-month period, or a maximum of \$1,200 per employee, and would cover companies with fewer than 500 workers, the White House said.

Mr. Clinton wasted no time attacking the Bush proposal. He called it part of the President's "continuing pander parade" and said the President "has no idea how he'll pay for it."

Mr. Clinton, who was called the "pander bear" by former Senator Paul E. Tsongas in the Democratic primaries, also has done little to explain how he would pay for his own ambitious economic plans.

Speaking at a school in South-Central Los Angeles to a mostly black and Hispanic audience of about 1,000 today,

Mr. Clinton promised a whole series of programs that his issues director, Bruce Reed, said would cost \$1.5 billion a year. They include these steps:

• Adding 95 federally supported "community development banks" to the five that now exist in poor rural and urban areas, at a cost of \$150 million a year for four years.

• Establishing 1,000 "micro-enterprise programs," which are smaller versions of the community banks where poor people could get loans of \$500 or \$1,000. The cost: \$50 million.

• Creating "individual development accounts" at a cost of \$100 million a year for five years. Families with incomes of up to \$28,000 a year for a family of four would be allowed to deposit up to \$1,800 a year in an account earmarked for education, job training or starting a small business; the Federal Government would match their savings.

• Creating 75 to 125 enterprise zones in urban areas.

There are significant points of convergence between Mr. Clinton's plan and the ideas that Mr. Bush put forward after the Los Angeles riots. Enterprise zones, through which businesses would receive tax breaks and other incentives to locate in blighted neighborhoods, are central to both candidates' economic policy.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

In His Own Words

GOV. BILL CLINTON

In a speech yesterday at the Maxine Waters Employment Preparation Center in South-Central Los Angeles

“Unless we have a growing economy, making capital available to business, and educating and training workers will still not create the jobs. We’ve tried trickle-down for 12 years. I want you to give Al Gore and Bill Clinton a chance to invest, to educate, to cooperate and to compete. We’re going to create millions of new jobs in America, and opportunities, so that people we educate and train, people we give the capacity to go into business, can make a living and bring this economy back.

Don’t you know we could diminish the racial tensions in this community, don’t you know we could diminish the tensions between rich and poor in this community, if everybody thought that if they worked hard and played the rules they could get ahead?

I’m tired of seeing people who do this ground down. And I want them to be lifted up.

I ask you now, if you want the backlog ended in institutions like this and everybody who’s lined up for these education services get them, if you want to see loans being made to people in your neighborhood, if you want to see businesses starting up again, if you want to see the economy going again, if you want to see us creating jobs in the private sector and not just in the government again, vote for Bill Clinton and Al Gore in 48 days and we’ll revitalize this community and all the communities like it. ”

Campaign Trail

Champs, Bush’s Man and Quayle’s Man, Quietly Slug It Out

Nothing brings on power plays at White House like an election year. The latest word out of the East Wing is that one of the smartest political insiders anywhere, James A. Baker, the President’s chief of staff, is going to keep another world-class fighter, William Kristol, the Vice President’s chief of staff, out of the decision-making loop.

But before the main event, some perspective: These two men have more in common than brains and titles: They are both charming, ambitious and powerful without peer.

So what’s the problem? Neither man is talking, but according to some Administration officials, Mr. Baker does not like all the good talk and air time that Mr. Kristol has recently been getting, portraying himself, or being portrayed, as the brains and power behind the new.

improved Dan Quayle. Mr. Baker is no Quayle fan, but he is said to believe that it is unconscionable that Mr. Kristol is promoting himself and overshadowing his boss at this crucial political juncture.

So much for Answer No. 1.

Answer No. 2, from other Administration sources, goes like this: It takes one to know one.

A Plane, for Sure, But the Meaning?

Whether a campaign is gaining momentum can be measured in any number of ways, all inexact.

For years the addition of a second plane to a campaign entourage for a swollen press contingent has been taken as a solid sign of political progress.

This week, the Clinton campaign added a second plane.

Momentum?

Maybe. Maybe not.

In years past, a campaign that was rolling well would have added a second plane weeks ago. On the other hand, this is not a typical year. News organizations have been hit hard by the recession, and not in recent memory have there been so few reporters out on the trail.

Kernels of Truth From Campaign Life

By his own admission, Gov. Bill Clinton has been running for office most of his life, whether for class president or President of the United States. So it would follow that he has accumulated a lot of wisdom about politicking and has concluded that

there are certain political verities.

Late the other night, as he winged wearily toward still another campaign appearance, he stopped looking ahead for a moment and turned reflective.

Herewith, verbatim, Bill Clinton’s “Laws of Politics:”

- 1) Always be introduced by someone you’ve appointed to high office.
- 2) When you’re starting to have a good time, you’re supposed to be someplace else.
- 3) There is no such thing as enough money.
- 4) If someone tells you it’s not a money problem, it’s someone else’s problem.
- 5) When someone tells you it’s not personal, they’re fixing to stick it to you.
- 6) Nearly everyone will lie to you given the right circumstances.

B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.

First TV Debate Canceled as Bush Sticks to Objections Over Format

By RICHARD L. BERKE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 16 — The bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates today canceled the first televised debate, scheduled for Tuesday, after President Bush refused to accept the commission's proposal that he and Gov. Bill Clinton be questioned by a single moderator.

Bush aides have said that the President is best suited for the traditional format, in which three panelists and a moderator ask questions. One moderator, the aides said, would encourage more sparring between the two candidates, offering an opportunity for them to challenge each other directly. They are concerned that that might benefit Mr. Clinton, who they fear would be faster on his feet than the President.

A panel of questioners might also make it easier for Mr. Bush to appear more Presidential, the aides said, since such a format would be less likely to prompt a head-to-head rhetorical fight with Mr. Clinton.

Prefers the Traditional

Months ago, the Clinton campaign accepted the commission's proposal for three televised debates in prime time, each lasting 90 minutes and led by a single moderator. President Bush said last week that he would meet Mr. Clinton at one or more debates this fall, but that "the way we've been doing it in the past" was "very fair."

The commission canceled the debate scheduled for next week in East Lan-

sing, Mich., after the Bush campaign ignored a deadline set by the commission to agree to its ground rules by today. The Bush campaign has said it preferred the approach used in virtually every election since 1960, in which candidates answer questions for a panel while never actually addressing each other.

The commission still has on its schedule two Presidential debates for October, in San Diego and Richmond, and plans one debate between Vice

Continued on Page A21, Column 4

The New York Times

Maneuvering At Funeral For Weiss

Search for Successor Underscores Services

By SAM ROBERTS

Representative Ted Weiss, who died on Monday and was renominated for his House seat by a record margin the next day, was eulogized as the "conscience of Congress" yesterday at a funeral drawing Washington dignitaries, ordinary constituents and a gaggle of fellow politicians — some of whom mixed mourning with maneuvering to succeed him.

Mr. Weiss, who was 64, died of heart failure on the eve of the Democratic primary in which he was seeking renomination for a ninth term. He defeated his lone opponent, Arthur R. Block of the New Alliance Party, with 88 percent of the vote. As a result, Democratic leaders will choose Mr. Weiss's successor.

Consequently, Assemblyman Herman D. Farrell, the Manhattan Democratic leader, was the most sought-after political figure on the street as mourners congregated outside the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue yesterday on West 68th Street. But another pivotal player emerged in the arcane succession process: Raymond B. Harding, the Liberal Party leader, who may be able to hold the Democrats hostage.

Virtually all of the Democratic elected officials seeking Mr. Weiss's seat in the Eighth District on the West Side are running for re-election on the Democratic and Liberal lines and may need Mr. Harding's permission to relinquish the Liberal nomination for their current offices in order to run for Congress.

A candidate cannot appear on the ballot for two offices simultaneously, but there are only three ways a candidate's name can be removed: because of death, a move out of the state, or the acceptance of nomination for another office. It appears that the Democrats cannot nominate a candidate for one office if he or she is still a candidate for another on the Liberal line.

A meeting of the nearly 1,000 Democratic county committeemen from the Eighth District has been called for Wednesday. The Manhattan party organization is supposed to choose a substitute nominee in conjunction with Democrats from the Brooklyn portion of the newly redrawn district.

Tears and Applause

Most of the potential successors attended the service yesterday, which was an emotional blend of humorous reminiscences of a man who represented the west side in the Council and Congress for three decades, with the profession of many of the mourners, applause.

Mr. Weiss, whose flag-draped coffin was carried by a military honor guard, was eulogized as a man of conscience by, among others, his two sons, the singer Harry Belafonte, fellow Representative Charles B. Rangel and Mayor David N. Dinkins, who said that Mr. Weiss "loved America so much that he held our country to very high standards."

Mr. Weiss was sometimes denounced as a liberal ideologue, but he was respected and well-liked even by political foes. "Ted actually believed you could resolve differences and disagreements with rational discourse," House Speaker Thomas S. Foley said. To which his audience, familiar with west side political fights of the past and those to come, laughed.

W YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Bush Administration Called Lax In Investigating Bank Fraud Case

By ELAINE SCIOLINO
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Sept. 16 — The defense lawyer in a multibillion dollar bank fraud case today made public information that he says proves that the Bush Administration, blinded by foreign-policy considerations, never thoroughly investigated the possible complicity of one of Italy's largest banks.

The lawyer, Bobby Lee Cook, said a Government task force assigned to the inquiry failed to follow up evidence suggesting that top Italian executives of Banca Nazionale del Lavoro knew that their tiny Atlanta office was making billions of dollars in loans to Iraq, some of which financed Saddam Hussein's military buildup.

The Government agent who headed the investigation, Arthur J. Wade Jr., conceded under Mr. Cook's fierce cross-examination that during a two-and-a-half year inquiry involving dozens of lawyers and agents, no one ever searched the bank's headquarters in Rome, requested the minutes of the bank's board meetings where all high-level decisions were made or even visited Rome to interview key witnesses here. Instead, Mr. Wade said, Federal investigators in Atlanta were prevented by the Justice Department in Washington from traveling to Rome and Istanbul to pursue leads in the investigation.

In pressing his case in a sentencing hearing this week, Mr. Cook used classified documents from the State Department and the Federal Reserve Bank to show that during the same period, the Italian Government was lobbying Washington to play down the Rome bank's possible involvement in the complicated bank fraud, one of the biggest in American history.

Mr. Cook is trying to refute the Government's contention that his client, Christopher P. Drogoul, the 43-year-old former manager of the bank's Atlanta office, made the loans on his own in exchange for \$2.5 million in bribes.

In defending the Government's investigation, Gerrilyn Brill, the Acting United States Attorney, objected to Mr. Cook's line of questioning, reminding the judge that this was not a trial, but a sentencing hearing.

"The Government is not on trial here," she said. "Our investigation is not on trial here."

She reminded that judge that Mr. Drogoul could have chosen to go to trial to defend himself but instead pled guilty to charges that he defrauded the Rome bank.

But United States District Court Judge Marvin Shoob, who is poised to sentence Mr. Drogoul next week, today gave his first public indication that he may be swayed by Mr. Cook's arguments. He said he might be lenient if the lawyer can convince him that the United States Government and bank officials in Rome knew about the scheme and did nothing about it.

Displeasure With Washington

His position today contrasted with a statement he made in a hearing in July in which he said that he could be lenient only if Mr. Drogoul had fully cooperated with Government investigators.

Such a move by the judge is the strongest signal he could send to Washington registering his displeasure with the way the Government has handled the case. He has expressed disappointment that the Justice Department did not recommend the appointment of an independent prosecutor to investigate possible criminality by the Bush Administration in its conduct of the Iraq policy.

From the time Federal investigators raided the Atlanta bank in August 1989 until Mr. Drogoul, two other local bank employees and four senior Iraqi officials were indicted in February 1991, the scandal was a major irritant in relations between Washington and Rome. The Rome bank is almost wholly owned by the Italian Government

and its top directors are political appointees who enjoy the status of senior Government officials.

When the bank scandal broke, the bank's management was unwilling to let American investigators rifle through records at the bank headquarters, which is coincidentally across the street from the American Embassy on the Via Veneto. Instead, the Italians cooperated with the investigation by allowing bank officials to travel to Atlanta for questioning and to send prosecutors the documents they requested.

The United States Attorney's office in Atlanta asked in January 1990 to travel to Rome and Istanbul to pursue the case, according to its letter to the Justice Department, but "a planned trip to Italy by criminal investigators was put off because of BNL asserted concerns regarding the Italian press," according to a Federal Reserve Bank memo the next month read by Mr. Cook. Another Fed memo that month said the trip to Turkey "was put off at the request" of Dick Thornburgh, who was then Attorney General.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

“This account would not have been imperative had Bill Clinton been completely honest with the American public concerning this matter.”

— Eugene J. Holmes, Col., U.S.A. (Ret.)

Clinton lied, says ROTC chief

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

FAYETTEVILLE, Ark. — The commander of the ROTC department at the University of Arkansas in 1969 said in an affidavit obtained yesterday that Gov. Bill Clinton lied and used political pressure to dodge the Vietnam War draft by falsely leading him to believe he intended to enroll in the ROTC.

Lt. Col. Eugene Holmes, a survivor of the Bataan Death March in World War II and now retired to a home near Fayetteville, said he was pressured by draft board officials in Mr. Clinton's hometown of Hot Springs, Ark., to insure that the Rhodes scholar was enrolled in the program to avoid induction into the Army.

“I believe that he purposely deceived me, using the possibility of joining the ROTC as a ploy to work with the draft board to delay his induction and get a new draft classification,” Col. Holmes said.

“These actions cause me to question both his patriotism and his integrity.”

It was to Col. Holmes that Mr. Clinton wrote in a letter that became an issue in the primary campaign last winter. Until now the colonel, who served 32 years in the Army and was a prisoner of the Japanese after the Philippines fell in 1941, had not commented on Mr. Clinton's several versions of how he avoided military service.

“However, present polls show that there is the imminent danger to our country of a draft dodger becoming the commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of the United States,” he said.

Memorandum for Record

September 7, 1992

Subject: Bill Clinton and the University of Arkansas ROTC Program

There have been many unanswered questions as to the circumstances surrounding Bill Clinton's involvement with the ROTC department at the

I will make no further comments to any of the media regarding this issue.

Eugene J. Holmes
Colonel, U.S.A., Ret.

He concluded his notarized document, dated Sept. 7, with the assertion that it would be his final statement because of his failing health, and that he will take no further questions from reporters.

Clinton campaign officials did not return telephone calls to their Little Rock office last night. Earlier, however, he had said only that he quit the ROTC program after “changing his mind” and that he never intended to

mislead anyone about his draft record.

Col. Holmes said Mr. Clinton came to see him at his Fayetteville home in 1969 to “discuss his desire to enroll” in the University of Arkansas Army ROTC program — where a student remains in school while undergoing military training and commits to service upon graduation.

During a two-hour conversation, Mr. Clinton did not

tell him that he already had received a draft-induction notice or that he had participated in and organized anti-Vietnam War demonstrations. These revelations, given later by Mr. Clinton, would have prevented Mr. Clinton from becoming a military officer, Col. Holmes said.

“Even more significant was his lack of veracity in purposefully defrauding the military by deceiving me, both in concealing his anti-military activities overseas and his counterfeit intentions for later military service.”

Col. Holmes, who was held in a Japanese prison camp until the end of the war in 1945, said his statement would not have been necessary if the Arkansas governor had been “completely honest with the American public.”

Mr. Clinton's draft board in Hot Springs, 250 miles downstate, sought his help in assisting Mr. Clinton after pressure was put on the board by then-Sen. J. William Fulbright, at the time the powerful Democratic chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

“The general message conveyed by the draft board to me was that Sen. Fulbright's office was putting pressure on them and they needed my help,” he said, adding that he got several phone calls from the board. “I then made the necessary arrangements to enroll Mr. Clinton into the ROTC program at the University of Arkansas.”

Mr. Clinton, now 46, worked for Mr. Fulbright in 1968 on the staff of the Foreign Relations Committee. Mr. Clinton was a senior at the time at Georgetown University.

Mr. Fulbright, now 88 and a Washington lawyer, was not available yesterday for comment. He has told reporters

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ers, however, that he is too old to remember what happened more than 20 years ago.

Army records show that Mr. Clinton was not legally eligible for the ROTC program at the time.

Army regulations from 1969, a copy of which was obtained this week by The Times, shows that a student must be enrolled and attending class full time before he can be admitted to an ROTC program.

Col. Holmes — who personally inducted both of his sons into the service during the Vietnam War and whose brother was killed in World War II and is buried at Cambridge, England — said Mr. Clinton had no intention of following through on his agreement to join the ROTC program, or, as promised, to enroll at the University of Arkansas Law School.

He said he told Mr. Clinton that he had to enroll at the university in order to be eligible for the program, but Mr. Clinton never made any attempt to do so. Mr. Clinton later enrolled at Yale University Law School.

According to Selective Service records, Mr. Clinton was classified 1-A (draft eligible) in March 1968. He received two draft induction notices while a student at Oxford University in England. The last one ordered him to report to active duty in July 1969.

It was at this time he negotiated with Col. Holmes to join the ROTC. His draft board, based on his letter of intent to join the University of Arkansas program, gave him a deferment, reclassifying him 1-D.

Henry M. Britt, a Hot Springs lawyer, confirmed this

week that he and others — including Mr. Clinton's uncle, Raymond Clinton — pressured draft board officials to reclassify the young Oxford student. They also obtained a slot for him in a Naval Reserve unit in Hot Springs, although the unit was filled.

Mr. Britt, a former Circuit Court judge, told The Times that he and Raymond Clinton met personally with Mr. Fulbright to urge the senator to make calls to the draft board in Bill Clinton's behalf. He said the senator, an opponent of the Vietnam War, agreed.

Mr. Britt said the lobbying effort began after Bill Clinton asked his uncle for help in avoiding the draft.

"Billy called Raymond for help, saying he was going to be drafted," Mr. Britt said. "Raymond was the patriarch of the Clinton family. It was a logical call.

"We did for Billy what he wanted us to do — keep him in school," he said.

Mr. Britt said he and Raymond Clinton sought to "delay" the draft notice in order to gain reclassification and that they applied pressure wherever they could.

"We had the clout to get it done," he said. "And yes, Billy knew what was going on in his behalf."

Mr. Britt said he never personally talked with Bill Clinton but that Raymond Clinton, his client, did on several occasions during the period.

Cliff Jackson, a former Oxford classmate of Mr. Clinton's, who also came from Arkansas, raised similar questions about the Democratic candidate's integrity on CNN's "Larry King Live" Tuesday night. Mr. Jackson acknowledged that he worked his Republican contacts in state government circles to help Mr. Clinton avoid the draft.

"We all trusted him to serve his country in the ROTC

and enroll in that [University of Arkansas] law school," Mr. Jackson said. "... Then he started trying to wiggle out of it. We pulled back at that point. By 'we,' I mean the Republican side. ...

"But I know from talking with Bill, that Sen. Fulbright's office and Bill himself continued to exert tremendous pressure on poor Col. Holmes to get him to go back to Oxford."

Mr. Jackson admitted that he shared Mr. Clinton's opposition to the Vietnam War but soured on his friend when he backed out of his ROTC promise.

"He used us to kill the draft notice, to avoid reporting on the July 28th induction date, which had already been postponed," Mr. Jackson said. "And he did that by promising to serve his country in the ROTC, number one, to enroll in the law school that fall... and he never enrolled."

"What other young American in this country can get out of a binding legal commitment to six years of service in the ROTC which you have used to kill your draft notice and used to obtain a deferment?" he asked.



Photo by Ruth Fremson/The Washington Times

Bill Clinton in Bedford, N.H., in January.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

The Washington Times

Text of Bill Clinton's letter to ROTC colonel

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

The text of the letter Bill Clinton wrote to Col. Eugene Holmes, director of the ROTC program at the University of Arkansas, on Dec. 3, 1969:

I am sorry to be so long in writing. I know I promised to let you hear from me at least once a month and from now on you will, but I have had to have some time to think about this first letter. Almost daily since my return to England I have thought about writing, about what I want to and ought to say.

First, I want to thank you, not just for saving me from the draft, but for being so kind and decent to me last summer, when I was as low as I have ever been. One thing which made the bond we struck in good faith somewhat palatable to me was my high regard for you personally. In retrospect, it seems that the admiration might not have been mutual had you known a little more about me, about my political beliefs and activities. At least you might have thought me more fit for the draft than for ROTC.

Let me try to explain. As you know, I worked for 10 years in a very minor position on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. I did it for the experience and the salary but also for the opportunity, however small, of working every day against a war I opposed and despised with a depth of feeling I had reserved solely for racism in America before Vietnam. I did not take the matter lightly but studied it carefully, and there was a time when not many people had more information about Vietnam at hand than I did. I have written and spoken and marched against the war. One of the national organizers of the Vietnam Moratorium is a close friend of mine. After I left Arkansas last summer, I went to Washington to work in the national headquarters of the Moratorium, then to England to organize the Americans here for demonstrations Oct. 15 and Nov. 16.

Interlocked with the war is the draft issue, which I did not begin to consider separately until early 1968. At a law seminar at Georgetown I wrote a paper on

the legal arguments for and against allowing, within the Selective Service System, the classification of selective conscientious objection for those opposed to participation in a particular war, not simply to "participation in war in any form."

From my work I came to believe that the draft system itself is illegitimate. No government really rooted in limited, parliamentary democracy should have the power to make its citizens fight and kill and die in a war they may oppose, a war which even possibly may be wrong, a war which, in any case, does not involve immediately the peace and freedom of the nation.

The draft was justified in World War II because the life of the people collectively was at stake. Individuals had to fight, if the nation was to survive, for the lives of their countrymen and their way of life. Vietnam is no such case. Nor was Korea an example where, in my opinion, certain military action was justified but the draft was not, for the reasons stated above.

Because of my opposition to the draft and the war, I am in great sympathy with those who are not willing to fight, kill and maybe die for their country (i.e. the particular policy of a particular government) right or wrong. Two of my friends at Oxford are conscientious objectors. I wrote a letter of recommendation for one of them to his Mississippi draft board, a letter which I am more proud of than anything else I wrote at Oxford last year. One of my roommates is a draft resister who is possibly under indictment and may never be able to go home again. He is one of the bravest, best men I know. His country needs men like him more than they know. That he is considered a criminal is an obscenity.

The decision not to be a resister and the related subsequent decisions were the most difficult of my life. I decided to accept the draft in spite of my beliefs for one reason: to maintain my political viability

within the system. For years I have worked to prepare myself for a political life characterized by both practical political ability and concern for rapid social progress. It is a life I still feel compelled to try to lead. I do not think our system of government is by definition corrupt, however dangerous and inadequate it has been in recent years. (The society may be corrupt, but that is not the same thing, and if that is true, we are all finished anyway.)

When the draft came, despite political convictions, I was having a hard time facing the prospect of fighting a war I had been fighting against, and that is why I contacted you. ROTC was the one way left in which I could possibly, but not positively, avoid both Vietnam and resistance. Going on with my education, even coming back to England, played no part in my decision to join ROTC. I am back here, and would have been at Arkansas Law School because there is nothing else I can do. In fact, I would like to have been able to take a year out perhaps to teach in a small college or work on some community action project and in the process to decide whether to attend law school or graduate school and how to begin putting what I have learned to use.

But the particulars of my personal life are not nearly as important to me as the principles involved. After I signed the ROTC letter of intent, I began to wonder whether the compromise I had made with myself was not more objectionable than the draft would have been, because I had no interest in the ROTC program in itself and all I seemed to have done was to protect myself from physical harm. Also, I began to think I had deceived you, not by lies — there were none — but by failing to tell you all the things I'm writing now. I doubt that I had the mental coherence to articulate them then.

At that time, after we had made our agreement and you had sent my 1-D deferment to my draft

board, the anguish and loss of my self-regard and self-confidence really set in. I hardly slept for weeks and kept going by eating compulsively and reading until exhaustion brought sleep. Finally, on Sept. 12 I stayed up all night writing a letter to the chairman of my draft board, saying basically what is in the preceding paragraph, thanking him for trying to help in a case where he really couldn't, and stating that I couldn't do the ROTC after all and would he please draft me as soon as possible.

I never mailed the letter, but I did carry it on me every day until I got on the plane to return to England. I didn't mail the letter because I didn't see, in the end, how my going in the Army and maybe going to Vietnam would achieve anything except a feeling that I had punished myself and gotten what I deserved. So I came back to England to try to make something of this second year of my Rhodes scholarship.

And that is where I am now, writing to you because you have been good to me and have a right to know what I think and feel. I am writing too in the hope that my telling this one story will help you to understand more clearly how so many fine people have come to find themselves still loving their country but loathing the military, to which you and other good men have devoted years, lifetimes, of the best service you could give. To many of us, it is no longer clear what is service and what is disservice, or if it is clear, the conclusion is likely to be illegal.

Forgive the length of this letter. There was much to say. There is still a lot to be said, but it can wait. Please say hello to Col. Jones for me.

Merry Christmas.

Sincerely,
Bill Clinton

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Judging of judges may end Barr says ABA is too political

By Nancy E. Roman
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Clarence Thomas may be the last Supreme Court nominee the American Bar Association evaluates for the Senate.

Attorney General William P. Barr said yesterday he is seriously considering downgrading or eliminating the ABA's role in evaluating federal judicial candidates, a job it has performed for 40 years.

In a luncheon with reporters and editors at The Washington Times, Mr. Barr described the association as "a mouthpiece" for criminal defense lawyers and the American Civil Liberties Union and as "almost an adjunct of the Democratic Party."

"It's becoming more and more apparent that the rest of the bar doesn't have confidence in the ABA as the sole representative of the legal profession," he said.

Mr. Barr also leveled his harshest criticism to date at independent counsels such as Iran-Contra prosecutor Lawrence Walsh, saying abuses have resulted because they answer to no one.

"I've seen a number of indepen-



Photo by Bert V. Goulet/The Washington Times
'A mouthpiece': Attorney General William P. Barr is critical of the ABA.

dent counsels who have abused the process and have done things that would never be countenanced in the Department of Justice — even to the point where some of the investigative agents were up in arms about how unfair some of the activities were," he said.

Mr. Barr stopped short of criticizing any of the independent counsels by name or citing specific abuses.

The attorney general has been a frequent critic of the independent-counsel law, saying it is a political tool that at a minimum should be expanded to include investigations of Congress. He repeated yesterday, though, that he sees no need for the law, which expires in mid-December but is likely to be extended by con-

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gressional Democrats.

Mr. Barr said yesterday that the ABA's reduced or eliminated role in evaluating judges is chief among the proposed reforms on his desk.

Since 1952, the ABA has rated judicial appointees before nomination to the lower federal courts and after nomination to the Supreme Court. A negative rating kills a lower-court nomination. While it is only one of several factors considered in a Supreme Court nominee, the ABA's recommendation is highly publicized during the confirmation process.

In addition to the association's partisan stance on abortion, gun control and capital punishment over the past decade, Mr. Barr said he has

noticed a bias against prosecutors in judicial evaluations.

"That reflects a bias and a reliance on sort of an old-boy network that I'm not satisfied with at all," he said.

Because of a widespread perception of ABA unfairness, Mr. Barr said, the Justice Department has received requests from "all sorts of other bar associations to get into the process."

"Obviously we can't have dozens of associations involved in the process," he said. "It has to be some sort of process that is representative of the bar. I'm looking at different ways that we might change the process now."

Last month Mr. Barr received a letter from 23 conservative organizations demanding that the ABA be stripped of its role in appointing federal judges.

"By its recent endorsement of the abortion agenda and other actions, the American Bar Association has chosen to be a political interest group rather than a non-political professional association," the letter said. "As such, the ABA has no claim, if it ever did, to the unique and formal role it now plays in the judicial selection process."

ABA President Talbot "Sandy" D'Alemberte has said that the ABA strives to be politically diverse and will remain neutral when evaluating judges. But he strongly defends the organization's right to take a stand on abortion, saying the issue transcends politics.

Despite his reservations about the independent-counsel law, Mr. Barr said, he appointed a special prosecutor to investigate the scandal-plagued House bank because it involved most of the members of the

Democratic-run House and could be perceived by some as a Republican administration prosecuting House Democrats.

But he still argued against an extension of the law.

"Prosecutorial power is the most awesome that the government has," Mr. Barr said. "Part of ensuring that it is not abused is to keep it in the executive branch, within an institution that is responsible for all other prosecution."

"Once you try to fool that system, you have some of the abuses and consequences that we've seen," he said.

Mr. Barr acknowledged, however: "I'm not sure in the current environment how you can persuade people that the Department of Justice is doing a professional job and is applying the law even-handedly. . . .

"Since Watergate there has been a

sustained attack on the system of justice and the attempt to politicize it by — I would say, people on the Hill, particularly liberal Democrats."

To assuage fears of lopsided administration of the law by the Justice Department, Mr. Barr suggested that the court appoint someone to monitor federal investigations and to "be part of the team, and could blow the whistle if at any time they saw decisions being made for political purposes."

"You can guard against abuse without shifting that responsibility to some individual who can go off half-cocked and really engage in an abuse of law," he said.

And how does Mr. Barr intend to put his congressional critics at ease?

"I'm not trying to dissuade critics on the Hill," he said. "I don't care what they say."

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Rebuild Homestead

Homestead Air Force Base celebrates its 50th anniversary this week, but the installation's troops and the surrounding community have little reason to throw a party. Hurricane Andrew blasted the southern Florida base, destroying four-fifths of its buildings and smashing the few planes that were in the shop, unable to be flown to safety. The houses of many servicemen who live with their families around the base were turned into kindling. Things began to look up when President Bush announced that the base would be rebuilt, but now a Senate panel has voted to reject that plan, heaping a new and monumental uncertainty on the southern Floridians trying to rebuild their lives.

Ordinarily, it is not a good idea to make defense policy a subset of welfare policy: We shouldn't build ships and planes that the Pentagon doesn't need just to give jobs to the constituents of powerful congressmen, nor should we keep the doors of superfluous military bases open just to shore up local economies. But even if Homestead were not strategically important — and it is — in this particular case it would make sense to let the defense questions be answered by the social needs.

It makes sense because the United States has committed to rebuilding the region. But rebuilding houses for servicemen who are being reassigned makes no sense. And rebuilding businesses dependent on the spending of soldiers who are leaving makes no sense. If Congress decides not to rebuild Homestead Air Force Base, lawmakers should go the distance and decide not to rebuild the region. Under normal circumstances, communities struggle to adapt to the closing of military bases. In the wake of such a monumental disaster, that struggle can only be lost.

Social needs aside, Homestead is an important part of the nation's defense posture. Fidel Castro still rules Cuba and still poses a threat: If Castro can get the money together, he hopes to buy a nuclear power reactor set from Russia. Rebuilding at Homestead would

not only provide the nearest Air Force base from which to give Castro the Saddam Hussein treatment, if need be, but, more importantly, it would send the message to Cuba that the United States has not forgotten that one of the world's last Marxist holdouts is on its doorstep.

The drug trade poses a more immediate threat, and Homestead had been a key base from which Drug Enforcement Agency planes and helicopters were scrambled. Reconstructing the base provides the opportunity to beef up the drug interdiction efforts in the region: A greater part of the new base can be devoted to keeping the skies and seas of the southeast United States free of smugglers.

What to do with the Homestead Air Force base will be decided not on straight votes by both houses of Congress, but rather in a conference among House and Senate leaders working out the differences between the House emergency supplemental appropriation bill and the Senate version of the bill. The House version was completed before Hurricane Andrew and provided money mostly to finish paying for the war with Iraq. The Senate is drawing up its version this week and will include billions for the Florida, Louisiana and Hawaii hurricane cleanup efforts. It included \$92 million for Homestead, far short of the \$480 million the administration requested.

The vast differences in the two bills, then, mean that everything will be up for grabs as the conference committee takes up the measure. Some lawmakers now saying that rebuilding Homestead Air Force Base is too expensive will undoubtedly be among those who use their position on the conference committee to convert emergency cash into swag for their own constituents.

Whether Congress is serious about saving money will be answered by whether legislators keep the emergency spending bill free of pork, not by whether they sacrifice a base that has military, police and economic utility.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Family leave, family values

A curiosity of this year's presidential campaign is that one of George Bush's opponents hopes the president will be re-elected.

Howard Phillips, who is seeking Mr. Bush's job on the U.S. Taxpayers Party ticket, doesn't expect to win, or even to affect the outcome of this year's race. But his long-term goal is to replace the Republican Party with a more principled conservative party, and he thinks Mr. Bush's second term will finish what the first term has so promisingly begun: the destruction of the GOP.

Mr. Phillips is not being snide. He has soberly concluded that the Republicans can't survive four more years of Mr. Bush's leadership. And so he wants Mr. Bush to beat Bill Clinton. (It's an incidental benefit that this would also spare us four years of Bill and Hillary.)

Think of it. Three years and eight months into his first term, the president is, as straight-faced commentators put it, "searching for a theme." At this point, searching for a theme in the Bush administration is like seeking the common denominator of a set of prime numbers. If one exists at all, it's some crazy fraction.

No — wait — voila! "Family values"! Suddenly we're told that this is the animating passion of the administration. And it does sound nice.

But the Democrats have countered it easily by coming up with a "family leave" bill that would force employers to do what most of them do anyway: give workers time off for family emergencies. Republicans don't like this kind of legislation because it's one more unwarranted federal intrusion into the private sphere, but what can they say? They've been outbid on their chosen ad hoc theme.

The family leave bill is one more example of how a good idea can be a bad law. It's bad because the government has no right to dictate terms of

employment, and more specifically because the federal government has no power to legislate in this area.

Republicans are hopeless in a kind of argument that should be their strength: argument from constitutional principle. The whole idea of the Constitution was, and is, to define the powers of the federal gov-



ernment. The Constitution both empowers and limits. It doesn't create a boundless authority to Do Good, by either liberal or conservative standards.

Nothing in the Constitution authorizes federal action in the general area of "family values." If the government sticks to its enumerated powers, it can neither support nor undermine such values, except in the most indirect ways.

But everyone seems to have forgotten the meaning of enumerated powers. When the Constitution says (mostly in Article I, Section 8) that the federal government has powers A, B, C, D, E and F, it means that all other powers — G through Z — are forbidden to the federal government. This is made explicit by the 10th Amendment, which says that the powers that aren't "delegated" to the federal government are "reserved" to the states and the people.

The 10th Amendment, which is now ignored, should have been superfluous. Common sense tells you that a list limits. If we list the powers we choose to delegate to one level of government, it follows that these are the only powers it may exercise.

The corruption of American government today lies in the oblivion into which this simple, essential understanding has fallen. Both parties and nearly all political commentators now take it for granted that government can do just about anything it wants to.

Constitutional illiteracy is so prevalent that it isn't even thought of as a problem. And so we get into heated, inane debates over what the government should do about amorphous things like "family values."

How do you correct such a total decay of a political culture? Maybe you can't. The only measure I can suggest is to amend the Constitution numerically: Just reverse the order of the Bill of Rights, so that the 10th Amendment would become the First. That might force people to read it.

One thing could lead to another, and a few brainy citizens might actually start reflecting on what it means for powers to be "enumerated," "delegated," "reserved" and "prohibited." In time the logic of the Constitution might penetrate the crania of a few of our elected officials, and even the Supreme Court.

But let's not get carried away by hopeful fantasies. For now it's best to remember my favorite maxim: The U.S. Constitution poses no serious threat to our form of government.

Joseph Sobran, critic-at-large for National Review, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

AND CLINE

Bush's clear signal with F-16 sale

More than 1.1 billion people in China, one-fifth of the whole world's population, still subscribe to the views of Chinese communism. In fact, the Chinese are not very much interested in ideology. They want political stability and public order, as the emperors and their successors, like Mao Tse-tung and Deng Xiaoping, have for 4,000 years.

An extraordinary event occurred in August 1991 when Russian communism collapsed. Since then, Boris Yeltsin, the only elected president of the Russian Federation in Moscow, has tried to create a free-market economy and to manage a reasonably humane democratic process. There are a lot of old-guard communist ideologues who want to get back into power and are fencing and fighting against Mr. Yeltsin. If they succeed, they may return to a firm dictatorship, not necessarily, a communist regime. History is not clear what will happen to the Russian people.

In the meantime, the worst issue for American foreign policy is com-

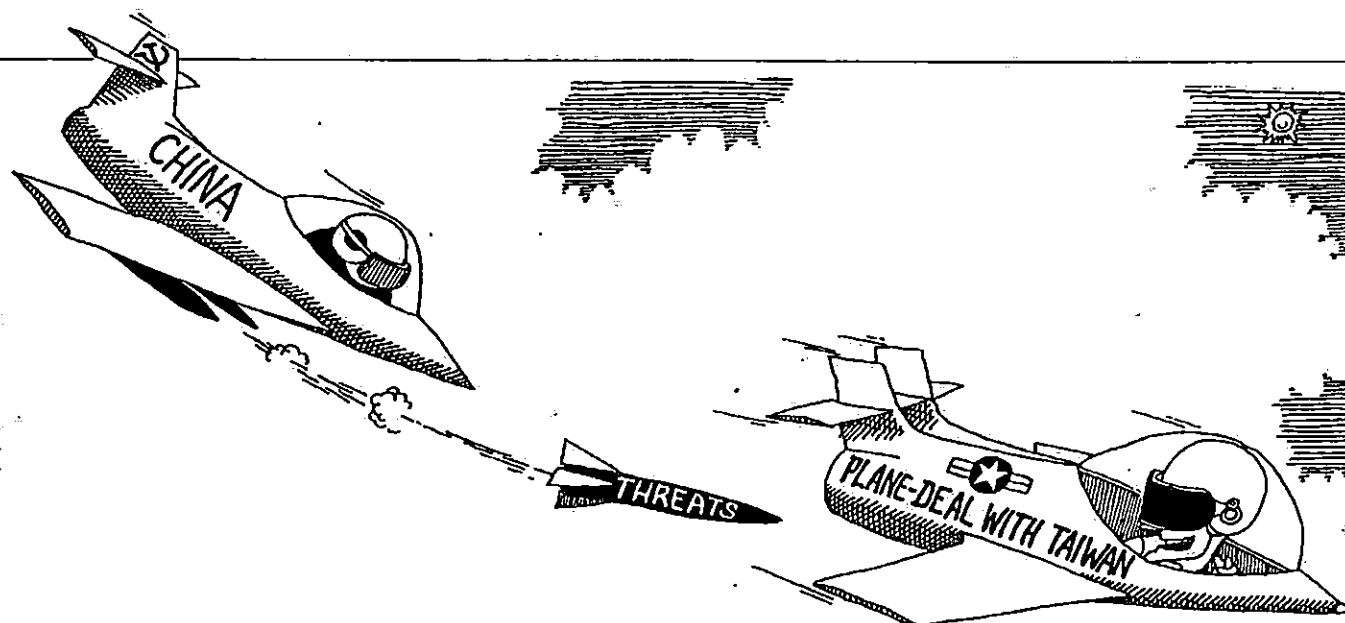
munist China's determination to manage its own affairs in its own way. We see that mainland China is banding together with North Korea, Vietnam, and Laos. Even Cuba under Fidel Castro is keeping his dictatorship alive.

Remarkably, the South Koreans, after working with the Chinese on Taiwan for decades, have established diplomatic relations with Beijing, cutting off relations with Taipei.

In a powerful conglomerate of East Asia states, mainland China is at the center — the Central Kingdom. The concept of democracy that was briefly evident in the student demonstrations in Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989, has now faded away.

Only a few weeks ago, when I visited Taipei, nearly every government official there told me that the communist Chinese are determined to damage Taiwan economically in order to permit them to take control of political power on the island. They still hold they have the right to make a military attack on Taiwan, if they choose, to demonstrate that communism is still alive on the mainland as a political system involving naked power.

Only the Republic of China on Taiwan is trying to deal with main-



"AHHH... My 'Most-Favored-Nation' is trying to communicate with me!"

land China to establish some coordination on democratic processes and individual rights.

The United States should be trying to eliminate communist politics as a dictatorial system, and, in particular, to assist those people in the world who do not want dictatorships.

President Bush, in support of Taiwan's defense, has just now made a wise decision to sell 150 F-16s to Taiwan because the Taiwan Rela-

tions Act (TRA) of 1979 is American law. Since Chinese mainlanders are buying modern fighting airplanes from Russia, it was critical for the president to provide security for Taiwan with a comparable proven airplane like the F-16s.

The sale of F-16s is Mr. Bush's latest move to express American strategic purpose. He is a clear-headed foreign affairs expert. He has dealt for four years with interna-

tional issues in an honest and straightforward way. Since everybody thinks the Cold War is over, the journalists and TV artists have bashed the president about domestic economics and jobs. Nevertheless, international economic strength is essential for the well-being of the United States. The democratic process in Taiwan is also an integral part of the U.S. international system.

My generation has seen a lot of international disasters, including World War II, when American strategic purposes were challenged. Most of us older people realize that political leadership is the key point in this election year. Americans must encourage in China democracy and the demise of communism as we did in Russia. When I drop my vote in the ballot box in November, I will vote for George Bush.

Ray S. Cline is chairman of the U.S. Global Strategy Council.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Arkansas police vote to endorse president

By Carleton R. Bryant
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Members of the largest police group in Gov. Bill Clinton's home state say to know their governor is to love President Bush.

Officers of the Fraternal Order of Police Lodge 17 in Little Rock, Ark., voted overwhelmingly Tuesday to endorse Mr. Bush for re-election, even though Mr. Clinton asked for their support just before the vote.

"The vote went over like a tidal wave," said Officer John Gilchrist III, president of the 361-member police organization. "It was a voice vote, and it was nothing close."

Officer Gilchrist said that Mr. Clinton telephoned him before the meeting to find out what the lodge was planning to do. The patrolman said he told the Democratic presidential nominee that the group would discuss endorsing a presidential candidate.

"It was a short conversation, no more than five minutes," Officer Gilchrist said in a telephone interview yesterday. "Clinton said he wanted to express his feelings for as much support from us as he could get. . . ."

"I told him there was a large faction of the lodge already supporting Bush. . . . That was the end of the conversation," he said.

Officer Gilchrist said Mr. Bush won the lodge's support because he "has demonstrated his solid commitment and continued support of . . . law enforcement officers during his presidency."

By contrast, Mr. Clinton has given "negative support" to Arkansas police officers, he said.

The Arkansas police officers' endorsement recalls a similar political coup Mr. Bush scored in his last presidential campaign.

In September 1988, the Boston Police Patrolman's Association announced it was backing Mr. Bush over Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis, forcing the Democratic nominee to scramble for police support outside his home state.

Officer Gilchrist said the Arkansas FOP, as well as the national Fraternal Order of Police, supported Mr. Bush in 1988. He said he wasn't sure of the political composition of his lodge, but added: "There were plenty of Democrats in there pulling for Bush."

Clinton spokesman George Stephanopoulos yesterday issued a statement saying that the National Association of Police Organizations, the Combined Law Enforcement Associations of Texas and the International Union of Police Associations were supporting Mr. Clinton for president.

• This article is based in part on wire service reports.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Barr charges states to 'toughen up' laws

By Nancy E. Roman
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Although violent crime is on the rise — up 500 percent in the last 30 years — the vast majority of predatory crimes are committed by a small group of repeat offenders, Attorney General William P. Barr said yesterday.

"The real story shouldn't surprise us: Out of this very brutal car-

jacking in Maryland is the fact — and I knew it as soon as I heard there was a carjacking — I said this guy obviously has a prior record, which he does," Mr. Barr said. "Sure enough, this guy was out on bail. That's a preventable crime that should never have happened."

Mr. Barr told editors and reporters of The Washington Times that states need to "toughen up" their legal systems so that jail terms get

served. He pointed to states like Florida and Texas, where violent crimes are soaring and only 15 to 18 percent of each jail sentence is served.

But Mr. Barr said the ultimate solution will have to be a more fundamental one, and added that Vice President Dan Quayle has been "right on the money," in attributing social ills to the breakdown of the family.

"Kids who grow up in families that are dysfunctional, without fathers or moral guidance, are disproportionately likely to become involved in crime," he said. "That's the No. 1 corollary."

"Unfortunately, the cultural elite — large segments of the media — are attempting to convince people that this is outside the bounds of politics," he said.

But Mr. Barr doggedly main-

tained that nearly all our problems — including economic ones — "come down to so-called values — that are the moral standards of society."

He said President Bush has increased justice department funding by 70 percent, doubled federal prison capacity and tripled federal crime assistance to the states.

But the problems are more fundamental.

"The great experiment in our nation was precisely whether or not the people could maintain the self-discipline and virtue necessary to have a free republic," he said.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Royal family values

Debate over family values has prompted scrutiny far afield. David Sarasohn of the Portland Oregonian, for instance, was concerned about developments in the United Kingdom.

"The president has complained about the family image created by the Simpsons, but the Windsors make the Simpsons look like the Waltons," Mr. Sarasohn wrote.

"To start with, the British royal family — like so many of the families the Republicans worry about — is a female-headed household.

"And even though Elizabeth II has a personal fortune of several billion dollars, she receives a tax-free government allowance of \$7 million a year. This is probably what Ronald Reagan meant when he complained about welfare queens."

Arkansas Holocaust

Human Events, the conservative weekly, reports that a special summer school founded by Bill Clinton for Arkansas' top high school students is an indoctrination center for political correctness.

Although Mr. Clinton is not involved in the day-to-day operation of the school, the newspaper says he is an avid booster and his wife, Hillary, has lectured to the students.

Peter LaBarbera writes that among the school's fringe activities last year was a lesson in "animal liberation" from a representative of a group that compares the chicken harvest to the Holocaust.

Since Tyson Foods Inc., the chicken giant, is Arkansas' largest employer, any "liberators" are going to be busy kids.

Home wrecker Perot

He's back.

Citizen Ross Perot is hitting the television talk shows again, sitting for newspaper interviews, giving the candidates the back of the old

INSIDE THE BELTWAY



Ross Perot, almost a candidate until mid-July, is making familiar noises.

hand and still registering impressively in the polls.

The Wall Street Journal took note of all this editorially yesterday and observed that "the home wrecker of American politics is flirting with the electorate again."

The Journal said if Mr. Perot is serious about re-entering the race, he should get on with it: "Don't wait until late October when a late-hit candidacy would merely wreck the election."

The newspaper went on to add some unfriendly comments about Mr. Perot, but none as unfriendly as this quote from GOP media-master Roger Ailes, which we have

been saving for a moment like this: "If the guy campaigns in insane asylums, he'll get a big vote. The guy's crazy."

Limbaugh watch

Well, WWOR-TV, the New York superstation, managed to get Rush Limbaugh on at 12:30 a.m., as reported here earlier, but all Washington-area viewers got was "Kojak," according to irate Irregulars.

Apologies!

Bob Turner, president of Multimedia Entertainment, distributor of the Limbaugh television show, said yesterday that arrangements are under negotiation with a Washington station to show Rush in the area.

He hopes to have everything resolved by Sept. 28. "It's the only market not cleared in the top 75," Mr. Turner said, "and he [Mr. Limbaugh] is sorely needed there." Beltway Irregulars added a big amen to that.

Czar Jackson?

As Election Day draws closer, speculation becomes more intense: If Mr. Clinton wins, what job does Jesse get?

Democratic political consultant Victor Kamber, co-author of the O'Leary-Kamber Report, publicly took a shot at this engaging question the other day and came up with ... yes ... drug czar.

"The only choice for this position," Mr. Kamber said, speaking of the logic of a Jackson selection.

"Despite the obvious friction between Clinton and Jackson, it's hard to envision anyone more qualified to lead the fight against drugs. ... This position also gives Jackson the

opportunity to show what he can accomplish in government."

Southern discomfort

Several of President Bush's aides accepted Mr. Clinton's invitation to "c'mon down" to his state yesterday and got a hostile reception at a news conference at the Arkansas Capitol.

About 50 Clinton supporters crashed the event, which involved Labor Secretary Lynn Martin; Sam Skinner, the Republican Party's general chairman; and Michael Deland, chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality.

After a news conference in which Mrs. Martin charged that Mr. Clinton "has not lifted Arkansas, he's ... kept it on a treadmill," former GOP Gov. Frank White tried to keep Clinton aide Betsey Wright from responding.

She went right ahead, complaining that it was "disparaging to the people of Arkansas to ignore the progress we've made." Then, with the Clinton supporters in hot pursuit in a van, the Bush people took off to inspect empty buildings in downtown Pine Bluff.

Rhymes with Innuendo

Today's lesson: "praeteritio."

Praeteritio occurs when you are president of the United States and address a convention of National Guardsmen by saying, "I didn't come here to attack him."

Then you lay out the other guy's vulnerabilities by saying something like "There's been a lot of controversy swirling around about service to country, about using influence to avoid the military."

That technique is called praeteritio. Latin for "a passing by," the Rev. Daniel C. O'Connell, a psychology professor and language expert at Georgetown University, told the Associated Press.

"You say it — and you say you're not saying it," said Father O'Connell. "That's the trick, and it works."

— Alan McConagha

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Bush proposes tying tax credits to family leave

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush proposed up to \$500 million in tax-credit subsidies yesterday for companies that grant family or medical leave, making good on a 1988 campaign promise just as the issue threatened to snarl his 1992 re-election bid.

"There's an awful lot of politics at play here, but here's an approach [so that] those that want family leave can do it," said Mr. Bush, who was poised to veto for the second time in his presidency a bill requiring companies with more than 50 employees to grant up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave.

Mr. Bush went on record against mandated family and medical leave benefits in his 1988 presidential campaign and reinforced his position when he vetoed the first bill on June 29, 1990.

But the president has been unable to communicate the reason for his action widely enough to avoid being pummeled politically by accusations that he is hypocritical and anti-family.

"Given a chance to help working families, he's walked away again," Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton said yesterday. "... The American people are tired of being lectured about 'family values' while being made the victims of anti-family policies."

Mr. Clinton portrayed Mr. Bush's proposal to grant employers the tax credits as a "last-minute Band-Aid."

After all regular tax deductions, companies could reduce their tax payment by up to \$1,200 more for each worker who took the full 60 business days of family and medical leave. The credit would amount to 20 percent of the cost — up to \$6,000 — to hire a replacement, continue a worker's benefits or pay partial salaries during a leave.

The Bush bill would cover employer-approved absences for the birth of a child, for caring for a newly placed adopted or foster child or a seriously ill child, parent or spouse, or during a worker's disabling illness.

Congress' conference bill, requiring companies to grant unpaid leave in similar circumstances, received final passage Friday, although the House and Senate versions were passed almost a year ago.

"The leadership chose to hold them, obviously to a time when they could use them to political advantage," White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said.

Senate Minority Whip Alan K. Simpson put the politics of the issue most colorfully, saying the voters would understand the politics of events between now and Election Day.

"There won't be a thing sent to this place that isn't intended to blow up under George Bush. ... Everything that they're sending him, somewhere in the middle of it is a wrapped hunk of cyanide in the meat and that's what he's not going to go for. No dog would swallow that,"



President Bush and Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole discuss the family-leave issue with Republican legislators yesterday at the White House.

the Wyoming Republican said as he left the White House.

Mr. Bush's bill would apply to companies with fewer than 500 employees — more than 90 percent of all U.S. businesses.

"The Democrat bill covers only businesses with more than 50 employees, leaving out the millions of employees of small firms, those the least likely to get leave," Mr. Bush said at a Cabinet Room meeting with 18 Republican members of the House and Senate.

"Those who are opposed to mandates — as I am and many, many other people are across this country — they can support this very nicely,"

he said.

Most of the 200,000 largest firms already have leave policies and need no inducements, Mr. Fitzwater said.

The veto of the congressional bill seemed certain to be sustained, since the final vote in the House was 241-161 with 32 absentees, far short of the two-thirds majority needed to override. The vote was not absolutely party-line, with 37 Republicans voting for and 42 Democrats voting against.

The bill requires all employers with more than 50 employees to grant up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave to care for a new child or deal with medical emergencies each year.

The Washington Post

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U.S. Denies French Bid On AIDS Test Royalties

Pasteur Institute Sought Much Larger Share

By Malcolm Gladwell
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Bush administration yesterday formally declined a request by French scientists for a substantially larger share of the royalties from the AIDS blood test.

Under terms of an agreement reached in 1987, scientists at the National Institutes of Health and French researchers at the Paris-based Pasteur Institute—who collaborated on the discovery of AIDS and the development of a blood test to detect it—agreed to divide all proceeds from the sale of the test kit.

At present, NIH and Pasteur each keep 20 percent of their share of the income, give a portion to the World AIDS Foundation, and place the rest, about \$5 million a year, in a royalty pool that is split equally between the two countries.

But over the past year, lawyers for Pasteur have lobbied lawmakers and the Department of Health and Human Services to change the agreement. The French want all the proceeds in the royalty pool. That would leave the United States with less than \$2 million of the approximately \$8 million in royalties generated by the AIDS test every year.

The French say the change is warranted because of the fact that the American researchers used a strain of the AIDS virus sent to them by Pasteur to develop the U.S. version of the blood test.

Yesterday, at the annual meeting of the international foundation set up by the French and U.S. governments to administer royalties from the test, the French proposed to change the terms of the 1987 agreement in their favor. For that motion to pass, it would have to be supported by at least six of the eight trustees of the foundation, four of whom are appointed by the French and four of whom are senior U.S. health officials: National Institutes of Health Director Bernadine P. Healy, AIDS scientist Robert C. Gallo, Public Health Service Director James O. Mason and Department of Health and Human Services general counsel Michael J. Astrue.

Yesterday the four U.S. trustees voted against the French request.

HHS officials had no comment on why the American delegation voted as it did. However, earlier this year

a legal analysis of the French position commissioned by the Department of Health and Human Services rejected each of the French claims and said there was no basis under patent law for the Americans to surrender their share of the royalties because of other U.S. contributions to the development of the test.

Maxime Schwartz, director of the Pasteur Institute, said he was disappointed by the vote.

"This was really a way for the U.S. government to put an end to this controversy which has been going on for seven years, to do the right thing," he said. "[But] I still hope that this is not the final answer. We hope that the door is not closed."

Schwartz said that the Pasteur Institute would continue its lobbying efforts and would consider legal action if the U.S. government did not respond to its request.

CORRECTIONS

The name of Nydia M. Velazquez, who won New York's 12th Congressional District Democratic primary, was misspelled in an article and a chart yesterday.

A chart in some late editions yesterday incorrectly listed Rep. Gerry Sikorski (D-Minn.) as one of the House members defeated in primary elections.

The author of a federal appeals court opinion that cited *the law* was misidentified yesterday. The opinion was written by U.S. Circuit Judge James L. Buckley.

A chart of National Merit Scholarship semifinalists yesterday omitted two schools: Oakcrest School in the District and Flint Hill School in Oakton. Each had one semifinalist.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

GOP's Arkansas Foray Retreats in Confusion

By David Maraniss
Washington Post Staff Writer

PINE BLUFF, Ark., Sept. 16—Lewis Yancy was to be Exhibit A in the Republican case that Bill Clinton is the "failed governor of a small state."

He sat at the end of a card table, a battery of microphones in front of him, and the Three Amigos of a visiting Republican delegation at his side—Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, Republican National Committee General Chairman Samuel K. Skinner and Council on Environmental Quality Director Michael Deland.

The national figures shook their heads, smiled and furrowed their brows at appropriate times as Yancy recounted instances when local banks had turned him down for loans because they said he had insufficient collateral. But he never mentioned any problems with Clinton. As a reporter tried to direct a question at Yancy, Clinton's Arkansas archenemy Sheffield Nelson abruptly shut down the meeting.

The traveling party moved on. Yancy, who was recruited from his furniture store this morning by a local minister and "some gentlemen from Washington," was left with no idea why he had been selected for the news conference. "As far as I know, he's been a good governor," Yancy said of Clinton. "As far as I know, he's done exactly what he said he would do. Most of his promises, he has fulfilled them. I don't think we've had a better governor."

"Every time," Yancy said proudly when asked whether he had voted for Clinton. And he said he would vote for him again in November.

And so it went throughout the opening hours of the much-touted Republican barnstorming tour through Arkansas. Whatever points were to be made about Clinton's governance of this impoverished state were overshadowed by a series of uncharacteristic planning blunders by a party that was once thought to be unsurpassed in the techniques of modern American campaigns.

From the start there was evidence that the Republicans did not fully appreciate what they were in for when they accepted Clinton's invitation to critics to "come on down" and win Arkansas for themselves.

At the Capitol in Little Rock, they were greeted by perhaps five or 10 Bush-Quayle supporters and five times as many Clinton backers, led by the governor's chief defender, longtime aide Betsey Wright.

As Nelson, who ran against Clinton in a bitter 1990 gubernatorial match, reached the part of his opening remarks where he was to present Martin, Skinner and Deland by name, he blanked. "We've got, let's see, secretary, let's see..." and in a moment of stage fright he scrambled for a piece of paper that had their names.

Martin stood in front of a chart that listed 29 statistical categories involving economics, health care, children, crime, environment and

See ARKANSAS, A13, Col. 1

Republican Invasion Trips Over Blunders

ARKANSAS, From A12

education where the Republicans claim Clinton's Arkansas lags behind most of the country.

There were misses as well as hits on the chart. It claimed, for instance, that the number of welfare recipients had increased at double the national rate during Clinton's tenure, when in fact Arkansas's rate was well under the national average. It claimed that the unemployment rate in Arkansas was above the national average in every year but one since 1983, but failed to note that the rate has declined steadily this year and that Martin's labor department listed Arkansas as the state with the most job growth for the third straight month.

Other statistics were on the mark. Arkansas is 42nd in per capita toxic chemical releases to air, 43rd in per capita spending on air pollution, fifth in births to single teens, 47th in per capita income, fourth in the percentage of residents who "are happy and satisfied," said such statistics show that Clinton's "flowing, honey promises... have no reality."

But when Martin and her cohorts finished, the scene took a strange turn that set the mood for the rest of the day. From the wings of the stage Clinton aide Wright rushed to the microphone and sarcastically welcomed the out-of-town visitors. Frank White, the former GOP governor who defeated Clinton in

1980, lumbered in front of her and tried to shoo her away before finally relinquishing the microphone.

The Republicans then rushed to their bus, and Wright and the Clinton crowd followed them in two vans down the highway to Pine Bluff. When the caravan of Bush and Clinton agents reached its destination, Wright bounded from her van and acted as if she were in charge.

"Secretary Martin, please meet Mayor Robinson," Wright said, introducing the labor chief to Pine Bluff Mayor Carolyn Robinson, a Clinton supporter who was there along with 75 other townfolk wearing "Pine Bluff is MY town" buttons. The largest sign directly over Martin's head for the entire Pine Bluff session read: "GOP—Quit Lying About Arkansas."

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Michael Kinsley

Most Audacious Fiction

Of all George Bush's campaign fabrications, possibly the most audacious and certainly the most central is his conceit that the Democratic Congress forced him to break his no-new-taxes pledge. This contention raises Bush's favorite issue—"trust"—in two ways.

First, the assertion itself is dishonest, and the dishonesty is especially striking since it concerns events that occurred on the public stage just two years ago. The cynicism is reminiscent of Groucho's famous line, "Who are you going to believe: me or your own two eyes?"

Second, Congress-forced-me is Bush's only defense against the charge that he is already a proven betrayer of the voters' trust. What Bush actually said in 1988 was, "Congress will push me to raise taxes, and I'll say no, and they'll push, and I'll say no, and they'll push again, and I'll say to them, 'Read my . . .'" etc. etc. etc. So, even if true, Congress-forced-me isn't much of a defense. But it's all Bush has to clothe his nakedness on this subject.

And unlike Bush's other fictions, this one goes to the main issue in the campaign: his economic stewardship. Bush surrogates like Dan Quayle have taken to blaming the recession on that 1990 tax increase. The contention is absurd (the increase was about \$25 billion a year in a \$6 trillion economy), but if that's their line, responsibility for the tax increase is crucial. Let's go to the videotape.

In January 1990, Bush proposed his fiscal 1991 budget. It called for \$1.2 trillion in spending and claimed a deficit of \$65 billion. This was based on wildly optimistic economic assumptions. Hilariously, in light of the subsequent fuss, even this original Bush budget called for \$14 billion in new taxes and fees. Later on, the House and Senate Budget committees approved their own budgets, using Bush's economic assumptions. Congress's total proposed spending was exactly the same as Bush's—\$1.2 trillion.

But in 1990 the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law was still in effect. That law called for automatic across-the-board spending cuts if the projected deficit was above a certain amount. The ceiling for fiscal '91 (beginning Oct. 1, 1990) was \$74 billion. In the early months of 1990, it became clear

that Bush's projected \$65 billion deficit was a fantasy and that meeting the Gramm-Rudman target might require across-the-board cuts of as much as \$100 billion.

At this point, George Bush had four choices. He could have allowed the Gramm-Rudman chopper to go to work. He could have proposed \$100 billion in additional spending cuts to meet the Gramm-Rudman targets. He could have called for repeal of Gramm-Rudman and abandoned all pretense at deficit cutting. Or he could have done what he did on May 6, a Sunday, and called congressional leaders to what became grandly known as the Budget Summit. The summiters quickly agreed that pruning the deficit by \$50 billion in 1991 (and \$500 billion over five years) would be enough to hide their shame at abandoning Gramm-Rudman. The question was how.

The Democrats were the occupiers. Or not too stupid. It was clear Bush wanted it to appear that they had "forced" him to raise taxes. They never did "make him beg" for it, as urged in this column. But they did engage in an elaborate

ritual of "After you, Alphonse." At first they settled for a mantra of "No preconditions." But after some indiscreet remarks by Chief of Staff John Sununu, they insisted on an explicit statement from Bush that a tax increase would be necessary. Bush produced one June 26. (Dan Quayle has claimed repeatedly that—in some weird bending of the fourth dimension—this June 26 concession was necessitated by Saddam Hussein's Aug. 2 invasion of Kuwait.)

The Democratic insistence that Bush formally renounce his no-new-taxes pledge was not a quid pro quo for spending cuts, as Bush likes to maintain. It was the price of agreeing to the tax increases themselves. The key point is that Bush never proposed spending cuts that would have made a tax increase unnecessary. That, and only that, "forced" him into a tax increase.

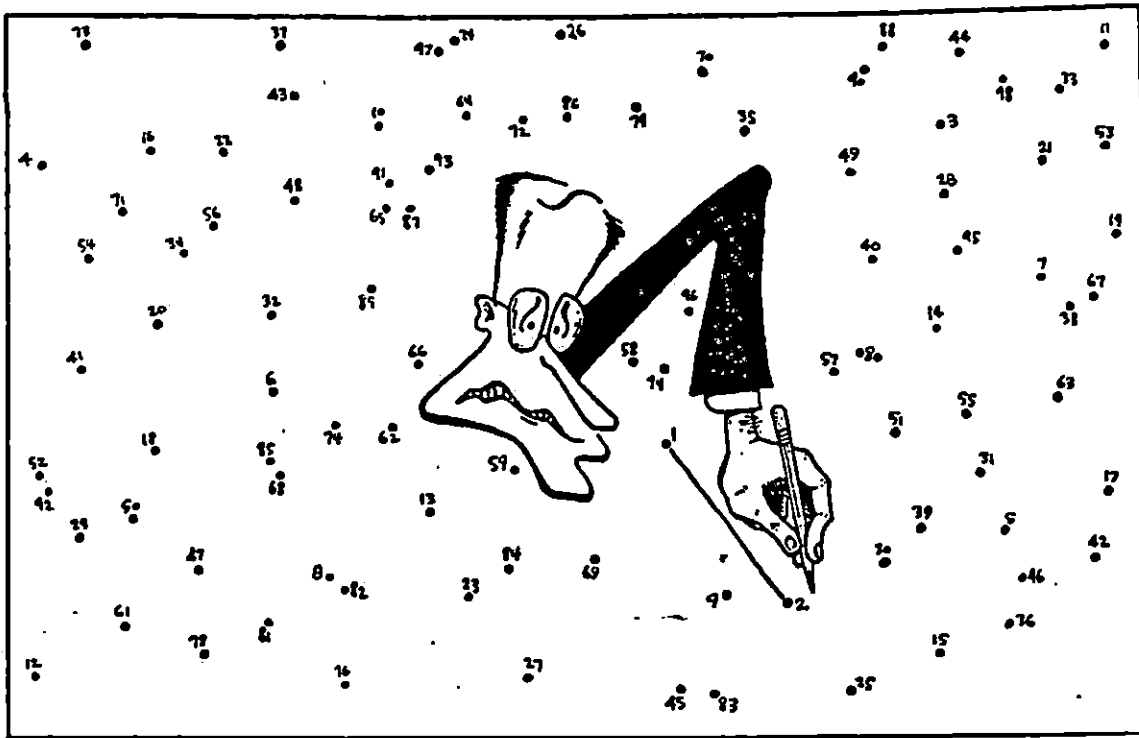
During the negotiations, Bush preened about his willingness to "Take the heat. Take the hit. . . . You have to govern. You have to lead." And he didn't merely accept the final deal—he knocked heads to get it through

Congress. When he signed it Nov. 5, Bush praised it as "an important measure for ensuring America's long-term economic growth." He did not mention that he thought it would cause a recession. Two days later, he was saying he had "serious regrets" about being "forced" into the deal by Congress.

This history casts doubt on the wishful thinking of some of my journalistic betters, such as George Will and David Broder, that there is a serious philosophical dispute at the heart of the current election campaign.

The notion in this case is that Bill Clinton represents the philosophy of using the government to promote economic prosperity while George Bush represents the philosophy of keeping government out of the way. Bill Clinton certainly has a reasonably coherent argument about how to use the government in new ways, and George Bush certainly talks about smaller government and lower taxes. The trouble with the theory is that when George Bush actually had a chance to choose smaller government and lower taxes, he chose the opposite. And no one forced him to.

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BY AUTH

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Richard Harwood

Was It Something I Ate?

I had a dream:

On Wednesday, Sept. 30, Peter Jennings began the evening news broadcast on ABC with an editorial endorsement of Bill Clinton. The following night, a CBS endorsement of George Bush was read by Dan Rather. Tom Brokaw responded on Friday night for NBC and its parent company, General Electric, urging the election of the Libertarian candidate, Andre Marrou. That same night on CNN, Jane Fonda, sitting in for Bernard Shaw, anointed Ross Perot. PBS, through Robert MacNeil and Jim Lehrer, declared for Lenora Fulani of the National Alliance. Each network drew a line in the dust: There would be no equal time for the candidates they opposed.

Inspired by the daring and novelty of it all, thousands of radio and television stations, cable systems and ham radio operators filled the broadcast spectrum with political declarations. In the ensuing uproar, little notice was taken of the shocking decision by the New York Times (and its 26 subsidiary newspapers) to urge the reelection of the Bushes on the strength of Dan Quayle's performance in a debate with Tipper Gore.

But on Monday, Oct. 5, a series of occurrences drew the nation's attention to the "print press." Two Canadian conglomerates—Thomson Newspapers and American Publishing Co., a subsidiary of Hollinger Inc.—made a joint announcement that all of their publications would support the Bush-Quayle ticket out of gratitude for the new North American trade agreement. Between them they owned 435 daily and weekly newspapers in the United States. Outraged by this "foreign interference," the Gannett Co., owner of 82 dailies including USA Today, committed all of its newspapers to Clinton. The Knight-Ridder chain, with 28 dailies, followed suit. But the Hearst and Scripps-Howard chains threw in with the Canadians.

Throughout the week, Marlin Fitzwater at the White House turned away all questions about "media bias." The Democratic and Republican national committees,

their candidates and strategists, scheduled meetings at the Greenbriar Hotel. On Friday, Oct. 9, Congress returned to Washington for a special session on what was being called a "crisis of freedom." It was characterized by mass apoplexy. Local broadcasters, converts to the Clean-Up-the-Mess Movement, had urged in editorials, news programs and talk shows the defeat of hundreds of incumbents. They included the burly chairman of the House Commerce and Energy Committee, John Dingell, an implacable opponent of editorial freedom for the radio and TV industries.

He demanded that the Federal Communications Commission take immediate steps to revoke the licenses of every station that had violated Section 315 of the 1934 Communications Act. No broadcaster, under the rules laid down in 315, may endorse a politician without offering equal time to opposition candidates. Broadcasters are also prohibited from opposing a candidate without offering equal time for a response. Virtually all broadcasters, caught up in the ecstasy of the hour, had violated both rules with abandon.

In the Senate, Jesse Helms recounted for the galleries the crimes of his old nemesis, PBS, and its "no-account hound dogs," MacNeil and Lehrer. They had the temerity to "pee on this body," as Helms put it, by ignoring Congress and Section 399 of the PBS statute that demands "objective and balanced" news and commentary and prohibits the endorsement of political candidates. Joined by others of the anti-PBS caucus, he suggested an appropriate remedy: revocation of the PBS charter and dismemberment of National Public Radio, whose member stations, acting in concert, had urged write-in votes for a Ralph Nader-Paul Ehrlich ticket.

Antitrusters in the House and Senate were outraged at the "newspaper cartel" for conspiring to commit a far more serious crime than price-fixing. The big news conglomerates, controlled in New York by the international money men, are engaged, Jack Brooks of Texas insisted,

in "brain-fixin'." He was supported by House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, who declared: "If the Canadians can get away with it, so can the Japanese." More than a dozen bipartisan bills were introduced over the next 72 hours to break up the networks and the chains, outlaw virgin newsprint, apply the child labor laws to newspaper carriers and impose a 30 percent tax on all advertising.

In the second week of the special session, hundreds of unemployed editors, columnists and reporters demonstrated at the Capitol. They called themselves the "New Boat People," refugees from ruthless corporations that failed to consult them on the presidential endorsement and threw them into the street when they protested. The demonstrations were abandoned after a week. By then it was obvious no member of Congress would support their plea for federal disaster relief. House Speaker Thomas Foley, with what appeared to be a smirk, referred them to the loan office of the House Bank.

Neither the House nor the Senate—gridlocked as usual—was able to enact any of the "media reform" bills proposed by Helms, Brooks, Gephardt and others before the new administration took office. The FCC was immobilized, too, by the constitutional arguments that had preoccupied it for many decades.

Soon after President Nader, Vice President Ehrlich and a Congress controlled by write-in candidates of the Green Party assumed office, there was talk of a new agency: a Department for Media Affairs. I woke up just as the new president was saying to a roomful of nervous news executives led by "Pinch" Sulzberg and Donald Graham: "As you know, I'm a free market man, myself. However . . ."

What a crazy dream. Can you imagine broadcasters testing their constitutional rights? Or big corporations trying to influence an election? Or politicians who they would try to get even?

It must have been the jalapenos. Or something I inhaled.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

THE COUNTER-campaign began even before the ink was dry on the Republican Party platform. That document took an extremely hard line on abortion in support of a constitutional amendment that would ban abortion even in the cases of rape and incest. It's the kind of all-or-nothing approach that has few followers outside the small circle of platform writers. But softening sentiments were hinted at—a kind of institutional wink—designed to assure less extreme voters that the Bush administration, while forced by political circumstances to accept this language, wouldn't really be party to implementing it. Barbara Bush admitted that she thinks abortion is a private matter that doesn't belong in the political arena or in the platform. Both the president and the vice president offered comforting words for hypothetical relatives who might ignore the kind of law the platform seeks and have an abortion anyway.

But these signals were subtle next to the statements made last weekend by Vice President Quayle. On ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley," he appeared to reverse every position taken by a Republican president since 1981. How? By endorsing the Pennsylvania statute that was the subject of the Supreme Court's most recent abortion ruling. That law, you will recall, does not ban abortion at all. It simply imposes a couple of restrictions—a 24-hour waiting period, instruction on alternatives, parental consent with a judicial bypass and some record-keeping requirements.

Is it possible that the vice president so badly misunderstands the Pennsylvania law that he does not perceive its fundamental incompatibility with the Republican platform? If that were so, the White House surely would have issued some kind of retraction or reinterpretation of the exchange by now. Instead, it appears that Mr. Quayle wants voters to believe that in spite of the platform language, he and the president are only slightly to the right of Kate Michelman on this issue and, if elected, would happily accept Pennsylvania-type standards as national law.

But—and here is the crucial part—the record of the administration on abortion-related matters provides all the evidence needed to reject that supposition as pure smoke and mirrors.

President Bush has been rigidly opposed to all congressional efforts to soften the federal government's position on abortion. With the zeal of a convert—~~at one time a strong and vocal~~ supporter of *Roe v. Wade*—he searches out potential bogeymen in foreign aid and military appropriations bills to prove his fidelity to the antiabortion cause. His vetoes and threats of vetoes have stymied efforts to bring about hu-

mane and reasonable change, and they have had real consequences for individual Americans:

■ In 1989 Mr. Bush vetoed legislation that would have allowed federal Medicaid funding for abortions in the case of rape or incest. He similarly blocked efforts to allow the District to use its own money to pay for abortions for the poor. He sent back the foreign aid appropriations bill because it contained funds for U.N. family planning programs, even though U.S. money could not have been used for abortions.

■ In 1990 his veto threats again killed legislation on rape and incest abortions and the District's effort to pay for abortions for the poor.

■ In 1991 he vetoed both the District appropriations bill and the Department of Health and Human Services funding measure, which would have overturned the gag rule that prohibits abortion counseling in federally funded family planning clinics that serve the poor. He stopped other bills by veto threat. These included a measure that would have removed a ban on abortions in military hospitals overseas, allowed research using fetal tissue obtained from abortions and renewed funding for U.N. population programs. He also quashed efforts to reverse the so-called Mexico City policy, which prohibits this government from making grants to international family planning organizations that use their own money to counsel or provide abortions.

■ This year, he has already vetoed a bill on fetal tissue research and has pledged to hold his ground on all the issues described above. It should also be noted that throughout his administration, Mr. Bush's Justice Department has repeatedly urged the Supreme Court to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, even when the parties to the case before the court had not asked for this action.

This record speaks louder than the vice president's confusing advocacy of a Pennsylvania-type law. It demonstrates that whatever Barbara Bush's sentiments on abortion, her husband remains unmoved. The difference between the candidates on this issue is not a fuzzy dispute around the edges over the formulation of parental consent language or the amount of delay and paperwork involved in getting an abortion. The split is fundamental. George Bush not only accepts the position of abortion opponents, he also has been doing everything in his power to restrict the exercise of the right, to bar the use of federal money in any program that might remotely implicate abortion and to change permanently the fundamental constitutional principle set forth by the Supreme Court in 1973. No hints of better things to come, no cynical doublespeak about possible changes in a second term, can erase what he has already done.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Robert G. Lewis

Bogus 'Billion Bushels'

Enveloped in the trappings of a political campaign rally on a farm in South Dakota recently, President George Bush declared:

"... [T]oday I am announcing a broadside of EEP [Export Enhancement Program] initiatives to sell over 1 billion bushels, or 30 million metric tons, of U.S. wheat with a market value of over \$3 billion to 20 countries around the world."

The "EEP initiatives" to which Bush referred are offers to subsidize sales of American-grown wheat in specified countries under the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Export Program.

"This is the largest quantity of wheat ever made available under the EEP program at one time," Bush added.

A statement from the office of the White House Press Secretary echoed and embellished Bush's superlatives, declaring: "Today's announcement of a 30 million metric ton EEP package provides market opportunities for about half of the 1992/93 U.S. wheat crop."

Contrary to the impression that candidate Bush obviously intended to create, however, exports of U.S. wheat this year probably will be even smaller than last year's.

Bush's announcement mainly puts old wine into a new bottle—and perhaps he won't even fill it up.

According to USDA's "World Agricultural Supply and Demand Estimates," published one week and a day after Bush's speech, U.S. wheat exports are forecast to fall more than 8 percent in the current marketing year.

That's not as bad as the 12 percent drop that was forecast a month before Bush's speech. But the change, according to USDA's September report, is due primarily to declines in production and estimated reports from Canada and Argentina. And USDA predicts Americans will capture only three-quarters of the markets those countries lose.

There's nothing the president can do to change that

forecast significantly, and it's doubtful that he intends or really wants to.

The notion that Bush could increase American wheat exports by 30 million tons might have been sown in many minds by the headlines and "sound bites" reporting his speech.

But any such idea is preposterous. Americans don't have that much more wheat, much less have it to sell. Even the modest exports forecast by USDA before Bush spoke would leave barely half that much in American granaries by the year's end.

And most of that could not be exported. It's little more than the minimum that must be kept in the farm-to-kitchen "pipeline" so that the food economy can work smoothly. Even a 5- or 6-million-ton increase in exports would cut the U.S. carry-over, in proportion to use, down to the "world food crisis" level of 1973, when the wheat price tripled within months. The U.S. wheat supply is so short that the federal government cut off donations of "surplus" flour for school lunches this year.

The key—or cover—to Bush's "largest ever" superlative can be found in a statement released by USDA in Washington. In the past, each offer to subsidize sales within a country—called an "initiative"—was announced separately. For Bush's speech, all were lumped together—including "initiatives" that had been announced months ago.

"The new package of wheat initiatives... replaces all EEP wheat initiatives announced previously.... Sales made since July 1 under previous initiatives will be deducted from the quantities made available in this new multi-country package," USDA explained.

On Aug. 28, there were outstanding EEP subsidy offers for sales of 11 million tons of wheat and flour. In the past, several initiatives were issued each year to active customers, whereas the new "multi-country

package" offers are valid for the full marketing year ending June 30.

But "initiatives" are not sales. Countries are not obliged to buy the full quantities offered. Sales never equal the total offered. And the U.S. government does not promise to sell as much as it offers. The subsidy is negotiated case by case. The United States controls the outcome by controlling the subsidy rate it will pay. Nothing whatever is solid about Bush's "1 billion tons."

EEP subsidies for wheat have ranged from \$20 to \$40 per ton this year. The average price received by U.S. farmers in August was \$106 per ton, which, adjusted for inflation, is close to the lowest ever known.

The subsidies are paid to the exporting companies, not to farmers. By driving down prices in the world market, subsidies keep prices low in the United States too. There's nothing for American farmers in Bush's "billion bushels" promise but bitter smiles.

USDA did say, however, that "several markets not previously included under the EEP" were added in "the package of initiatives" announced by Bush. But both USDA and Bush were conspicuously silent about the identity of the countries that were made eligible for U.S. subsidies.

There are only two—South Africa, previously banned because of its racial policies, and Pakistan, previously banned for refusing international inspection of its nuclear facilities. Adding these countries to the EEP subsidy list is the only real news in the whole affair.

But that would be politically unpopular in some circles. That probably explains why this single glimmer of light was left hidden under Bush's "billion bushels."

The writer was an administrator in the Department of Agriculture during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Democrats to Trim Spending Bills to Placate Bush

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

House and Senate Democratic leaders decided yesterday to sidestep a potentially bloody showdown with President Bush over spending that they concede they cannot win. They intend to scale back most of the 1993 appropriations bills to meet Bush's demands.

The Bush administration, seeking to sharpen its differences with Congress over spending priorities, targeted seven of 13 appropriations bills for vetoes, a move that could have provoked a government upheaval at the start of the new fiscal year two weeks from now.

"I think we are adjusting to the realities of the calendar and the fact

that we don't have the votes to override the president's veto," said Rep. Vic Fazio (D-Calif.), a senior member of the House Appropriations Committee. "The cuts we have to make [to meet Bush's demands] will be brutal in some areas."

Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.), who contends that Bush has violated understandings reached at the 1990 budget summit, said Congress has little choice but to "shape the bills" in a way to avert a veto.

"The president has no program except that of bashing Congress," Byrd said in an interview. "I thought it was best to avoid that confrontation in the interest of expediting our work. . . . Otherwise, it would just give the president another

opportunity to bash Congress, even though we are within the terms of the budget agreement."

Bush warned at the Republican National Convention in Houston last month that he would veto any spending bill that exceeds his request, even though when taken together the 13 spending bills approved by the House are \$12.9 billion, or 2.6 percent, below Bush's overall spending request.

The bills also are \$8.5 billion below this year's total for discretionary spending, according to Congressional Budget Office figures, although the administration figures show the House wants to spend \$1.9 billion more than the administration requested for domestic discretionary programs and about

\$10 billion less on defense and international programs.

"What the president is really doing is stamping his foot and saying that 'if you don't do what I want [in every bill], . . . I'll veto,'" said Rep. Steny H. Hoyer (D-Md.), another senior member of the Appropriations Committee. "Given the short time frame we're in, our objective is to send down bills we think will be signed."

A White House aide said late yesterday, "If we've helped hold down spending at all, I think we succeeded."

"The goal here was not to try to create confrontation," the aide said. "The goal was to hold down spending."

The sensitive political decision to go along with the president's de-

mands was made at two meetings this week: a gathering Tuesday of the Democratic leadership in the office of House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) and a meeting yesterday afternoon of the chairmen of the House Appropriations subcommittees, the so-called "cardinals."

Foley and House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) also conferred this week with Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine), who agreed to the House Democrats' strategy.

"I think there's nothing new or surprising about this," Mitchell said late yesterday. "We have consistently appropriated less money overall than the president has requested."

An aide to the Senate Democratic leadership added, "This doesn't mean we're taking George Bush's spending requests and stamping them *carte blanche*." While the to-

als for each of the 13 spending bills will fall within the president's request, the aide said, congressional spending priorities will differ significantly in many cases.

A number of factors influenced the Democrats' decision. Concern over their reelection prospects and sensitivity to criticism of government gridlock caused many House members to avoid a battle that potentially could lead to the temporary shutdown of the federal government.

Administration officials said last week that the House's approach to appropriations bills would bolster Bush's image as a spending cutter as he seeks to portray Democratic presidential challenger Bill Clinton and the Democratic Congress as advocates of unrestrained taxing and spending.

The Democrats think they will be able to turn the issue against the

See SPENDING, A11, Col 3

Democrats to Scale Back Appropriations Bills

SPENDING, From A10

president when the spending bills are overhauled in conference. To meet Bush's demands, Congress will have to make deep cuts in some programs, such as subsidies to Amtrak, that could have an immediate impact on voters. Democrats believe they could shift responsibility for painful spending cuts to Bush.

The administration has targeted seven bills that it claims would be subject to veto unless changed. They would fund the departments of Commerce, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Interior, Justice, Labor, State, Transportation and Veterans Affairs as well as the Treasury, the Postal Service and the District of Columbia.

The Washington Post

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Pentagon Intensifies Effort To Muster Military Voters

By Barton Gellman
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Defense Department, in a significant expansion of a once-modest program, has mobilized an estimated 75,000 "voting counselors" worldwide to register and turn out military voters in the Nov. 3 presidential election.

Conducted under a federal law providing access to absentee ballots for active-duty troops and overseas civilians, the Pentagon effort has shifted emphasis during the Bush administration from ensuring availability of voting forms to mustering ballots at the polls.

This year, for the first time, the department has set a target rate for participation, which if realized would produce at least 1.2 million military votes.

Portrayed as a nonpartisan effort to assist troops in exercising a basic

constitutional right, the program dates from 1955 and is widely acknowledged to provide important services. The nation's 1.9 million active-duty troops are scattered around the world and move more frequently than the population at large.

But this year's intensification, and particularly the new focus on voter turnout during what could be a close presidential election, has led Democratic and some independent analysts to suspect the Bush administration is trying to energize a predictably sympathetic voter base.

There is little hard evidence about the political preferences of military voters. But pollsters and political scientists believe such voters disproportionately favor the Republican Party, a leaning thought to be accentuated this year by satisfaction with President Bush's con-

See MILITARY, A8, Col. 1

MILITARY, From A1

duct of the Persian Gulf War and doubts about Democrat Bill Clinton's plans to make further defense budget cuts and permit gay men and women in uniformed service. Other officers, including some who have served since the Vietnam era, also may disfavor Clinton's efforts to avoid the draft.

"If anybody is charging that we're trying to get the troops to turn out more so there will be more Republican votes, that's ludicrous," said Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams. "Whatever pointy-headed academics are trying to imply that there's some motive here, other than helping the serviceman and woman to vote, have an overdose of politics."

Some critics, including an Air Force major who complained to the American Civil Liberties Union, regard an aggressive voting campaign as inherently coercive in the context of the military's strict chain of command.

Others, who support the effort to educate and motivate potential voters, accuse the Bush administration of using government resources selectively to that end. Bush vetoed a "motor voter" bill passed by Congress last spring that would have made voter registration available automatically to citizens renewing drivers licenses or applying for government services such as unemployment benefits. Supporters plan an attempt to override that veto, perhaps as early as this week.

The Pentagon voting program is legally obliged to remain politically neutral and does appear to take pains to avoid transmission of partisan messages. But it also goes well beyond the provision of forms and technical services that are the only legislative mandate of the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act.

According to an internal Army memorandum by Maj. Gen. Larry D. Budge, technical assistance "has in the past been the primary focus of the program." This year's plan requires "direct command involvement" in a new mission "to significantly increase the percentage of soldiers who vote . . . without creating violations of law or significant negative backlash."

As recently as 1980, when President Jimmy Carter ran for reelection, the proportion of military personnel who voted was smaller than that for the general public (49.7 percent versus 52.6 percent). But increased federal efforts under President Ronald Reagan swelled military participation to 63.5 percent in 1988, an increase that equated to roughly 300,000 additional military votes.

Last month, Gen. Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, sent a message to all commands urging "each soldier, sailor, marine, airman, and coastguardsman" to help break 1988's record-setting turnout. The Air Force has ordered commanders to shoot for 100 percent registration and 75 percent turnout among officers and enlisted personnel.

Voting counselors—military personnel assigned at a ratio of at least one for every 25 active-duty troops—are required to hand-deliver registration materials, twice, to every serviceman and woman; to provide one-on-one training and encouragement; and to keep records by name of the dates when each voter receives registration materials, returns them, receives an absentee ballot and casts it.

Unit commanders and counselors have been told that their performance in the assignment is "an item for specific review" by inspectors general and will become part of the fitness reports that govern promotions.

"The emphasis was not placed in 1988 that is being placed this year," said Senior Master Sgt. Travis Crowder, a voting assistance representative at Andrews Air Force Base. "We've gotten a number of messages from higher headquarters emphasizing the importance of this mission."

"You can't force a guy to register and you can't force a guy to vote, and we haven't had to," said Capt. W.L. Bates in an interview aboard the cruiser USS Thomas S. Gates, whose 364 sailors are all registered. "Personally I'm shooting for everybody to vote, and I think we have a pretty good chance of having that happen."

An Air Force major assigned as a voting officer complained to Arthur Spitzer at the ACLU's Washington office that he received periodic calls from his commanding general asking "how we're doing" on registration and primary election voting goals and said the general responded, "That's not enough," when given a status report.

Clinton campaign communications director George Stephanopoulos said the Bush administration should not restrict registration assistance to military voters.

"Every time someone votes and every time someone encourages someone to vote, it's a good thing," he said. "But consistency is also a virtue, and if you support this program you should also support efforts so that every American living

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in America can also be encouraged to vote—like the 'motor voter' act."

During debate over that registration bill, a Justice Department letter argued that allowing social service agencies to register voters "risks various forms of intimidation of the public" because citizens who depend on the agencies for welfare or other benefits "could easily be given the impression that they have to register, or register for a particular party, in order to please the administrator in whose hands the fate of their application rests."

A series of Justice Department spokesmen declined to discuss the letter's relevance to military installations.

Normal polling techniques such

as exit polls and telephone surveys do not reach most military voters because roughly 90 percent vote by absentee ballot and a majority at any time are in barracks, in field exercises, on ships at sea or in other places inaccessible to pollsters. The Defense Department does not permit political questions in official military surveys.

But political scientists such as John Mueller of the University of Rochester and Curtis Gans at the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate note that military recruits come disproportionately from among traditionally conservative groups such as white southerners and small-town midwesterners.

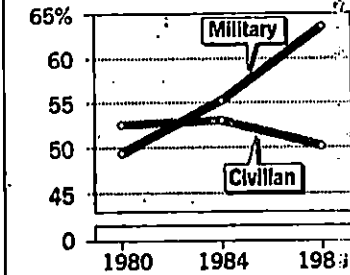
In Florida's close 1988 Senate race, for instance, military voters casting absentee ballots decided the election for Republican Connie Mack, according to campaign managers for both Mack and his Democratic opponent, Buddy MacKay.

"If you asked me to give you a number, I would say that 80 percent and up of military members would vote for the Republican Party," said military sociologist Charles Moskos.

Others suggested the number might be far smaller. But Brian Lunde, a former executive director of the Democratic National Committee, noted that even 55 percent of the military vote for Bush "would be a landslide."

MILITARY vs. CIVILIAN VOTER TURNOUT

PERCENTAGE OF ELIGIBLE VOTERS
WHO CAST BALLOTS IN
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS



SOURCES: Defense Department Joint Staff;
League of Women Voters

THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Voters Show Incumbents The Door

19 Primary Losses Set Postwar Record

By Kenneth J. Cooper
and Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writers

Stay in touch. Take care of the home front. Wake up and do something about the economy. Give us change.

Those are the messages voters scribbled in the shorthand of primary ballots and delivered to House members this year, most bluntly in rejecting a postwar record 19 incumbents. Among the year's defeated are 14 Democrats and five Republicans, with only Louisiana and Hawaii yet to vote.

Redistricting played a predominant role in defeating half of those members, including Tuesday's losers, Rep. Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.) and Rep. Chester G. Atkins (D-Mass.). One Democratic consultant, Tom King, argued that when incumbents campaigned in a redrawn congressional district, voters new to them were freed from a customary sentimental attachment to "my congressman" and could speak their minds about the national legislature.

"People don't have any affinity for you," King said. "You're just a congressman . . . and you haven't done anything for them."

And what voters appear to want members of Congress to do is fix the economy. "People are unhappy about the economy, and they're scared," is how former county prosecutor Martin Meehan explained his primary election victory in Boston's suburbs over Atkins.

As the primary season unfolded, many Democrats feared and many Republicans hoped the House Bank scandal would rip through incumbents. But the election results have

The House Bank

Eighteen current and former members of the House sought reelection after being identified April 22 as "abusers" of House Bank privileges. How did they fare in their primaries?

WON (8)

William F. Goodling (R-Pa.)	430 checks
Edolphus Towns (D-N.Y.)	408 checks
Harold E. Ford (D-Tenn.)	388 checks
William "Bill" Clay (D-Mo.)	328 checks
John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.)	273 checks
Mary Rose Oakar (D-Ohio)	213 checks
Joseph D. Early (D-Mass.)	140 checks
Ronald D. Coleman (D-Tex.)*	673 checks

*Won before overdrafts disclosed

LOST (6)

Charles Hatcher (D-Ga.)	819 checks
Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.)	743 checks
Charles A. Hayes (D-Ill.)	716 checks
Bill Alexander (D-Ark.)	487 checks
Mickey Edwards (R-Okla.)	386 checks
Jim Bates (D-Calif.)*	89 checks

*Attempted political comeback

DID NOT SEEK REELECTION (4)

Robert J. Mrazek (D-N.Y.)	920 checks
Robert W. Davis (R-Mich.)	878 checks
Carl C. Perkins (D-Ky.)	514 checks
Edward F. Feighan (D-Ohio)	397 checks

WINNERS AND LOSERS

Reapportionment

States had to redraw House district boundaries in the wake of the 1990 census. These nine members especially suffered in the remap:

DEMOCRATS (7)

Chester G. Atkins (Mass.)
Terry L. Bruce (Ill.)
Charles Hatcher (Ga.)
Ben Jones (Ga.)
Marty Russo (Ill.)
Stephen J. Solarz (N.Y.)
Harley O. Staggers Jr. (W.Va.)

REPUBLICANS (2)

Clarence E. Miller (Ohio)
Dick Nichols (Kan.)

Other Defeats

DEMOCRATS (7)

Bill Alexander (Ark.)
Beryl Anthony Jr. (Ark.)
Beverly B. Byron (Md.)
Charles A. Hayes (Ill.)
Carroll Hubbard Jr. (Kv.)
Joe Klotter (Pa.)
Gus Savage (Ill.)

REPUBLICANS (3)

Mickey Edwards (Okla.)
Robert J. Lagomarsino (Calif.)
Guy Vander Jagt (Mich.)

... Victims of both reapportionment and the House Bank scandal.



Solarz



Hatcher

THE WASHINGTON POST

been less than sweeping. Of the 14 House Bank "abusers" who ran in primaries, eight have won and six have lost, including Solarz.

One top overdraft writer, Rep. Joseph D. Early (D-Mass.), survived a four-candidate race Tuesday despite being an obscure House member who held his first Washington news conference in 18 years to explain his bad checks. But he campaigned hard on his record of bringing federal funds to central Massachusetts and staying in touch.

"I come back here 52 weeks a year and make myself available to the people," Early said election night.

The first casualty of the primary season, Rep. Beverly B. Byron (D-Md.), exemplified the danger of getting out of touch. Brad Coker, president of Mason-Dixon Political Media Research in Columbia, said Byron had grown more conservative than her constituents as liberals

moved into suburban sections of her western Maryland district.

"She was just out of step with most of the folks who vote in Democratic primaries," Coker said.

Spencer Abraham, co-chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, said voters wanted to see from their representatives "engagement on these issues that matter to us."

Voters may suspect disengagement if a lawmaker appears busy with international matters or party affairs. Solarz, a senior member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, ran in a majority Hispanic district where big concerns are too few jobs and too high rents. Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (Mich.), chairman of the GOP campaign committee, lost after 17 years in that party leadership post.

While only one senator, Alan J. Dixon (D-Ill.), was defeated in primaries, reelection worries abound

in the Senate. "The message is strong anti-incumbent sentiment and a willingness to change," said Sen. Phil Gramm (Tex.), chairman of the GOP senatorial committee.

Nehl Horton, spokesman for the Democratic senatorial committee, said the message was not so much anti-incumbent as: "Don't take anything for granted, be prepared and expect the worst. If you're prepared, expect the worst and do your homework, you can survive."

But it is not the best year to be an incumbent. "The burden is much more for incumbents to explain why they should stay in office," said Democrat pollster Geoff Garin. Added Republican pollster Linda DiVall, "Voters are saying, 'Don't take us for granted, and we're going to shake things up a bit so you'll pay attention to us.'"

Special correspondent Christopher Daly in Boston contributed to this report.

Debate Canceled After Bush Misses Deadline for Response

The Commission on Presidential Debates yesterday canceled the first televised exchange, set for Tuesday, because President Bush ignored its deadline for accepting.

Democratic nominee Bill Clinton had agreed before yesterday's deadline to attend the Sept. 22 event planned at Michigan State University in East Lansing.

The fate of two other commission-sponsored presidential debates, on Oct. 4 and Oct. 15, and a

vice presidential debate, on Sept. 29, was unclear because Bush has taken the position that his campaign and Clinton's, not a third party, must directly negotiate the timing and shape of the debates. White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said the Bush-Quayle campaign is awaiting a decision from the Clinton-Gore campaign, which it sought in a letter earlier this week asking for direct negotiations.

Because their viewership num-

bers upwards of 100 million Americans, televised debates have become a major element in presidential races since 1960. Bush has said he wants two debates, not three, and wants a format that includes a panel of reporters doing the questioning rather than one moderator as the commission proposes.

Campaigning yesterday in Los Angeles, Clinton said Bush may prefer a panel to a single moderator because the commission found after studying

the 1988 debates, which featured panels, that "if you were very clever and you prepared for it and you thought about one or two lines to zing your opponent with, you'd never have to answer any real questions."

Clinton's running mate, Sen. Al Gore Jr., was campaigning in Michigan when he learned of the debate cancellation. Gore said Bush and Quayle "don't want to come before the people of Michigan to debate what they've done to the economy."

The Washington Post

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GOP Fund-Raising Trouble

In Shift, Bush Plays Catch-Up With Democrats

By Ann Devroy
and Charles R. Babcock
Washington Post Staff Writers

When President Bush goes to New York to address the United Nations on Monday, a rushed addition will be on his schedule: a small private dinner that his campaign hopes will raise \$750,000.

In the week after that, fund-raisers in Chicago and Dallas have also been added to the president's schedule, and in October he'll be going to at least two more as the Republican National Committee finds itself in the unaccustomed role of playing catch-up to the Democrats in raising money for the presidential campaign.

For Bill Clinton, Bush's Democratic opponent, October will not be so concerned with money. A key fund-raiser, Rahm Emanuel, said yesterday that Clinton's schedule for the month will be "determined

solely by the electoral map, not the need to raise money."

The GOP traditionally has a huge fund-raising lead over the Democrats. But since Clinton was nominated in July, the Democratic National Committee has been collecting checks at a record pace. The DNC raised an over-all total of \$10.1 million in July and \$17.3 million more in August; the RNC, by comparison, raised about \$7 million in July and \$7.4 million last month, according to committee officials. For the year, that puts the RNC slightly behind its Democratic counterpart in total donations.

The core of Bush and Clinton's funds is the \$55 million each one receives in federal matching funds. The parties are allowed to raise an additional \$10 million solely for their candidate's campaign—a limit the Democrats have already

See MONEY, A15, Col. 1

reached and the Republicans are far from reaching. A final source of money is the millions more in large individual, corporate or union checks—so-called soft money—that can be spent in key states on get-out-the-vote drives and other activities that help all party candidates. The Republicans are also behind in their goals on that.

This year the GOP has fallen so short of its fund-raising objectives that Robert A. Mosbacher, Bush's chief fund-raiser in 1988, was asked late last month to leave his post as general chairman of the Bush-Quayle committee to return to the RNC as the main money man.

RNC Chairman Richard N. Bond told new White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III "he wanted only two things—Mosbacher and firm dates," said one source, referring to the party's inability under former chief of staff Samuel K. Skinner to get Bush committed to firm dates for RNC fund-raising events.

Mosbacher resisted, sources said, until Baker, a longtime friend, made a direct appeal, arguing that if he had to leave his State Department post to return to the White House, Mosbacher should give up his job to return to fund-raising.

"When I came over here, we were a fair amount behind budget or I wouldn't be here," Mosbacher said in an interview. "Since then I've been gratified by the response."

He said the party's small-donor, direct-mail receipts—the core of its fund-raising—have rebounded after dropping off earlier in the year. A recent solicitation signed by Barbara Bush has had "a great response," he said.

Individuals can give up to \$20,000 a year to a national political party under federal law. Such funds can be used for the \$10 million direct expenditure each party can make for its presidential ticket. The GOP calls the program the "presidential trust" and its chairman is Bush friend Bobby Holt of Midland, Tex.

Holt said yesterday the account has raised about \$5 million so far and will raise the rest of the \$10 million with the events scheduled for the president, Mrs. Bush and Vice President Quayle.

Initially, the RNC hoped to raise \$46 million in soft money. One official called the figure, set in May, "a proposed first cut budget, what you do in the perfect world." Mosbacher said the plan now is to raise "less than half that," and sources said about \$6 million is in the bank.

In 1988, Mosbacher set up Team 100, which raised about \$25 million in \$100,000 donations, in response to a concerted DNC soft money effort.

Nearly every trip Bush takes includes some fund-raising event, most for the soft money program called Victory '92. This week, for example, he attended receptions in California, Utah and Oregon. But because it is so close to the election, his schedule is not flexible enough to accommodate as many events as his fund-raisers would like.

Mosbacher said that "to some degree we sort of spoiled people in 1988 by making the president available for fund-raising events. We don't have time for as much of that now. What we're doing is more direct fund-raising the old-fashioned way, calls, visits, letters."

While many donors give "out of loyalty and positive feelings" about Bush, he added, "at least as many people give out of fear. As the business community sees what the Clinton economic plan is they get very frightened."

Robert A. Farmer, the Clinton campaign's treasurer and the chief fund-raiser for 1988 Democratic nominee Michael S. Dukakis, scoffed at Mosbacher's appeal. "Isn't that sad that's all they have to try to sell, to try to make Bill Clinton look dangerous?"

Farmer said Democratic contributors were energized by the Republican National Convention's focus on "family values" and attacks on Hillary Clinton.

It also helps, of course, to be ahead in the polls. "At this point four years ago, the numbers had changed for Governor Dukakis. This year we are getting stronger. And people are reacting to that. . . . There is a direct correlation to success in fund-raising and the perception of winning."

The RNC is now fighting those same poll numbers. Describing a recent experience, one Republican said: "I call this guy up and say, 'The president is coming to town and I'd like you to be part of the presidential trust for \$15,000 and join him for dinner.' And the guy says, 'Geeze, the static on this phone is terrible. I can't hear a thing you're saying. I'll call you right back.' And he never calls back. And you call him back and he's in meetings all day. . . . Get the picture?"

The Washington Post

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AT ISSUE IN '92: FAMILY LEAVE

Bush Alternative Avoids Mandating Labor Rights

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

Presented by a Democratic Congress with legislation that requires employers with more than 50 workers to allow up to 12 weeks of unpaid family leave annually, President Bush yesterday proposed an alternative that would provide firms with 500 or fewer employees an annual tax credit of up to \$1,200 for each employee granted leave.

Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton, joined by other members of his party, promptly denounced the proposal. At the heart of the political gamesmanship is a basic philosophical difference: Clinton and the Democrats believe Americans should have a basic labor standard guaranteeing the right to return to their jobs after family crises and Bush does not believe in new mandated rights for workers.

During the seven-year struggle over family leave, both parties have affirmed their support for workers

that would ultimately result in fewer jobs. Yesterday, Bush said Clinton and the Democrats "believe in government-dictated mandates that increase costs and lose jobs."

Clinton in turn accused Bush of showing "his true colors on family values" by walking away from the one thing that would guarantee working families help, the mandate not to fire them after an absence due to a family crisis.

Supporters of the congressional proposal assert the potential for job loss that Republicans warn against is overblown and that, in effect, leave should be part of the cost of doing business in a civilized country.

"This issue is not a debate about mandates or benefit packages," said Rep. Marge Roukema (R-N.J.). "It is a debate over . . . values. This legislation says, unequivocally that it is a minimum labor standard in this country that a family not have to choose between their jobs and their families."

Bush vetoed Democratic leave legislation last year and has pledged to veto the current measure that Congress formally approved and sent him last Friday. The Democrats waited for a final vote on the bill until weeks before the election with the hope that Bush would be embarrassed at the prospect of espousing family values and vetoing a family leave bill in virtually the same breath. Bush waited until the final months of a four-year term to propose an alternative.

Under his plan, which the White House said would cost \$2.7 billion over five years, an employer would be given a tax credit for costs associated with an employee's leave of up to 12 weeks a year, such as maintaining health insurance and pension programs or paying a replacement. To get the credit, the firm would have to guarantee the employee's job would be there after time taken off because of a serious health emergency, the birth of a



With Sen. Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) at White House, Bush proposes five-year plan of \$2.7 billion in tax credits to employers who voluntarily provide leave.

child, or the death of an immediate family member.

The Democratic proposal would require employers of 50 or more workers to provide the unpaid leave, including continuation of health coverage. Analysts argue that while more than 90 percent of firms offer such leave, the need is for workers with firms of 100 or fewer workers and those workers make up almost half the work force and have no protection.

Dolores Martin, a senior Republican economist at the congressional Joint Economic Committee, citing Small Business Administration studies, projects that the "new mandate burden" on business would translate into 59,027 lost jobs in the United States because the 1991 average net cost to an employer of an employee on leave for 12 weeks would be \$1,995 each. That is the amount, the study estimates, that an employer would spend to maintain benefits of an employee on leave, recruit and pay another worker to do the absent worker's tasks and cover other costs.

Absorbing such costs, she argues, would mean laying off other

workers, reducing benefits to current workers or raising product prices. Business-sponsored polls of employers suggested most firms would lay off workers or decline to add planned new jobs if presented with the mandate passed by Congress.

Democrats, however, say those costs are exaggerated by business and would be "minimal" because of built-in protections and exemption of smaller firms. Even senior administration officials yesterday said that each side produced studies "wildly different" in their estimates of how much a new mandated benefit would cost.

Democratic leaders also charged yesterday that Bush's family leave proposal would essentially put a whole new cost—the loss of \$2.7 billion in business tax revenue—on working Americans.

The White House countered that any of the \$68 billion of spending reductions Bush offered in his 1993 budget could be used to offset the cost of the new tax credit and pointed in particular to reduced Medicare reimbursements for laboratory costs as one prime savings.

The president's proposal would give firms a tax credit for each employee granted leave.

who have to leave their posts in times of family crisis. Bush wants employers to voluntarily provide such a benefit; Clinton argues that since half the work force has no such option, federal law should require it as the governments of virtually all other nations do.

To Bush and other Republicans, the issue is whether government should force business to provide new employee benefits at a cost

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Clinton Economic Plan Targets Poor Families

Proposal Aims to Boost Savings, Communities

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 16—Extolling the virtues of free enterprise like a Republican speaking to a local Rotary club, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton today chose a poor, inner-city neighborhood here as the backdrop to unveil the details of a \$1.5 billion-a-year plan to encourage poor people to save, start their own businesses and revitalize their communities.

The plan includes several elements that Clinton mentioned previously, as well as a new measure that would provide federal matching funds to poor people who set aside up to \$1,800 a year in tax-deferred "individual development accounts" that would be similar to existing Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs).

The Arkansas governor offered the proposal in a speech sprinkled with references to free enterprise and capitalism. Some of the speech could easily have been given by Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, one of the most passionate Republican advocates of using private enterprise rather than government programs as the primary vehicle to help families escape poverty.

The Arkansas governor's rhetoric and the setting near the center of riots here in the spring appeared designed to underscore Clinton's centrist message and to signal that he does not want to return to what he often calls "the old tax-and-spend ways" that many voters associate with Democrats.

Speaking to a largely black audience outside the Maxine Waters Employment Preparation Center, Clinton said that when he visited south central Los Angeles after the riots, he was told the area's greatest need was economic development that would create jobs in the neighborhood.

"What I heard as I walked the

streets is that nobody really expects salvation from the national government, but they do want the opportunity to get a job, to get an education, the opportunity to start new businesses," he said.

"We need to bring free enterprise to south central Los Angeles and the inner cities of America and the rural communities of America," Clinton added. "The best social policy that anybody ever devised is economic growth and a job for everybody who wants to work, and I'm going to give you that economic program."

Under Clinton's proposal, individual development accounts would be available to individuals and families with incomes of less than 200 percent of the official poverty rate. Describing the program as a "demonstration project," Clinton campaign officials estimated the cost of providing federal matching funds to the deposits at \$400 million over four years. The money could be withdrawn for job training, the purchase of a first home, post-secondary education, starting a new business or retirement. Clinton also called for lifting the limit on assets that welfare recipients can own, from \$1,000 to \$10,000.

Clinton provided additional details of earlier campaign proposals. He pledged to create a network of 100 community development banks that would provide loans and technical assistance to new or expanding businesses.

In addition, Clinton called for the creation of 75 to 125 comprehensive enterprise zones providing incentives to attract businesses to poor neighborhoods and rural communities, and for the establishment of 1,000 micro-enterprise programs under which federal grants would go to the states to encourage the creation of small individual businesses. At \$4.8 billion over four years, the enterprise zones would be the most costly feature of the Clinton program.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

“Word! Teens Speak Out,” which had been billed as a PBS Election '92 special for airing on Oct. 21, has been canceled by its organizers because neither President Bush nor Vice President Quayle would be able to take part...

The National Minority Public Broadcasting Consortia had been told some time ago that either Gov. Bill Clinton or Sen. Al Gore would be available for the live special. But late last week the consortia were notified by the Bush-Quayle campaign that neither candidate would be available...

The broadcast out of Los Angeles would have featured an audience of young people from diverse backgrounds. They would have questioned the candidates, probably via satellite, from at least two remote locations...

Some \$458,000 in funding had been received from the Independent Television Service (ITVS) with additional funding from PBS and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Those funds will be returned, according to Frank Blythe, executive producer of the special and executive director of the Lincoln, Neb., based Native America-Public Broadcasting Consortium, one of five groups in the Minority Consortia. The others are the National Asian American Telecommunications Association in San Francisco, the National Black Programming Consortium of Columbus, Ohio, the National Latino Communications Center in L.A. and the Pacific Islander Media Working Group of Honolulu...

Yesterday, Blythe said, “We really thought we had a great idea. But the broadcast was contingent on the availability of a major candidate from each party.” He held out the hope that “there might be something developed in post-election”...

John Schott, executive director of ITVS, said the group “deeply regrets that the production of ‘Word!’ will not go forward. The special was a wonderful opportunity to involve minority youth in the political arena”...

Ross Perot, who will be on the ballot in all 50 states Nov. 3 and is still making his mark in the polls, will be interviewed tomorrow during the first half-hour of the “Today” show by Jamie Gangel...

And Now This

“Roseanne” returned for a new season on ABC Tuesday night and attracted her best audience since January, averaging a 24.7 national Nielsen rating and a 39 percent audience share...

That gave a nice boost to “Delta,” which premiered at 9:30 following Rosie and attracted a 20.5/33. Unfortunately for ABC, “Going to Extremes,” which followed at 10, fell off to a so-so 12.3/22...

ABC won the night, while CBS was second as the two-hour debut of “Angel Street” averaged an 11.3/19 following a 14.7/25 from “Rescue 911”...

An original episode of NBC’s “Reasonable Doubts” did a 7.6/12, while “Dateline NBC” did a 10.1/18...

Locally on Channel 7, “Roseanne” did a 23.7/38, “Delta” a 19.8/31, and “Going to Extremes,” a 10.2/18...

“Angel Street” on Nine did a 13.0/22, “Doubts” on Four did a 7.3/12 and “Dateline NBC” a 10.1/18...

Each national ratings point represents 931,000 TV households; each local point, 18,514 TV homes...

Tonight’s 7:30 kickoff of the annual United Way drive—aired simultaneously on five of the market’s seven stations—will be closed-captioned for the hearing-impaired...

Channel 9, which is producing the simulcast this year, is picking up the tab for the captioning...

Only Channels 5 and 26 are not joining tonight’s simulcast at 7:30, but WETA will air it at 8:30 this evening—after “The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour” is safely out of the way—and Five at noon on Monday and again on Oct. 26, in the midst of the campaign...

The Fox station had notified United Way a year ago it planned to pass this fall because, basically, every year WETA and local cable systems have not joined in the simulcast...

“It doesn’t accomplish its stated purpose,” WTTG’s GM Tom Herwitz said yesterday. “We’d rather take the time and effort to spread word of the United Way campaign through public service announcements and other means throughout the campaign”...

ABC News vice president George Watson, who has been Washington bureau chief since 1985, said yesterday that he has been suffering from depression for the past several weeks and has decided to undergo medical treatment at the Menninger Foundation in Topeka, Kan., for about a month...

He said he will go to the clinic this Sunday. A spokeswoman for ABC News in New York said yesterday no decision has been made regarding a temporary replacement...

Watson has been with ABC since 1962 and over the years has been bureau chief in Moscow and London, covered Vietnam and the White House and developed the “Viewpoint” format for the

news division. He left ABC for a year in 1980 to help with the launch of Cable News Network...

More than 250 people, including dozens of old friends from his years at the network, gathered with his widow, Suzanne St. Pierre, yesterday at the National Press Club for a 90-minute memorial service honoring Eric Sevareid, the CBS News legend who died July 9 at the age of 79 after a long battle with cancer...

Seven speakers, including Mr. Sevareid’s son Michael, shared their memories. One, Norwegian journalist Erik Bye, revealed that the resonant family name so familiar to millions of radio and TV listeners in a career of 50 years, was “very old” and stood for a long, narrow island across which Vikings could drag their long boats “to escape into the open sea”...

Bye called Mr. Sevareid “the most American man I’ve ever known. What he didn’t know, he was one of the most Norwegian men I’ve ever known,” named a Knight of St. Olaf by the Norwegian government. “He was not one to wear ribbons,” said Bye, “but I saw that he appreciated

Dan Rather, who opened and closed the ceremony, called the afternoon “a celebration” and told an amusing story of how, in 1972, when Nixon visited China, Mr. Sevareid was awakened one night in a Shanghai hotel room by two bellmen who had been ordered to deliver gifts from that evening’s banquet. He said they froze like “frightened rabbits” when the full, authoritative Sevareid voice, seldom ever heard by the public, suddenly boomed out of the darkness, “Who are these men?”...

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Robert W. Craig of Keystone, Colo., since 1957 a frequent fly-fishing companion, remembered the long-ago day in Montana on a stream in serious rattlesnake country, when Mr. Severeid, after a very long struggle, had landed a "big brown." When Craig finally caught up with him, Severeid said, "I can't kill him but if it weren't for the snakes I'd stay with him here for the summer" . . .

Howard Stringer, president of CBS/Broadcast Group and a former CBS News producer and division president, recalled the first time he worked with Mr. Severeid in the very late 1960s . . .

Stringer and a producer were waiting patiently for him to finish a script. "Eric was behind closed doors in splendid isolation. The minutes ticked by. We were breathlessly waiting for broadcasting's Godot. He had that effect on you. The studio became a cathedral, and we talked in whispers even though he couldn't hear us. The phone rang. The script was finished. I was dispatched to collect it" . . .

When he returned, Stringer told producer John Sharnik, "You're not going to believe this, John, but when I got to Eric's desk the script had turned into parchment." I didn't realize that Eric was by now standing behind me. He looked at me for a moment and then said, "That doesn't happen as often as it used to. I'm glad I haven't lost my touch" . . .

Also speaking were former CBS News presidents Bill Leonard and Richard Salant. The latter recalled that his mother and father were aghast when he gave up lawyering to become a network news executive—until his father, also an attorney, realized that "if I worked in the same place as Eric Severeid and he called me by my first name it couldn't be so bad" . . .

Among those in the audience yesterday, many of whom attended a reception at the nearby Willard Hotel, were Walter Cronkite, Don Hewitt, Mike Wallace, Sam Donaldson, Andy Rooney, Lesley Stahl and CBS Inc. chairman Laurence Tisch . . .

A brief tribute to Mr. Severeid by Rather and pictures of yesterday's memorial were included on last night's broadcast of "CBS Evening News With Dan Rather" . . .

In Other News

With a new NBC Sunday morning network lineup starting this weekend, Channel 4 is also launching a local news segment—although an hour shorter than originally planned . . .

On Saturday morning, Aug. 29, Four premiered two hours of local news . . .

The first hour of Sunday news, anchored by Jim Handy, will be from 7 to 8 a.m., followed by "Sunday Today" until 9 and then another hour of local news anchored by Handy . . .

A repeat of "The McLaughlin Group" will follow at 10, with the new hour-long "Meet the Press" airing at 10:30 . . .

"McLaughlin One on One" will be seen at 11:30 . . .

Four had originally planned a longer Sunday newscast, but the changes in the news management team (Richard Reingold was named to replace Kris Ostrowski as news director on Sept. 3) has put some plans on the back burner . . .

The Saturday news, also anchored by Handy, airs from 6 to 7 a.m. and again from 9 to 10 a.m. and is already showing good results . . .

In three outings, Four's early news has averaged a 1.5/17 from 6 to 7, compared with a 0.7/8 for Seven and a 0.3/4 for Nine . . .

Three weeks of Four's 9 o'clock news have averaged a 3.5/13 compared with a 2.9/11 for Seven's programming and a 2.3/9 for whatever is on Nine . . .

HIGHLIGHTS

- The final episodes of "The Cosby Show" and "Night Court" on WRC.
- "Delta" at its regular day and time and the return of "Room for Two" and "Homefront" on WJLA.

Special

Gridiron Gang. Louis Gossett Jr. hosts this film documenting the formation of a football team at a California juvenile detention center. Two hours (Channel 20 at 8).

Series Returns

Room for Two (CC). Edie has her first date in New York, and Jill and her ex-boyfriend try to reconcile (Channel 7, 8:30).

Homefront (CC). A magazine photographer visits River Run, and Ginger desperately tries to get in front of the lens (Channel 7 at 9).

PrimeTime Live (CC). With a report on welfare fraud (Channel 7 at 10).

Series

The Cosby Show (CC) (R). In the series finale, the Huxtables prepare for Theo's college graduation (Channel 4 at 8).

Delta (CC) creates a breach between her boss and a famous record producer (Channel 7 at 8).

Top Cops (CC). An agent is taken hostage during a drug bust, and two Toronto constables break up a prostitution ring (Channel 9 at 8).

Martin (CC). Word spreads that Gina is making more money than Martin (Channel 5, 8:30).

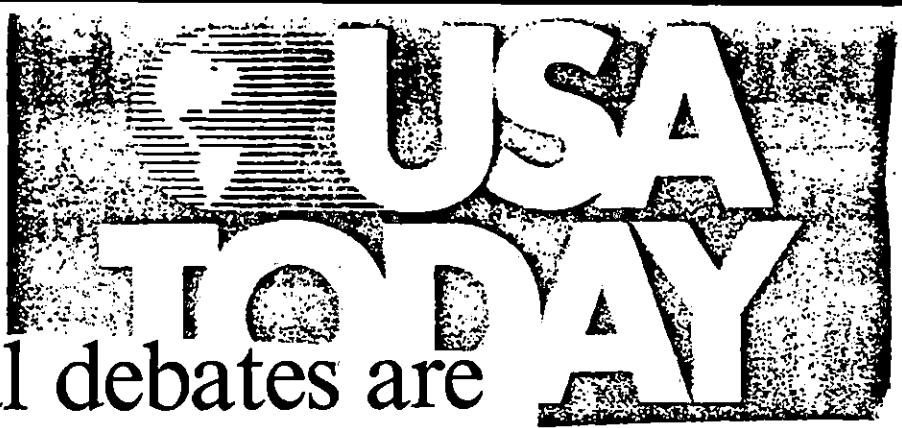
The Heights (CC). Alex reveals his past to Rita, and Lenny is hired by an eccentric junk dealer (Channel 5 at 9).

Street Stories (CC). With the story of a parolee who allegedly victimized an 11-year-old boy (Channel 9 at 9).

Night Court (CC) (R). In the series finale, Harry is flooded with job offers, while Dan prepares for marriage (Channel 4 at 10).

Middle Ages (CC). Walter is trapped overnight in an elevator with his boss's mistress (Channel 9 at 10).

Star Trek: The Next Generation (CC) (R). Troi falls for a delegate who's conducting negotiations on board the Enterprise (Channel 20 at 10).



Presidential debates are too important to abandon

9/17

OUR VIEW The biggest debate this election year shouldn't be about whether Bush and Clinton debate each other.

No one was served Wednesday when the first planned presidential debate was canceled after President Bush failed to agree to its terms.

ELECTION '92

An occasional series

Not Bush, who could appear afraid to go head-to-head with his younger foe. Not Bill Clinton, who should want voters to see how he fares in debate with a sitting president.

And certainly not voters, who for the first time in 20 years may have to choose a president without seeing the candidates in the same room at the same time, fielding the same questions.

For this reason alone, Bush and Clinton should stop bickering over terms and agree to meet. Preferably, they should do so as proposed by the Commission on Presidential Debates — created, ironically, by both parties to end this quadrennial quibble.

The panel recommended that Bush and Clinton be separated only by a mod-

erator. The Bush camp balked, holding out for a panel of journalists, a device used in previous debates.

Those extra questioners turn the event into more of a joint appearance than a debate and dilute time voters get to hear the candidates — time on which voters depend increasingly.

In the last presidential election, 26% of voters listed debates as important, found *ABC News* polls. In 1984, 20% did so, and in 1980, 18%.

Debates can change votes. After Bush did well in his last debate with Democrat Michael Dukakis, 68% of voters polled predicted he would win — compared to 54% before the debate.

That may help explain why both the Bush and Clinton camps hang tough on the details of debates.

Bush, for instance, has made Clinton's relative inexperience a linchpin of his strategy. That could suffer if Clinton appears to command a debate — just as Clinton's current lead in the polls could take a direct hit if he botches a debate.

So they both could lose — unless they don't debate at all. Then the voters lose.

► Debates in doubt, 1A

Debates aren't important

OPPOSING VIEW These 'debates' are little more than recitations of already-stated key positions.

Presidential debates are not very important because they are, in fact, merely position-stating contests. The winner is the candidate who most successfully states a few key positions — key positions campaign pollsters have identified as vital to voters in key states.



By William Hamilton, a syndicated columnist and former consultant to Republican political candidates.

Both camps follow a formula. From the time available, they subtract the minutes for the moderator's opening remarks, for introductions of panelists and for the candidates' opening and closing remarks. The time remaining constitutes the so-called debate. Each campaign divides the "debate" time in half. That's how long each candidate has to get across his positions. So far, all sci-

ence and no art.

But what about the questions posed by the moderator or a group of panelists? If a question happens to coincide with one or more of the key positions the candidate is primed to elaborate, it gets answered.

The only art is if the question asked does not match one of the candidate's key positions. That poses the only real challenge in the process: how to appear to engage the questioner while turning the question into an opportunity to say whatever you want.

Arguably, voters learn nothing from these "debates" they couldn't learn by reading campaign literature, except they do get to see the candidates side by side. Hoping to come off as "presidential," Bill Clinton seeks to occupy any stage with President Bush.

Look for the major media — still shamelessly pimping for Bill Clinton — to try to hound George Bush to debate on Clinton's terms. Look for Bush strategist James Baker to insist on direct, intercampaign negotiations leading to either a mutual agreement or no "debates" at all.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Students Young as 14 Take a Crash Course To Run for President

* * *
Starting Earlier Than Clinton,
Conservative Aspirants Try
To Learn the Right Moves

By ELLEN GRAHAM

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Alexander Umlauf is only 20 years old, but the Saginaw, Mich., college student already has his eye on the presidency of the U.S. He plans to run in 2012, when he is 40. "A couple of months ago, I mapped out my political career," he explains. His game plan includes two terms as a governor and two campaigns for president, "the first just to get noticed."

As sour as others might be about politics and politicians, plenty of young people such as Mr. Umlauf still aspire to public office, and some of them are in a bigger hurry than Bill Clinton was. At the age Mr. Clinton was otherwise engaged at Oxford on a Rhodes Scholarship, Mr. Umlauf and three dozen similarly ambitious young men and women are attending a five-day crash course on getting elected.

Known as the Candidate Career Development School, it is given each summer by the Leadership Institute, a nonprofit educational organization in Springfield, Va., that grooms young conservatives for public-policy careers.

Requisite Skills

The days when one could just stumble into politics are long gone. "Today, you have to deal with image, TV, advertising—it has almost become a science," says Dan Tripp, a 22-year-old participant from Woburn, Mass. "Unless you get training, you don't have the skills to win."

Would-be candidates are seeking tactical instruction and putting it to use at a tender age. "It used to be that to be a member of a party committee you had to have gray hair—or none," says Morton Blackwell, institute president. "That's not the case now." He notes that there were dozens of young delegates at this year's Republican National Convention.

Republicans have been especially adept at cultivating their youth contingent, though Democrats do this sort of thing, too. A close counterpart on the left is a nonprofit school in Chicago called the Midwest Academy, which in the past 19 years has trained 20,000 activists and organizers, age 16 to 80. Also, the College Democrats bring in speakers and trainers for campaign workshops at their annual convention.

The National Teen Age Republicans claim 100,000 members, ages 12 to 19. Megan Lott, organizational director, boasts of her "young whippersnappers," who are "so hard-core, so well-educated, so excited to be involved." Members graduate into College Republicans and then—for the post-college, under-40 set—into Young Republicans. "They start networking and making contacts early," Ms. Lott says. "It becomes a springboard for them and gives them credibility."

Young but Determined

For Jason Knight, 14, candidate school may be just such a boost. When he is old enough, the Alexandria, Va., high-school freshman and former Pat Buchanan volunteer aims to run for the House or Senate and then the White House. "I feel I can make a difference," he says. Still, after a 10-hour day of Leadership Institute briefings in a Georgetown University classroom here, Jason's starched white shirt begins to lose its crease, and he doodles like the schoolboy he still is.

Most participants are too young to remember President Carter, much less Watergate. These are the political progeny of Ronald Reagan. In their suspenders and

If You Are 14 and Expect to Be President, Here's a School for You

Continued From First Page

dark suits, many have a polish that seems to the legislature born. Nathaniel W. Parker IV is a White House intern and a College Republican leader in Texas. Mellifluous phrases like "this great nation of ours" slide easily off his tongue.

To these budding politicians, the galvanizing issues today are abortion and the erosion of family values. Mr. Umlauf thinks politicians will "focus more globally" in 2012, when he runs for president. But otherwise, he doesn't see issues changing radically in the next 20 years.

Unlike the general run of campaign-management seminars, dwelling as they do on direct-mail and media techniques, the Leadership Institute offers a broad-brush prep course. Participants, who may have answered the ad in National Review, pay \$150 each for a conservative spin on the issues, and for what Mr. Blackwell, a former special assistant to President Reagan, calls "the practical stuff." That ranges from how to dress and choosing where to live (suburban, rapidly growing districts where newcomers aren't seen as carpetbaggers) to picking a church.

Raising money is Topic A, of course, and it boils down to connections. Campaign consultant Steve Mullins says, "The best thing you can start doing at an early age is accumulate a list of friends. Start with your Christmas-card list. Track people you know. Keep meticulous records." Another idea: "Go to other people's fundraising events. Get there early and be the last to leave. Be sure everyone knows you."

Dan Quiggle of the Leadership Institute shares a strategy he devised while carrying big shots' luggage. "I sent everyone I met a letter saying it was a pleasure meeting them," he tells the students. Later, Mr. Quiggle elaborates on the art of making an impression: "You don't have to lie or be insincere," he says. "Just be interested."

Another lesson that can't be learned too early: Clean-living and right-thinking win the day. At a lunch break, Mr. Umlauf confides that he has always shunned drugs. "I've told friends 'no,' just in case I went into politics," he says.

Other students, however, seem con-

cerned about skeletons in the closet. "Do you suggest bringing them out or waiting until they're found out?" someone asks consultant Boyd Marcus. "If it's minor, bring it out quickly and try to control the damage," he says. But he's vague about how to handle something that's bigger than a little pot-smoking in college.

The spiritual realpolitik is covered by Ralph Reed of Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition. He ticks off church denominations—like Southern Baptist—that he says "will credential you instantly with the pro-family, evangelical community," whose legions he estimates at 40 million. But claiming to have had a born-again experience isn't necessary to get these votes, he insists, adding: "If you try to rig it or script it, you'll repel people."

Finding a congenial electoral district concerns many students. Young Mr. Tripp wonders if it would be "selfish" to leave Massachusetts and move back to his native South Carolina, where he would be more apt to be elected. "Are we here just to run and win, or to spread our ideals?" he asks. "Maybe we should go to a liberal district and try to turn it around." A pragmatic student from Los Angeles responds: "The spoils go to the winner."

The hard-nosed approach seems to trouble Mr. Tripp. "My goodness, I sometimes wonder if I want to get involved in this dog-eat-dog world here," he says. His wife, Caroline, who is also enrolled, mentions that as students at Bob Jones University in Greenville, S.C., they were known as "Ron and Nancy." At this, a classmate smiles dreamily and says: "Yes, I can definitely picture you as president and first lady."

But the notion of political wedded bliss is an illusion about to be shattered, as the students hear from more than one congressman about the sorry state of family values in Washington. "This business can destroy your family if you let it take over," warns Rep. Frank Wolf of Virginia, citing the high divorce rate on Capitol Hill.

Surveying the room full of scrubbed, youthful faces, Rep. Wolf leaves with a note of encouragement: "You are as capable as any congressman," he says. "You couldn't do any worse, and you'll probably do a lot better."

Bush announced that the Iraqi government has stopped bombing Shiite Muslims living in the southern part of the country as a result of a no-fly zone imposed by the U.S. and its allies last month. Separately, a U.N. panel said destruction of Iraq's chemical arms is expected to take up to a year.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

Clinton Holds 10-Point Lead in Poll But Bush's Approval Rate Improves

By RICH JAROSLOVSKY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Democrat Bill Clinton retains a significant lead in the latest Wall Street Journal/NBC News presidential election poll, but President Bush is showing some signs of political life.

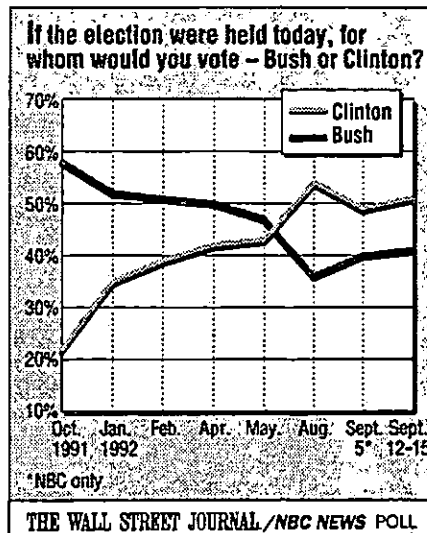
The poll, conducted Saturday through Tuesday, shows Mr. Clinton leading the president 51% to 41%. That is little changed from an NBC poll earlier this month that showed the Arkansas governor ahead by nine percentage points, but it represents a tightening of the race since the previous Journal/NBC poll, conducted in August, which showed Mr. Clinton ahead 54% to 36%.

Mr. Bush's upward movement in the poll reflects an improvement — the first in months — in voters' opinion of his job performance. Only 40% of the 1,506 registered voters surveyed approve of how the president is handling his job, while 53% disapprove. But that is still better than a month ago, when voters disapproved of his job performance 60% to 34%. And it marks the first poll since January that has shown any improvement in this measure.

The poll, which was conducted for the Journal and NBC by Democratic pollster Peter Hart and Republican pollster Vince Breglio, should give comfort to neither candidate. It shows that voters still have major doubts about both men on a number of key topics and suggests that their prospects largely depend on what issues the election revolves around. When the issue is framed in economic terms, Mr. Clinton triumphs; when it's framed as one of character and values, Mr. Bush is the favorite.

Three-quarters of voters are satisfied about Mr. Bush's character and personal values. But only 51% are satisfied with Mr. Clinton on that score; 42% harbor major doubts about him. (That is, however, an improvement from a July Journal/NBC poll, when voters had major doubts by 51% to 44%.) By 55% to 37%, they are satisfied with Mr. Clinton's and his wife Hillary's views on family values.

But on economic subjects and ideas for the future, Mr. Bush has the problems. The poll was conducted just after Mr. Bush's highly touted economic speech last week and his nationally televised 30-minute commercial. But the numbers suggest those efforts have done him little good with



a skeptical electorate.

On the subject of taxes, which the Republicans have identified as a major target for attacks on Mr. Clinton, voters are split evenly, at 44%, on whether they are satisfied with the Democratic nominee or have major doubts about him. But taxes are a far bigger problem for Mr. Bush: By a margin of 62% to 32%, they continue to have major doubts about the president's explanation for why he agreed to raise taxes in 1990 after pledging in 1988 that he would never do so.

Sixty percent of voters also have major doubts about Mr. Bush's goals for what he would do in a second term; 60% have major doubts about what programs he would cut to balance the budget.

Voters are split down the middle about Mr. Clinton's explanation of how he avoided the Vietnam-era draft, but by 58% to 34% they harbor major doubts about Mr. Bush's explanation of his role in the Iran-Contra scandal.

The poll suggests that Vice President Dan Quayle remains a drag on the Republican ticket. When the vice presidential candidates' names are added to the presidential preference question, Mr. Clinton's 10-point margin increases to 12 points, 52% to 40% — a small difference, but one that could be critical in a tight race.

And Ross Perot's potential re-entry into the presidential contest could further roil the waters of this already-turbulent campaign. The poll finds that in a three-way race, Mr. Clinton would lead with 39%, Mr. Bush would trail with 33%, and Mr. Perot would claim 18%.

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THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

House Defeats Bill to Widen SEC Role In Government-Securities Regulation

By JOHN CONNOR

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — The House soundly defeated a government-securities bill that had become embroiled in a bitter turf battle, probably killing the measure for the year.

The bill, backed by the powerful House Energy and Commerce and Ways and Means committees, was easily defeated, 279-124.

The outcome was a major victory for Rep. Henry Gonzalez (D., Texas), chairman of the House Banking Committee, who complained that the bill, which would expand the jurisdiction of the Securities and Exchange Commission, would do so at the expense of bank regulators, and trample on his panel's prerogatives. The bill excluded Banking Committee amendments seeking to ensure that bank regulators would have jurisdiction over banks that deal in government securities.

Rep. Edward Markey (D., Mass.), chairman of the House Telecommunications and Finance subcommittee, whose panel drafted much of the package, attributed the defeat chiefly to "process" concerns among House members. The bill was considered on the so-called suspension calendar, which usually is reserved for non-controversial measures and where a two-thirds majority is needed for passage.

Rep. Markey said that a decision will be

made in the next few days on whether to try to revive the measure. But he appeared doubtful that another attempt under routine legislative procedures will be possible this year given the limited time remaining in the session and the heavy weight of other legislative business. Rep. Markey said supporters of the bill used the suspension calendar because of time constraints, but Rep. Gonzalez accused them of "subterfuge" and of trying to circumvent his panel.

Rep. Gonzalez held out the possibility of bringing his panel's version of the bill to the House floor for consideration this year. Rep. Markey said he has no doubt that the bill crafted by the Energy and Commerce and the Ways and Means committees will prevail if time permits reconsideration under regular procedures.

Rep. John Dingell (D., Mich.), chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee, said during the debate that last year's Salomon Brothers Inc. bond scandal underscored the need to give the SEC new tools to police the market. The bill, among other things, would give the SEC the authority to require government-securities dealers and brokers to maintain records that could be transmitted electronically to the agency. This provision is opposed by the Treasury and the Federal Reserve.

The Bush administration reiterated its objections to important facets of the bill, but fell short of issuing a veto threat.

Bush Proposes Voluntary Leave Plan With Tax Credits to Counter Congress

By MICHEL MCQUEEN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — President Bush, seeking to counter a congressional measure that would require employers to offer unpaid family leave, proposed instead providing tax credits to small businesses that voluntarily offer such leave.

Mr. Bush's proposal has little chance of passage. It is intended mainly to help Mr. Bush out of a political quandary forced on him by the Democratic-controlled Congress, which last week approved legislation to require employers to offer as much as 12 weeks of unpaid leave to workers for the care of newborns or sick family members.

Mr. Bush has indicated he would veto the bill, which had passed the Senate by a voice vote and was approved last week by the House on a 241-161 vote — short of the number of votes required to override a veto.

Surrounded by GOP lawmakers yesterday, Mr. Bush accused the Democrats of "very peculiar and very political" timing in adopting the bill, suggesting their real motive was to embarrass him by forcing a veto on a popular measure before the November election. The latest Wall Street Journal/NBC poll, taken this week, showed that 63% of voters surveyed support the measure even if it would mean additional costs to business. That was less than the 71% who supported the measure in July.

The White House said its approach would cost between \$400 million to \$500 million annually, but Mr. Bush promised to offset that with spending cuts elsewhere. The White House plan would provide credits of up to \$20 a day for up to 60 days of leave in any 12 month period, or a maximum of \$1,200 per employee. It would cover firms with fewer than 500 workers.

The Democrats' mandatory approach

would exempt companies with fewer than 50 employees.

Mr. Bush vetoed family leave legislation in June 1990. He didn't provide any alternative then, saying he believed such programs should be voluntary. White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said the White House didn't submit any proposals sooner because Congress wasn't interested.

At a bipartisan news conference on Capitol Hill to urge Mr. Bush to sign Congress's family-leave bill, Republicans who have been proponents of the issue were largely unaware of the president's business-tax credit proposal. Oregon Sen. Bob Packwood, the top Republican on the tax-writing Senate Finance Committee, said he was notified by a White House aide just yesterday morning, though the aide had no details.

Republican supporters of Congress's bill stood by the legislation. As for the tax credit, Republican Rep. Marge Roukema of New Jersey said, "I am somewhat perplexed by the timing of the proposal," a matter of weeks before Congress's adjournment and the presidential election. The tax credit "could be a useful supplement," she said. "It is no substitute for the bill."

Both she and GOP Rep. Connie Morella of Maryland noted that a tax credit would cost the government, in contrast with the bill for unpaid leave. "It costs taxpayers money to subsidize businesses to do what I think they should already be doing," Rep. Roukema said.

Democratic Rep. William Clay of Missouri called the tax-credit idea "a smoke screen . . . the epitome of playing political games."

— Jackie Calmes contributed to this article.

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THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992

GOP, Lacking a Positive Message, Hones Tactic Of Making, Then Softening, Negative Assaults

By JILL ABRAMSON
And JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Never has a campaign eaten so many of its words.

It has become a familiar pattern. The Bush campaign or its surrogates launches some blistering attack on the Clinton-Gore ticket, or raises provocative and potentially divisive issues. Then, once the damage has been inflicted, the Republicans move to soften the attack, or withdraw it altogether.

Introducing President Bush — who earlier in the campaign vowed to stay out of "the sleaze business" — at a campaign rally in California last weekend, Rep. Robert Dornan likened the Democrats to characters in "The Wizard of Oz": "Gore is looking for a brain.

Hillary is looking for a heart. I hope the national media is not listening, but people tell me that Clinton is looking for Dorothy."

A White House press aide later explained Mr. Dornan's crack as "freedom of speech — we can't be responsible for it." The same maneuver was used to distance the president from introductory remarks by Georgia Rep. Newt Gingrich claiming the Democrats had a "Woody Allen plank" in their platform.

'Family Values' Pitch

The attack-and-pull-back tactic has also been on display in the campaign's "family values" pitch. In recent statements, Vice President Dan Quayle — whose attack on television's "Murphy Brown" last spring inaugurated the issue — has been attempting to modulate the message. Last week, Mr. Quayle sought to distance himself and the president from anti-homosexual speeches made by Pat Buchanan and Pat Robertson at the GOP convention in Houston: "I don't think you heard any of that rhetoric coming from me. You didn't hear it coming from the president."

Some of the Republican bobbing and weaving may be the result of campaign miscues. But the tactic also reflects Republican strategists' conclusion that they don't have a strong enough positive message to propel Mr. Bush to victory in his uphill battle — as well as their belief that negative tactics have worked for them in the past and will continue to do so.

"The Bush campaign is in a frantic search for an issue that cuts with voters,"

says John Deardourff, a veteran GOP campaign consultant. "The speed with which they are polling and doing focus groups means they know definitively what works and what doesn't. If the message doesn't work, you back off quickly. It's all an effort to explore what sticks."

Going to the Edge

Democrats complain that the strategy of attacking first and recanting later can inflict damage while minimizing the potential for backlash. "It's been much more pronounced this year," observes John Sasso, a Democratic consultant. "They go right to the edge, and then back away."

As a top adviser to Michael Dukakis four years ago, Mr. Sasso was on the receiving end of this strategem. He recalls how President Reagan at one point referred to Mr. Dukakis as "an invalid," fueling unfounded rumors that the Massachusetts Democrat had sought psychiatric treatment for depression. Soon thereafter, Idaho Sen. Steve Symms claimed he had been told of a photograph showing Kitty Dukakis burning an American flag at a Vietnam War protest rally.

Each charge was ultimately withdrawn — Mr. Reagan claimed he was making a casual joke; Mr. Symms went away quietly after he couldn't provide the photograph — but not before damage was done to the Dukakis campaign.

The Democrats also have had to back away from some of their surrogates. After California Rep. Maxine Waters, one of the national co-chairs of the Clinton campaign, called President Bush "racist" in a July speech, Vice President Quayle demanded an apology from Gov. Clinton. A Clinton spokeswoman recommended that

Mr. Quayle "go to the source" of the remark, and Rep. Waters refused to apologize, but Clinton campaign aides privately expressed discomfort over the congresswoman's choice of words.

Varied Targets

Yet such episodes on the Democratic side seem haphazard, while the frequency of GOP about-faces suggests the tactic is orchestrated. Indeed, the targets have varied according to the political threat of the moment:

—After Mr. Buchanan's strong showing against Mr. Bush in the New Hampshire primary, then-White House Chief of Staff Sam Skinner suggested that Mr. Buchanan was anti-Semitic. Later, senior Bush campaign aide Charles Black said he didn't consider Mr. Buchanan anti-Semitic.

—When Republican National Committee political director Mary Matalin attacked Gov. Clinton over "bimbo eruptions," Mr. Bush disavowed it and Ms. Matalin then apologized — sort of. Then, less than two weeks later, Barbara Bush, in a television interview, pointedly noted that "he [Clinton] never denied having a fling."

—Mrs. Bush herself has been a case study in sweet and sour. After Republican National Committee Chairman Rich Bond charged that Hillary Clinton had equated marriage and slavery, Mrs. Bush said she didn't like to see anyone going after Mrs. Clinton. Then, a few days later, she said Mrs. Clinton was fair game because her husband had suggested they would have a "co-presidency" — a term Gov. Clinton has never used.

—And after Marilyn Quayle's convention speech provoked a sour response from

Mixed Signals

A sampler of Republican back-and-forthing from the 1992 campaign.

First...	...Then
During the GOP primaries, then-White House Chief of Staff Skinner says Buchanan may be anti-Semitic.	Senior Bush adviser Black says Buchanan isn't biased.
The GOP adopts rigid anti-abortion language in its platform.	Bush and Quayle talk about how they would support a family member who chooses to have an abortion.
GOP official Mary Matalin attacks Clinton over "bimbo eruptions."	Bush disavows attack.
Party chairman Bond attacks Hillary Clinton as the GOP convention opens.	Barbara Bush expresses displeasure at attacks on Mrs. Clinton.
Albert Gore "Mr. Sell Out America."	Bush says, "The question the patriotism of the Democratic ticket."

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some working women — Mrs. Quayle declared that most women don't wish "to be liberated from their essential natures as women" — she wrote an op-ed piece in the New York Times saying that she valued all the choices women are making, whether to pursue careers or to stay home raising their families.

Nowhere has all the bobbing and weaving been more striking than in the development of the family values theme. Besides the Quayles' remarks and the gay-bashing in Houston, there was also President Bush's criticism of the Democrats for leaving God out of their platform and Mr. Gingrich's Woody Allen crack.

Since then, the Bush campaign has backed off, saying it wants to link family values to specific policies rather than general assertions of the GOP's superior character. President Bush last week said that he wasn't suggesting that his family was any better than Mr. Clinton's and that he wasn't criticizing single mothers, as his own daughter was one for a while.

One factor in all the seemingly conflicting statements is the increasingly fractious Republican coalition. Without the unifying issues of taxes and communism, the party is struggling to define a new framework. The result is that Messrs. Bush and Quayle are trying to put together a coalition of remarkably disparate groups: small-government libertarians; socially liberal economic conservatives; economically liberal social conservatives; anti-abortion voters; moderate suburbanites, and religious fundamentalists.

That means it's useful for the GOP ticket to associate itself sometimes with anti-gay attitudes — by letting Mr. Buchanan speak his mind at the convention, for instance — but to distance itself from such attitudes at other times.

Senior Bush aides don't deny that a good cop, bad cop approach is a deliberate part of their strategy, but say that's typical in presidential campaigns; vice presidential candidates, for example, are usually used to rap the opposition more harshly than the presidential candidates do.

"It's natural that he [Bush] tries to be more discreet" in discussing the opposition, says Mr. Black, the campaign's senior strategist. "When you're running behind against a guy with a lot of vulnerabilities, I hope everybody is a bad cop except the candidate. He can be a good cop and the rest of us will be bad cops."

Mr. Black attributes the charge-withdrawal controversies to the fact that "we have a lot of strong spokesmen who get covered" by "a hostile press." Marlin Fitzwater, Mr. Bush's press secretary, also complains of media distortion. "Most of the stuff gets hardened by the reporting," he says. "Then you're always having to explain it, and the explanation sounds softer."

Los Angeles Times 9/17

GOP Betting Issue of Trust is

Enough to Keep Bush in Office



Reuters

Bush camp hopes to nibble away at Clinton's lead by demonstrating his alleged untrustworthiness.

Campaign's strategy relies on raising doubts about Clinton's draft record, actions as Arkansas governor, economic plan and stance on key issues.

By ROBERT SHOGAN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

WASHINGTON—By unveiling his "Agenda for American Renewal" amid much fanfare last week, President Bush fostered the impression that he wanted to turn the presidential campaign into a high-level debate over economic policy.

But that notion was effectively undermined by the hullabaloo over the back-to-back appearances of both the President and Democratic challenger Bill Clinton at the National Guard Assn. convention in Salt Lake City, where the focus was on the prolonged controversy over Clinton's Vietnam War draft record.

Even before Bush appeared on stage Tuesday, his voice choked with emotion as he implicitly questioned whether Clinton met the "highest standard" for sending young Americans into battle, the real outlines of the President's strategy were emerging.

"We know what they're going to try to do and that's destroy Bill Clinton," said one former Southern Democratic governor connected with the Clinton high command.

Republican strategists put it differently. "We don't use the 'A' [attack] word or the 'N' [negative] word," said one Administration insider. "We call it 'contrast.'"

"We'd like voters to know what they are buying here," said David Tell, a Bush campaign senior policy adviser heavily involved in opposition research.

But they leave little doubt that their campaign will be dominated by a massive assault on Clinton's trustworthiness, with particular attention to the draft issue.

"The biggest thing that's going to happen in the next seven weeks is that people are going to know a lot more about Clinton than they do now," said Bush campaign pollster Fred Steeper.

There are risks to this attack strategy because the Democrats are certain to mount a counterbarrage charging that the GOP attack is merely a smoke screen to make voters forget the sorry state of the economy. But the Republicans seem to have little choice but to go after Clinton's character, hammer and tongs.

At this late date even Republicans concede that the President's "renewal agenda"—largely a melange of earlier proposals—has little chance of changing voters' minds about his ability to manage the economy.

"People were saying: 'You have to have a plan,' and we had to get over that," explained a senior

Los Angeles Times

White House official. "Nobody ever thought it was the Messiah."

"So far as Bush is concerned, whatever people think about his leadership abilities, nothing can be done about that in the next few weeks because he has been around for four years and has a record and set of impressions," said Everett C. Ladd, director of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at the University of Connecticut.

Nor does the prospect of face-to-face candidate debates offer much hope of closing the gap.

Barring a dramatic mishap by Clinton, unlikely in view of his seasoning in such confrontations during his campaign for the nomination, Republicans see little hope of Bush picking up much ground. They point out that, other things being equal, it is the challenger rather than the incumbent who generally benefits most from such dual exposure.

That leaves the Republicans with a battle plan designed to nibble away at Clinton's lead by a point or two a week by demonstrating the challenger's alleged untrustworthiness.

To close the 12- to 15-point gap with Clinton, says GOP pollster Vince Breglio, who worked for the Bush campaign in 1988, the GOP "must shift voter attention away from the question of 'Who is best

positioned to get the economy moving?' to 'Who do you trust to run the country for the next four years?' That's the question they want voters to take to the ballot box in November."

Besides the draft, there are three main lines of attack intended to underline the trust question and help convince voters that Clinton is not what he claims to be:

—Clinton's gubernatorial record. By depicting Clinton as "the failed governor of a small state," Republicans hope to rebut the central claim of his candidacy: that he can lift the nation out of the economic doldrums.

"After having Gov. Clinton for 12 years, one in four folks in Arkansas don't even have health insurance," Bush told a pancake breakfast in Painseville, Ohio, on Labor Day. "And Bill Clinton has promised he'll do for America what he's done for Arkansas. And my question is, why should we let him?"

—Clinton's economic plan. The thrust of the Republican argument is to attempt to expose as fraudulent another Clinton claim—that he is "a different kind of Democrat" from the "taxers and spenders" of the party's past.

"He wants to raise taxes by \$150 billion," Bush told

a Labor Day picnic in Waukesha, Wis. "And that's just for openers."

—Clinton's campaign performance. By concentrating on Clinton's tendency to shift ground on controversial issues, Republicans figure they can generate more evidence for their case against the Democratic standard-bearer.

"He tries to have it both ways," Vice President Dan Quayle charged last Sunday on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley." "He has a problem with the draft. He has a problem telling us whether he's for the North American Free Trade Agreement. . . . He has a problem telling us where he stands on the F-15 sales to Saudia Arabia."

As Quayle's remarks suggest, Republicans see the draft controversy as a linchpin to the character issue, tying together all the other parts of their argument.

"We're going to keep working on it," says Bush pollster Steeper, who sees the draft issue in two parts. "One is that he took steps to avoid service, and the other is whether he has been completely forthcoming about the steps he took. So even if people forgive the first, they are less likely to forgive the second if they are convinced he has been evasive about it."

Democrats say their polls show that the draft issue has not cut into Clinton's lead. But Paul Tully, Democratic Party national political director and chief liaison to the Clinton campaign, admits it creates "noise" that interferes with Clinton's economic message.

In his speech to the National Guard meeting in Salt Lake City, Bush avoided attacking Clinton directly about the tangled tale of maneuvering that allowed him to avoid military service. But the former World War II Navy flier did remind his military audience of those who paid the ultimate price of war, in an unspoken but hard to miss contrast with Clinton.

"We can never forget that we ask our presidents to lead the military, to make the awful choices of asking your sons and daughters to go into harm's way," Bush said.

Just by appearing at the guard conclave—and prompting Clinton to change his plans and show up too—the President got the controversy onto TV news and the front pages of most newspapers.

For his part, Clinton ignored the issue in speaking to the guardsmen. Instead, he focused on his plans for streamlining national defense and on the need to overhaul the economy.

Over the long run, his advisers are determined to keep voter attention focused on such issues. But they are braced for the Republican onslaught on the draft and other fronts and are determined to beat it back.

"This ain't 1988," says Tully, recalling the failure of that campaign's Democratic nominee, Michael S. Dukakis, to respond to Bush's attacks on him. "We'll never let that happen again."

Times staff writer Doyle McManus contributed to this story.

Los Angeles Times

Clinton Gives Details of His Urban Aid Plan

By DAVID LAUTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Campaigning at a job training program in South-Central Los Angeles Wednesday, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton fleshed out his plans for urban aid and community redevelopment, calling for a four-year, \$6-billion program to "let poor people participate in the free enterprise system."

The overall size of Clinton's community development program has been known since June, when he first unveiled his economic plan. But Wednesday's announcements, made at a rally at the Maxine Waters Employment Preparation Center, provided substantial new detail.

Clinton says he would pay for this program and others he has proposed with a mixture of tax increases on the wealthy and on some corporations, and defense cuts somewhat deeper than those President Bush has suggested. Critics charge his plan overestimates the amount of new revenue his proposed tax increases would bring in and underestimates the cost of the promises he has made.

After visiting South-Central, Clinton went on to speak at a Mexican Independence Day rally in Baldwin Park in the San Gabriel Valley. In the evening, he attended a Beverly Hills fund-raising party featuring Barbra Streisand at the home of movie producer Frederick W. (Ted) Field. The event was expected to raise more than \$1.2 million for the Democratic Party.

The centerpiece of Clinton's urban proposal is a plan to establish as many as 100 community development banks that would provide loans to residents and businesses in inner-city areas. The plan would "bring free enterprise back to South-Central Los Angeles and the

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inner cities of America," Clinton told a crowd gathered at the employment preparation center. "People know they need independence, not dependence," he said. "They want a hand up, not a handout."

Clinton also endorsed a small but potentially controversial measure that opponents could charge fits more comfortably in the "handout" category. The plan would give welfare recipients and low-income workers an incentive to save by allowing them to place money in special savings accounts, similar to individual retirement accounts. They would receive federal matching funds of up to \$1,800 per year.

Families with income up to twice the poverty level could participate. Currently, the federal government defines as poor a family of four with an income below \$12,674. Money in the accounts could be used for education, job training, purchase of a first home or for retirement.

Under current laws and regulations, families on welfare are penalized if they try to save money. Reversing that situation and helping people save money to better themselves would help get people off welfare, eventually reducing costs to the government, Clinton policy director Bruce Reed said. "It's a way to help people out of poverty," he said.

A written description of the program distributed by campaign officials notes that "the federal government spends billions to provide middle- and upper-income Americans with incentives to save—through home mortgage interest deductions and tax deductions for pension accounts." The new proposal would "provide the same incentives to low-income Americans," the statement said.

All plans that involve giving additional money to welfare recipients are likely candidates for political trouble. To reduce the opposition, the plan would start only as a "demonstration" project to test the idea with funds of \$400 million over four years—enough to assist only a fraction of the number of people who would be eligible.

Providing new detail for Clinton's plans has been part of the campaign's strategy to give voters a clearer idea of the goals of a Clinton Administration.

The more detailed plan also demonstrates several of the strengths and weaknesses of the candidate's overall approach.

Clinton's stress on incentives for private-sector investment in inner-city neighborhoods marks a sharp change from the traditional methods associated with his party—direct infusions of taxpayer funds distributed by government agencies. Some of his ideas, in fact,

are similar to those pushed by Jack Kemp, the Bush Administration's secretary of housing and urban development.

But Clinton shares with past Democrats a penchant for expansive rhetoric that at times contrasts sharply with the far more modest dimensions of the plans he has proposed.

"I do not want to win this election in 48 days simply in order to change my address and go to Camp David on the weekends. I want your life to change," he told his listeners at the employment center. With his proposals, he said, "we could revitalize South-Central Los Angeles in a very short time."

Racial tensions, he predicted, would be far less "if everyone thought that if they worked hard and played by the rules, they could get ahead."

Those who have worked in programs similar to the ones Clinton supports, however, paint a more limited picture.

For example, Clinton's proposal for a network of economic development banks in inner cities around the country is based on the experience of the South Shore Development Bank in Chicago. That bank, which lends money primarily to residents of Chicago's largely black South Side, has been credited with bringing economic

growth to a poor area and has been widely studied as a model for how private banks can participate in urban economic redevelopment.

Bank officials, however, take pains to note that their success has come slowly over a period of more than a decade. And while conditions in the south shore area have improved, the neighborhood has by no means been lifted out of poverty.

Clinton's plan would foster more banks like Chicago's by providing \$500 million in start-up capital for new community financial institutions. The banks would be standard for-profit enterprises, but their

mission would be limited to providing loans for business development in specific low-income communities.

In addition, large banks would get an incentive to help out the new ventures by changes in an existing federal law—the Community Reinvestment Act—that now requires banks to set aside a portion of their loan funds for investments in their local communities.

Critics charge that that law has not been enforced, allowing banks to avoid investing in low-income neighborhoods. Clinton pledged to step up enforcement.

At the same time, he would allow large banks to meet their obligations under the law by funneling money through the new community banks, thereby increasing the money the community banks have available to lend. Banks that participate would be rewarded by having the government slightly reduce the amount they are required to set aside for community purposes.

Clinton also repeated support for legislation to establish up to 125 enterprise zones around the country—areas where federal taxes and regulations may be eased to encourage new business growth. The Administration also supports that idea, but bills to establish such zones remain tied up in negotiations between the White House and Congress.

Clinton's stress on incentives for private-sector investment in inner-city neighborhoods marks a sharp change from the traditional methods associated with his party.

Los Angeles Times

Bush Proposes Alternative to Family Leave Measure

■ **Benefits:** President's plan is voluntary and would offer tax credits to businesses that give workers time off.

By JAMES GERSTENZANG
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—President Bush, faced with the political dilemma of vetoing a popular family leave bill, proposed an alternative Wednesday that would provide \$500 million in tax credits for businesses that give workers time off for family emergencies or to care for new children.

Two years after he vetoed a family leave bill—and on the eve of the near-certain veto of a similar measure that polls show has overwhelming public support—the White House hastily assembled a substitute that would give companies flexibility in meeting personnel needs but would not force them

to grant leaves.

The White House argues that companies compelled to provide the benefits would make up the costs by firing workers.

The timing of congressional action on the legislation, approved by the Senate last month and the House last Thursday, guarantees that presidential politics will play into the debate over family leave. The White House accused Democratic leaders in Congress of delaying action until well into the election season, and the President said the timing was "very peculiar and highly political."

Also Wednesday, Bush prepared for a campaign rally in Oklahoma today at which he will present the

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FAMILY: Bush Proposes New Leave Measure

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flip side of the economic plan he released last week. He will describe his vision of what Democratic nominee Bill Clinton would do to the economy if elected.

The purpose is "to sharpen the differences intellectually with the other guy," a senior White House official said. "We're going to say, 'Be careful when you ask for change; you may get what you ask for.'"

The family leave debate places Bush in a difficult position. He has sought to make "family values" a central theme of his campaign. But his opposition to the "mandated benefits" in the bill means he is almost certain to veto it.

Under the measure, large firms would be required to grant workers up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave for childbirth, arrival of an adopted child, or serious illness of the employee or a child, spouse or parent. Only firms with 50 or more workers would be covered by the bill, a provision that would exclude 95% of all businesses.

Under Bush's plan, employers could claim tax credits for the costs of continuing health and pension benefits for workers on leave, as well as for hiring temporary workers and granting

partial pay for workers on leave.

The tax credit would apply to up to 20% of the employee-benefit costs, a maximum of \$100 a week per employee for 12 weeks.

It would cost the Treasury \$500 million in fiscal year 1993 and \$2.7 billion over five years, the White House estimated. Under federal budget law, Bush must specify programs to cut to make up for the lost revenue. He said any of the \$77.7 billion in spending cuts he has recommended to Congress this year "would be acceptable."

"This is not federally mandated leave," Bush said in a written message to Congress. "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."

In a statement issued by his campaign, Clinton said: "Today, George Bush showed his true colors on family values. Given a chance to help working families, he's walked away again."

"After four years of denying working Americans the right that people in 72 other nations have, Bush offered a last-minute mandate," said Clinton, who favors the congressional measure. "His tax credit does nothing to guarantee that

workers will have leave or a job if they're allowed to return."

The tax credit would be limited to companies with 500 or fewer employees, White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater said, because "the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that 89% to 90% of all companies of medium and large size already have family leave policies, and the great need is at the lower end."

"We think one of the advantages of this is that the Democratic proposal . . . doesn't apply to companies under 50 people, which are really the people who need this and the ones who most seldom have it," he said.

In Congress, both Democrats and Republicans criticized Bush.

"White House actions speak louder than campaign trail words," said Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources. "If President Bush believes in family values, how can he veto the family leave bill?"

A bipartisan coalition of congressional leaders urged Bush to approve the legislation, and Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) called on him "not to miss this golden opportunity—take another look at it."

Los Angeles Times

Clinton Leading Bush by 15 Points

■ **Survey:** The governor's image is found to have improved, despite sustained GOP attacks. At the same time, support for the President has softened.

By JACK NELSON
TIMES WASHINGTON BUREAU CHIEF

WASHINGTON—Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton holds a solid 15-point lead over President Bush in a new nationwide poll released Wednesday, and the survey shows that Clinton's image has improved, despite repeated Republican attacks on his character and credibility.

Demonstrating strength across the demographic spectrum, Clinton captured the support of 53% of those interviewed, compared to 38% for Bush. At the same time, the new poll by Times Mirror Co. found that voters' image of Bush has deteriorated and that support for him has softened while Clinton's image and support have firmed up.

The Times Mirror Co. is the owner of the Los Angeles Times and other newspaper, broadcasting and publishing enterprises.

The new findings are ominous for White House strategists. Since polling of presidential races began 56 years ago, a candidate has never been as much as 15 points behind at this stage of the campaign and managed to bounce back to victory.

The Times Mirror poll shows a dramatic shift in Clinton's favor in voters' views of the two candidates' likability. Only 32% said they found Bush personally likable, a drop of 12 percentage points since March. Clinton's rating during that period increased by 16 percentage points, to 49%.

Ever since the Democratic National Convention in July, when independent Ross Perot announced that he would not be a candidate and Clinton surged in the

polls, Bush's support ratings have been stuck just below 40%.

Doug Bailey, a leading Republican political consultant, said: "That means that 60% of people who know the President very well have decided they don't want to vote for him. He needs to change their views about him and that's a tough thing for him to do at this stage."

The Times Mirror poll suggests that Perot, who has vowed to re-enter the campaign if Bush and Clinton continue to sidestep the issue of runaway federal budget deficits, could still have an impact on the election, especially if voters become disillusioned with the other two candidates. But he probably would be little more than a spoiler.

Before Perot pulled out of the race, about 33% of registered voters had said they supported him. Now, the Times Mirror poll found 28% say they would be fairly likely to vote for Perot if he jumps back into the race, but 40% say they would not vote for him in any circumstance.

Because Perot's name is expected to be on the ballot in all 50 states, a substantial protest vote for him could affect the outcome in a close race and it probably would go against Clinton. Former Perot supporters who would likely vote for the Texas billionaire if he runs now favor Clinton by a 2-1 margin.

The poll of 1,175 registered voters is the fourth national survey released in recent days to give Clinton a lead in the mid-teens. It was conducted Sept. 10-13 and the results have a possible sampling error of plus or minus 4 percentage points.

Results of the new survey and of previous Times Mirror polls indicate that since mid-July, the Bush campaign has made no headway in pursuing two goals it considers crucial: It has not convinced voters that conditions in the country will improve and that Bush would bring about needed change if he is reelected. Nor has it convinced voters that Clinton would make

in a Nationwide Poll

major mistakes if he were elected.

The poll also offered evidence that the Bush campaign's heavy emphasis on "family values," the central theme of last month's GOP convention, probably backfired, turning off as many voters as it turned on. In particular, the tactic apparently has eroded Bush's support among younger voters and better educated people who until recently had given the President more support than other groups.

Despite Clinton's commanding lead in almost every category of the extensive survey, most voters still consider themselves only moderately enthusiastic supporters of either candidate. Of Clinton's supporters, 29% see themselves as anti-Bush, while 21% are pro-Clinton. Among Bush backers, 20% are pro-Bush and 16% are anti-Clinton.

Bush's support has softened in recent weeks, with only 14% of his followers strongly behind him, according to the survey. That is about as firm as Gov. Michael S. Dukakis' support was at this time in 1988.

Clinton's support has been solidly behind him—and about as firm as Bush's support was in September, 1988, when he was headed for an overwhelming victory over Dukakis.

Almost 90% of Democrats and 80% of blacks back Clinton. He holds a 2-1 lead among voters from households with annual incomes below \$20,000. He leads by 2-1 margins among big city voters and holds solid leads in suburbs and in non-metropolitan areas.

Clinton also leads Bush among Catholic voters and white male voters, but the President leads among white Protestants and white Southern males.

Bush trails in every region of the country—by 57% to 30% in the West, where he does the poorest, and by 50% to 44% in the South, where he does best and where Bush strategists feel he must win overwhelmingly if he is to be reelected. Clinton leads by 53% to 38% in the Midwest, another crucial battleground, and by 55% to 35% in the East.

Bush, at last month's GOP convention in Houston, cited President Harry S. Truman's come-from-behind victory in 1948 over New York Gov. Thomas E. Dewey as the model for his campaign. In that election, Truman won only after narrowing Dewey's early 13-point lead in the Gallup Poll to 8 points by mid-September and 6 points by late September.

In the 1968 election, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey came the closest of any presidential candidate to overcoming a 15-point lead in mid-September, but eventually lost the final popular vote, 43% to 42%, with former Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace siphoning off 15%.

The Times Mirror poll found that, unlike four years ago, Bush has been unable to unify his core constituencies. In fact, his campaign seems to have had the opposite effect.

Bush may have shored up his support among conservatives with a social agenda by sounding the "family values" theme, but in the process he appears to have alienated socially moderate, economically conservative Republicans and independents.

Young moderate independents who lean to the GOP and formed strong voting blocks for Bush and President Ronald Reagan before him now favor Clinton by a 48%-37% margin.

While the Bush campaign has established itself as having more traditional family and sexual values than Clinton's, it also has moved to the right of the average American voter in this area and now finds that pluralities of voters under 50 years of age, college educated voters and voters in the West agree more with Clinton on these issues than they do with Bush.

Voters continue to rate Bush as "the good family man" much more often than they do Clinton—50% to 22%. But since a poll last March, Bush's standing as the more "intelligent" candidate has shrunk from a margin of 30 points to 4 points—34% to 30%—with the margin of error, a statistical tie.

Los Angeles Times

Defense Ties Bush's Iraq Policy to Bank Loans

■ **Courts:** The President's name was mentioned for the first time during the sentencing hearing for the former banker who pleaded guilty in the BNL investigation.

By DOUGLAS FRANTZ
TIMES STAFF WRITER

ATLANTA—President Bush's name was raised for the first time Wednesday in the sentencing hearing for a former banker who engineered \$5 billion in illicit loans that helped build Iraq's war machine.

Bush's prewar policy toward Baghdad has hung like a storm cloud over events leading up to the hearing in federal court here. But on Wednesday, the defense lawyer described Bush's secret 1989 order mandating closer ties to Iraq as part of a deliberate U.S. foreign policy. That policy, said lawyer Bobby Lee Cook, allowed the loan scheme to thrive and had the effect of restricting the federal investigation into it.

During a day of withering cross-examination of the senior federal investigator or the case, Cook also exposed what appeared to be substantial flaws in the government's three-year BNL investigation.

Cook's client, Christopher P. Drogoul, 43, was the Atlanta branch manager for Banco Nazionale del Lavoro, which is owned by the Italian government. He pleaded guilty in June to conspiracy, money laundering and fraud in connection with the massive loans to Iraq.

Claiming that Drogoul broke his agreement to cooperate with them, prosecutors refused to support a lighter sentence and are seeking a harsh prison term for the ex-banker.

The severity of the potential prison term—and the limitations on the federal judge's ability to reduce the sentence without support from the government—has led to speculation that Cook may ask the court for permission to withdraw the plea and take the case to trial.

Drogoul would appear to have little to lose by withdrawing the plea and facing trial. He has been held without bond since April and his family was evicted from their home on Monday.

The government claims that Drogoul executed the scheme without the knowledge of his superiors at BNL headquarters in Rome. Cook's task in winning any lighter sentence hinges on convincing U.S. District Judge Marvin H. Shoob not only that BNL officials in Rome knew but that the U.S. government countenanced the scheme as part of its pro-Iraq tilt.

In scathing questioning of federal investigator Arthur J. Wade, Cook elicited information that seemed to raise doubts in the judge's mind about the thoroughness of the federal investigation.

Wade acknowledged that no investigator had examined the minutes of the meetings of the BNL board of directors to see whether the members were aware of Drogoul's lending, that he did not know the names of any of the directors and that a planned trip to Rome and Turkey to interview people in the case was blocked by the Justice Department in Washington.

"As far as you know as you sit on the stand today, not one American official who is interested in the investigation of this case has set one foot in BNL's offices in Rome, right or wrong?" Cook demanded.

"That's correct," replied Wade.

**'The government
is not on trial
here. Our
investigation is
not on trial here.'**

GERRILYN G. BRILL
U.S. attorney

Cook sketched a variety of policy considerations that he claimed hampered the BNL investigation. He also questioned Wade about Bush's National Security Directive 26, the Oct. 2, 1989, order mandating closer ties with Baghdad and about a meeting Bush had while vice president in which he promised the Iraqi ambassador that sales of high-tech goods would be increased.

Wade defended the investigation, saying that it had not been affected by political considerations. With Cook's challenges at a pitch, acting U.S. Atty. Gerrilyn G. Brill rose to her feet and objected.

"The government is not on trial here," she said indignantly. "Our investigation is not on trial here. Mr. Drogoul had pleaded guilty."

But Shoob several times indicated that the government's conduct of the case is indeed on trial.

"I do intend to consider whether the government was aware of these transactions and either approved of the transactions . . . or was aware of them and did nothing about it," said Shoob. "I think that might have a bearing on whether a downward departure [lesser sentence] is authorized."

High-Tech Effects to Show What Bush Is Fighting For

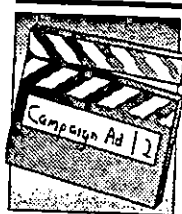
President Bush's campaign began airing an ad in select television markets last weekend that highlights his agenda for economic renewal. The campaign refuses to disclose where, when or how often the new ad will run.

The Ad: The ad's opening image is a black video screen. "The world is in transition," Bush is heard saying while those words are typed in green computer characters on the screen. "The defining challenge of the '90s is to win the economic competition." Bush is now seen speaking, his image taken off a TV screen in a technique aimed at giving the ad verisimilitude. The ad then switches back and forth between Bush's face, the computer screen and images of

military jets, a steel mill and a cargo ship on the high seas. As keywords are seen typed on the computer screen, Bush says: "Here's what I'm fighting for: Open markets for American products, lower government spending, tax relief, opportunity for small business competition, ready for the 21st Century." The ad concludes with the words "President Bush" typed on the computer screen.

Analysis: The ad's dramatic use of montage and computer-related imagery seek to visually reinforce the idea that Bush has a contemporary vision for the future—contrary to the criticism that he lacks an agenda. In terms of content, Bush's phrase "Here's what I'm fighting for" could leave the misimpression that his Democratic foe, Bill Clinton, has not offered proposals on these issues. On tax relief, for instance, while Bush has called for unspecified tax reductions and a cut in all capital gains taxes, Clinton favors a more targeted form of capital gains tax relief aimed at specific industries as long as the investments are held for a certain length of time.

—THOMAS B. ROSENSTIEL



AD
WATCH
Campaign '92

■ One in an
occasional series

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ms. Brenda Buza
HCR 71, Box 142
Machias, Maine 04654

*Arthur
Grant -
GB Teacher file*



THE PRESIDENT

September 17, 1992

Dear Ms. Buza,

Thanks for your touching letter about Mr. Grant. I am one of his biggest fans, so his strong words of support mean so much. Please let him know that I appreciate his thinking of me and send my warmest best wishes.

Your confidence and support also mean a lot to me and I am grateful to have your vote again this year. With sincere thanks to you and our dear friend, Arthur Grant,

Brenda - I learned an awful lot from "Mr. Grant" - a lot about 'right from wrong'. He was tough but very fair -

Sincerely,

AB

Should I post in Grant's comp file? His letter attached.

cc: (in & outs)
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)
✓ Jan Burmeister
(for Priv)

Jan Burmeister



THE PRESIDENT

September 18, 1992

Dear Mr. Grant,

Just today I saw a wonderful letter from a Brenda Buza, whom you know.

She said some wonderful things about you, stating that you had vouched for my character.

I just want to thank you for that. I told her, in reply to her letter, that you had taught me a lot about life-about "right from wrong".

I hope this finds you in good health. This has been a mean and ugly year, but I am confident we will win. I want to finish the job, mend the sluggish economy and do more for the young people of this country.

Warmest Personal Regards,

CB

Brenda-
I wrote this to
Mr. G. today

THE

Mr. Arthur E. Grant
Cherryfield, Maine 04622

Dear Mr. Grant,

Just today I saw a wonderful letter from a Brenda Buza, whom you know.

She said some wonderful things about you, stating that you had vouched for my character.

I just want to thank you for that. I told her, in reply to her letter, that you had taught me a lot about life-about "right from wrong".

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Warmest Personal Regards,

Ag Buza *

* Poppy back
+ her