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--- Monday --- September 21, 1992 ---

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--- THE DAILY BRIEFING ON AMERICAN POLITICS ---

Updated Each Morning At 11:50

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282 North Washington Street, Falls Church, VA (703) 237-5130

QUAYLE DRAFT ISSUE RETURNS

N.Y. TIMES cites "favoritism"
in '69 IN Natl Guard spot. (#2)
TUNE IN TONIGHT: CBS
couldn't buy more free press
for "Murphy" premiere. (#3)

MIDWESTERN MANIFESTO

IL: Clinton 19-point lead,
2-1 among Reagan Dems. (#14)
OH: Clinton by 10 pts. (#15)
IN: Bush-Clinton even; 42%
say Quayle not qualified. (#18)
WI: Clinton by 9. (#18)
MI: Reagan Dems in Macomb
Co. get Clinton pitch. (#16)
IA: Clinton by 19. (#18)
MO: St. Louis first major
paper to endorse Clinton.

AND OTHER BATTLEFIELDS ...

FL: Statistical tie. (#14)
NJ: Rep. Roukema (R) leads
family leave revolt. (#17)
KY: Clinton by 13. (#18)

SENATE WATCH

AZ: Mechem qualifies. (#19)
CA: 20-pt leads for Boxer,
Feinstein. (#26)
IL: Big Braun lead. (#21)

NEWSWEEK: 23% FOR PEROT (#27)

SPOTLIGHT

ENJOY THE VIEW

With new "comparative"
ads, the campaign's high-
water mark might have been
yesterday. Once you TV-
attack, you rarely go back.

New Clinton economy spots
are more pointed. One
mixes Bush quotes with
figures on downturn; in
other, Clinton hits
"trickle-down," while
touting his own plan. (#4)
MI radio spots highlight
MSU debate refusal. (#16)

The Camp David VCR said
to be whirring with draft
spots. One preview has
"Good Morning Vietnam" DJ
attacking Clinton directly.
Nothing on air yet. (#1)

With GOP hoping to scare
anti-Bush voters back home,
and Clinton sticking to
"I'm not Bush" theme, we've
probably seen the end of
TV's "feel good" period.

===== QUOTE OF THE DAY =====

"If George Bush doesn't understand the problem,
how can he solve it?"

-- Clinton ad hitting Bush on the economy, mult., 9/21. (#4)

THE APN BULLETIN BOARD

FROM TODAY'S GREENWIRE: In exclusive interview, Gore says Bush, Quayle "extremists" over global eco-crisis inaction.
FROM TODAY'S DAILY REPORT CARD: 9 of 10 KY students failed to demonstrate "proficiency" on new statewide assessment.
FROM TODAY'S ABORTION REPORT: AZ pro-life initiative called unconstitutional and ordered off the Nov. ballot.
FROM TODAY'S AMERICAN HEALTH LINE: Behind-the-scenes look at Dem efforts to prevent "unholy alliance" on health reform.

HOTLINE/DATABASE INDEX

WHITE HOUSE '92

DRAFT: Report suggests Clinton contradictions. (#1)
DRAFT: Issue resurfaces for Quayle. (#2)
MURPHY BROWN: The moment we've all been waiting for. (#3)
CLINTON: "First negative ad" hits bush on economy. (#4)
CLINTON: Sitting on the lead with a quarter left to play. (#5)
BUSH AND FAMILY LEAVE: Makes pitch to working women. (#6)
BUSH MESSAGE: Drafting a two-pronged attack. (#7)
BUSH: To preach global economic message at U.N. (#8)
PEROT: "The networks made me do it." (#9)
DEBATES: Nothing ventured, nothing gained. (#10)

THE TOP TEN

CA (54): GOP platform could mean more Bush trouble. (#11)
TX (32): TX GOP fires consultant over newspaper column. (#12)
FL (25): Another poll shows it a toss-up. (#13)
IL (22): Clinton lead at 19 points. (#14)
OH (21): Poll shows Clinton up 10 points. (#15)
MI (18): Clinton pitches to Reagan Dems. (#16)
NJ (15): Roukema boycotts Bush family leave visit. (#17)
THE OTHER FORTY: DE, IN, KY, WI, IA. (#18)

SENATE WATCH:

AZ (#19)
CT (#20)
IL (#21)
IN (#22)
NY (#23)
PA (#24)
WI (#25)

CALIFORNIA CABLE: SENATE: Both women have 20 pt. leads. (#26)

POLL UPDATE

NEWSWEEK: 23% say they'd vote Perot. (#27)
USA TODAY/CNN/GALLUP: Clinton holds his lead on economy. (#28)
BATTLEGROUND TRACKING: Race narrows at week's end. (#29)

TV MONITOR (#30)

???? OVERLOOKED ???? ?

ATTENTION SMUG BELTWAY TYPES: According to the latest N.Y. TIMES' best seller list, Ross Perot's "United We Stand" remains the paperback No. 1. The WASH. POST best seller list, however, puts Perot's book at No. 4. While the TIMES reflects national sales, the POST only measures books sold in the metro DC area.

^{THE WHITE HOUSE}
*1 DRAFT: REPORT SUGGESTS CLINTON CONTRADICTIONS

As Clinton received an endorsement 9/20 from retired Adm. Wm Crowe -- JCS chair under Bush and Reagan -- "he faced sharp new questions about the extent of his efforts to avoid the draft." At a Little Rock news conference with Crowe, Clinton "disputed" a N.Y. TIMES report he sought "special treatment" by contacting ex-Sen. J. Wm Fulbright (D-AR) in 1969 (Chen, L.A. TIMES, 9/20).

THE REPORT: N.Y. TIMES' Suro reported the campaign acknowledged 9/19 Clinton requested help from Fulbright "when he was trying to win a spot" with the Univ. of AR's ROTC program. A document in Fulbright's archives suggests Fulbright's top aide, Lee Williams, discussed Clinton's ROTC request "with Army officials and was familiar with the details of the arrangement Mr. Clinton was seeking." Clinton had worked in Fulbright's office a year earlier while he was a student at Georgetown. But, Fulbright's archives also show "the Senator was providing assistance to a number of others at the same time." Clinton press sec. Dee Dee Myers issued a statement "affirming the request for help": "I'm sure if anyone asked us about it we said, yes, it was true. We all knew about it and always acknowledged it among ourselves. Clinton probably acknowledged it at some point, but it probably never appeared in print." But Suro notes, the statement came two days after Clinton aide Betsey Wright said "Clinton had no specific recollection of any specific actions" of contacting Fulbright's office (9/19). W. POST's Edsall & Balz note, "there is no direct quotation from Clinton that could be found in electronic databases of published information" (9/20). Clinton for the first time, said the draft system itself provided for "special treatment": "If you go back and look at who got deferments and why ... there was a system, I think, that plainly favored people who were well educated and had options that they could pursue that others didn't" (DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 9/20).

CROWE: Crowe defended Clinton's lack of military service and said questions about his draft status were "divisive and peripheral" and "an example of how the political process had a 'tendency to take flimsy evidence and reach grand conclusions'" (Ifill, N.Y. TIMES, 9/20). But Crowe insisted his endorsement should "in no way (be) meant to denigrate the substantial accomplishments" of Bush and Reagan in national security (Mathis, HOUSTON CHRONICLE, 9/20). ARKANSAS DEM-GAZETTE's Oman reports a Clinton advisor said Crowe's offer to endorse "stemmed from a broader dissatisfaction with Bush on several issues" (9/19). Dep. CoS Robert Zoellick: "The connection will be very clear to people that, first, Bill Clinton was a waffler on the [Vietnam] war, and Admiral Crowe was a very vocal opponent of the [Gulf] war" ("Newsmaker Sunday," CNN, 9/20).

BUSH OFFENSE: A Bush-Quayle release suggests "at least four separate occasions Clinton or his aides denied" Clinton contacted Fulbright's office (9/20). The Bush camp has taped a TV ad "slamming" Clinton on the draft. It features Adrian Cronauer, whose wartime adventure was the basis for the movie "Good Morning Vietnam" (MIAMI HERALD, 9/19). "GOP sources said Bush was expected to spend part" of his weekend at Camp David reviewing proposed new TV ads, including ones on the draft (Gerstenzang, L.A. TIMES, 9/19).

REAX: In a "NEWSWEEK-on-Air" radio interview 9/20, ret. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf "said he believed Clinton's avoidance of

the draft raised serious questions about [his] ability to serve as chief executive" (L.A. TIMES, 9/20). Schwarzkopf: "How does a person who admits that he deliberately did not agree with the war [in Vietnam], and therefore did not want to go to that war, how does he handle it when he has to send other people to war?" (NEWSWEEK, 9/28 issue). B. HERALD's Kennedy notes even after the Crowe endorsement "anti-Clinton sentiment among present and former armed services personnel shows no sign of abating" (9/21). Evans & Novak: "There are enough witnesses and sufficient evidence from two decades ago to show Clinton systematically scheming to keep out of Vietnam's military service in a way that would preserve his politically viability" (W. POST, 9/21) NEWSWEEK's CW gives Clinton an arrow down: "Cautious ground game stalling drive. You can't afford to sit on you lead" (9/28 issue). TIME's Johnson: "The core of all this talk about the draft is not really Vietnam, but whether Governor Clinton has been honest" ("Brinkley," 9/20). Shields: "It's all [the GOP] really has" ("Gang," CNN, 8/19). Krauthammer: "The draft issue is beginning to bite. It re-opens the question of ... honesty" ("Inside Washington," 9/19). B. GLOBE editorial: "Clinton might have been wise to reveal every detail of his actions at the outset, but even in hindsight his actions were reasonable compared with the bizarre schemes pursued by some of his contemporaries" (9/20). CHICAGO TRIBUNE's Madigan notes: "The Vietnam draft issue sits like a big wart on the rosy cheeks" of Clinton-Gore (9/20).

*2 DRAFT: ISSUE RESURFACES FOR QUAYLE

A N.Y. TIMES investigation into Quayle's enlistment in the IN Nat'l Guard "shows a striking pattern of favoritism and raises new questions about the fairness of the enlistment practices for the elite unit that saved him from the draft." When Quayle enlisted in 1969, the IN Guard "had long waiting lists probably numbering in the thousands, according to officials involved with recruiting at the time. Nationally, the Guard had more than 100,000 men on waiting lists." But Quayle "avoided those long lists and secured a coveted spot ... where openings were largely unavailable to those without special connections, knowledge or qualifications." Though Quayle acknowledged in '88 that he had asked an ex-Guard official to help him gain entry, "a look back at questions raised" during the '88 campaign "makes clear that the explanation by Mr. Quayle and his supporters does not tell the whole story. The unit in which Mr. Quayle enlisted did not appear to be operating on a first-come, first-served basis ... though Washington had ordered Guard units nationwide" to do so several months before Quayle enlisted. "More than 30 interviews and an examination of records by the New York Times found that Mr. Quayle's family connections were crucial because without them, Mr. Quayle probably would not have discovered the headquarters unit and its vacancies" (Sack/Gerth, 9/20).

QUAYLE: On NBC's "Meet the Press": "I read the story. There's no news there at all. ... I never asked for any special treatment. ... Obviously, if you join the National Guard, you have less of a chance of going to Vietnam ... I mean, that goes without saying." On whether Gore's military service makes him a better commander-in-chief: "I don't think that military service one way or another is a definitive character issue on whether you can be a good commander-in-chief or not" (9/20). Bush said Quayle "certainly has" answered all the necessary draft questions: "He was in uniform for six years ... That's pretty

good, especially in this day and age" (AP/PHILA. INQUIRER, 9/21).

REAX: Stephanopoulos told the AP the NYT piece "shows what we've known all along. He [Quayle] received some kind of favorable treatment" (W. POST, 9/21). ABC's Kast: "Analysts do not expect the new allegations about Quayle to have much impact on the election unless Clinton succeeds at what the Republicans are trying to do to him, paint it as an issue of character, not military service" (9/20). DNC chair Ron Brown: "It is deeply offensive to me as a veteran to have Republicans like Rich Bond and Charlie Black and Newt Gingrich attacking Bill Clinton on the draft when they never served ... It's a red herring. It is an absolute nonissue" ("Face the Nation," CBS, 9/20).

*3 MURPHY BROWN: THE MOMENT WE'VE ALL BEEN WAITING FOR

It is widely reported that tonight's season opener of CBS' "Murphy Brown" (9:00p EDT) will respond to Quayle's comments on the show and "family values." Quayle on "Meet The Press": "I'll be watching. I'll tell you what -- I'm going to have a temporary cease-fire with Hollywood, although I'm not going to back down from criticizing Hollywood because I don't think Hollywood reflects our values. But I am going to watch the show, and in the spirit of light-heartedness and joking in the fun, I have sent Murphy Brown's baby a gift and a note." NBC's Tim Russert: "Is it ticking" (9/20). Quayle plans to watch the show tonight with "several single mothers." Quayle press sec. David Beckwith "said [Quayle] would watch the show at a Washington apartment of a friend who had raised her sister's children." Neither Beckwith nor Quayle would describe the gift (AP/N.Y. TIMES, 9/21).

OTHER STUFF: On "Meet the Press," in response to a ROLL CALL article that compares the size of Quayle's Senate staff to that of preceding VPs (see HOTLINE 9/18): "I'm going to go back and check that. ... But let me just point out ... we're willing to reduce our staffs and the budget in the [WH] operations by 33 percent when we get the Congress to go along so maybe both of us can cut back 33 percent."

*4 CLINTON: "FIRST NEGATIVE AD" HITS BUSH ON ECONOMY

Clinton began airing a new 30 sec. spot, widely tagged the "first negative" ad of the fall campaign (mult., 9/21). "Curtains" is airing in MI, IL, OH, GA, NA, ME, CT, OR, MO, PA, and LA (W. POST, 9/21). N.Y. NEWSDAY's Berkowitz reports unspecified Clinton ads will air tonight during "Murphy Brown," and 9/23 during FOX-TV's "Rock the Vote" special (9/21). The spot intersperses old clips of Bush and announcer's voice-over. TEXT -- ANNCR: "1988." Bush: "30 million jobs in the next eight years." ANNCR: "1990. America's jobless rate hits a three-year high." BUSH: "I'm not prepared to say we're in recession." ANNCR: "March 1992. Jobless rate hits a six-year high." BUSH: "The economy is strengthening." ANNCR: "George Bush vetoes unemployment compensation." Bush: "The economy continues to grow." ANNCR: "July 1992. Unemployment is the highest in eight years. If George Bush doesn't understand the problem, how can he solve it? We can't afford four more years" (9/20).

REAX: N.Y. TIMES' Berke: "The statements are accurate, but the ad juxtaposes images of Mr. Bush with events that are not directly related in time to what he is saying" (9/21). NBC's Dancy: "Clinton today began running a new ad turning Bush's words against him" (9/20). Bush spokesperson Torie Clarke: "What's most appalling is they're trying to exploit the economic hardship suffered by many people" (DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 9/21). Clinton:

"It's not a negative ad. It uses his own words" (W. POST, 9/21). KNIGHT-RIDDER's Gunther notes Bush "ultimately signed" an unemployment benefits bill in 1991 (PHILA. INQUIRER, 9/21). The ad paints Bush as "an unrealistic leader who talked about prosperity while the nation tumbled into recession" (Rosenthal, N.Y. TIMES, 9/21). CBS' Plante: "It's the sharpest attack yet on Mr. Bush, but Clinton denies the ad's negative." Clinton: "We were very careful to use exactly what he had said and documentable statistics. I think it's a very important thing to do" ("CBS This Morning, 9/21).

OTHER AD: Clinton at a desk; cuts back and forth between Clinton and lettering on screen. CLINTON TEXT: "We've been under trickle-down economics for 12 years -- just keep taxes low on the wealthy and see what happens. Well, I'll tell you what happens. Most Americans are working harder for less money; unemployment's up; health care costs are exploding; we are not doing what it takes to compete and win. I've worked hard on a different plan. Let's give incentives to invest in new jobs. Let's spend more on education and training. Let's provide basic health care to all Americans. Putting our people first. Rebuilding this economy. Making us competitive. If we do those things, we'll compete and win. And we'll bring this country back" (N.Y. TIMES, 9/21). N.Y. TIMES' Berke notes the two ads "complement each other." And in offering the 800 number in the spot again, Clinton "seeks to give the impression [he] has a meaty, workable plan" (9/21).

*5 CLINTON: SITTING ON THE LEAD WITH A QUARTER LEFT TO PLAY TIME's Shapiro writes "for weeks the Clinton campaign has been consumed by a single statistic ... the figure that obsesses them is the precise number of days remaining until America votes." This "countdown mentality is akin to that of a child reckoning on how long he must stay on his best behavior until Christmas." The "risk is a campaign that revolves around gamesmanship rather than substance. ... So the question remains: Will Bill Clinton use his lead to talk honestly to the voters, or merely try to nurse it as he counts down the days until Nov. 3?" (9/28 issue). Clinton "appears to have taken the physician's oath: First, do no harm" (Mathis, HOUSTON CHRONICLE, 9/20). Under header "Front-Runner Clinton Seems Uncomfortable in the Catbird Seat," W. POST's Walsh writes, "his speeches these days seldom wander from the central theme of his campaign -- that Bush has made a mess of the economy and he will do better. ... This is Clinton the front-runner, and it is not entirely clear how comfortable he is in that role" (9/19). ABC's Bury: "Clinton knows his lead in the polls could vanish and he is intent not to let it happen because of a stumble on the trail" (9/18).

BLACK VOTE: "A significant layer of unease is percolating beneath the unified surface of the Democratic Party this year. Many of the party's most liberal members fear [Clinton] is doing his best to downplay his connections to its traditional constituencies." Rep. Charles Rangel (D-NY): "It appears at this point we are on the back burner. We are on an 'as needed' basis. I feel pretty damn hurt and embarrassed." The Clinton campaign "has little incentive to change its approach during the coming final weeks. Black turnout will be boosted in several states because of local interest in races like Carol Moseley Braun's Senate campaign in Illinois and several key House race involving black candidates in the South" (Ifill, N.Y. TIMES, 9/20). "Some Michigan black leaders are bristling over" Clinton's welfare ad, saying "they pander to white suburban

resentment of welfare." MI State Rep. Morris Hood (D): "People stereotype welfare as being a program for blacks. So by coming across as tough on welfare, he's showing suburban voters that he's not in the hip pocket of black people. ... It's important as hell that Clinton win [MI], yet when he comes into the state to campaign, he stays away from black people." Clinton comm. dir. Stephanopoulos "said the commercial is not aimed at the suburbs": "It's outrageous to say we're pandering to white voters. We are talking about an important issue -- reforming the welfare system, which involves providing more education and training and moving people from welfare to work" (DETROIT NEWS, 9/19).

ALSO: BUSINESS WEEK's Mitchell reports, "Clinton may muster more business endorsements than any other Democrat since" LBJ. While "most boardrooms are still Bush country," what was "lukewarm business support for the President in many cases is turning into open backing for his challenger" (9/28 issue). ABC's Rodgers: "With the U.S. economy growing at a slower rate than at any time since Herbert Hoover, many economists give Clinton the nod with one caveat." Boston Co. chief economist Allen Sinai: "[Clinton's] plan will surely cost more than he says." MIT's Lester Thurow: "At the moment I think you would say that Bill Clinton is closest to the truth." DRI-McGraw Hill chief economist David Wyss: "If you're worried about your job, your short-term solution is probably to vote for ... Clinton" (9/20). Columnist Stephen Chapman blasts Clinton on education under header "The candidate of change protects the status quo" (CHICAGO TRIBUNE, 9/20).

*6 BUSH AND FAMILY LEAVE: MAKES PITCH TO WORKING WOMEN

In a speech on women's issues at AT&T corporate HQ in Basking Ridge, NJ, Bush said "he believed the Family and Medical Leave Act the Congress passed and he has promised to veto could lead to discrimination against women in the workplace." Bush "said he won't support government mandates relating to child care or family leave policies, endorsing instead tax incentive to encourage businesses to adopt family leave policies voluntarily." Bush: "I know it's not supposed to happen, but how many employers will think, why not hire a man instead of a woman? He won't leave to have a child. He won't leave to care for his family.

... mandated family leave could encourage this subtle kind of discrimination" (Wald, Newark STAR-LEDGER, 9/19). Bush "said there were philosophical differences" between his approach and Clinton's: "The other side puts their faith in government -- government mandates. On issue after issue, their solution comes down to giving more power to government. And I put my faith in you. I want to give you the power the help yourself" (Bridgewater COURIER-NEWS, 9/19). Bush also targeted "deadbeat dads," saying he favored legislation to make it easier for women to collect child support from fathers who fail to pay on time. ASBURY PARK PRESS' Mark Magyar notes after delivering a speech aimed at "business and working women," he held a private NJ strategy session: "the seven business, labor and lobbyist guests invited specially to advise the president by his Victory '92 fund-raising organization were all men" (9/19).

PERSONAL TOUCH: National reports focused on Bush's mentioning of his daughter, the recently remarried Doro Koch, as an example of a divorced, single mother: "Many women are trying to do it all alone. Look, divorce happens. And I know it from my own family -- my own daughter. ... I've seen what single mothers are up against, the kind of pressures, trying to do 36

hours of work in a 24-hour day" (L.A. TIMES, 9/19).

REVIEWS: CHICAGO TRIBUNE header: "Bush casts himself as a free-market feminist" (9/19). N.Y. POST header: "Bush Tries to Cozy Up to Women" (9/19). BOSTON GLOBE's Kranish calls the speech a "clear effort to try to reverse the damage incurred by [VP Dan] Quayle's criticism" of Murphy Brown, as well as Marilyn Quayle's convention statement "that many women do not wished to be freed from their 'essential natures' as women" (9/19). L.A. TIMES' Gerstenzang notes Bush was greeted was ex-Gov. Tom Kean (R-NJ), "who two years ago singed legislation almost exactly like the family leave legislation Bush is expected to veto" (9/19). KNIGHT-RIDDER's Hess writes the event was "blunted" by the non-attendance and statements of Rep. Marge Roukema (R-NJ), a backer of family leave (MIAMI HERALD, 9/19). See #17. NEWSDAY's Reno writes family leave "is far less burdensome than the American with Disabilities Act, which Bush did not veto. And it merely codifies what already is the practice of the nation's most enlightened employers" (9/18).

*7 BUSH MESSAGE: DRAFTING A TWO-PRONGED ATTACK

U.S. NEWS' Roberts writes, despite Clinton's lead, "Bush can still win. ... Usually, incumbents run on their records, but Bush cannot win a contest based on his performance; 2 of 3 Americans say they are worse off than when he took office. ... In essence, Bush's slogan now reads: 'I know times are tough, but they could be worse' (9/28 issue). NEWSWEEK's Klein writes "a collective decision seems to have been made: the president is a dud. He has nothing of interest to say on the one issue that counts, the economy. No matter what he promises, nothing will change. So, with Clinton having decided to place his candidacy in hibernation for the moment, the campaign languishes" (9/28 issue). W. POST header: "Bush Message Emerges." Ann Devroy writes, "Goodbye Harry S. Truman, hello Agenda for American Renewal. Get ready, Bill Clinton, for doublespeak and the draft. ... [Bush] has settled on a dual message and he plans, for now and perhaps the first time in his presidency, to stick to it" (9/19). BOSTON GLOBE's Oliphant: "Whatever happened to President Bush's vile villain of August, the evil Gridlock Congress? ... In [WH CoS Jim] Baker's hunt for some themes capable of consistent employment in the Bush campaign's efforts to ignite a comeback, ideas are going into and out of the president's rhetorical repertoire with confusing speed. So far, only the vague notion of 'trust,' linked to a desperate search for a smoking document from Bill Clinton's Selective Service record, seems to have survived" (9/20). N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Auletta: "The great overarching truth of this contest isn't the angry voter. It's the searching voter. ... What voters are looking for is conviction, largeness." Bush's "only hope ... is to make Clinton appear small, untrustworthy. Yet, ironically, to accomplish this Bush has to act large" (9/20). DALLAS MORNING NEWS' Feeney, citing interviews with voters and analysts, writes Bush's "effort to sow doubts about Bill Clinton and make the election turn on trust is hampered by a public perception that Bush himself lacks credibility" (9/21). ATLANTA CONSTITUTION's Baxter, after Bush's Olympic Jam appearance: "We are unlikely to see the Bush campaign make such a sustained effort at positive campaigning again. A new, tougher television ad directly challenging Bill Clinton's honesty about the draft story is set to go up shortly. The drift of things seems to dictate that the ad is only the beginning of a much more negative phase" (9/21).

ECONOMIC AGENDA: BUSINESS WEEK's Gleckman reviews the Agenda laid out in the Detroit speech: "[Bush] is playing the fiscal equivalent of the old shell game. Except, this time, there isn't even a pea." There are two "problems": "The first is that the President has never offered anything close to the \$132 billion in mandatory spending cuts. The second is that he promises to use the same money at least three times -- to cut the deficit, to finance a tax cut, and to pay for all the election-year goodies he's passing around" (9/28 issue). Germond & Witcover write the effort "to convince the voters that he has a comprehensive economic agenda ... has failed, at least so far" (Balto. SUN, 9/19). TIME's Kramer calls the Detroit speech "little more than a gussied-up rehash of old ideas." Kramer calls Bush's proposed 5% pay cut for all government with salaries above \$75,000 a "heartless swipe at a defenseless group of dedicated civil servants, designed to capture the knee-jerk support of an economically strapped electorate" (9/28 issue). FEDERAL TIMES subhead: "Plan to Slash 5% Hurts All Workers, Groups Say" (9/28 issue). Bush-Quayle took out a full-page ad in USA TODAY, header: "Bill Clinton's 'National Economic Strategy' would hurt the American Economy." The ad cites "more than 100 leading economists" and lists names below the text (9/21). L.A. TIMES' Brownstein: "Bush officials find considerable solace in the Clinton's camp anxiety about the draft controversy. But they are wrestling with great uncertainties of their own, particularly the fear that the resounding silence that greeted the President's new economic plan means that many voters have already closed the book on Bush -- no matter what he says" (9/21).

FAMILY VALUES: Chris Matthews cites the 9/18 S.F. EXAMINER scoop in which John Schlafly, the outted son of conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly, backs his mother's views but says he is "offended, as a gay male, by the hostility of family-values advocates toward homosexuals." Matthews notes family-values "is not the partisan, us-against-them presidential campaign issue [the GOP] hoped it would be. More often than not, it has backfired wildly" (EXAMINER, 9/19). Newly-crowned Miss America Leanza Cornett, a GOPer and self-described pro-choice Christian, "mildly chastised the GOP ... saying 'family values' issues like abortion don't belong in the political arena" (AP/Balto. SUN, 9/21). N.Y. TIMES' Andrew Rosenthal cites campaign and WH officials who "said the hostility expressed at the convention toward homosexuals, feminists, welfare recipients and women who identify with Hillary Clinton was a result of a strategy that was poorly managed and consequently run amok" (9/21).

ATTITUDE CHECK: HOUSTON CHRONICLE's McDonald sees Bush "more aggressive in attacking" Clinton, "garnering dominance on the evening news programs and managing to put [Clinton] on the defensive with assaults on his draft record and economic proposals" (9/20). W. TIMES' Bedard: "After months of approaching the election like a plate of broccoli, President Bush has finally jumped in with both feet" (9/20). CBS' Spencer: "From props to the trappings of the office, the Bush campaign does all it can to convey the idea that whatever you think today, victory lies ahead." U.S. NEWS's Michael Barone: "I think [Bush] really believes that he's going to win this election" Spencer: "The campaign hopes that over time the draft issue will take its toll, and all these smiles might be for real" (9/18).

TIME CHECK: NEWSWEEK's CW arrow is down: "Late third quarter, and down by two TDs. Time to switch to Hail Mary mode" (9/28 issue). On how Bush can still win, NEWSWEEK's Thomas:

"Pray for a bimbo eruption, I guess." Charles Krauthammer: "Not panic, he is nine points behind, but there is still six weeks to go, and the country is still not all comfortable with Clinton as president" ("Inside Washington, 9/19). GANNETT's Benedetto cites one GOP insider: "It's panic time" (9/20).

***8 BUSH: TO PREACH GLOBAL ECONOMIC MESSAGE AT U.N.**

Pres. Bush addresses the U.N. General Assembly today, where he is "expected to push for closer economic contact among corporations, entrepreneurs and private interests around the world as a way out of global recession" (Lee, USA TODAY, 9/21). NBC's Curry: "Bush plays his foreign affairs card again today, with an appeal to a special session of the United Nations General Assembly (9/21).

RUSH HOUR: Bush will visit with conservative radio host Rush Limbaugh "shortly after noon" on his nationally syndicated show. Bush spokesperson Torie Clarke: "He reached millions and millions of people -- and we appreciate the fact that [he] has been very supportive" (N.Y. POST, 9/21).

SENIORS GULF TOUR: Ret. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf previewed his new book, "It Doesn't Take a Hero," in NEWSWEEK and the N.Y. TIMES. NEWSWEEK's Barry writes Schwarzkopf's book tour "should be a campaign advertisement for George Bush. Watching the great general relive the gulf war on TV and radio talk shows could remind voters of the finest moments of Bush's presidency. That is, unless, they actually read the book. ... Schwarzkopf spent much of his time in the desert vexed by political meddling. He shows, again and again, that the civilian leadership was never clear on what it wanted to accomplish. And although Schwarzkopf never comes quite out and admits it, it is clear that he believes that the military accomplished less than it might have" (9/28 issue). N.Y. TIMES header: "Schwarzkopf Says 'Hawks' Pressed for Early Land War" (9/20). In a NEWSWEEK interview, Schwarzkopf says the "option of going all the way to Baghdad was never considered" (9/28 issue).

MEDIA WATCH: GOP consultant Greg Stevens, pres. of the Media Team Inc., has joined Mike Murphy and Alex Castellanos on the Bush political ad team. The Media Team was formed as the political arm of Ailes Communications, founded by Bush '88 consultant Roger Ailes; it is now a separate company. Ailes is not involved in the '92 media effort, but will continue to informally advise Bush on TV appearances (HOTLINE sources, 9/21). TIME reports ad man Sean Fitzpatrick has left the November Co., the Madison Ave. team working on Bush media. Fitzpatrick, best known for his "Heartbeat of America" ads for Chevrolet, "found the effort too much like the 'Heartache of America'" (9/28 issue). The AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Dept. has called on the Bush campaign to pull its latest TV ad which features footage of a container being loaded on a ship, both owned by the Tawainese "Evergreen" company (release, 9/18).

MORE ON BNL: CBS' "60 Minutes" examined the case of Banco Nazionale del Lavoro's (BNL) Atlanta manager Christopher Drougoul and his role in the financing of Iraq's military. CBS' Mike Wallace: "[Drougoul] has never told his story publicly until now. Why is he telling it now? Because, he told us, he's in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary as the fall guy -- taking the rap for building up the man George Bush called another Hitler." Drougoul: "The intelligence community monitored our activities from the outset. It was general knowledge in Washington and in the financial community." Wallace: "Why is that important?"

Because the Bush Administration, embarrassed by having supported and having helped arm Saddam ... now wants us to believe that Christopher Drougoul was acting entirely on his own." Drougoul atty Bobby Lee Cook showed Wallace a copy of a cable from the U.S. Amb. in Rome to then-Sec/State Jim Baker. Wallace: "In the cable the U.S. Ambassador tells ... Baker that BNL's lawyers and directors want to keep a lid on the scandal because it could be politically embarrassing in both Rome and Washington." N.Y. TIMES columnist William Safire: "I'm not a big believer in everything Drougoul says, he's a crook, you got to be careful, but there's been too much hanky-panky going on in this case for us to trust the government" (9/20). Rep. Larry Combest (R-TX) introduced a resolution for a House Ethics review of information House Banking chair Henry B. Gonzalez (D-TX) has unveiled on the House floor during his probe into the government's pre-war relationship with Iraq. The vote failed along party lines, 215-150. Gonzalez: "Just when I was taking pride in stimulating the circulation of the Congressional Record, they do this" (FT. WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM, 9/19). CIA officials released a letter to U.S. District Judge Marvin Shoob sent to the DoJ indicating the agency knew nothing of BNL loans to Iraq before the FBI raided the Atlanta branch in 8/89 (W. POST, 9/20). N.Y. TIMES' Sciolino: "The letter raised as many questions as it answered" (9/20).

BACKSTAIRS AT THE WHITE HOUSE: The House Post Office and Civil Service human resources subcmte made public the salaries of more than 1,000 WH employees. Top employees were generally paid in the range of \$125,000 (Cooper, W. POST, 9/19). W. POST runs a comprehensive list on the "Federal Page" (9/21). N.Y. TIMES header: "43 on the White House payroll top \$100,000" (9/19).

*9 PEROT: "THE NETWORKS MADE ME DO IT"

"In the clearest indication in months of how he plans to influence -- and possibly get back into -- the race," Perot has been attempting to buy network TV time. "Network sources said [9/18] a Perot representative this week inquired about buying a half-hour of prime time television for a date after Bush and Clinton hold their first debate," which has yet to be scheduled. SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS' Witt writes, "The timing of such a move would allow Perot ... the best opportunity to contrast his economic platform with those of Bush and Clinton without having to appear on the same stage as them." But all four major networks are refusing to sell Perot the time "unless he declares himself to be a full-fledged candidate" (9/19). In an interview with NBC's "Today," Perot said he might declare "so I can buy TV time" (9/18). NEWSWEEK's Fineman: "A novel notion: the networks made me do it." Noting Perot's 9/18 media blitz, appearing on "Today," PBS' "MacNeil/Lehrer," and ABC's Nightline" in a single day, Fineman queries, "What is Perot up to? ... He wants to be, if not president, at least a player. He wants to repair his image, shredded by his withdrawal in July, and press his 'Dallas'-style feud with George Bush" (9/28 issue). In an W. POST interview, Perot said "he would not seek to join" Bush and Clinton in any TV debates: "I don't want to interfere with the two-person debate. I would just hope they address these [economic and budgetary] issues" (Broder/Dionne, 9/19).

HOW TO COMBAT? "Perot's indecision has thrown the Bush campaign offstride, officials concede, particularly in states like [CA and TX], where the Perot movement is strongest." Not wanting to waste its resources, "the Bush team cannot decide whether to target a direct-mail appeal at Perot petition signers

because of the uncertainty of Perot's intentions." Clinton comm. dir. George Stephanopoulos said the Clinton camp "has not altered its strategy to account for the Perot factor and has given up trying to figure out what [Perot] is going to do" (Broder, L.A. TIMES, 9/19). TIME suggests, "Timing is everything." Both campaigns agree Perot "would hurt Clinton more if he jumped in now, since he would cut Clinton's lead in [CA and NY] and give bush a chance to edge out a win in close races in [OH, MI and IL]. But in a few weeks, as Bush tightens the race, a last-minute howdy-hi from Perot could knock him out of the box in crucial Western and Southern states, like Texas" (9/28 issue). HOUSTON CHRONICLE's Ross notes, "The biggest question mark on the Perot impact is he Midwest, where both Clinton and Bush are scrambling for support in the voter-rich states of [MI, OH and IL] (9/20). Dem pollster Peter Hart: "In electoral terms, I think that he hurts [Clinton] slightly more in the mid-west than he will hurt [Bush] in the south" (NBC, 9/18).

REAX: NEWSWEEK's CW gives Perot an arrow down: "Bored CW enjoys the tease. But here's the deal: you're a joke" (9/28 issue). CHICAGO TRIBUNE editorial header: "Spare us, Mr. Perot" (9/19). MIAMI HERALD header: "'Waiting for Perot: The Sequel' has fans on edge of seats" (9/19). ABC's Roberts: "What he's really up to is that he thinks that if he has his name on 50 state ballots, that people will vote for him and he will become president." George Will: "He's being disingenuous as can be" ("Brinkley," 9/20). NEWSWEEK's Evan Thomas: "He's going to be back, and he's going to be the press story ... in the next week" ("Inside Washington," 9/19). NBC's Myers: "[Perot] continues to be a political tease" (9/18).

*10 DEBATES: NOTHING VENTURED, NOTHING GAINED

Clinton "issued his most direct debate challenge" to Bush 9/18, in a U-NM address: "I've listened to all their macho talk, but when it comes time to go man to man, plan to plan, where is he? I wish he'd come out." Bush spokesperson Torie Clarke: "Clinton is the one who is the chicken. We've said 'we want to debate lets sit down and talk about it.' They are afraid to even sit down and talk about it." The Clinton camp "let pass" a 9/18 deadline to accept Bush's debate proposal, and Clinton aides said "negotiations aren't necessary because he [Clinton] has accepted" the proposal set forth by the bi-partisan commission (Attlessey, DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 9/18). "To further pressure Bush on the issue" the Clinton camp "launched a series of 60-second radio ads" in MI -- site of the first debate proposed by the commission (#16). Bush "for his part, planned to spend part of his weekend" at Camp David, "preparing for a debate with Clinton" (Chen, L.A. TIMES, 9/18). Also: The bi-partisan commis. will need the "go ahead" by 9/23 for the proposed 9/29 VP debate in Louisville KY. "There's a question whether" Bush will want Quayle "to be its leadoff hitter, considering his weak performance" in '88 (Witcover, Balto. SUN, 9/21).

PRINT: NEWSWEEK's Greenfield on debate format: "The single-moderator debate could do more than 50 clever, roughneck journalistic questions to probe the candidates genuine knowledge and understanding of the issues before them. ... At the end of such an exchange we might even know something we didn't know before about their capacities and their fitness for the office" (9/28 issue). W. POST's McGrory: "A study of the transcripts from other years shows a lamentable tendency on the part of reporters to bask in the klieg lights, to ham, to preen while 60

million ordinary people look on. No wonder George Bush wants four members of the Fourth Estate by his side" (9/20). Dem analyst Bob Beckel: "If Clinton does as well as I think he will, the flood gates will open, his lead will solidify and he will be President -- maybe in a landslide" (L.A. TIMES, 9/20). NEWSWEEK's Klein: "Bush's last best hope may be that the debates, when they come, turn out to be Gampy vs. Snake Oil Slick" (9/28 issue). CHICAGO TRIBUNE editorial on the Bush camp's "fear" of a single moderator format: "That shows surprisingly little faith in the candidate. A president who has performed so admirably in concert and in conflict with the leaders of the world ought to have no reason to fear [Clinton]" (9/19).

TV: U.S. NEWS' Barone: "The public is getting the mild impression that [Bush] is dodging and ducking debates, and that works, at least, marginally for [Clinton]" (CBS, 9/18). NBC's Cochran: "[Bush] wants to keep the focus on his economic plan for the future, but in a debate he can't do that if a persistent questionnaire keeps asking why did you let the economy get in such bad shape" (9/18). Barnes: "The notion that somehow voters are going to penalize Bush because he does not show up in East Lansing is nonsense." Germond: "The real guy who needs to have the debate is [Clinton], because there is enough doubt about Clinton, even though he is ahead, he has to prove that he has the gravitas to be president" ("Group," 9/19). Commis. on Debate's Frank Fahrenkopf: "We always assumed that the two candidates would sit down and talk and work on preliminary arrangements between them and then come to us and work out the final details. And we're still prepared to go forward in that manner. ... Each presidential candidate, this year as in the past, are very protective of their strategy ... [the Bush campaign] fundamentally wants to sit down first eyeball to eyeball with the Clinton people to work out some basic agreements before they come to us. The Clinton people have a different view, they're willing to sit down with us right away ... we hope for the best interests of the American people they reach agreement." Commission's Paul Kirk: "We thought the spontaneity of a debate with one moderator would reveal most to the American people about a very important choice about their own lives and their country." Both predict 2 presidential- and one VP-debate ("Today," NBC, 9/21).

EXPECTATIONS: NEWSWEEK's Thomas: "Clinton was not really that great in the primary debates .. he was not really an attacker. Bush is a competitive guy, and he may come at Clinton." Totenberg: "Bush has never really lost a debate ... he's always done well in them, as long as he can prepare" ("Inside Washington," 9/19).

*11 CALIFORNIA (54): GOP PLATFORM COULD MEAN MORE BUSH TROUBLE

The CA GOP "closed a tumultuous convention ... adopting its first anti-abortion, anti-gay rights platform -- a move that allies of [Gov. Pete] Wilson and other moderates said could hurt President Bush's chances for reelection." The abortion plank calls for the repeal of Roe v. Wade and "demands" parental consent for minors seeking abortions. Bush CA mgr Marty Wilson: Although Bush is pro-life, the CA GOP platform "doesn't do our candidate any good. It hurts all Republicans up and down the ticket." S.F. CHRONICLE's Yoachum notes the language, however, "is more moderate" than the platform approved in Houston (9/21).

SILICON STUFF: S.J. MERCURY NEWS' Trounstein: "It's not that hard to understand why so many Silicon Valley executives and venture capitalists have decided to throw in" with Clinton, since he "asked them to help fashion a technology policy for the country" and "proved ... sympathetic to the financial problems facing entrepreneurs" (9/20).

ALSO: The Bush camp offered, then reneged, on giving one-on-one interviews to four Bay Area TV stations. Four reporters made the trip to San Diego only to be told Bush had other matters to attend to, including signing papers on hurricane relief. "As a political matter, Bush's failure to beam into the Bay Area meant that he got almost no TV coverage in the nation's fourth-largest market" when the latest Field Poll shows him trailing Clinton by 37 points in the northern part of the state (19 points statewide). "His Bay Area TV debacle is also just the latest piece of evidence of considerable confusion and discoordination in his lagging [CA] campaign" (Roberts, S.F. CHRONICLE, 9/19). The Senate approved Bush's request for Northrop Corp. to build 20 new B-2 Bombers, rather than 16 as opponents urged. Northrup will still "phase out" production of the \$2.2B planes by 1997 in a move that will eliminate possibly over 6,000 jobs. The B-2 is "the single largest military production program" in CA, accounting for 13,000 Northrup jobs and another 26,000 subcontractor/vender jobs (Eaton/Moffitt, L.A. TIMES, 9/21).

*12 TEXAS (32): TX GOP FIRES CONSULTANT OVER NEWSPAPER COLUMN

Following a 9/18 syndicated column by Evasn & Novak -- which depicted the TX GOP's "Victory '92" cmte in disarray (see HOTLINE 9/18) -- GOP direct mail consultant Karl Rove was "terminated" for allegedly leaking information of a meeting. The column reported the cmte, in a special meeting organized by Sen. Phil Gramm (R-TX), "stripped" Rob Mosbacher of his leadership. Mosbacher, a 2-time failed TX candidate, is the son of Bush fundraiser/ex-Commerce Sec. Bob Mosbacher (Scott, S.A. EXPRESS-NEWS, 9/19). Gramm called the column "in error" and defended Mosbacher's "strong leadership. ... He has my full support ... Any suggestion to the contrary is false" (Victory '92 release, 9/18). "Victory '92 sources say they believe Rove 'made up the story and gave it to Novak' partly because of a long-standing feud between Rove and Mosbacher" (Herman, HOUSTON POST, 9/19). Rove "denied he was the source and also said the column was false": "What they did was, they blamed me for being the source of it. Bob Novak will tell anybody that I was not the source of it." Novak stood by his story and said of Rove: "They got the wrong guy" (EXPRESS-NEWS, 9/19).

GUERRERO AS AGGIE-JOKE: TX RR Commis. Lena Guerrero (D),

Gov. Ann Richards' (D) first major appointment in '91, continues to be the brunt of TX jokes amid speculation she may resign. Guerrero's false claims of a Phi Beta Kappa degree from U/TX -- where she failed 5 courses (one twice) and finished 19 credits shy of graduation -- makes for "one of the most incredible cases of methodical self-destruction in Texas political history" (Robison, HOUSTON CHRONICLE, 9/20). Guerrero's name is permanently on the ballot, appearing immediately after the presidential and House races on the ballot. She would be the first Hispanic woman elected statewide in TX and before this incident was considered a key to Clinton's hopes of carrying the state with record new Hispanic voters on her behalf. DNC Voter Participation dir. Hilbert Ocanas: "If someone had told us we'd be this close in Texas a year ago, we would have said you're crazy, but part of that depends on a strong showing by Lena Guerrero. There are 45 days left, and in politics that will be a lifetime" (FT. WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM, 9/20). Richards has thus far refused to call on Guerrero to resign and observers see this as a key test for Richards, who has made ethics of officials a major part of her administration.

CABINET-SPECKING: TEXAS MONTHLY's Burka, reporting speculation of Texans in a Clinton cabinet, puts ex-San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros as "surely ... on the short list" for HUD Sec. and notes Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D) "has long wanted to play on a wider stage," and as either Sec/State or Sec/Treas. "he would be a world figure" (9/92 issue).

*13 FLORIDA (25): ANOTHER POLL SHOWS IT A TOSS-UP

The N.Y. Times Newspapers' FL Opinion Poll, conducted 9/12-15, surveyed 596 registered voters; margin of error +/- 4% (Gainsville SUN, 9/20).

	FL OPINION 9/12-15	CBS/N.Y. TIMES 9/10-13	MASON-DIXON 9/10-12
Clinton	45%	50%	41%
Bush	42	45	48
DK/other	13	5	11

*14 ILLINOIS (22): CLINTON LEAD AT 19 POINTS

The CHICAGO TRIBUNE poll, conducted 9/10-13 by Market Shares Corp., surveyed 1,000 likely voters; margin +/- 3% (9/20).

2-WAY	ALL	REAGAN DEMS	BUSH '88 VOTERS	FAV/UNFAV
Clinton	51%	60%	24%	53%/ 26%
Bush	32	26	55	37 / 47
DK/other	17	14	21	

IF PEROT STILL ACTIVELY CAMPAIGNING:

14% would vote for him (takes "equally" from Bush & Clinton)

*15 OHIO (21): POLL SHOWS CLINTON UP 10-POINTS

The Akron BEACON JOURNAL poll, conducted 9/8-16 by Univ. Akron Survey Research Center, surveyed 669 registered voters; margin of error +/- 4% (9/20). Bush carried OH 55-44% in '88.

Clinton	45%
Bush	35
Undec.	22

*16 MICHIGAN (18): CLINTON TARGETS REAGAN DEMS

"Returning to the critical turf of this year's presidential campaign," Clinton asked Macomb Co., MI voters to "return to the Democratic fold" (Bivins, DETROIT FREE PRESS). It was "another direct pitch ... to Reagan Democrats." He will return to MI 9/22 for a televised town meeting at MI State, where he was once expected to debate Bush (see #10). Hillary Clinton will campaign in Kalamazoo today (9/21). Clinton "coupled his campaign's first attack ad [see #4] with a speech charging ... Bush with breaking pocketbook-issue to middle-class 'Reagan Democrats.'" In Macomb Co., he blasted Bush's "do-nothing administration": "After four years of raising your taxes, selling out your jobs, betraying your values and violating your trust, Mr. Bush and Mr. Quayle want to do it to you all over again." He also "ridiculed [Bush] for announcing an economic agenda in Detroit 11 days ago, '1,327 days after he became president'" (Kasindorf, NEWSDAY, 9/21). USA TODAY's Nichols notes, Clinton "continued to hedge on the issue of the free trade agreement, which is opposed by many Michigan unions." He said he'd back the NAFTA "only if it contains tough labor and environmental standards for Mexico. Republicans call that a straddle" (9/21). ATLANTA CONSTITUTION's May: "Part of a continuing Clinton tactic that defies conventional wisdom: When ahead of your opponent, attack" (9/21). USA TODAY runs MI statewide and Macomb Co. presidential voting since 1968 (9/21).

RADIO ADS: Besides the TV ads which are debuting here and other key states (see #4), the Clinton camp is running 60-sec. radio ads which score Bush for failing to agree to the 9/22 debate in E. Lansing. The ads air the telephone number of Bush's MI HQ and urge voters to call it and "tell George Bush it's time to debate" (Mathis, HOUSTON CHRONICLE, 9/19).

*17 NEW JERSEY (15): ROUKEMA BOYCOTTS BUSH FAMILY LEAVE VISIT
BERGEN RECORD front-page headline: "COLD SHOULDER."
RECORD's Chris Mondics writes Bush's 9/18 visit to AT&T HQ in Basking Ridge to talk about his view of family leave "was blunted by the absence" of Rep. Marge Roukema (R-NJ), "who stayed away from the speech in protest of his opposition" to the Family Leave bill, which she co-sponsored. Roukema spokesperson Steve Wilson said Roukema was "dismayed and discouraged that Bush has taken this position on family leave, and that he chose [NJ] to defend his position." Roukema, on Bush's proposal: "It's too late to even consider that legislation. It's not a substitute for [the Family Leave Act], because it does not guarantee job security, a minimum labor standard" (9/19).

FLORIO BOUT NIXED: Newark STAR-LEDGER's David Wald writes the Bush campaign missed an opportunity to "show up" Gov. Jim Florio (D) by choosing ex-NJ AG Corey Edwards (R) to represent the campaign in a local surrogate debate with Florio. Edwards is one of the three likely GOP '93 gov. challengers and Florio aides said Florio would represent Clinton "but he would not debate a potential gubernatorial rival." The Bush NJ camp "could have made its point about tax-and-spend Democrats like Florio and Clinton if they had picked a less prominent spokesman for the President. ... Florio is to be commended for his willingness to step up for Clinton, even if the Clinton campaign appears to have decided to keep him out of New Jersey and out of Florio's way" (9/20). BERGEN RECORD's Reisner notes the AT&T trip was Bush's 4th to NJ since 7/92. Bush-Quayle NJ exec. dir. Wm Palatucci: "New Jersey is a 'must' state for Bush and probably a bonus state for Clinton" (9/18).

*18 THE OTHER FORTY

DELAWARE (3): WILMINGTON NEWS JOURNAL's Delaware Poll, conducted 9/13-17 by Gordon S. Black Corporation, surveyed 801 registered voters; margin of error +/- 3.5%. Respondents were asked if Perot is on ballot but not a candidate, how would you vote? (9/20). Dems last carried DE in '76.

Clinton	45%
Bush	31
Perot	10
DK/other	14

INDIANA (12): A Ft. Wayne JOURNAL-GAZETTE poll, conducted 9/12-15, surveyed 533 registered voters; margin of error +/- 4.2% (9/20). NOTE: The ballot question only mentioned the pres. candidates, not running mates. Dems last carried IN in 1964.

BALLOT TEST		SATISFIED WITH		IF BUSH DIED, IS JDQ
Bush	40%	QUAYLE'S JOB AS VP?		QUALIFIED TO BE PREZ
Clinton	40	Yes	55%	Yes 44%
Perot (vol.)	4	No	28	No 42
DK/other	16	DK	17	DK 14

IN GOP chair Rex Early said he didn't believe the numbers "at all": "I've seen two other polls that show Bush ahead by 9 and 12 points. I think that's much more realistic" (9/20).

IOWA (7): The Iowa Poll, conducted by the DES MOINES REGISTER from 9/8-15, surveyed 814 likely voters; margin of error +/- 3.5% (REGISTER, 9/20).

Clinton	55%	MORE QUALIFIED TO BE PRES
Bush	36	Gore 67%
Undec.	9	Quayle 25

KENTUCKY (8): The Bluegrass State Poll, conducted 9/9-15 by the Louisville COURIER-JOURNAL, surveyed 584 likely voters; margin of error +/- 4% (9/18).

2-WAY		3-WAY		FAV/UNFAV
Clinton	54%	Clinton	43%	Bush 40% / 43%
Bush	41	Bush	33	Clinton 41 / 28
Undec.	5	Perot	13	Quayle 27 / 43
		Undec.	11	Gore 49 / 16

WISCONSIN (11): A Univ. of WI Survey Research Laboratory poll, conducted 9/14-16, surveyed 414 adults; margin of error +/- 6% (WISCONSIN STATE JOURNAL, 9/19).

Clinton	41%
Bush	32
Perot	3
DK/other	24

NOTE: "The poll does not screen for 'likely voters,' but in a separate question, 73.2 percent ... said they would definitely vote and 18.1 percent said they probably would" (Dorsher, STATE JOURNAL, 9/19).

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*19 ARIZONA: MECHAM TURNS IN PETITIONS, MCCAIN TO CHALLENGE

Ex-Gov. Evan Mecham (R) "apparently qualified" 9/18 as an independent, turning in 16,000 signatures. Mecham needs at least 10,555 valid signatures of registered voters who did not cast ballots in the 9/8 primary and "as a rule, candidates are successful if they gather 30% more than the required number of signatures." Sen. John McCain's (R) staff "has requested copies of Mecham's petitions and will scrutinize them. ... Any legal challenge of the petitions must be filed" by 9/25. Mecham has "called for four or five debates with McCain" and activist Claire Sargent (D) (Williams, ARIZONA REPUBLIC, 9/19).

AD WATCH: McCain release two TV ads 9/19. First ad: Video: "Sweeping views of McCain in a red polo shirt before the Grand Canyon." Partial text: "John McCain is known as the Grand Canyon's best friend in Congress. He played a key role in this year's historic agreement to reduce air pollution at the canyon. He also worked to protect over 3 million acres of Arizona wilderness land." Analysis: "Technically true, but possibly misleading." McCain is not "consistently pro-environment." LCV gave him a 33% ranking this year. Second ad: Partial text: McCain: "A lot of us working together were able to bring the situation (of raw sewage running through the Nogales Wash in Arizona from Mexico) under control rapidly." Anncr: "Senator McCain convinced U.S. and Mexican authorities to clean up the problem and introduced legislation to deal with future health emergencies." Video: McCain meeting with Nogales Mayor Mary Macias (ARIZONA REPUBLIC, 9/20). REPUBLIC's Willey on second ad: "The ad's appeal to rural and minority voters may sell well in Phoenix and Tucson, ... but in Nogales, it's practically made McCain a laughingstock. ... Macias is to Nogales what Evan Mecham is to Arizona: a disaster" (9/20).

MARICOPA COUNTY POLL: PHOENIX GAZETTE poll, conducted 9/9-13, 404 selected residents were surveyed; margin of error +/- 5%. McCain 44%, Sargent 34%, Mecham 10% (9/17).

*20 CONNECTICUT: JOHNSON GETTING GOP HELP; GOP WOMEN BACK DODD

The DSCC and NRSC "have jumped into the election fray with ready cash and campaign rancor." NRSC chair Phil Gramm (R-TX) said CT "is one of about five targeted battles against [Dem] incumbents across the country." Gramm has "already has sent" a \$17,500 check to millionaire Brook Johnson (R) and added Johnson's name to a fund-raising list sent to national donors -- "which is certainly worth tens of thousands of dollars to the campaign" (Baldor, CONNECTICUT POST, 9/18). Sen. Chris Dodd (D) "has already received the same amount" from the DSCC and DSCC spokesperson Nehl Horton said the cmte "will make 'a substantial commitment' of in-kind help" (Stamford ADVOCATE, 9/18).

GOP WOMEN FOR DODD: The CT Republican Women for Choice endorsed Dodd over Johnson because of Johnson's "flip-flop" on abortion. Johnson "disputed" the characterization: "I firmly support a woman's right to choose" (AP/Danbury NEWS TIMES, 9/19). Johnson spokesperson Mark Rivers called the endorsement "a publicity stunt" and "produced laudatory statements from" Rep. Nancy Johnson (R-06), an "ardent abortion-rights supporter." The Johnson camp released a statement saying he supports "the substance and principle" of Roe v. Wade, including "taxpayer-financed abortions for poor women and he opposes" the gag rule.

. Johns opposes the Freedom of Choice Act; Dodd is a co-sponsor (Jacklin, HARTFORD COURANT, 9/19). Also: Dodd has agreed to 3 10/92 debates. Johnson is "happy to debate Dodd but didn't offer any specific dates" (Robinowitz, GREENWICH TIME, 9/21).

ROAD BLOCK?: 16-year old Jonathan Adler and his family "withdrew his police complaint against Johnson" after meeting with him 9/18 (AP/HARTFORD COURANT, 9/21). Greenwich dep. Police Chief Peter Robbins said Adler "made a gesture with his middle finger" to Johnson's car, which had a "Goodbye Senator Dodd" sticker on the back and "it was alleged that ... Johnson opened the passenger door, grabbed ... Adler, pulled him from the car and demanded an apology" (Johnson, GREENWICH TIME, 9/19).

*21 ILLINOIS: BRAUN MAINTAINING LARGE LEAD

A CHICAGO TRIBUNE poll, conducted 9/10-13 by Market Shares Corp., surveyed 1000 likely voters; margin of error +/- 3% (9/20). Tested: Cook Co. Recorder of Deeds Carol Moseley Braun (D) and atty Rich Williamson (R).

	AMONG VOTERS			
	ALL	8/24	W/100% ID	FAV / UNFAV
Moseley Braun	58%	56%	56%	54% / 18%
Williamson	24	23	31	14 / 17
Undec.	17	21	12	

Braun and Williamson "agreed to a debate schedule" 9/17 and appeared before the IL Chamber of Commerce "to advance their views on economic policy." The two debates sponsored by the League of Women Voters will take place 10/12 at "an undetermined Downstate location," and 10/22 in Chicago. Williamson "is seeking a third debate" and his address to the Chamber "was a chance to preach to the choir, as the chamber generally favors GOP policy." Braun's address gave her "an opportunity to assure the business leaders her philosophy is not incompatible with their interests" (Hardy/Kates, CHICAGO TRIBUNE, 9/18). CHICAGO SUN-TIMES' Sweet: Williamson "needs the traditional suburban GOP vote"; Braun "is looking for crossover" Clinton GOPers, who disagree with the GOP pro-life platform. Braun has "potential for helping" Clinton with a "big black and female turnout; [Clinton] can help her Downstate. ... The Braun-Clinton relationship is stronger than the Williamson-Bush connection" (9/20).

*22 INDIANA: COATS TOPS 50%

A Ft. Wayne JOURNAL-GAZETTE poll, conducted 9/12-15, surveyed 533 registered voters; margin of error +/- 4.2% (9/20). Candidates: Sen. Dan Coats (R), Sec/State Joe Hogsett (D).

Coats	52%
Hogsett	21
DK/other	27

On 9/8, four days before the poll began, Hogsett launched "heavy" TV ads "attacking Coats for taking pay raises, accepting honoraria and using franked mail" (Pellegrene, JOURNAL-GAZETTE, 9/20). Hogsett's first TV ads states opposition to NAFTA, "in part to bolster his standing with his labor base." Conservative activist Mike Pence: "That first commercial panders to labor so he can get his numbers in the 30s and 40s" (9/20).

*23 NEW YORK: SEN. POTHOLE VS. "BUBBA & BUBELEH"

N.Y. TIMES' Stanley on Sen. Al D'Amato's (R) strategy: "At

a time when many voters consider incumbency a character flaw, in a state where the top of the [GOP] ticket is trailing in the polls, and against an [AG] who is making ethics a central issue, Mr. D'Amato's strategy includes a make-over" (9/20). N.Y. TIMES' Verhovek: "Abrams is hoping to ride [Clinton]'s coattails. The strategy is so obvious that some [NY] wags are already referring to the Clinton-Abrams team as the 'Bubba-Bubeleh ticket.'" But "by closeting himself ... and by declining so far, to broadcast any commercials, some consultants say that Mr. Abrams may allow Mr. D'Amato to define" the issues. Abrams can't wait until the final days to go on TV, "as he did in the primary." Abrams consultant Ethan Geto: "We're dealing with limited resources. It's like the Yankees at Bunker Hill -- you don't fire until you can see the whites of their eyes" (9/20).

ON D'AMATO: N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Lars-Erik Nelson: "D'Amato has been one of the most perceptive members of the Senate on some key issues of our age. ... D'Amato, a soft touch, will do anything for practically anybody who asks him, contributor or not. ... He has never been found guilty of anything that would merit even a slap on the wrist" (9/21).

FERRARO UPDATE: Abrams spoke with Ex-Rep. Geraldine Ferraro (D) but "she mainly listened and continued to decline to concede" (N.Y. TIMES, 9/19). N.Y. TIMES editorial: "Her refusal to concede ill becomes her." She's acting "as if she owes nothing to the voters, not even an acknowledgement of their judgment at the ballot box" (9/20). Gov. Cuomo (D) "predicted" she "would back" Abrams after the Election Board certifies the results. Cuomo "has sometimes clashed" with Abrams, but, "in another sign of willingness to back" him, Cuomo said he would help raise money "should Abrams ask" (Dicker, N.Y. POST, 9/21).

ETC: Bush is expected to be in NY today, but D'Amato will only see him at a private fund-raiser (N.Y. TIMES, 9/20). Rev.

*24 PENNSYLVANIA: THE BATTLE FOR THE JEWISH VOTE

"In an effort to quell an interfaith controversy" the Bryn Mawr Presbyterian church "called for an open dialogue" with members of the Jewish community. The church, to which women's activist Lynn Yeakel (D) belongs, has "become a campaign issue because of allegations that leaders of the church are anti-semitic." The issue was raised when "leaders of the church made" what Jewish advocates "thought were insensitive and inflammatory remarks about Israel" after touring the Middle East in '89. Sen. Arlen Specter (R) spokesperson Susan Lamontagne "did not address the specifics" of the statement "other than to note that it failed to mention Specter was "treated with hostility and boos" when he spoke there (Welsensee, PHILA. DAILY NEWS, 9/18). PHILA. INQUIRER's Rottenberg: "To anyone familiar with Bryn Mawr, this is flabbergasting. The church's governance structure prohibits its financial trustees (such as Lynn Yeakel) from influencing the board of elders who determine church policies" (9/20). Economist Morton Klein and Rev. Charles Olewine write on the opposite page: "No responsible person is claiming" Yeakel "herself is anti-semitic. ... But the fact is, that when it comes to Israel-related issues, the church leadership has been controlled by individuals whose attitudes toward the Jewish state and its American supporters is disturbing" (9/20). PHILA. DAILY NEWS editorial on Specter's "fanning religious visions and bigotry": "We are no stranger to [Specter's] slimy campaign. But he has outdone himself this time" (9/21).

CITIZEN'S JURY: The demographically selected Pittsburgh

. Citizen's Jury "favored Specter on jobs and education" while "Yeakel won points on health-case issues." Another Jury will convene in Philadelphia next week (PHILA. INQUIRER, 9/21). Yeakel spokesperson Catherine Ormerod said the findings were "useful but not conclusive." Specter son/aide Shanin Specter "who earlier expressed concern" over the Jury: "It may end up to be very important" (PHILA. DAILY NEWS, 9/21).

*25 WISCONSIN: FEINGOLD IN THE LEAD

A Univ. of WI Survey Research Laboratory poll, conducted 9/14-16, surveyed 414 adults; margin of error +/- 6%. NOTE: "The poll does not screen for 'likely voters,' but in a separate question, 73.2 percent ... said they would definitely vote and 18.1 percent said they probably would" (WI STATE JOURNAL, 9/19). Tested: Sen. Bob Kasten (R), state Sen. Russ Feingold (D).

Feingold	54%
Kasten	33
DK/other	13

CLIMBIN' ABOARD: Sen. Herb Kohl (D-WI) CoS Jim Mulhern is leaving his post to "play a key fund-raising" role in Feingold's campaign because of his experience and contacts" in Washington (WISCONSIN STATE JOURNAL, 9/19). MILWAUKEE JOURNAL's Schultze looks at Feingold's "consistently liberal-populist" state Senate record and the stands which "put him at odds" with business interests. He was a co-sponsor of a resolution which "urged" Bush not to go to war with Iraq (9/20). CAPITAL TIMES editorial on Kasten calling himself "an agent of change" and referring to Feingold as the "status quo": "Even the technicians in the television studio were laughing at that one. ... Nice try, [WI] voters are smarter than that" (9/20).

*26 SENATE WATCH: FIELD POLL HAS BOTH WOMEN WITH 20 PT. LEADS
The Field Poll, conducted 9/8-15, surveyed 624 likely voters; margin of error +/- 4.1% (Release 9/18). Tested: "A" Seat: Rep. Barbara Boxer (D-06), ex-TV commentator Bruce Herschensohn (R). "B" Seat: Sen. John Seymour (R), ex-S.F. Mayor Dianne Feinstein (D).

	ALL	7/92	DEM	GOP	WOM	MEN	FAV / UNFAV
Boxer	55%	49%	79%	29%	59%	51%	46% / 26%
Hersch.	33	31	12	58	29	37	23 / 39
Undec.	12	20	9	13	12	12	
Feinstein	57%	55%	84%	27%	61%	52%	54% / 36
Seymour	37	37	13	66	32	42	26 / 31
Undec.	6	8	3	7	7	6	

Herschensohn "bristled" 9/18 when reporters asked him about the "Year of the Woman" in politics: "Can you imagine the 'Year of the Man?' ... Come on -- do we have a quota system now?" (L.A. TIMES, 9/19). He added: "It there are women's issues, please give me a list of men's issues. ... We never end prejudice in this country. We just transfer, we move our prejudice from one entity to another entity. It is sanctioned to be prejudiced against men. It is sanctioned to be prejudiced against a gender and I don't accept that" (L.A. DAILY NEWS, 9/19). Herschensohn "expressed frustration with Boxer's rejection of his idea that they travel the state together debating each other at least once a week. He argued that such a political road show could revolutionize the nature of campaigns" (Stall, L.A. TIMES, 9/19).

TELLING LEFT FROM RIGHT: S.F. CHRONICLE's Wildermuth writes, "Almost since the day [Boxer] won her primary, ... the liberal Boxer has been edging toward the political center. At the same time, ... Herschensohn has hung close to his base of conservative supporters, confident that the voters will come to him." Herschensohn's campaign is "working hard to push more voters in his direction by shoving Boxer farther to the left." TV ads are expected to begin "blanketing" airwaves in the next few weeks (9/21). Boxer released a list of CA Republicans who have pledge their support to her (release, 9/16).

KEEP ON TRUCKIN': Members of the Independent Truckers Assn "will use their big rigs as traveling billboards to promote the defeat" of Boxer. ITA Chair Mike Parkhurst "said he hopes to place at least 2,000 anti-Boxer posters" on CA trucks: "Boxer is the type of person who wants to completely dominate the lives of truckers by keeping track of when they go to the bathroom, when they eat and when they sleep" (S.F. EXAMINER, 9/19).

EYE ON THE NATION-STATE: C.S. MONITOR's Wood profiled Feinstein and Boxer: They "will hold their leads, with Feinstein the more vulnerable of the two" (9/18). ECONOMIST's "American Survey," profiled Seymour and Herschensohn: "It is unlikely that either Senatorial candidate would have a strong enough personal following to avoid going down with Mr. Bush" in CA (9/19 issue).

=====

POLL UPDATE =====

*27 NEWSWEEK: 23% SAY THEY'D VOTE PEROT

600 registered voters surveyed 9/18 by Gallup; margin of error +/- 4% (9/28 issue).

LIKE TO SEE PEROT BECOME
AN ACTIVE CANDIDATE?

	NOW	6/92
Yes	34%	69%
No	52	25

IF PEROT WERE ACTIVE CANDIDATE
WOULD YOU VOTE FOR HIM?

	NOW	8/31-9/2
Yes	23%	20%
No	60	72

WHICH BEST DESCRIBES YOU? (asked only of the 23% of Perot voters)

Someone who planned to vote for Perot all along	8%
An undecided voter who would vote for Perot	6
A potential Bush voter who would switch to Perot	5
A potential Clinton voter who would switch to Perot	4

WHY IS PEROT CONSIDERING A RUN FOR PRESIDENT?

He's interested in promoting his ideas	43%
He's interested in promoting himself	28
He wants to stop George Bush	6
He's interested in becoming president	2
He wants to stop Bill Clinton	1

WHY NO DEBATE AGREEMENT YET?

More Bush's fault	49%
More Clinton's fault	11
Neither to blame (vol.)	11
Don't know	29

IMPORT OF DEBATES ON YOUR VOTE?

Very important	31%
Somewhat important	25
Not too important	17
Not at all important	25

*28 USA TODAY/CNN/GALLUP:

1,182 registered voters surveyed 9/11-15; margin of error +/- 3% (USA TODAY, 9/21). 8/92 refers to post-GOP convention; 7/92 to post-Dem convention.

WHO'D DO BETTER ON ...?

	THE ECONOMY			TAXES			FOREIGN AFFAIRS		
	NOW	8/92	7/92	NOW	8/92	7/92	NOW	8/92	7/92
Clinton	52%	52%	58%	47%	46%	49%	20%	19%	25%
Bush	36	37	24	42	43	30	73	73	64

*29 BATTLEGROUND '92 TRACKING POLL: RACE NARROWS AT WEEK'S END

1,000 registered voters, surveyed 9/14-17 by The Tarrance Group, with analysis by Ed Goeas (R) and Celinda Lake (D); margin of error +/- 3%. Battleground surveys 250 RVs nightly to provide a rolling 4-day sample of 1,000 for uniform tracking purposes; date shown is final of 4 survey dates (BOSTON HERALD, 9/20).

W/LNRS	9/17	9/16	9/15	9/14	9/13	9/10	9/9	9/8	9/7	9/6
Clinton	48%	49%	49%	51%	51%	50%	52%	50%	48%	49%
Bush	41	40	40	39	39	39	38	40	42	43
Perot (vol.)	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1

*30 THIS MORNING: ABC's "GMA" hosted ex-JCS chair Adm. Wm Crowe. NBC's "Today" hosted presidential debate commis. head ex-RNC chair Frank Fahrenkoph and ex-DNC chair Paul Kirk; film critic Michael Medved and ex-chair NEA John Fronnmayer on family values and Hollywood. "CBS This Morning," televised from the "Murphy Brown" set, hosted Clinton CA chair John Emerson and Bush CA chair Marty Wilson, and the cast of "Murphy Brown" (9/21).

LAST NIGHT: ABC and NBC led with French approval of the Maastricht treaty. CBS was pre-empted by football. ABC's "Brinkley" examined Hollywood/politics with Medved, actors Charlton Heston, Richard Dreyfuss, and Mary Steenburgen. NBC's "Meet The Press" hosted Quayle. CBS' "Face the Nation" hosted DNC chair Ron Brown and RNC chair Rich Bond (9/20).

THIS WEEKEND: 9/19: NBC led with the world Finance Minister meeting in DC. ABC and CBS were pre-empted by sports. 9/18: ABC led with college drinking. NBC led with Bush. CBS led with MO voters. CNN's "Crossfire" hosted Rep. Charles Rangel (D-NY) and Drug Czar Bob Martinez on the war on drugs. ABC's "Person of the Week" was undecided voters in Charlotte, NC. ABC's "Nightline" hosted Ross Perot.

RACIAL POLITICS: CNN's "Democracy In America" aired the first of a 3 part series entitled "The Nation's Agenda." "A House Divided," focused on the urban underclass and the divisiveness of race in Detroit, Chicago and NYC. CNN's Shaw: "Finding the political will and the money to address the entrenched problems of the underclass is a daunting task. Both parties are now talking about reform, but neither candidate seems ready for the revolutionary steps its going to take" (9/20).

WINNERS/LOSERS: CNN's Allen's winner was Quayle: "Mostly we pick him because he's never been our winner before." Losers: "Voters. They're anxious for issues, but they're still getting the same old song and dance" ("Inside Politics," 9/18).

PREDICTIONS: Barnes: "[Bush] will later raise the [draft] in the campaign, maybe in a month from now." Germond on TX: "If I had to bet the rink money right now I'd bet on Bush, but not by much, it's a two point race." ("Group," 9/19).

LAUGHS: Jay Leno on the suggesting of holding the debgates in a neutral site where neither candidate has been before: "Clinton said the Oval office, Bush said Vietnam." On Perot's possible re-entry: "Perot now claims he never dropped-out, now he says he was just on family leave." On Marion Barry's return to politics: "He might be pretty disappointed, Brock Adams is retired, Clarence Thomas is on the Supreme Court, Ted Kennedy got married, there's no-one to party with anymore" ("Tonight," NBC, 9/18).

===== TV SOUNDBITE =====

"Is it ticking?"

-- NBC's Tim Russert to Quayle, after Quayle said he sent a gift and a note to "Murphy Brown's" baby, "Meet the Press," 9/20



JACOB STEIN

20 JEROME AVENUE • HICKSVILLE, L.I., N.Y. 11801

TELEPHONE 516-938-6012

FAX 516-938-6017

FAX TRANSMITTAL

TO:MS. ROSE ZAMARIA

DATE:SEPT' 21, 1992

FAX NO:202-456-2397

TIME: 2 PM

FROM:JACK STEIN

FAX NO: 516-938-6017

MESSAGE: I hope that a meeting with the Pres. Conf.
can be scheduled.

Best Wishes

Jack

PLEASE CALL 516-938-6012 IF THERE ARE ANY PROBLEMS
WITH TRANSMISSION OF THIS FAX.

PAGES INCLUDING THIS PAGE: _____

9/21/92 gave to Carson Jackson
as follow up to my
memo on same subject
Rf



**CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS**

Shoshana S. Cardin
Chairman

Malcolm L. Hoenlein
Executive Director

September 21, 1992

To: Presidents & Executive Directors
From: Shoshana S. Cardin, Chairman
Malcolm Hoenlein, Executive Director

PLEASE SHARE WITH AGENCY PRESIDENTS PROMPTLY

1. There will be a closed meeting with Governor Bill Clinton, democratic candidate for President, with members of the Conference of Presidents on Thursday afternoon in New York City. This will be a limited meeting and personal invitations will be sent later today. Please note that organizations in arrears on their dues will not be sent invitations. We ask that you RSVP promptly upon receipt of the notice to assure your participation.

3:00 P.M. WIRES

BUSH SAYS FRENCH MAASTRICHT VOTE POSITIVE

NEW YORK, Reuter - President Bush said Monday the French vote in support of the Maastricht treaty was a positive development and he congratulated French president Francois Mitterrand for pulling off a yes vote.

In his first direct comment on the close French vote for the treaty after a speech at the U.N. General Assembly Bush said:

"This step by France... is a step toward integraon thate have long supported." He said he congratulated President Mitterrand and said the vote was viewed in the U.S. as a positive development.

Reut12:42 09-21

Cuba criticizes Bush, Clinton over U.S. trade embargo:

By Pascal Fletcher

HAVANA, Reuter - Cuba criticized both U.S. presidential candidates Monday for backing tighter trade restrictions against the island and said this hindered chances of improving ties between Washington and Havana.

In comment quoted by the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina, Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Ramon Sanchez Parodi said the positions of both President Bush and his Democrat challenger Bill Clinton heralded the continuation of a U.S. policy of hostility towards Cuba.

He added both candidates backed a bill to be voted on in the House of Representatives and the Senate which would sharply tighten a 30-year-old U.S. trade embargo against the communist-ruled island.

If the so-called Torricelli Bill was passed before the November U.S. presidential elections, "the new administration which emerges from this poll will be tied into a straightjacket imposed by the anti-Cuban nature of this legislation," Sanchez Parodi said.

"It will be the basis on which the new government forms its policy towards Cuba," he added.

He went on: "In this way, both Bush and Clinton are taking positions which in practice hinder the development of a process of normalisation of relations between Cuba and the United States."

The Torricelli Bill, named after New Jersey Republican Senator Robert Torricelli, would bar U.S. subsidiaries in third countries from trading with Cuba and impose tougher penalties on U.S. citizens caught violating the trade embargo.

Relations between the U.S. and Cuba have been hostile since 1961, when Washington broke diplomatic relations with Havana, two years after the revolution led by Fidel Castro that toppled right-wing dictator Fulgencio Batista and introduced socialism to the island.

Sanchez Parodi said that several important allies of the United States had openly expressed their opposition to the Torricelli Bill on the grounds that it would infringe their sovereign right to trade with Cuba if they wished.

He did not name the countries but diplomats in Havana said that Britain, France, Canada and Mexico had made known their opposition to the proposed tighter U.S. trade restrictions. One month ago, a French government minister visited Cuba and was quoted as saying that France opposed the international isolation of Cuba, even though it did not agree with the communist government on some issues.

Cuba has said it intends to raise the issue of the U.S. embargo for the second consecutive year at the United Nations General Assembly.

Reut12:07 09-21

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Ohio poll shows Clinton with 10-point lead

AKRON, Ohio, Reuter - Democrat Bill Clinton holds a 10-point lead over President Bush in Ohio, a state with Republican leanings, a poll shows

Clinton was supported by 50 percent of the 669 Ohioans polled, with 40 percent for Bush and 10 percent undecided, according to the University of Akron poll conducted between Sept. 8 and 16.

Ohio, with its 21 electoral votes, is considered a key state for Bush, with the state last voting Democratic in 1976.

The poll, published Sunday in the Akron Beacon-Journal, showed no significant shrinkage in Clinton's lead since mid-August, when a poll by the Cleveland Plain Dealer gave him an 11-point lead.

In the Republican-dominated southwest corner of the state that includes Cincinnati, the two presidential candidates were running about even, the latest poll results showed.

Reut12:13 09-21

Clinton Campaign Looks Beyond Election Day to Transition

By RON FOURNIER

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP) — Thirteen floors above downtown Little Rock in a half-empty, nondescript office, first steps are under way to shape the administration Bill Clinton hopes to lead as president.

"You have reached the Clinton-Gore Planning Foundation," says the telephone answering machine in the office a few blocks from Clinton's presidential campaign headquarters.

Aides to the Democratic nominee stress that there is no transition team at work here — just a "transition planning team."

But it is designed to be the forerunner of a transition team, which — if the campaign is crowned with success — will usher in a new era of Democratic rule in Washington.

Transition teams are the talent hunters who help the president find Cabinet officers and other top aides. They also serve as employment agencies to help reward loyal campaign workers with government jobs.

Already, Democrats eager after a dozen years of Republicans in the White House are firing off resumes to the office whose official name is the "Clinton-Gore Presidential Planning Foundation."

"We've received a number of resumes, many unsolicited, as you can imagine, given the situation Bill Clinton finds himself in," says campaign Chairman Mickey Kantor.

"It is a transition planning team," says Kantor. "There is no transition team. That would be premature."

"A small group of people are determining questions that would face the organization if we win," Kantor says.

Clearly, this is an operation with plenty of growing room. A handwritten sign on the door identifies the office only as "Suite 1320." The office walls are bare. A four-foot poster of the Arkansas governor is against a chair in the corner.

"America's Choice," it says.

Kantor says the foundation is not picking Clinton's Cabinet or promising administration posts yet. Instead, it is building a program that can help Clinton make those choices after the election.

He insists that the office is not a sign that front-running Clinton is cocky.

"Obviously, this is the responsible thing to do," Kantor said.

"You have to begin the planning process so if you win, you can make a smooth transition."

Some of those with experience in watching and implementing presidential transitions dismissed any notion that Clinton might be showing overconfidence in setting up such an office.

"If the question is, are they being a bit premature, I think the answer is no," said Christopher Arterton, dean of the Graduate School of Political Management at Georgetown University. "... If they don't engage in this kind of activity now, there will be much confusion should they win."

Washington consultant Mark Siegal, a key official on Jimmy Carter's transition team, said it was "good that they have people conceptualizing so that when the moment comes, they're ready — not ready with a Cabinet but ready to begin the process, to select a government."

For now, the transition foundation consists of four people. It will grow to 16 by Election Day, Kantor said.

Clinton last month told USA Today that he had "asked a few people to start thinking about the transition itself."

"How do you go about staffing the White House? How do you go about staffing the subcabinet positions? How can you move quickly but with real quality to fill the Cabinet? What will our timing on these things be? In the very short period between the election and taking office, how do you allocate your time?"

Those are the questions being addressed now by the four-person staff headed by John Hart, a 31-year-old former Washington attorney who referred all questions to Kantor.

Kantor said the foundation is funded by private donations.

is located in the Worthen Bank Building a few blocks from the Clinton-Gore campaign headquarters. Worthen extended Clinton credit early in the campaign and now is profiting as the holder of the Clinton-Gore multimillion-dollar bankroll.

AP-DS-09-21-92 1429EDT

4:00 P.M. WIRES

Bush Says Clinton Not Telling 'Whole Truth' About Draft
By TERENCE HUNT

NEW YORK (AP) — Trying to exploit questions about Bill Clinton's soft history, President Bush said Monday his Democratic rival "has not told the truth, the whole truth, nothing but the truth" about how he avoided military service during the Vietnam War. "Let's let him level with the American people," Bush said. "It's not going to go away."

Bush's comments, in a radio interview, were his most pointed remarks yet on Clinton and the draft.

Bush strategists see the draft issue as a good way to raise doubts about Clinton's character and truthworthiness, shifting attention from the Democrat's focus on the poor state of the economy under Bush.

The president acknowledged that Americans have "a let-down feeling about me" because of the economy.

He said the entire world is experiencing economic problems and blamed Americans' anxiety about the economy on news coverage focusing on a "gloom and doom message."

As new polls showed Bush trailing Clinton even in traditionally Republican strongholds, the president stepped up the pace of his campaign, plying to sweep tough six states for airport rallies Tuesday. He'll visit Oklahoma, Texas, Missouri, Mississippi, Tennessee and Louisiana. On Wednesday, Bush will campaign in North Carolina and Pennsylvania.

Throughout the campaign, Clinton has given different accounts about how he avoided the military 23 years ago. He obtained a draft deferment by agreeing to sign up for ROTC, but never actually joined the program. He later gave up the deferment and drew a high lottery number that never was called for the draft.

"I have a very different concept of public service ... a different concept of military service" than Clinton, Bush said in an interview with conservative commentator Rush Limbaugh. "I'm sure I would never call the military immoral," Bush said.

He said there had been a "total failure" by Clinton "to come clean with the American people on this very difficult question."

"I'm not trying to make a big deal out of it," Bush insisted. Yet, he said, "There are still wolves in the woods and some day the commander in chief might have to make a very difficult decision."

Bush suggested that if presidential debates were held he would raise the subject of "service to country."

Clinton dismissed Bush's remarks, noting that over the weekend he had picked up the backing of retired Adm. William Crowe, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under Bush.

"Adm. Crowe has more credibility on truth-telling than President Bush," Clinton said. He added that back in February, when Bush was ahead in the polls, the president said Vietnam should not be an issue in this year's race.

Bush said that Clinton "ought to level with what happened on this and then elaborate on the letter that he wrote where he condemned the whole military as immoral and said that the only danger, only time he could see fighting would be if there was immediate danger, I think it was, I've got to paraphrase here, immediate danger to the shores of the United States."

Clinton's campaign called Bush to explain what he was talking about, saying Clinton had never said the things Bush quoted. "Basically I think he ought to retract it," Clinton strategist James Carville said of Bush. The White House said it was trying to determine the source of the president's remark.

Bush apparently was referring to a 1969 letter Clinton wrote to Col. Eugene Holmes, who was head of the University of Arkansas ROTC program in 1969 when Clinton sought to enroll as it appeared he might otherwise be drafted.

In that letter, Clinton called the draft system "illegitimate" and said that "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."

Asked about the endorsement of Clinton by Crowe, Bush said, "He and I differed on the war. ... He opposed me and he got up and testified while I was trying to mobilize the country behind the action I eventually had to take in Desert Storm."

AP-DS-09-21-92 1538EDT

Bush administration announces more arms for Taiwan
By Charles Aldinger

WASHINGTON, Reuter - The Bush administration said Monday it intends to sell 12 anti-submarine helicopters to Taiwan despite strong protests from China over the recently announced sale of 150 U.S. fighter jets to Taiwan.

The Defense Department said the White House had notified Congress of the intended sale 12 SH-2F LAMPS (Light Airborne Multipurpose System) helicopters and spare engines to the Taipei government for \$161 million.

Congress now has 30 days in which to veto the sale or allow it to proceed. The aircraft, which can detect submerged submarines and attack them, are made by Connecticut-based man Corp.

The move comes one week after the Bush administration formally notified Congress it planned to sell 150 F/16 fighter jets and missiles to Taiwan despite a 1982 memorandum between the United States and China under which Washington would phase out arms sales to Taiwan.

China registered a strong protest against the sale of the fighters and has hinted it may no longer cooperate with U.S. demands that it refrain from selling missiles or missile technology to countries such as Syria and Iran.

But President Bush said in announcing the jet sale that the aircraft were needed by Taiwan, an island which China still considers one of its provinces, to replace Taipei's aging fleet of F-5 and F-104 fighter jets.

He said a Chinese military buildup, including the purchase of Soviet Su-27 bombers, has prompted Taipei's need for new weapons to preserve the balance of power in the region as stipulated in the 1982 U.S.-China memorandum.

The Pentagon added Monday that the sale of helicopters "will not affect the basic military balance in the region." Bush, however, has been accused by private arms control groups and some members of Congress of fueling the arms race by moving to save defense industry jobs.

The administration has also announced that it intends to sell 72 F-15 fighter jets to Saudi Arabia despite Bush's public call for weapons-producing nations to slow the Middle East arms race.

Bush's Gold-Commodity Currency Plan Draws No Support

By MARTIN CRUTSINGER

WASHINGTON (AP) — Gold, the mystical metal, should play a greater role in calming world currency markets, George Bush believes. But persuading America's major economic allies to go along with the idea may not be easy. The idea received a less-than-enthusiastic response Monday from many finance ministers and central bank presidents at the annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. The president caught many by surprise when he suggested in a speech Sunday that one way to alleviate turmoil in currency markets would be to use a marketbasket of commodities, including gold, to help determine the value of major currencies.

Bush called this commodity basket "an independent reference point" that would help strengthen global economic cooperation.

Administration officials insisted that Bush was not trying to return the United States to the gold standard, whereby the value of the dollar would be tied to the price of gold.

Instead, they said the president saw this approach as a way to allow the world's major industrial countries to determine whether their currencies were properly valued by measuring their purchasing power against a set collection of commodities.

The one commodity mentioned by the president was gold although administration officials said the value of such products as wheat or oil could also be included.

The proposal would give gold a standing in currency affairs that it has not had since 1971 when then-President Richard Nixon suspended the convertibility of dollars into gold.

That marked the first step in the eventual breakdown of fixed currency exchange rates. Fixed rates were in 1973 with the current system in which the values of the dollar and other major currencies are allowed to float with their exchange price set by the open market.

While some finance officials said they would have to know more details before they could comment on Bush's proposal, Helmut Schlesinger, the head of the powerful German central bank, gave the idea a quick brush-off.

"There are many disadvantages to such a currency construction, and I won't be pushing for it in my short term in office," said Schlesinger, who is scheduled to retire as Bundesbank president a year from now. While others replied more diplomatically, no one endorsed the idea.

IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus said that it would be impossible to act on the proposal at this year's meetings but he called Bush's suggestions "useful and worthwhile" for study. French Finance Minister Michel Sapin jokingly told reporters that the main discussion he had heard about the proposal involved just what date it was last put forward by the United States. "There was some debate as to whether it was made in 1985 or 1986. We came to the conclusion that it was 1985, but there were some differences of opinion and the debate goes on," Sapin said. Actually, the idea was first raised by then-Treasury Secretary James A. Baker III at an IMF annual meeting in 1987 as a way to improve economic policy coordination among the seven richest industrial countries — the United States, Japan, Germany, France, Britain, Italy and Canada.

A senior administration official, speaking reporters on

condition of anonymity, said the new proposal would seek to raise the profile of the commodity basket and link it more closely to currency decisions.

Under such an approach, an individual country could measure its own inflation rate against price changes of goods in the commodity basket. If the country's inflation rate was below the rate of price increases of the commodities, then it could consider loosening monetary policy by cutting interest rates.

Under current world conditions, economists said, the Bush proposal would allow most major countries to cut interest rates. That is what Bush and Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady have been seeking for 18 months, particularly in Germany.

High German interest rates, which force other European countries to keep their rates high, have been blamed for the economic slowdown in Europe. German interest also were blamed for the currency turmoil last week when England, Italy and Spain were forced in effect to devalue their currencies when they could no longer keep them within the agreed-upon range of exchange rates with the German mark.

Private economists said last week's market turmoil would not be solved by a commodity basket approach to setting currency levels unless a country like Germany agreed that it was overly focused on inflation threats.

"I don't think this is going to fly because it is too simplistic," said David Wyss, an economist at DRI-McGraw Hill Inc.

Some private economists said election-year politics may have prompted Bush's decision to resurface the idea from Baker, who is now directing the president's re-election campaign from his new post as White House chief of staff.

"The president is in an election year and he is trying to exercise creative thinking and leadership in economics," said Allen Sinai, chief economist of the Boston Co.

AP-DS-09-21-92 1547EDT

Poll finds Hoosiers see Gore more qualified than Quayle

FORT WAYNE, Ind., Reuter - More voters in Dan Quayle's home think he is unqualified to become president than they do Democrat Al Gore, according to a poll.

The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette poll published Sunday also found President Bush tied with Bill Clinton in the Hoosier state, both at 39.7 percent, with 13 percent undecided.

No Democratiresidential candidate has carried Indiana since 1964.

The poll covered 533 voters surveyed from Sept. 12 to 15 and had an error margin of plus or minus 4.2 points.

When asked if Quayle qualified to become president, 44 percent said yes, 42 percent said no and 14 percent were undecided. When asked the same question about Gore 46 percent said yes, 15 percent said no and 39 percent were undecided. The poll also found that 55 percent were satisfied with Quayle's performance as vice president while 28 percent were not. Quayle represented Indiana in both the House and Senate before he was elected vice president.

Reut13:40 09-21

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4:00 P.M. NEWS UPDATE

CLINTON DRAFT ISSUE/PRESIDENT (New York/Reuter) -- President Bush, in his first extended comment on the controversy surrounding Bill Clinton's draft status, challenged the Democrat "to tell the whole truth." Appearing on Rush Limbaugh's radio show here, Bush said Clinton, "has not told the full truth. I think the American people are entitled to an explanation." Although he has alluded to the issue before, it was the first time the President has directly attacked Clinton for failing to fully explain how he was able to avoid the draft during the Vietnam War. In a campaign press conference, Clinton was asked about Bush's remark and said, "The only reaction is to go back to what Mr. Bush said on this issue when he was ahead in the polls (in February). He said it shouldn't be an issue."

CAMPAIGN (Chicago/AP) -- Bill Clinton charged that Republicans want to squash talk of Americans' "economic misery" as he hunted votes in the Midwest battleground with sharp attacks on President Bush's handling of the economy. Bush, interviewed in New York by Rush Limbaugh, returned to questions about how Clinton avoided military service during the Vietnam era. "He's not told the whole truth," Bush said. He added, "I'm not trying to make a big deal out of it." Clinton noted that over the weekend he picked up the backing of Adm. Crowe. "Adm. Crowe has more credibility on truth-telling than President Bush," Clinton said, adding that back in February when Bush was ahead in the polls, the President said Vietnam should not be an issue in this year's race. Clinton responded to Republican criticism that he was trying to exploit economic hardship with the campaign's first attack ad, a spot put out Sunday that uses video clips of Bush to portray him as blind to the recession. "I realize they would prefer if we didn't even talk about the economic misery of the American people, but that's what this election is about," Clinton said as he campaigned in Chicago.

(Chicago/Reuter) -- Bill Clinton said he still wants to debate President Bush under a format the Bush campaign has rejected and brushed off Republican criticism that he is exploiting economic hardship in America. The Arkansas governor was in Chicago to pick up the endorsement of a group of more than 400 corporate chief executives called "Business Leaders for Change." The endorsement was another effort by the Clinton campaign to convince voters that business sentiment has shifted away from Bush and the Republican Party that it traditionally boosts. "Obviously, it shows broad bipartisan support for the campaign and for our plan to put the people of this country first and put this country back to work," Clinton said of the endorsement.

CAMPAIGN COVERAGE/POLL (AP) -- A majority of Americans [52 percent to 17 percent] think reporters want Bill Clinton to win the election, but most believe the journalists are covering both Clinton and President Bush fairly nevertheless, a news media organization said. A survey of 1,508 adults, conducted by telephone Sept. 10-13 by Times Mirror Center for the People & The Press, also showed that many people believe reporters go too far in personal criticism of both presidential candidates. Seventy-one percent said the Republican President's campaign has been covered fairly, and 74 percent said Clinton had received fair treatment from the media.

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MAASTRICHT VOTE/PRESIDENT (New York/Reuter) -- President Bush said the French vote in support of the Maastricht treaty was a positive development and he congratulated President Mitterrand for pulling off a yes vote. In his first direct comment on the close French vote for the treaty after a speech at the U.N. General Assembly Bush said: "This step by France...is a step toward integration that we have long supported." He said he congratulated President Mitterrand and said the vote was viewed in the U.S. as a positive development.

(New York/Reuter) -- The U.S. cautiously welcomed France's 'yes' vote on European union, banking on new markets for U.S. goods and a stronger partner in world affairs. President Bush offered support "for a European integration that opens markets and enhances Europe's capability to be our partner in the great challenges that we face in this new era." "None of us can afford insular policies," Bush told the General Assembly. "We will stand by them.... All of us will benefit from the expanded trade and investments."

U.S. INTEREST RATES/IMF (Reuter) -- The IMF urged the U.S. to lift interest rates and Germany to cut them. The call to the U.S. ran dead against the recent pleas from the White House for the Fed to lower interest rates to give U.S. growth a lift. IMF officials also urged Germany to cut its high interest rates that are viewed by many economists as the root cause of Europe's recession and exchange rate crisis.

U.N. DEBT/U.S. (U.N./AP) -- While President Bush was pledging support for the rapidly accelerating pace and importance of U.N. peacekeeping, the U.S. maintained its distinction as the biggest U.N. budget deadbeat. It owes the U.N. \$1.1 billion. Not only did Bush, in a speech to the General Assembly, not pledge to pay up, he also pointedly failed to commit U.S. troops to any of the 12 active peacekeeping operations worldwide. That leaves all the risk in the field to other countries such as the tiny nation of Fiji, which has a long tradition of contributing troops to U.N. peacekeeping.

U.S. ANTI-SUB HELICOPTERS/TAIWAN (Reuter) -- The Bush Administration said it intends to sell 12 anti-submarine helicopters to Taiwan despite strong protests from China over the recently announced sale of U.S. fighter jets to Taiwan. The Defense Department said the White House had notified Congress of the intended sale of 12 SH-2F LAMPS (Light Airborne Multipurpose System) helicopters and spare engines to the Taipei government for \$161 million. Congress now has 30 days in which to veto the sale or allow it to proceed.

VICE PRESIDENT TRIP (Bowling Green, Ky./AP) -- Vice President Quayle sought to assure Murphy Brown's baby and voters at large that he has nothing against single moms. But he called anew for Hollywood to "start reflecting basic values." "I have the greatest respect for single mothers. They're working hard, often against great odds," Quayle said in a stop at a supermarket here. Quayle told supporters, "I want you, the people, to write the future of America and I want Hollywood to start reflecting basic values in this country."

5:00 P.M. WIRES

Clinton says he wants debate format Bush has rejected
By Steve Holland

CHICAGO, Reut- Democrat Bill Clinton said Monday he still wants to debate President Bush under a format the Bush campaign has rejected and brushed off Republican criticism that he is exploiting economic hardship in America.

The Arkansas governor was in Chicago to pick up the endorsement of a group of more than 400 corporate chief executives called "Business Leaders for Change."

The endorsement was another effort by the Clinton campaign to convince voters that business sentiment has shifted away from Bush and the Republican Party that it traditionally boosts.

"Obviously, it shows broad bipartisan support for the campaign and for our plan to put the people of this country first and put this country back to work," Clinton said of the endorsement as he walked into a meeting with 100 business leaders at the Drake Hotel.

Meanwhile, Clinton told reporters the opposing campaigns had not negotiated a compromise on the format for a debate.

Bush's refusal to debate under the format established a presidential debate commission led to cancellation of the first debate, which had been scheduled for Tuesday night in East Lansing, Mich.

Clinton departs later Monday for East Lansing where he will criticize the president Tuesday for refusing to appear. The commission wants the debate led by a single moderator, while the Bush campaign wants a panel of journalists.

"Whatever is done I hope it can be done through the debate commission because I think it is a good format," Clinton said. "There's no question that it's sort of non-biased."

He said he would like to have two or three debates.

"You know me, I'm willing to do as many as I can," he said.

A Bush campaign spokeswoman, Alixe Glen, told reporters traveling with Clinton that GOP Chairman Rich Bond would be in East Lansing to answer questions Tuesday following Clinton's remarks.

Speculation has centered on Sept. 29 as the possible date of the first presidential debate. The commission had originally scheduled it as the date of a debate between Vice President Dan Quayle and Clinton's running mate, Al Gore. Clinton jogged five miles along Chicago's waterfront at daybreak and received some good news for his campaign to topple the incumbent president. A USA Today/CNN/Gallup poll said more people believed Clinton could handle the economy better than Bush.

The Bush campaign insists Clinton's constant badgering of Bush's economic record is an attempt to exploit economic hardship of Americans, that he is undermining people's confidence in the economy to further his election hopes.

"That is an ironic argument for them to make," Clinton said. "They've controlled the White House for 12 years. They've controlled national economic policy. And what I've tried to do is go beyond where the Republicans and the Democrats have been to give us an economic policy that works."

"I realize they would prefer it if we didn't even talk about the economic misery of the American people, but that's what this election is about, whether we can restore our economic leadership

and growth, create jobs and increase income to deal with our problems," he said.

Reut14:26 09-21

Bush calls on Clinton to explain draft status

NEW YORK, Reuter - President Bush, in his first extended comment on the controversy surrounding rival Bill Clinton's draft status during the Vietnam War, challenged the Democrat on Monday "to tell the whole truth."

Appearing on popular conservative Rush Limbaugh's radio show here, Bush said Clinton, "has not told the full truth. I think the American people are entitled to an explanation."

Although he has alluded to the issue before, it was the first time the president has directly attacked Clinton for failing to fully explain how he was able to avoid the draft during the Vietnam War.

The Bush camp regards the so-called character issue as a major political liability for the Arkansas governor, and Bush surrogates, including Vice President Dan Quayle and White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater, have pounded on Clinton's draft record repeatedly.

Clinton has said he opposed the Vietnam war and sought ways to avoid the draft before finally putting his name up for it in a lottery. He was never called to serve in the war.

Bush also chastized his rival for disparaging the military during the Vietnam era, one of the most turbulent times politically in U.S. history.

In a campaign press conference, Clinton was asked about Bush's remark and said, "The only reaction is to go back to what Mr. Bush said on this issue when he was ahead in the polls (in February). He said it shouldn't be an issue."

Reut14:16 09-21

BUSH OFFERS EXPANDED U.S. PEACEKEEPING ROLE

By Gene Gibbons

UNITED NATIONS, Reuter - President Bush on Monday offered U.N. peacekeeping troops the use of American military bases and logistics around the world as part of what he said would be new security arrangements in the post-Cold War era.

In a speech to the U.N. General Assembly, Bush said he had directed Defense Secretary Dick Cheney to place greater emphasis on U.S. military readiness for peacekeeping missions. He also offered logistical support and the use of American bases for training and exercises of U.N. "blue helmet" troops, and said nearby Fort Dix, N.J. long a U.S. Army basic training center, could serve as one such facility.

While Bush did not specifically pledge direct involvement of U.S. troops in U.N. peacekeeping operations, he said member nations of the world body, presumably including the United States, should maintain forces that could be deployed on short notice to put out brushfires or provide humanitarian assistance.

"The United States is ready to do its part to strengthen world peace by strengthening international peacekeeping," he said.

"The United States is willing to provide our military expertise to the United Nations to strengthen its planning and operations for peacekeeping, and we will also broaden American support for monitoring, verification, reconnaissance and other (U.N.) requirements," he ded.

Some 600 troops from a number of smaller countries, including Canada, Fiji, Norway and Finland, are involved in U.N. peacekeeping operations that cover such international tinderboxes as Yugoslavia and Cambodia.

Bush's speech, which also sketched out his views on how the world community can cooperate to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and foster prosperity, was a response to U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's call last June for strengthened U.N. capabilities to preserve world order.

The president said the U.N. Security Council should hold a special session to discuss how to implement Boutros-Ghali's plan and said his administration would review how the United States could help finance it.

The Senate voted late last week to allow the Defense Department to spend up to \$300 million annually to meet U.N. peacekeeping obligations.

The action came on an amendment by Sen. Carl Levin, D-Mich., to the Defense authorization bill.

Departing from past practice, Bush did not schedule any meetings with foreign leaders attending the General Assembly session in connection with his speech.

With just 43 days left before the Nov. 3 election, he chose instead to return quickly to presidential politics with an interview on a nationally syndicated radio talk show hosted by conservative Rush Limbaugh.

Bush, trailing Democratic challenger Bill Clinton in polls, has been widely criticized for devoting too much time to foreign policy at a time when the U.S. economy is in the doldrums.

Reut14:06 09-21

Sudan Believed To Have Executed US Government Employee
By GEORGE GEDDA

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Sudanese government is believed to have executed a U.S. government employee on charges of treason despite strong U.S. objections, the State Department said Monday.

Press officer Joseph Snyder said the United States has expressed grave concern to the Sudanese government over the incident. Andw Tombe, 34, was the senior Sudanese employee of the Agency for International Development in the southern city of Juba, stronghold of a rebel Christian and Animist movement which has been at war with the Muslim Arab-dominated government in Khartoum. The basis of the State Department's concern was unclear since Snyder had no information to refute the Sudanese government's claims that Tombe was a rebel militant.

U.S. relations with the Sudan have been poor ever since a military coup led by Islamic fundamentalists ousted a democratic government several years ago. During the Persian Gulf War, the Sudan supported Iraq.

The administration has suspended the regular U.S. aid program but continues a large-scale program to feed Sudanese affected by the country's prolonged drought.

"Given the continuing allegations about human rights abuses in Sudan, particularly in Juba, and the government's delay in responding to our repeated requests for information about Mr. Tombe, we are viewing this ident with the gravest concern," Snyder said.

Sudan's ambassador did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Other U.S. officials said other Sudanese employees of the U.S. government have been detained as well and that Sudanese authorities seized U.S. government property in Juba.

Because of the fighting, the only safe means of going to Juba is via airplane, but the officials said the Sudanese government has refused permission for U.S. diplomats to board flights to the region.

Snyder said the administration is strongly reiterating its request for the Sudanese government to allow U.S. staff to visit Juba to investigate the events leading to Mr. Tombe's execution and to check on the well-being of the other Sudanese employees. AP-DS-09-21-92 1642EDT

Anti-Bush feelings dominate election, help Clinton
By Irwin Arief

WASHINGTON, Reuter - Despite President Bush's efforts to shift the election focus to family values and "trust," most voters see the contest as a referendum on his handling of the economy and are giving Bill Clinton the edge for victory.

"It's still an open race, but it's becoming much more difficult each and every day (for the president) because there is so much anti-Bush sentiment out there," said Republican pollster Glen Bolger.

"I don't know if there's anything you can do to turn that around -- because it's so strong," Bolger said of voters' negative feelings about Bush just six weeks before the Nov. 3 ballot.

That striving to overcome Bush's negatives and offset Clinton's steady 10-to-15 point polling leads helps explain why the Bush campaign spends so much time and energy trying to make his rival unpalatable to voters by focusing on his draft record and the overall issue of his character.

Analysts like Bolger say the alternative course -- trying to change voters' views of the president -- would be tougher.

"What voters are saying is that they are going to go out and vote against Bush on Nov. 3. It would be easier if it was a pro-Bill Clinton vote, because then you could give them reasons why they should vote against Clinton," Bolger said.

Clinton, on the other hand, appears to be taking a risk with his apparent strategy of trying to coast until Nov. 3.

To be sure, the Democratic nominee's polling leads have remained remarkably stable over the past two months despite constant hammering from the Republican camp.

Although there are signs the race is tightening, Bush's support seems to be stuck at around the 40 percent level.

"It seems like there's a glass ceiling for Bush," says Bolger. But x weeks of campaigning adds up to a lifetime in presidential politics, and most analysts remain convinced the race will tighten before election day.

Clinton has promised to fight on "until the last dog dies" and, like Bush, he sees himself as being at his best when his back is against the wall.

Nonetheless, Clinton seems to wax and wane in his determination to wage war against his Republican opponent.

Compared to the weeks immediately following the mid-July Democratic National Convention and the mid-August Republican convention, his current pace at times seems lackadaisical.

His first campaign event of the day often does not occur until mid-afternoon, and he spends considerable time out of public view at the governor's mansion in Little Rock, the Arkansas state capital.

On the issue of his youthful efforts to avoid the Vietnam-era military draft -- and whether he has been candid about it -- Clinton has pursued an especially risky course by trying to ignore Republican broadsides in hopes the controversy will simply go away.

He says lingering questions about how he avoided the draft don't amount to "a hill of beans" and he is trying to keep the focus on the economy.

His decision to shy from the draft issue allows even Vice President Dan Quayle -- who avoided combat in Vietnam by using

family connections to get a safe slot in the Indiana National Guard -- to attack him on it.

"You have Bill Clinton that has not told the truth. He has vacillated, he has dodged this issue," Quayle said repeatedly on NBC's "Meet the Press" Sunday.

But on virtually every other issue, Clinton has been fast to respond to Bush attacks with a counterpunch.

Another avenue open to Bush is the presidential debates. But, if and when they occur, it is not at all clear who will benefit the most from debates, Bush or Clinton.

The current argument over the format and number of debates has probably hurt Bush the most, since it was he who rejected the debate plan put forward by the bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates.

That shows the importance Bush attaches to a favorable format and timing for these ritualistic confrontations. To the president, they are one of his best -- and last -- chances to overtake Clinton.

Clinton hopes to drive home with voters that Bush is ducking a debate by traveling to East Lansing, Mich., Tuesday -- the site and date of the debate that Bush snubbed.

But while Clinton spends the entire day in Michigan, Bush will visit six pivotal states with rallies planned in Springfield, Mo., Tulsa, Okla., Longview, Texas, Shreveport, La., Greenville, Miss., and Memphis, Tenn.

Reut14:37 09-21

IMF calls for higher U.S. rates, lower German rates
By Alver Carlson

WASHINGTON, Reuter - The International Monetary Fund Monday urged the United States to lift interest rates and Germany to cut them.

The call to the United States ran dead against the recent pleas from the White House for the Federal Reserve to lower interest rates to give U.S. growth a lift.

IMF officials also urged Germany to cut its high interest rates that are viewed by many economists as the root cause of Europe's recession and exchange rate crisis.

German interest rates are now three times higher than the United States. IMF officials hope that by bringing the United States, the world's biggest economy, and Germany, which ranks as No. 3, back into line on rates that growth and stability would be restored to a recession-weary world.

The interest rate and currency swings that reached crisis proportions last week have tested the goal of European unity, which French voters approved by a narrow margin in a crucial vote Sunday.

"Interest rates in Germany are too high and U.S. rates are too low," Spanish Finance Minister Carlos Solchaga told a news conference. He spoke following a meeting of the IMF's powerful policymaking Interim Committee which he chairs.

In a communique, the policy group said "the recent currency turmoil forcefully illustrates the importance of reinforced policy coordination."

IMF Managing Director Michelamdessus said a boost in growth would allow the Federal Reserve to raise interest rates promptly.

Camdessus said he would "recommend the Fed be prompt and accompany the recovery with moderate increases in rates as the recovery gains momentum."

The United States has lowered interest rates to near 3 percent in order to restore growth after a painful recession and stalled economic recovery. Bush administration officials have called for even lower rates to give growth a boost.

Germany, in contrast, has rates that hover around 9 percent to combat inflation that came from the huge costs of integrating former East Germany into the Western fold.

The spread has led investors worldwide to pump money into the German mark and send the dollar to record lows. It has also put pressure on other European countries to keep their interest rates high in order to align their currencies with the high-flying mark.

Britain last week cut temporarily itself free of the tightly managed Exchange Rate Mechanism, or ER that sets currency rates for Europe, allowing it to ease interest rates in a bid to restore growth. Italy also bowed out.

The pound and lira have fallen sharply.

The crisis has also rocked the goal of a united Europe, since the ERM is the first step in creating a European-wide currency by the end of the decade.

The French approval of the Maastricht treaty Sunday, although reassuring to the markets, did not put an end to the nervous trading of the past week.

Shares closed lower in much of Europe Monday and the pound, French franc and lira came under fresh attack as financial markets reacted coolly to France's vote in favor of the pact on European union.

As he has in the past, Camdessus urged the United States, Germany and Italy to reduce their budget deficits in order to bring down interest rates worldwide.

"This is element one, the basic tenet of our common strategy," he said.

The IMF has been highly critical of mushrooming budget deficits in many countries, including the overwhelming red ink in the United States, saying they commanded money that could be used much more productively elsewhere.

The IMF and World Bank meeting, which ends Thursday, has brought together the economic elite of 170 countries.

Reut13:53 09-21

Israel, Syria defuse crisis over peace talks
By Alan Elsner

WASHINGTON, Reuter - Israel and Syria Monday defused the crisis atmosphere nging ov their pea talks by re-establishing businesslike discussions and launching a new attempt to find an elusive breakthrough.

After a stormy session last Thursday, which ended with Syria's chief negotiator stalking out of the room and declaring that the talks were in danger, both sides seemed anxious to lower the temperature and put the negotiations back on track. They apparently succeeded, even though the top Syrian, Mouwafak al-Allaf, said there was still no progress on the key question of the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights.

"I cannot report any progress, anything new," he said. Israel's chief negotiator, Itamar Rabinovich, said there were some aspects of the discussion which left some hope the sides could still stitch together a joint statement of principles by the time this round of talks ends on Thursday. "But I wouldn't want to put any percentage on the odds," Rabinovich said. "Even if we end the week without a joint statement of principles, I will not be disappointed. There's always the next round."

The Israeli negotiator proposed the sides should meet again in Washington Oct. 21, immediately after the forthcoming season of Jewish religious holidays.

He also put forward an alternative date in November in case the Arabs were reluctant to meet on the eve of the U.S. presidential election of Nov. 3.

Allaf said he had no problem with the October date but wanted to consult with the talks' U.S. and Russian co-sponsors and with fellow Arabs before giving a definite answer.

Israel's separate talks with Palestinians, which aim to agree on self-rule for the 1.75 million inhabitants of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, also seemed to move into calmer water after choppy seas for the past three weeks.

Israeli officials said the sides were exchanging papers and beginning to find ways of engaging informally outside the full negotiating sessions.

Israeli-Lebanese and Israeli-Jordanian negotiations are virtually on hold.

The Leese are apparently waiting to see what happens in the Israeli-Syrian talks while the Jordanians are awaiting developments in the Israeli-Palestinian talks.

Over the past month, during this sixth round of U.S.-sponsored talks in Washington, the talks have occasionally shown signs of promise.

But the sides are still balking at making the kind of significant concessions that would ensure real progress on the issues at the heart of their decades-old conflict.

Israel and Syria last week agreed on some parts of what they hope could become a joint statement of principles.

But progress came to a halt when the key issue of the Golan Heights came up Thursday and Syria's Allaf stormed out.

Syria wants Israel to commit to total withdrawal from the strategic Golan Heights, which it captured in the 1967 Middle East war.

The Israelis insist they will only start talking about withdrawal when Syria pledges itself to making "full peace" with the Jewish state. Israeli Pre Minis Yitzhak Rabin

stressed this again Monday in a speech to parliament.

"The team negotiating with the Syrian delegation is to achieve full peace, open borders, free movement of people and trade ... diplomatic relations, embassies, normalization," Rabin said.

But in Washington, Rabinovich said Israel was ready to be forthcoming if it saw signs of flexibility from Syria.

"We do have in the back of our heads and the depths of our briefcases new ideas for the continuation of the negotiations," he said. "But for these new ideas to flow, we need to feel and to persuade our superiors back home that some of the significant flaws that we have observed in the Syrian position will have been addressed if not fully amended."

Reut14:36 09-21

6:00 P.M. WIRES

Both Candidates Claim Credentials To End Government Gridlock By
DAVID ESPO

President Bush and Bill Clinton each claimed credentials Monday for ending government gridlock in Washington as first one and then the other predicted an ability to work well with a still-to-be-chosen Congress.

Ironically, Bush has vetoed 31 bills passed by the Democratic-controlled House and Senate since taking office in 1989, while Clinton has frequently relegated congressional Democrats to the sidelines in his own drive for the White House.

But with polls indicating voter frustration at bickering between the White House and Congress, each candidate said he was the one to restore harmony. Both sides took note of the dozens of new lawmakers who will be elected in November, sure to arrive in Washington wanting to change the status quo.

"We're not going to have gridlock in my second term," Bush said in a radio interview with talk show host Rush Limbaugh. "Because there's going to be over 100 new members of Congress, some Democrats, some Republicans.

"They're going to listen to the same voters I do, the American people. And they're going to say we want change."

Not surprisingly, Clinton saw it differently in a speech to a business group in Chicago.

"I'm far more likely to be able to pass a program in Congress than the incumbent because, number one, I have a program, and number two, I will work at it."

He added that the new Congress would probably have Democratic majorities in the House and Senate with numerous first-term lawmakers, and predicted that the veterans would work to cooperate, as well. "I don't think it's very pleasant to be in Congress in either party if all you do is play the blame game and run for cover, and point the finger the White House while they point the finger at you.

"It is not a very constructive way to live your life." At least 100 new members of Congress will be elected in November, and barring a dramatic last-minute shift, the Democrats appear poised to renew their majorities in both the House and the Senate.

Six weeks before the election, Clinton had a staff in Little Rock, Ark., planning for a possible transition to what would be the first Democratic administration in a dozen years. "I believe that I will win but I'm not sure yet," he said in a Chicago television interview.

"There are still six weeks to go and a lot of things can happen in public life."

Bush set a six-state fly-around for Tuesday in hopes of igniting a spark in his lagging campaign.

With the economy working against him, the president waded more deeply than before into the controversy over Clinton's Vietnam-era draft status. The Arkansas governor "has not told the truth, the whole truth, nothing but the truth" about how he avoided military service during the Vietnam War, Bush said in an radio interview with Rush Limbaugh.

"Let's let him level with the American people," Bush said. "It's not going to go away."

The draft, the economy, government gridlock — they were all simply different things to clash over as the candidates absorbed a spate of single-state polls published over the weekend.

They showed Bush and Clinton running even in Vice President Dan Quayle's home state of Indiana, and in Florida, both reliably Republican states. They indicated Clinton ahead in Delaware, Ohio, Illinois and Missouri, thereby supplementing the national polls that give Clinton a lead of double digits.

The quadrennial controversy over debates simmered, as well. Clinton arranged to travel Tuesday to East Lansing, Mich., where the bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates had hoped to sponsor the first confrontation of the fall. "I think the American people are entitled to debates," he said.

Clinton's run, Sen. Al Gore, id it wasn't "too late for George Bush to say he will show up after all." The Tennessee senator, campaigning in Pittsburgh, said, "Bill Clinton and I accept the bipartisan committee's proposal. Bush and Quayle are ducking."

The debate was cancelled when Bush balked at the ground rules. The president's campaign was expected to dispatch GOP party Chairman Rich Bond to the debate city on Tuesday to counter any comments made by Clinton.

Clinton spoke to a business group in Chicago, where he snagged endorsements from 400 business executives and depicted himself as one who had rejected both Republican and Democratic economic dogma.

"The debate which had gone on in Washington for a dozen years between trickle-down economics and tax and spend, divide-the-pie economics had produced a paralysis which bore very little relationship to the world in which these people live every day and the world in which I have lived for a dozen years as governor," he said. AP--09-21- 1719EDT

Clinton Talks Economy, Economy, Economy; Brushes Off Attacks With Quips

By JOHN KING

CHICAGO (AP) — Bill Clinton trumpeted endorsements from 400 corporate executives Monday as he mounted a determined effort to keep his campaign focused on the economy instead of fresh attacks about his draft record.

But it wasn't easy.

Even as he basked in support from a business group that included numerous Republicans, Clinton had to respond to President Bush's first direct attack on his candor in discussing how he aided the Vietnam draft 23 years ago.

Bush's attack also came up in each of six interviews that Clinton conducted with television stations in Illinois and Michigan.

Clinton spent most of the afternoon preparing for as yet unscheduled debates with Bush.

Clinton said repeatedly throughout the day he was eager to debate, charging that Bush was the roadblock by refusing to accept plans of a bipartisan commission offering to host three presidential debates in a single-moderator format.

"I'm not sure he would do poorly in that format but they obviously think so," Clinton told Chicago's WMAQ-TV. "They are just trying to get out of a more engaging debate because they've got an economic record they can't run on."

For Clinton, the goal is to spend every day of the campaign's final six weeks talking about jobs, education, health care, welfare reform, college access and the other policy proposals he puts under the umbrella of his promise of economic revival.

Monday's endorsements were designed to show that an economic plan Clinton boasts will put working people first also has deep support among corporate executives, a group generally considered to favor Republicans.

"The significant thing is the emerging consensus in this country that we need to break out of the paralysis of the last 12 years and take a new course," Clinton said.

The event also gave Clinton a chance to reintroduce specifics of his economic plan, from an investment tax credit for new plants and equipment to a permanent research and development tax credit to tax changes to remove incentives for moving American plants overseas. Clinton could only smile as several of his corporate supporters echoed his themes, including California developer Kathryn Thompson, a Bush convention delegate and major campaign contributor in 1988. "George Bush does not understand the complexities of our economic crisis," she said. "For months and years he denied the country was in a recession. For months, then years, delayedn presenting a plan to confront these problems. Today, his proposals can only be described as too little, too late and too political." Clinton lost some control over the day's focus, however, during a question and answer session dominated by questions about the presidential debaters and Bush's draft attack.

The president said he did not believe Clinton had given the whole story about how he avoided the draft 23 years ago.

The Arkansas governor said that Admiral William Crowe, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, would not have endorsed his candidacy for "commander in chief and president" if he didn't accept his explanation about the draft.

"Adm. (William) Crowe has more credibility at truth telling than George Bush," Clinton said of the president's attack. Crowe, had said he thought the draft controversy was

"peripheral" and distracting from discussion of more important issues.

Clinton told interviewers that he had joined an ROTC program to avoid the draft then thought that was wrong so he submitted his name to be drafted, only to draw a high lottery number and never be called.

"I think if the American people will look at the facts," Clinton said, "this is part of a continuing attempt from the Bush campaign to divert the American people from the real issues."

AP-DS-09-21-92 1653EDT

Clinton endorsed by business leaders, endures heckler
Steve Holland

CHICAGO, Reuter - Democrat Bill Clinton Monday picked up the endorsement of 400 business leaders who said the country needs a new direction, but the event was disrupted by a righting heler who questioned Clinton's marital fidelity.

And Clinton faced anew questions about his draft record following President Bush's first direct criticism of the Democrat on an issue the Republicans see as his greatest weakness.

The Democratic candidate insisted he wanted to debate Bush under a format the Bush campaign has rejected, and he brushed aside Republican criticism that his campaign is based on exploiting American economic hardship.

"That's what this election is about," he said.

Many Americans appear to agree with Clinton. A USA Today/CNN/Gallup poll said more people believed Clinton could handle the economy better than Bush.

About 25 of the 100 representatives of big, medium and small businesses at the event raised their hands when asked if they had voted for Bush in 1988 or had contributed to Republican causes.

One of them, Sara Lee Corp. chairman John Bryan, said he has worked with the Republican White House over the past 12 years and has occaonally met and personally les Bush.

"However, the agenda the Republicans have presented to us, the voters, is I think less reasoned, less defensible and less in the mainstream of America than it's ever been before," he said.

Clinton was glowing in the warmth of the moment, saying he was "profoundly moved" by the business support, when a heckler stood up among the seated journalists and accused Clinton of adultery.

"When did you stop cheating on your wife?" said the heckler, who later identified himself as chairman of PAC for Middle America, a "grass-roots, conservative, pro-family, anti-tax organization." He denied being a Republican.

Clinton's face flared red with anger, and he said: "You have just seen a good example of the Republican response to America's economic problems."

The business leaders applauded loudly to drown out the heckler, identified as William Kelly, but he continued standing and tried to address Clinton.

"I realize this is paful to u and your political allies but you've had your say so sit down and shut up," Clinton said, and when Kelly mentioned his "character," the Democrat added: "Character is relevant -- and you're not showing much of it."

"We don't want to hear you!" a business leader shouted to the protester.

"Get the hell out!" another said.

During a question-and-answer session, reporters pressed Clinton for reaction to a direct criticism on the candidate's avoiding of the Vietnam war draft from Bush, who has made only indirect references in the past.

Clinton responded by noting he was endorsed Saturday by retired Adm. William Crowe, who served under Presidents Reagan and Bush as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

"Admiral Crowe has more credibility on truth-telling than George Bush," Clinton said. Asked again, he said: "The only reaction is go back to what Mr. Bush said on this issue when he was ahead in the polls. He said it shouldn't be an issue."

Bush said on a nationally syndicated radio talk show Monday that Clinton should "come clean" and tell the full truth about how he eluded the draft.

Clinton, a Rhodes scholar who studied at Oxford, got a student deferment during the war and later gave it up but was given a high draft lottery number and never served.

He says he has told the whole story and that the Bush campaign is trying to use the issue to divert attention from the president's economic record.

The group endorsing Clinton called themselves "Business Leaders for Change" and many of them were from economically depressed California and New York. The Clinton campaign hopes the endorsement will help convince voters that business sentiment has shifted away from Bush and the Republican Party that it traditionally boosts.

"I am here today because my patience has worn thin," said Roger Johnson, chairman of Western Digital Corp. of Irvine, Calif. "And I think the patience of the country has worn thin."

Bush's refusal to debate under the plan established by a presidential debate commission led to cancellation of the first debate, which had been scheduled for Tuesday night in East Lansing, Mich.

Clinton departs later Monday for East Lansing, where he will criticize the president Tuesday for refusing to appear. Clinton said he was sticking with the commission's format, in which the debate would be led by a single moderator. The Bush campaign wants a panel of journalists.

A Bush campaign spokeswoman, Alixe Glen, told reporters traveling with Clinton that GOP Chairman Rich Bond would be in East Lansing to answer questions Tuesday following Clinton's remarks.

Reut15:21 09-21

Quayle sends stuffed elephant to 'Baby Brown'

By Deborah Zabarenko

WASHINGTON, Reuter - Vice President Dan Quayle sent a stuffed toy elephant to the fictional baby of the television character Murphy Brown, and told the child he had spurred the debate on "traditional values." "You may not realize it yet, but you've helped start an important discussion on ways to strengthen our traditional

values," Quayle said in a letter dated Friday but released Monday.

"I want to be one of the first to welcome you into the world," the vice president said in the handwritten note, which was imprinted with the words "Dan Quayle, Washington D.C." Quayle said Sunday on NBC-TV's "Meet the Press" that he would have a temporary cease-fire with Hollywood and planned to watch the season premiere of the hit CBS series "Murphy Brown," which focuses on a television newswoman whose decision to become a single mother dominated last year's episodes.

Quayle's office said he would watch the show at a private home in Washington, along with several single mothers.

The baby boy, still unnamed, was born on the season closer last May. A special one-hour edition of the show was to be aired Monday evening.

The televised birth prompted Quayle to lambast Hollywood's vaes in a speech in San Francisco, taking particular aim at "Murphy Brown" for discounting the importance of fathers and glorifying single motherhood as "just another lifestyle choice."

His letter to "Baby Brown" seemed to soften that stance.

"It is important to me that you know the respect and personal understanding I have for single mothers, who work hard to do their best for their children, often against the odds," Quayle wrote.

"I want you to know that President Bush and I want to do everything possible to make sure you and all children -- no matter what their family situations -- have the opportunity to grow up in prosperity and freedom," he wrote.

The stuffed gray elephant, the symbol of Quayle's Republican Party, seemed a peace offering in an ongoing feud Quayle has had with the Hollywood establishment.

But the show's producers were apparently not interested in a truce.

While thanking Quayle for the gift, they said "the baby alrdy has number of stufd elephants as well as several donkeys." The donkey is the symbol of the Democratic party.

"With the vice president's permission, we're going to send this gift to a homeless shelter so that a real child can enjoy it," they said in a statement.

Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton has gotten solid support from Hollywood, most recently at a glittering fund raiser last week at the home of producer Ted Field that featured a rare singing performance by Barbra Streisand and speeches by dozens of other film and television stars.

Reut15:39 09-21

Brady Discussing Increased Lending With 10 Bankers

WASHINGTON (AP) — Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady discussed ways to expand lending, particularly to small businesses, in a meeting Monday with 10 bankers he invited here from around the country.

"We're holding this meeting to see if (credit) can be expanded," Brady said. Brady was looking for special programs the bankers had developed to extend credit.

Brady also discussed with the bankers the burdens of regulation on the banking community and Treasury's efforts to reduce regulation.

The Treasury has been urging banks for a year to make more loans.

Some banks respond that their lending has been curbed by federal banking officials who enforce standards too strictly. Others say there is little demand for credit in the sluggish economy.

Earlier this month, Brady earlier ordered Timothy Ryan, director of the Office of Thrift Supervision, and Stephen Steinbrink, acting comptroller of the currency, to hold public meetings with both bankers and borrowers to discuss the so-called credit crunch. In addition to making credit available to small businesses, Brady wants the two regulatory agencies to focus on restructuring mortgages for commercial real estate, single-family homes and apartments.

Attending Monday's meeting with Brady and other Treasury officials were: Ira Sthanian, chair, Bank of Boston; Walter Shipley, president, Chemical Bank, New York; Richard Boyle, vice chairman, Chase Manhattan, New York; John Medlin, chairman, Wachovia Bank, Charlotte, N.C.; Lou Coleman, vice chairman, Bank of America, San Francisco.

Also, Bob Hawkins, president, Independent Bankers Association; David A. Daberkow, chairman, National City Bank of Cleveland; Alan Tubbs, president, American Bankers Association; Richard Thomas, chairman, First Chicago Bank, and Tom Lambert, vice president, First of America, Kalamazoo, Mich.

AP-DS-09-21-92 1704EDT

U.S. cautiously welcomes 'yes' vote in France

By Lyndsay Griffiths

WASHINGTON, Reuter - The United States Monday cautiously welcomed France's 'yes' vote on European union, banking on new markets for U.S. goods and a stronger partner in world affairs.

Analysts said European unity should benefit Americans as long as the 'votants' voters -- nearly one of every two in Sunday's French referendum -- do not slow progress on trans-Atlantic trade and security issues.

President Bush offered support "for a European integration that opens markets and enhances Europe's capability to be our partner in the great challenges that we face in this new era."

"None of us can afford insular policies," Bush said in a speech to the U.N. General Assembly. "We will stand by them ... All of us will benefit from the expanded trade and investments."

But Sunday's vote was far from a ringing shout in favor of a unified Europe, a plan the Danes have already rejected.

Just 51.05 percent of French voters backed the Maastricht treaty, which commits the 12 European Community states to political and economic union and one currency.

"It is certainly a move in the right direction," Treasury Undersecretary David Mulford said guardedly.

Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton also came out in favor of the 'yes' vote on Sunday. He voiced reservations and urged Europe not to turn inward.

Clinton said he was "cautiously optimistic" that the move toward unity would ultimately benefit the U.S. economy -- the top issue in the runup to the Nov. 3 presidential election. "If European unity continues, and the economies are integrated in an open way, then that's a good thing for us. If European unity continues and they continue to raise trade barriers, that's not a good thing for us," Clinton said.

Both political parties believe a united Europe could buy more U.S. goods and play a stronger role in world affairs from war in the Balkans to ethnic conflict in the former Soviet Union.

"The key thing is not the size of the vote but the outcome. This was the key hurdle and it has now been crossed," said a senior Democratic foreign policy aide in the Senate.

"The longer view is that a united Europe will make for a more stable world both politically and economically and that's very much in the interests of the United States," he added.

Joseph Biden, the Delaware Democrat who chairs the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on Europe, said recession-lashed Americans should not fear a strong Europe or gloat over its recent financial disarray.

"We should have no doubt where U.S. interests lie. European disunity may appear to leave America comparatively stronger, but this is illusory," Biden said.

Policy analysts agreed, saying the deep doubts voiced by many Europeans about losing their autonomy to a regional bureaucracy might delay progress and therefore hurt Americans where they can least afford it: in the pocket.

"Europeans are economic rivals and that creates problems. But in the net, those problems are preferable to the problems of a fragmented and divided Europe," said Helmut Sonnenfeldt of the Brookings Institution.

"We have concerns with Europe over trade and NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and it's worrisome that these countries are seriously divided," said Sonnenfeldt.

"It's a distraction from their playing a more vigorous role in the international arena and makes it harder to conclude trade talks."

But Bill Taylor of the Center for Strategic and International Studies said anti-Maastricht sentiment was as overemphasized as fear of a "Fortress Europe" was overplayed.

"There have been and will be ups and downs in the process. Very few people thought there would be clear sailing toward a totally unified Europe," Taylor said. "But the French did squeak by with a vote in favor and that matters to the U.S. ... "With the status of the U.S. economy being the single most important aspect of national security for the foreseeable future, this vote is pretty high on the U.S. agenda,"

Reut15:01 09-21

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Daily 9/61

9/21

Rose,

Janet Mullins indicated to me
this morning that someone from
the campaign had indeed spoken
with Ed Lawson in re: his 9/18/92
letter concerning campaign in
Oklahoma.

Just fyi,

Caron J.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: Sep 18, 1992

TO: Caron J.

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

Not sure what to do with this.
Ed Lawson is an old friend of
the President's and the
Bush-Quayle '92 Finance Chairman
for Oklahoma.

Thought it best to pass to you
for appropriate handling.

The President has not seen.

September 18, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

Senator David Boren has made a strong effort to obtain the endorsement of the Tulsa Daily World for the Clinton-Gore ticket.

Through my efforts, and the efforts of the two leading business men in the community we have been told that the largest leading newspaper in eastern Oklahoma will endorse you. This commitment was made to me two days ago and hence the favorable front page story on your Enid trip. That's the good news. The other side of the coin is that after your Enid trip the Democratic Party appeared on television stating that their polling indicated that Governor Clinton and Gore would carry the state of Oklahoma and that you had been relegated to the backwater places of Oklahoma Politics..... stumping for the ultra conservative vote.

They are right about one thing, we are considerably behind where we were in 1988 and could lose the election in Oklahoma by about 75,000 votes. This can be overcome, as Chairman of the largest Bush organization in this state and the only Bush organization, I am enclosing a volunteer list submitted to me by our headquarters. This is a much stronger organization than Senator Nickles has. The core of this organization defeated Bob Dole and Senator Nickles in the 1988 Primary.

The people running your Oklahoma operation have given us no input into sight selection and reception areas. We have had very little constructive help. All of this can be remedied in a very short amount of time.

Ross Perot remains a threat in this state and I was fortunate enough to obtain the endorsement of the Clancy family. They represent 119,000 valid signatures in this state. We have a computer set-up at party headquarters and are plugging those names into it so that a letter from Pat Clancy can be sent to the 57,000 in eastern Oklahoma. Pat Clancy is a national leader in the Perot movement and should be utilized. He was on Larry King Live.

I have a game plan for you to win this state...and when the Last Hurrah is said on November 3, I want you to see that Oklahoma remains George Bush Country!!! Governor Clinton and Senator Gore are coming to Oklahoma next week. I remember driving with you and Lee Atwater, when Lee pulled out of his pocket the results of the South Carolina vote...we can do the same here.

Please let me hear from someone in Washington to talk about the Game Plan. Time is of the essence. Best Wishes and God Bless.

Ed

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ALL VOLUNTEERS WITH ADDRESSES AND PHONE NUMBERS

Adams	, Irma	6344 S. 72nd E. Ave.	Tulsa	74133	494-2987	
Adams	, Roxie	3709 S. 71st West Ave.	Tulsa	74107	445-3128	
Adkins	, Phyllis	4334 S. Norfolk	Tulsa	74105	743-1076	
Adkins	, Tom	4334 S. Norfolk	Tulsa	74105	743-1076	
Albertson	, Geri	1502 S. Boulder 8H	Tulsa	74119	583-5042	
Alexander	, Bob	2534 S. Norfolk	Tulsa	74114	743-2615	744-0308
Alexander	, Penny	2534 S. Norfolk	Tulsa	74114	743-2615	744-0308
Allison	, Cindy	2768 W. 112th Pl.	Jenks	74037	298-5815	
Anderson	, Tai	4736 South Harvard	Tulsa	74135	744-0769	
Anderson	, Teresa	4736 South Harvard	Tulsa	74135	744-0769	
Anderson	, Teresa	4736 S. Harvard	Tulsa	74135	744-0769	
Applegate	, Stephanie	2705 East Indianola	Broken Arrow	74014	358-3935	835-8600
Arent	, Bill	3201 E. 7th	Tulsa	74104	631-4043	
Arend	, John	6208 S. Jamestown	Tulsa	74136	494-8583	
Arend	, Tricia	6208 S. Jamestown	Tulsa	74136	494-8583	
Ash	, Claude				664-1353	
Ashcraft	, Cari	P.O. Box 2266	Tulsa	74171	488-2818	
Babcock	, Nedra		Tulsa		748-5660	747-8871
Baber	, Ruth	1203 S. Toledo	Tulsa	74112	834-5907	
Baker	, Pat	12138 E. 21st Ct.	Tulsa	74128	438-1120	621-2171
Baker, Sr.	, John R	5837 S. 78th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74165	622-8050	
Bala	, Charles	3113 S. Florence Ave.	Tulsa	74105	747-8526	747-1685
Banales	, Jose	Rt. 1 Box 289-F	Sand Springs	74063	241-3176	587-9481
Barnes	, Ron	11808 West 64th St.	Sapulpa	74066	227-0994	
Barnett	, Cary	4847 S. Victor #1	Tulsa	74105	748-7611	666-8823
Barrowman	, Fred	15818 E. 106th St. North	Owasso	74055	272-4265	588-7090
Bartlett	, Jon	23212 East 74th Street	Broken Arrow	74014	357-1473	
Batson	, Gingis	2624 E. 10th St	Tulsa	74104	582-0844	
Baum	, Emily	5740 S. Marion	Tulsa	74135	747-5882	
Benbow	, Betty (A.J.)	1815 S. Cheyenne	Tulsa	74119	587-2688	
Bevans	, Jane	10612				
Bevans	, Jane	10612 E. 17th Pl.	Tulsa	74128	665-3261	
Bevans	, Leah	10612 E. 17th Pl.	Tulsa	74128	665-3261	
Black	, Mary Martha	2521 East 36th	Tulsa	74105	747-1119	
Bland	, Loren	1210 Garfield	Sand Springs	74063	245-8533	
Blocker	, Dora	3729 E. 81st Pl.	Tulsa	74137	481-1749	
Bluese	, Maggie	3411 S. 135th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74140	822-8438	
Bonham	, Chad	405 E. Fr. Worth Street	Broken Arrow	74012	252-3115	
Bothwell	, Patti	7424 S. College Pl.	Tulsa	74136	482-5055	
Bourland	, Lorene	6230 S. Yorktown Pl.	Tulsa	74136	744-1388	
Boutell	, Harold	8217 S. Florence Pl.	Tulsa	74137	481-0262	
Boyd	, Betty	6070 E. 55th St.	Tulsa	74135	663-4064	
Boyd	, Betty	6070 E. 55th St.	Tulsa	74135	663-4064	
Boyd	, Steve	976 E. 61st Street #0	Tulsa	74136	748-7335	631-2356
Boydston	, Jan	2829 East 27th	Tulsa	74114	747-0871	748-4682
Boydston	, Joe	2828 East 27th	Tulsa	74114	747-0871	582-9635
Bradford	, Monica	6571 East 86th	Tulsa	74133	481-0107	
Brandon	, Rebecca	7715 S. Yale #1208	Tulsa	74136	482-2283	437-2265
Branen	, Tom	220 W. 19th # 5-B	Tulsa	74118		588-6436
Braun	, Martha	Sophian Plaza #2 D	Tulsa	74119	585-5821	
Breidenbach	, Jim	Route 3, Box 352	Bixby	74008	369-2318	
Breidenbach	, Marjorie	Route 3, Box 352	Bixby	74008	369-2318	

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Bridgford	, Wendy	1147 South 111th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74128	438-4282	
Brittlan	, Floyd	3344 S. 138th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74134	438-4825	
Brittlan	, Frances	3344 S. 138th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74134	438-4825	
Brock	, Bryan	2821 E. 8th St. #313B	Tulsa	74104	631-4148	
Bruun	, Peter	100 Center Plaza #2008	Tulsa	74119	582-8150	292-4463
Bryant	, Dave	6134 S. Knoxville	Tulsa	74136	494-7665	627-0191
Bryant	, John	2631 S. Florence Dr.	Tulsa	74114	742-8623	
Bryant	, Katy	6134 S. Knoxville	Tulsa	74136	494-7665	
Bryant	, Patty	2631 S. Florence Drive	Tulsa	74114	742-8623	745-4652
Buntin	, Rick	1523 S.W. Blvd #14-I	Tulsa	74107	582-4352	664-8981
Burmeier	, Kyle James	7203 South Utica #1001	Tulsa	74136	495-1208	587-5514
Burnett	, Beverly	8311 S. Indianapolis	Tulsa	74137	481-1897	584-0471
Burns	, Cathie	11307 S. Ash	Jenks	74037	289-4731	588-4515
Burns	, Maurice	11307 S. Ash	Jenks	74037	289-4731	588-2478
Burns	, Maurice	11307 S. Ash	Jenks	74037	289-4731	588-2478
Burton	, Kay	9001 E. 63rd Street South	Tulsa	74133	254-9003	
Butefish	, Pam	6106 S. Florence Pl.	Tulsa	74136	492-9430	
Butler	, Mike	14611 Xenophon Ave.	Glenpool	74033	322-3070	366-4421
Buxton	, Julie	3146 E 5th Place	Tulsa	74104	631-4808	
Byrd	, Charles	5818 S. Evanston	Tulsa	74105	748-1851	
Cadwell	, Doris	3129 S. Madison	Tulsa	74105	742-0852	
Cahill	, Carolyn	6648 E. 46th Pl.	Tulsa	74145	663-6538	587-1433
Caldwell	, Jim	21613 East 31st Pl.	Broken Arrow	74104	355-1645	
Carr	, Ann	2662 S. 80th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74137	627-1723	
Caruthers	, Leda Saffa	3710 E. 30th Pl.	Tulsa	74114	743-4304	
Casey	, Jim	10023 E. 48th St.	Tulsa	74146	622-6137	
Cecil	, Shannon	4622 E. 68th St.	Tulsa	74136	496-6932	
Chapman	, Hazel	3102 S. 139rd E. Ave.	Tulsa	74134	627-1700	
Cherblanc	, Johnnie	2188 South Fulton Place	Tulsa	74114	744-6938	031-2380
Christian	, Jacqueline	4864 S. 68th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74145		
Churchill	, Deanna	1012 W. Atlanta Ct.	Tulsa	74012	455-4728	
Clerk	, Mildred	6533 South 111th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74133	254-8001	683-4272
Clayton	, Paul D	8401 S. Louisville	Tulsa	74137		
Cleveland	, Vickie	8384 South Urbana	Tulsa	74137	481-5080	
Coffman	, Carol	14318 E. 58th St. W.	Owasso	74055	272-1827	832-5238
Conklin	, Donna	5225 E. 24th St.	Tulsa	74116	835-5478	599-5280
Cook	, Wendy	3150 E. 5th Pl.	Tulsa	74104	631-4695	455-4580
Cowdery	, Jane	4711 S. Florence	Tulsa	74105	742-5939	
Crawford	, Paul	4773 S. Fulton #510	Tulsa	74135	663-3447	
Cross	, Darin	2661 S. 137th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74134	234-0718	
Cross	, Donna	2661 S. 137th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74134	234-0718	
Cutright	, Mary	4207 E. 25th	Tulsa	74114	742-1988	
Davies	, Pat	5009 E. 3rd	Tulsa	74112-1409	832-7731	
Davis	, Ma Dean	224 W Xenophon	Tulsa	74127	587-7481	
Davis	, Trisha	2729 S. Narcissus Pl	Broken Arrow	74012	455-7749	
Deer	, Margaret	5708 S. Louisville	Tulsa	74135	747-6485	
DeGraffenreid	, Marian	4034 E. 51st Pl.	Tulsa	74138	585-1408	743-8322
Deitz	, Tim	5834 E. 32nd Pl.	Tulsa	74135	635-4328	635-8927
Donney	, Kathy	2632 E. 4th	Tulsa	74112	592-3074	
Dietz	, Barbara	8603 S. 77th E. Pl.	Tulsa	74133	252-1980	
Dobrenski	, Kenny	8228 N. 116 E. Ave.	Owasso	74055		
Dodge	, Fred	13833 S. Poplar	Glenpool	74033	291-7472	

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Detson	, Pat	7866 E. 41st St.	Tulsa	74446	742-6842	627-8300
Dubosh	, Mark	1861 East 34th Street	Tulsa	74105	749-1861	
Dudney	, Nila	1231 S. Oswego	Tulsa	74112	834-6020	
Duncan	, Jill R.	2020 South Beech	Broken Arrow	74012		
Edwards	, Dan	7920 South Sheridan #710	Tulsa	74133	461-8747	
Edwards	, Ellen C.	2115 E. 23rd Street	Tulsa	74114	747-2309	
Ellis	, Van	6207 South 28th West Ave.	Tulsa	74132	445-0143	
English	, Beverly	9006 N. 175 e. Ave.	Owasso	74055	272-7043	
Eshagpoor	, Jane	10015 S. Maplewood	Tulsa	74137	288-2879	743-8600
Etzkorn	, Sharon	1704 N. 26th	Broken Arrow	74014	355-1269	455-5800
Fesperman	, Susan	2721 South Evanston	Tulsa	74114	747-8669	
Fisher	, Kristin	2532 E. 3rd St.	Tulsa	74104	584-7432	582-7400
Fisher	, Tim	2532 E. 3rd St.	Tulsa	74104	584-7432	582-7400
Ford	, Charles	4100 East 51st	Tulsa	74135	484-0155	743-4056
Forrester	, Dorothea	7627 East 55th	Tulsa	74145	627-0749	
Forsythe	, Shirley	1601 S. Lewis	Tulsa	74104	749-9292	
Fountain	, Tina	8124 S. 77th E. Ave	Tulsa	74133	254-6592	
Fowler	, Catherine	2831 E. 8th	Tulsa	74104	631-4806	
Fowler	, Sally	2437 E. 55th Ct.	Tulsa	74105	747-4896	834-4300
Frank	, Donald	3617 S. Sandvsky	Tulsa	74135	747-6975	
Franklin	, Ruth	6022 S. Birmingham Pl.	Tulsa	74105	742-5917	
Franklin	, Ruth	6022 S. Birmingham Pl.	Tulsa	74105	742-5917	
Franklin	, Ruth	6022 South Birmingham Place	Tulsa	74105	742-5917	
Frazier	, Michael D.	1804 s. Denver # 3	Tulsa	74118		
Freeman	, Jill	4511 E. 103rd St.	Tulsa	74137	288-6504	
Freeman	, Sheila	9910 E. 22nd Pl.	Tulsa	74128	628-1145	622-8330
Garrott	, Charles	1636 S. Gary Pl.	Tulsa	74104	749-0143	621-6743
Gibson	, Georgia	11685 N. 97th E. Ave.	Collinsville	74021	371-4721	
Gladden	, Marge	3126 E. 43rd St.	Tulsa	74135	748-6106	
Glanz	, Betty	7318 E. 33rd St.	Tulsa	74135	622-6917	
Grabor	, Jonathan	5441 S. Louisville Ave.	Tulsa	74135	742-6872	
Grabor	, Shannon	5441 S. Louisville Ave.	Tulsa	74135	742-6872	252-3505
Gremmer	, Tracee	5218 S. Lewis #1030	Tulsa	74105	749-8398	748-5582
Grayson	, Barbee	8410 E. 111th	Bixby	74008	308-2445	
Greco	, Lucchiana	4804 Winchester Ave.	Claremore	74017	341-2814	355-4181
Green	, Betty	2280 E. 38th	Tulsa	74105	747-7772	
Green	, Betty	2260 E. 38th	Tulsa	74105	747-7772	
Greenough	, Bob	5425 S. Gillette	Tulsa	74105	743-8261	
Greenough	, Marilyn	5425 S. Gillette	Tulsa	74105	743-8261	
Greenwood	, Betty	3941 E. 60th	Tulsa	74135-7640	747-0656	
Gregston	, Lisa	8336 S. 77th E. Ave. #1220	Tulsa	74133		581-4438
Griffin	, Jack	4825 S. Gary	Tulsa	74105	747-8384	
Grimes	, Joyce	5312 E. 87th St.	Tulsa	74137	289-8874	
Gunter	, Barbara	2128 South 106th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74128	622-3427	481-8600
Gunter	, LuAnn	2128 S. 106th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74128-4824	622-3427	
Guthrie	, Thomas Brett	Rt 1 Box 85	Sand Springs	74063	245-4935	
Gwin	, Ross	1541 S. 138th E. Ave	Tulsa	74108	234-0732	
Hager	, Barbara	6506 S. 72nd E. Ave.	Tulsa	74133	482-4509	
Hager	, Bob	6506 S. 72nd E. Ave	Tulsa	74133	482-4509	
Hall	, Elizabeth	4903 E. 26th Pl.	Tulsa	74114	744-1388	
Hall	, Jean O.	125 Craven Dr	Wannford	74044	865-5107	491-4573
Hall	, John	125 Craven Dr.	Wannford	74044	865-5107	491-4573

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Leib	, William	404 West 8	Jenks	74037	
Leopold	, Laurence	3822 S. Cincinnati	Tulsa	74105	747-5887
Leopold	, Laurence				
Lestourgeon	, Cheryl	2217 E. 65th St.	Tulsa	74133	496-7752
Lightfoot	, Doug	6326 E. 80th St.	Tulsa	74137	560-4479
Longacre	, Ollie J.	5808 S. 73rd E. Ave.	Tulsa	74145	627-1265
Losey	, Irma	3722 S. Erie	Tulsa	74135	627-1304
Luper	, David				582-4158
Lybarger	, Marcia	3138 E. 80th Street	Tulsa	74137	288-4011
Lyon	, David	18108 E. 3rd Pl.	Tulsa	74108	438-7085
Lyon	, Lilli	18108 E. 3rd Pl.	Tulsa	74108	438-7805
Mader	, Foreman	5212 S. Columbia Pl.	Tulsa	74135	
Madera	, Fran	3428 W. El Paso	Broken Arrow	74012	254-6086 748-7062
Madison	, Lyle L.	2708 E. Marshall	Tulsa	74110	832-1022
Malone	, Howard W.	1812 N. Desert Palm Ave.	Broken Arrow	74012	252-2535
Mangels	, Harley	11380 South Winston	Tulsa	74137	288-5430
Mangels	, Jon	3025 S. Cincinnati	Tulsa	74116	742-3886
Mangels	, Susan	3025 S. Cincinnati	Tulsa	74114	742-2866
Martin	, Anita	5811 S. Rockford Ave.	Tulsa	74105	742-8115 748-8614
Martin	, Bessie	1308 E. 140th	Glenpool	74033	
Martinetti	, Craig	P. O. Box 702351	Tulsa	74170	747-5785
McCalmon	, David	5816 S. 83rd E. Pl.	Tulsa	74145	254-0534 660-2250
McCauley	, Karen	3178 E. 26th St.	Tulsa	74114	742-2276 494-1226
McConnell	, Charles	8835 E. 60th St.	Tulsa	74145	250-6388
McConnell	, Lorene	8835 E. 60th St.	Tulsa	74145	250-6300
McCormick	, Imeline	2632 E. 57th Pl.	Tulsa	74135	748-8001
McKelvey	, Jerry	P.O. Box 700281	Tulsa	74170	251-6557 448-1801 ext 157
McKenzie	, Olga	17300 E. 121st St.	Broken Arrow	74011	455-6878
Medford	, Don	11413 S. Franklin	Jenks	74037	288-8387
Meeks	, Alan	11430 S. Fulton	Tulsa	74137	288-7518 494-8055
Mitchell	, Matt	3721 E. 48th Pl.	Tulsa	74135	748-7402
Monroe	, Kerry	113 N. 68th St.	Broken Arrow	74014	
Morgan	, Mary	7334 S. Memorial Dr.	Tulsa	74133	250-1711
Morison	, William S.	219 S. Florence Ave.	Tulsa	74104-2123	583-8686
Morris	, Donna	2842 E. 80th	Tulsa	74137	288-0417 288-0417
Moydel	, Barry	6734 S. 112 E. Ave.	Tulsa	74133	250-1867
Moyers	, Mary	2126 E. 80th Pl.	Tulsa	74105	747-9588
Murray	, Rick	6244 S. 87th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74133	250-3155
Naifeh	, Ronda	1620 Kingsway	Sapulpa	74066	224-9346 592-6000x2253
Nance	, Deane	5523 S. Atlanta Ave.	Tulsa	74105	743-3816
Nance	, Herb	P.O. Box 365	Wannford	74044	865-4815 227-3833
Nance	, Joan	P.O. Box 365	Wannford	74044	865-4815 227-3833
Neblett	, Marion	3918 E. 40th St.	Tulsa	74135	742-4804
Neely	, Robert	8207 S. Louisville	Tulsa	74137	494-5084
Nelson	, Cindy	5934 E. 32nd Pl.	Tulsa	74135	835-4328 664-6345
Nowell	, Frances L.	1434 S. Sheridan	Tulsa	74112	
Nowman	, Richard	4708 S. 73rd E. Ave. 68-107	Tulsa	74145	627-6258 250-8522 -442
Nichell	, Jerry	402 S. Linden	Sapulpa	74066	224-8584 587-6581 -275
Nichols	, Deloris	4028 E. Virgin	Tulsa	74115	832-8722
Nichols	, Maria	4924 West 1st	Tulsa	74107	585-5084
Nielsen	, Pat	7108 S. 15th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74133	252-2241
Noble	, Hubert A.	8415 S. College	Tulsa	74137	482-3527

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ALL VOLUNTEERS WITH ADDRESSES AND PHONE NUMBERS

Ogan	Mark	5831 S. Kingston	Tulsa	74135	481-0461	
Oliver	Harley	3928 S. Granite	Tulsa	74135	627-1653	
Payne	Vendy	P.O. Box 2182	Broken Arrow	74013	665-3110	252-2443
Payton	Nancy	3211 S. Utica	Tulsa	74105	749-7129	
Pearson	Edward	5208 S. Lewis #2013	Tulsa	74105-6501	747-8484	
Pearson	Kent	8718 S. 70th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74133	481-1367	637-2272
Peoples	Suzanne	8531 E. 64th St.	Tulsa	74133	262-1345	
Petre	Bob	8113 S. Birch	Broken Arrow	74011	455-8310	
Petro	Phillip	600 E. Toledo	Broken Arrow	74012	261-5528	
Pfeiss	Michael	5983 S. 188th E. Ave.	Broken Arrow	74014		
Pittman	Cindy	1221 W. Knoxville	Broken Arrow	74012		
Pills	Jim	5250 S. Lewis #1091	Tulsa	74105	749-2723	
Plant	Steve	4124 S. Chestnut	Broken Arrow	74011	455-3257	
Priest	Chet	7104 S. 82nd E. Ave. # 2908	Tulsa	74133	250-3073	
Priest	Kathy	7104 S. 82nd E. Ave. # 2908	Tulsa	74133	250-3073	
Proctor	R. Steve	8922 S. 67th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74133	481-0211	
Rangel	Donna	8102 E. 176th	Bixby	74008	366-1147	298-5883
Ray	Liz	8036 S. 87th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74133	252-8258	832-4677
Ray	Richard	8036 S. 87th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74133	252-8258	832-4677
Redman	Dorothy	3247 S. Troost	Tulsa	74105	743-8511	
Reich	Jamie L.	Box 663 Turley Station	Tulsa	74156		
Reid	Katherine	2157 E. 26th Pl.	Tulsa	74114	742-4656	
Richardson	Charles	8630 S. 80th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74133	252-8354	
Richardson	Joel	1808 E. 73rd #206	Tulsa	74136	484-0421	
Rinehart	Diana		Tulsa	741	288-4104	749-8505
Roach	Ayonna	2954 E. 58th St.	Tulsa	74105	743-4527	
Rodriques	Joseph	1815 E. 73rd St. S.	Tulsa	74136	483-7013	
Rodriques	Violet	1815 E. 73rd St. S.	Tulsa	74136	483-7013	
Rogers	Brian	2341 S. 88th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74128	664-2438	
Rogers	Brian	2347 S. 88th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74128	664-2438	
Rooney, Jr.	John	4538 S. Atlanta	Tulsa	74105	743-1008	582-5281
Rose	Dennis R.	8842 S. Erie Ave.	Tulsa	74137		
Rothrock	William	3339 E. 100th Pl.	Tulsa	74137	288-2860	836-0304
Sams	DeAnna	2808 E. 6th Rd. 212	Tulsa	74104	631-4415	
Schenek	Dan	7010 E. 77th Pl.	Tulsa	74133	482-0523	561-5414
Schnarr	Tonia	3134 E. 5th Pl.	Tulsa	74104	631-2584	
Shadley	Sue	5111 S. Kingston	Tulsa	74135	663-8710	
Shahan	Kevin	8728 S. 70th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74133	288-2323	748-3361
Shaw	Rita	828 W. El Paso Pl.	Broken Arrow	74012	261-8064	822-4551
Sheard	Nike	8265 E. 37th Pl.	Tulsa	74145	622-1875	
Sheets	Sharon	8028 E. 87th St. So.	Tulsa	74133	262-4546	
Shellshear	Katie	3120 E. 42nd St.	Tulsa	74105	743-4265	
Shelton	Charlotte	1217 S. Beech Ct	Broken Arrow	74012	261-2182	
Sheran	Bernie	2914 E. 27th Pl.	Tulsa	74114	742-6585	
Sisler	Jill	2142 E. 61st St. Apt D	Tulsa	74136	743-6303	581-4513
Smith	Russell				582-1492	743-2001
Smithen	Jan	2623 S. Urbana	Tulsa	74114	744-8470	
Sparkman	Vicky	5088 D S. 76th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74145	627-8398	258-4581
Spradling	Cynthia	6730 S. Peoria #312	Tulsa	74138	496-8208	486-3333
Springer	Julie	11808 S. 181 St E. Ave.	Bixby	74008	368-3191	
Springer	Robin	11608 S. 181st E. Ave	Bixby	74008	368-3191	
Stacey	Rob	1502 S. Boulder # 22 F	Tulsa	74118	582-0838	

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Stead	, Clayda M.	8025 E. 15th	Tulsa	74112	835-8874	
Stebbins	, Ruth	4921 S. Pittsburg	Tulsa	74135	748-6530	
Stevens	, David	5537 E. 112th South	Tulsa	74137	289-8233	
Stevens	, Kathy	5537 E. 112th South	Tulsa	74137	289-8233	
Stopforth	, Debbie	7148 S. 92nd E. Ave. #304	Tulsa	74133	252-1400	594-1471
Strain	, Susan	110 E. "A" Street	Jenks	74037	289-2728	
Straub	, Shirley	4132 E. 41st Pl.	Tulsa	74135	743-0608	
Streett	, Mary	2808 E. 8th St.	Tulsa	74104	631-4086	
Stuehn	, John	3270 E. 2nd	Tulsa	74104	587-3855	
Sullivan	, Dan	10006 E. 117th Pl. So.	Bixby	74008	359-0204	
Sullivan	, Janet	10006 E. 117th Pl. So.	Bixby	74008	368-0204	254-9285
Sullivan	, Shane	809 W. Los Angeles	Broken Arrow	74011	465-1858	
Summers	, Patrick A.	2518 E. 17th St.	Tulsa	74104		
Swanson	, Robyn	1917 S. Gardenia Ave.	Broken Arrow	74012	254-0577	272-4182
Swearngin	, Lynn	1180 E. 60th Apt C	Tulsa	74105		496-3863
Swimmer	, Ross		Tulsa	741	743-7534	588-2741
Tarr	, Rosemary	5806 South Utica	Tulsa	74105	748-7020	
Teale	, Dana	5507 S. Atlanta Ave.	Tulsa	74105		
Teale	, Fred	5507 S. Atlanta Ave.	Tulsa	74105		
Thomas	, Vyrion	8652 E. 26th Pl.	Tulsa	74120	684-0051	
Thoms	, Vyrion	8652 E. 26th Pl.	Tulsa	74128	864-8051	
Thompson	, Roger	H.C. 80	Cherokee	74428	473-5148	
Thornbrugh	, P. Thomas	3421 South 94th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74137	621-4241	583-5825
Thornbrugh	, Paul	11435 E. Fifth Street	Tulsa	74128	437-1466	749-4682
Tighe	, Beverly	1204 W. Gary	Broken Arrow	74012	455-2657	
Tipton	, Bunny	2207 S. Delaware Ct.	Tulsa	74114	744-5730	583-0178
Tomkalski	, Gary Ann	7210 E. 40th E. Ave. # 2043	Tulsa	74133	250-8803	585-5655
Treager	, Lydia	3114 N. Sunset Ave.	Sand Springs	74063	245-6810	
Tucker	, Audrey	4831 S. Oxford Ave.	Tulsa	74135-6828653	8311	
Turner	, Karla	2224 S. Indianapolis	Tulsa	74114	743-5024	
Urmston	, Dorothy	2636 E. 60th Pl.	Tulsa	74105	742-8831	
Van Orden	, Carol	2217 E. 58th St. #318	Tulsa	74105	747-7180	586-5971
Vance	, Mary	3510 E. 32nd	Tulsa	74135		
Vaught	, Pat	8340 E. 88th Pl.	Tulsa	74137	492-8423	832-4835
Verby	, Alia	7518 E. 54th St.	Tulsa	74145	622-2185	
Vincent	, Steven	8709 S. Richmond #547	Tulsa	74136	481-9313	584-0822
Wallace	, Loretta	4610 S. Zuni	Tulsa	74105	742-6775	
Wallace	, Priscilla	7108 S. Columbia	Tulsa	74136	482-5657	
Wallin	, Susan	876 E. 61st #8R	Tulsa	74136	744-9736	581-1015
Wallin	, Susan	876 E. 61st #8R	Tulsa	74136	744-9736	581-1015
Walters	, Frank	3427 S. Florence Pl.	Tulsa	74105	743-4641	
Watts	, Janice	8405 E. 60th St. #2B13	Tulsa	74165	250-8219	
Weaver	, Jeff	7726 S. Trenton	Tulsa	74136	496-0478	622-1181
Weaver	, Kathy	7726 S. Trenton	Tulsa	74136	496-0478	622-1181
Weinrich	, Bill	1916 S. Knoxville	Tulsa	74112	744-5536	
Vells	, Sam	12002 E. 88th Pl. North	Owasso	74055	272-5403	582-3443
Welsh	, Audrey	3815 E. 60th	Tulsa	74135	741-4372	747-2531
Westbrook	, Jack	6628 S. 76th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74133	252-2880	
Westbrook	, Skipper	6626 S. 76th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74133	252-2880	
Wheeler	, Daniel T.	10607 S. Erie Pl.	Tulsa	74137		
Williamson	, Larry	7131 S. Quincy	Tulsa	74136	482-8085	
Willis	, Stacy	1805 E. 73rd St. #304	Tulsa	74136	495-1208	496-8577

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ALL VOLUNTEERS WITH ADDRESSES AND PHONE NUMBERS

Wolking	, Eric	3775 S. Canton	Tulsa	74135	828-1120	
Woodard	, Luther	1723 W. Independence	Tulsa	74127	584-5853	
Woodmansee	, Nathan	3200 S. Maple Dr.	Sand Springs	74063	241-1444	
Woods	, Linda	10221 S. Kingston	Tulsa	74137		
Wright	, Curry	143 W. Kent Ave.	Broken Arrow	74012	455-4707	
Xavier	, Ann Marie	3256 S. Lakewood 1P	Tulsa	74135	581-0408	
Xavier	, Anne Marie	3256 S. Lakewood 1-P	Tulsa	74135	822-2075	581-0408
Yeates	, Louise	7700 S. Lynwood Circle	Broken Arrow	74011	455-3068	
Yongelas	, Rolf	P.O. Box 54302	Tulsa	74155	665-8949	668-2568
Zunwalt	, Dorothy	30 North Noccasin Place	Tulsa	74866	224-3537	212-3779

EDWARD C. LAWSON, JR.
2100 Philtower Building
Tulsa, Oklahoma
74103

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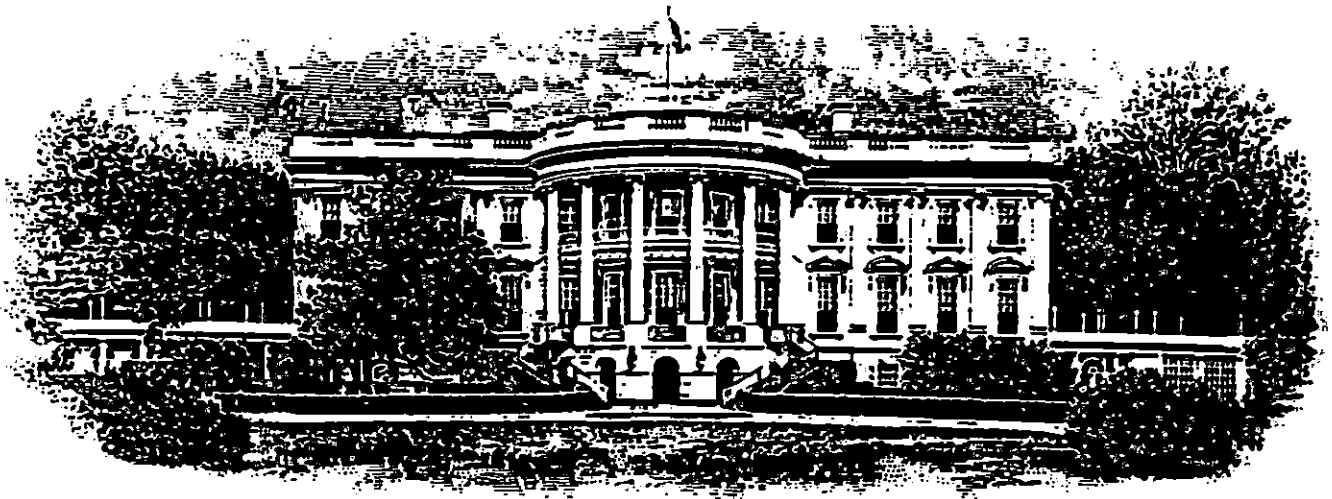
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ALL VOLUNTEERS WITH ADDRESSES AND PHONE NUMBERS

Hankins	, Carolyn	4232 E. 40th Pl.	Tulsa	74135	742-1343	
Harmon	, Marlan	3438 S. 119th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74146	622-2465	
Harper	, Alton	2822 S. 116th E. Ave. #E	Tulsa	74128	622-5038	
Harrie	, Todd	2803 E. 44th Ct.	Tulsa	74105		
Hartson	, Clarice	40107 S. New Haven	Tulsa	74135	742-6735	
Hartson	, Herb	4017 S. New Haven	Tulsa	74135	742-6735	
Hebard	, Laura	11640 S. 75th E. Ave.	Bixby	74008	369-1624	
Hebster	, Sandy	1151 E. 26th Pl.	Tulsa	74114	742-5218	
Helgeson	, Bee	2811 E. 85th St.	Tulsa	74137-1423483	2610	
Helm	, Fayenelle	3134 E. 67th	Tulsa	74136		
Helm	, Patti	7308 S. Victor #2206	Tulsa	74136	496-9003	
Hewgley, Jr.	, James	2454 East 30th	Tulsa	74114	742-3853	584-2052
Hillis	, Pam	3537 S. Yorktown	Tulsa	74105	747-8027	597-0000
Hills	, Tom	3537 S. Yorktown	Tulsa	74105	747-8027	597-0000
Hirsch	, Brian	10610 E. 66th Street	Tulsa	74133	250-3889	
Hjelm	, Cliff	324 S. Main Ste. 821	Tulsa	74101	481-0805	599-0181
Hjelm	, Luverne	8443 S. College	Tulsa	74137	481-0805	
Hobson	, Kelle	7152 S. 92nd E. Ave. #1706	Tulsa	74133	450-0722	
Hodson	, Floyd	2901 W. 61st Pl.	Tulsa	74132	446-6162	492-2666
Holdridge	, Claudia	6513 S. Lewis #128	Tulsa	74136	481-5122	495-0882
Holman	, Barbara	5835 S. 73rd E. Ave.	Tulsa	74145	664-0175	
Holman	, Kathryn	5835 S. 73rd E. Ave.	Tulsa	74145	665-8175	
Holt	, Bill	8706 S. 72nd E. Ave.	Tulsa	74136	483-2348	
Horn	, Evelyn	6115 S. 72nd E. Ave.	Tulsa	74133	484-7706	
Hubble	, Stan	3048 S. Boston Ct.	Tulsa	74114	743-5681	749-4682
Hudson	, Judy L.	2901 W. 61st Pl.	Tulsa	74132	446-8162	492-2666
Hugman	, Lisa	4750 E. 68th St. Unit 150	Tulsa	74136-4840481	3594	
Huntzinger	, Tim	1808 E. 73rd #206	Tulsa	74136	484-0421	585-1213
Huntzinger	, Tim	1808 E. 73rd	Tulsa	74136	484-0421	585-1213
Irvin	, Sue	2505 W. Greeley	Broken Arrow	74012	251-9364	252-2581
Ishmael	, Rick	Rt #3 Box 324-A	Sapula	74066	224-7559	
Jacobs	, Betty	1502 S. Boulder #18M	Tulsa	74119	587-2220	
Jaeger	, Richard	3404 E. 84th	Tulsa	74137	481-0248	
Jacobs	, Marcella	1502 S. Boulder #18M	Tulsa	74119	587-2220	
Johnson	, Diane	8036 S. College #2208	Tulsa	74137	288-5641	
Johnson	, Suzanne	2409 E. 18th	Tulsa	74120	747-0256	
Johnston	, Ken	8407 S. 80th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74133	254-6871	481-1380
Jones	, Carol S.	4732 S. 87th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74145		
Ketch	, Andy	1002 E. 66th Pl. So. # 427	Tulsa	74138	491-5580	
Kelley	, James Calvin	14203 N. 100th E. Ave.	Collinsville	74021	371-2154	
Kenyon	, Nora	634 S. 83rd E. Ave.	Tulsa	74112	835-1170	486-8333
Kious	, Chasity	2523 E. 10th Street # 9	Tulsa	74104	587-7629	747-8616
Kirzner	, Oscar	865 E. 37th St.	Tulsa	74105		
Kirzner	, Oscar	865 E. 37th St.	Tulsa	74105	742-8837	
Kleese	, Bruce E.	3435 E. 87th Street	Tulsa	74137	481-6951	241-4945
Knapp	, Christopher	3124 E. 71st	Tulsa	74136		
Knapp	, Marian	7421 S. Atlanta	Tulsa	74136	493-6281	
Konklemen, Jr	, Dale	111 S. 108th E. Ave.	Tulsa	74128	437-7728	
LaClair	, Richard L.	7203 E. 48th Pl.	Tulsa	74145		
Lawson	, William C.	2228 S. Troost	Tulsa	74114	748-8774	586-7183
Lawson, Jr.	, Edward	1820 East 41st	Tulsa	74105	742-4798	584-5155
Leib	, Irene	1428 S. Canton	Tulsa	74112	934-7576	

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

DATE 9/18/92

TO Dave Carney

FAX NUMBER 336-7178

OFFICE NUMBER _____

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER 13

FROM Janet Mullins

COMMENTS _____

OFFICE NUMBER _____

Daily

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Alice S. Langtry
Member of the House of Representatives



THE PRESIDENT

September 21, 1992

Dear Alice,

Barbara passed along your kind note of September 14. I appreciate your being so candid, and I'll certainly pass along your excellent recommendations to the folks here and at the campaign.

Hastily off again. Next time to your state. I am visiting Penn State University on Wednesday. Thanks for your support and all you're doing. Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "George Bush".



ALICE S. LANGTRY
MEMBER, 40TH DISTRICT
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

Dear Mr. President,
The broad public does not understand economics or fiscal policy, nor how your proposals, e.g., a Capital Gains Tax Cut, directly or indirectly affects their lives, their jobs, or job creation. They do not see how NAFTA, environmental laws or business tax cuts directly impact their lives and

14 September, 1992

pocketbooks; they only see how it all seems to help someone else, especially the "rich" or business types.

I urge you to start explaining in your speeches how your proposals directly relate to their lives, their pocketbooks, their jobs and job creation. Use charts, graphs, visual aids. The public trusts you, but cannot make these connections. We need to speak their language.

Working for your reelection -

Best regards,
Rep. Alice Langtry

prepare

Only 9/21

Mr. Horst A. Bergmann
President and CEO
Jeppesen Sanderson
55 Inverness Drive East
Englewood, Colorado 80112



GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

September 21, 1992

Dear Mr. Bergmann,

Just a short note to say how very much I enjoyed my visit to Jeppesen Sanderson. My only regret is that my stay was so brief, but I am grateful to the employees and families for such a wonderful warm greeting.

Please pass along to all at Jeppesen Sanderson my thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "G. Bush".

Daily 9/21

Mr. Gerald Kopp
Kopper Realty
9594 Tara Boulevard
Post Office Box 1116
Jonesboro, Georgia 30236



GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

September 21, 1992

Dear Gerald,

Just a quick note of thanks for greeting me and showing me one of the homes at Avery of Walnut Creek. I was impressed by the quality of the houses in that price range. With innovative ideas like yours, more Americans will be able to fulfill their dreams of owning their own home.

Best of luck to you and your wife, Jean.

Sincerely,

Drily

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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



THE PRESIDENT

September 21, 1992

Dear Emile,

Thanks for the news clippings of the Convention and the video tape of your interview. I appreciate your kind words about me. This has been a tough campaign year, but I'm still confident that we will win in November. Thanks for your support.

Barbara joins me in sending our best wishes to you and Betty.

Sincerely,

Emile Roy
7 Ridgeway Avenue
Sanford, Maine 04073

September 14, 1992

Greetings My Friend:

Enclosed please find some news clippings of the Convention, also a condensed ~~to~~ typed copy of the interview that C Span had with me in Houston during the Convention.

I hope my comments will have been of some help. Your grandson, George P. did a great job for you that night.

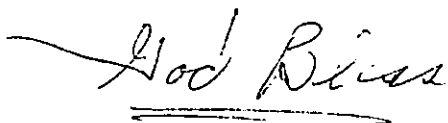
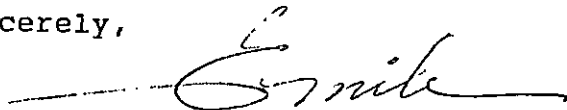
Just received the copy of Mr. Holdsworth's letter you sent him. (Thank you so much) I know he must be thrilled to have heard from you personally.

You and Barbara are doing a wonderful job with the Campaign and so is Vice President and Mrs. Quayle.

You all must be awfully tired by now.

Betty said to say Hello.

Sincerely,



represent our state when we're she said.
really feel it's going to be out of the political arena, se it doesn't belong there," n said. "We're going to get o talking about the issues." added: "I think Barbara Bush very well."

☆☆☆

al Kirby is a reporter for States Service in Washington, D.C.

OP

uation

's like being a prizefighter," ing said. "You're in the ring ou got sort of banged around se you've got your hands tied d you. Well, his hands are now and he'll be able to do a little er-punching."

owning said he's not sure er the abortion issue will be a at the ballot box.

really don't know whether it urt him or not," Downing "It shouldn't. . . . I'm sure n emotional issue, but the real is things that he promotes — at's family, that's a stronger my."

☆☆☆

al Kirby is a reporter for States Service in Washington, D.C.

Barber hit of the convention

By Paul Kirby

Special to the Star

HOUSTON — When Emile Roy's granddaughter Tara was born, President Bush sent a note telling her she was lucky to live in a free world.

When Roy visited Washington, D.C., on his birthday two years ago, he was summoned to the White House and Bush and several dozen of his staff and others wished him a happy birthday. Roy said he never told the president when his birthday was.

When the president visits his vacation home in Kennebunkport, he'll sometimes call Roy just to say hi.

Roy, who lives in Sanford and is a delegate to the Republican National Convention for the third time, is Bush's barber when he's in Maine and he knows the president like almost none of the thousands of party activists here.

The 72-year-old, who was born in Canada and moved to Maine with his family when he was 4, is friendly to everyone and popular with his fellow delegates, who brag to strangers about his special place in the Bush camp.

"He's just a sweet guy. I think everyone likes him," said Kenneth Cole III of Portland, the state's Republican national committeeman.

Cole said Roy walked up to actor

Charlton Heston during Monday night's session and offered to cut his hair. "He's always looking for work, I guess," Cole said with a laugh.

"He kisses all the women the minute he meets them," said delegate Doris Russell of Castine. "He's a true Frenchman."

At a dinner Sunday night for Maine Republicans, Roy playfully chatted with the hosts and was quick to pull a picture out of his shirt pocket of him cutting Bush's hair. He signed it for a Texas couple.

"Any guy who would get near the president with a pair of scissors is somebody we've got to have an autograph of," joked Paul Nutting, city administrator of a suburb southeast of Houston. "You must have top-security clearance."

But Roy, who switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party in 1952, is reluctant to draw attention away from Bush and he is protective of anything that could hurt his friend.

"I'm not important," he repeats again and again. "The one that's important is the president."

Roy, who started cutting hair in 1950 and has cut Bush's since 1980, said Bush is honest, loyal and caring and should be re-elected.

He said he's tired of the negative

stories the news media have produced on both Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, and he said Americans want to hear where the candidates stand on the issues.

He questions why Clinton's press coverage has turned positive after he was being savaged several months ago.

"Now he's a hero," Roy said "What did he do? I want to know what did he do to become a hero? . . . You can't have it both ways."

Roy has been popular with the news media at the convention. The major television networks have contacted him for interviews, as have representatives of the foreign press.

"He's really an incredibly proud person," said state Sen. Charles Summers of Scarborough. "He's really proud to be associated with the president."

Summers said he is impressed with the way Roy tells all reporters he will only consent to interviews as long as their reports don't reflect negatively on Bush.

"I would love to have somebody like Emile Roy on my campaign team," Summers said, "because he's just a wonderful, warm, nice guy."

☆☆☆

Paul Kirby is a reporter for States News Service in Washington, D.C.

Floor of GOP convention a busy place

By Paul Kirby

Special to the Star

HOUSTON — Wayne Creelman, Elizabeth was reading USA. Annalee Rosenblatt of Scarborough was completing a news-crossword puzzle. Doris Russell of Castine was scurrying about each delegation delivering a zine promoting Maine.

elcome to the early hours of on the floor of the Republican National Convention.

's a slow morning to have to anything," delegate Kenneth III of Portland told a reporter 90 minutes after the morning y began Tuesday.

other in a long series of ers was on stage pleading with ithful to support President Bush Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton. By me the four-hour session was

over about 2 p.m., those delegates still around would hear from roughly 40 speakers.

Television viewers back home watching these speeches on cable television (C-SPAN or CNN are your only options in the morning) shouldn't be fooled.

Evening appearances by heavy hitters like Ronald Reagan or Pat Buchanan are eagerly awaited.

But morning and early-afternoon speeches by delegates, state legislative candidates, county clerks, mayors or other party officials from around the country are, well, less of an attraction.

"Their home state is sitting there intently listening to him," Russell said charitably of one speaker. But, she conceded, things do get a little dull.

So delegates mill about the spacious Astrodome. Tuesday morning,

at least half of the seats on the floor were empty.

Reporters interviewed delegates. Delegates shared with others buttons, shirts or posters they'd bought, or simply chatted. Few seemed to be paying much attention.

Rosenblatt, an alternate delegate who worked on the crossword puzzle, says she can do two things at once.

"I follow the speakers," she said. "The speeches don't get monotonous. I find all of the movement to get very distracting. . . . It's noisy in here."

The Maine contingent is shuffling its members so alternate delegates can sit up near the stage for a while instead of in their designated seats, between Wyoming and American Samoa and Guam near the rear of the floor.

But alternates Donald and Barbara

Bridenbaugh of Tenants Harbor were content to sit in the rear Tuesday morning. They were nearly alone.

"It's nice and cool back here, and we can see the screen," Barbara Bridenbaugh said. "I think Wyoming must be off on a trip some where," she added, pointing to a bunch of empty seats in front of her.

Two rows back, Alta Weeks, an alternate from Westfield, was the only other Mainer in the section. She stared at her list of speakers and listened for interesting sound bites to jot down so she could share them when she gets home. Binoculars sat at her side.

"It would be much nicer to be up closer," Weeks said. "Next time I come, I'll try to be a delegate so I can be right up where the action

Bush given mixed report card

● Overwhelmingly, delegates agree foreign policy is his biggest success.

Associated Press

HOUSTON — Delegates to the Republican convention say President Bush joins the race with formidable strengths — his incumbency, his character and his successes overseas — but with troublesome weaknesses, too. There's the economy and his indistinct message.

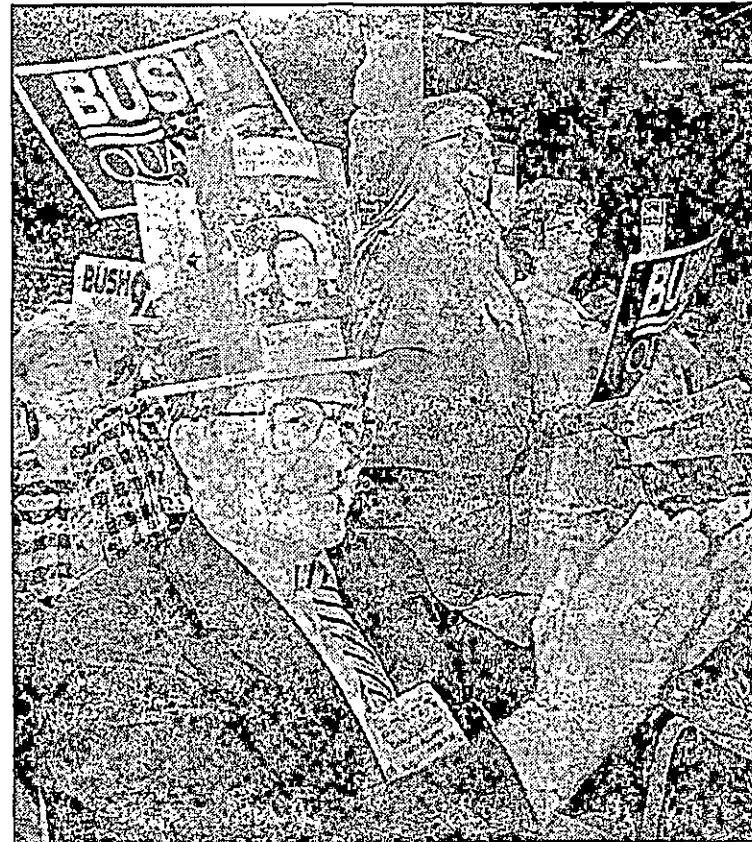
Some say he's too nice a guy, and too nice to Congress.

"We've been spoiled by the great communicator," says delegate Mike Tefft of Lincoln, Neb. "Ronald Reagan is a difficult, difficult man to follow when it comes to communicating ideas to the American people."

Overwhelmingly, if not surprisingly, Bush's successes abroad — Desert Storm, the death knell of the Communist threat, diffusing the nuclear cloud — are cited in delegate samplings by Associated Press reporters who asked about Bush's strengths and weaknesses in the campaign to come.

Almost as overwhelmingly, delegates fix on Bush's difficulty in conveying a sense of presidential purpose as his chief failing.

"His biggest weakness is that the press can't stand him," said Marilyn Derby of Spokane, Wash. Agreed Dave Blumberg of Baltimore: "When they signed that treaty with the Russians on nuclear disarmament, it hardly got any publicity."



Associated Press

Emile Roy, a delegate from Sanford, joins in the partisan enthusiasm at the Republican National Convention in Houston Monday night.

● **Strength:** Bush's character. "He's an extremely honest, caring man with a great sense of humor," said Barbara Chinn of Maryland, a Bush supporter since 1980.

"No one could carry his water at performing under pressure," said Oklahoma Corporation Commissioner J.C. Watts, former University of Oklahoma quarterback

and the first black elected to statewide office in his state.

● **Weakness:** Bush's character.

"Too nice," said Joel Maiola of New Hampshire, and too willing to absorb "unanswered cheap shots."

"His major weakness may be his loyalty," said Priscilla Rakes-traw, Delaware's Republican

committeewoman. "George Bush is very steadfast and very loyal to the people around him. Perhaps he has to look a little bit critically at them and how they are serving him and the country."

● **Strength:** His international craftsmanship.

"I can't think of anyone maybe since Roosevelt who could have done as good a job putting together the gulf coalition," said Peter Gallanis of Chicago.

"This is still a dangerous world, and George Bush has proven himself capable of leading a nation in a dangerous world," said John W. Sweezy, Republican chairman in Marion County, Ind.

● **Weakness:** Bush's inarticulateness.

"What's the vision, what's the plan, where are we going, why are we going there?" asked John Katapolis of Birmingham, Ala.

● **Strength:** His first term.

"Incumbency is the number one advantage," said Drew Ivers of Webster City, Iowa. The second main advantage is campaign experience. They've done it before. They know how to campaign."

● **Weakness:** the economy and "read my lips."

"The weakness is simply we had a shallow recession. Following the shallow recession we had a timid recovery. People don't see the difference," said Sen. Charles Grassley of Iowa.

Kaye Kirk, an Oklahoma City, Okla. lawyer, said Bush's acceptance of a tax increase was his Achilles' heel. "There are a lot of people who, if they don't vote for President Bush, that will be the single greatest reason why not,"

Houston
Chronicle
8/18/92

Maine

Delegate Emile Roy has had a few close shaves with President Bush.

Roy often touches up the president's coiffure when he visits Kennebunkport, Maine.

"He's a great friend of mine and a down-to-earth person," said the 72-year-old retired barber. "I've been a fan of his even before I met him."

He became acquainted with the president during Bush's bid for the 1980 presidential nomination.

Besides providing an occasional haircut, Roy is a frequent visitor to Bush's Kennebunkport home and occasionally fishes with the president.

"We never talk about problems," Roy

said. "We talk about family, fishing and vacations."

Though Roy has traveled to Houston for his third national convention, he doesn't expect to visit the president.

"His home is here (Houston)," Roy said. "But we're lucky. We've got him in the summer."

Bush's barber doubles as convention delegate

Emile Roy of Sanford made quite the media star in Houston.

Roy, a 72-year-old native of Canada, is President Bush's barber when he's in town.

Roy, a retired barber, has been cutting Bush's hair for the last 13 years. He thinks the world of him.

"We are very, very, very lucky to have him as president," said Roy. "He's a very loyal man."

Roy met Bush in 1979 during his first try for the presidency. Later, when they met again, he joked to Bush that he "had tool, will travel." Bush took him up on the offer and the rest is history.

This is Roy's third convention as a delegate, and his fame as a presidential barber gets him a lot of attention from the national press, who are treated to samples of his humor.

Over a beer in the hotel bar, Roy jokes, "When you work for the president, it's a hair-raising experience." He smiles, and then lifts his hair piece off his head.

Sanford Voice At Convention

SANFORD - Those watching the Republican National Convention on television this week may see Sanford resident Emile Roy somewhere in the audience.

One of 22 Maine delegates chosen, Roy traveled out of Boston by train last Thursday to Houston, Texas, to attend his third Republican National Convention.

He attended the 1984 convention in Dallas, Texas and 1988 convention in New Orleans, Louisiana.

'Hopefully I'll be of some help to my friend, the president, and do him some good,' Roy said of his long-time friend George Bush. 'I plan to help him (Bush) get his ideas across,' Roy added.

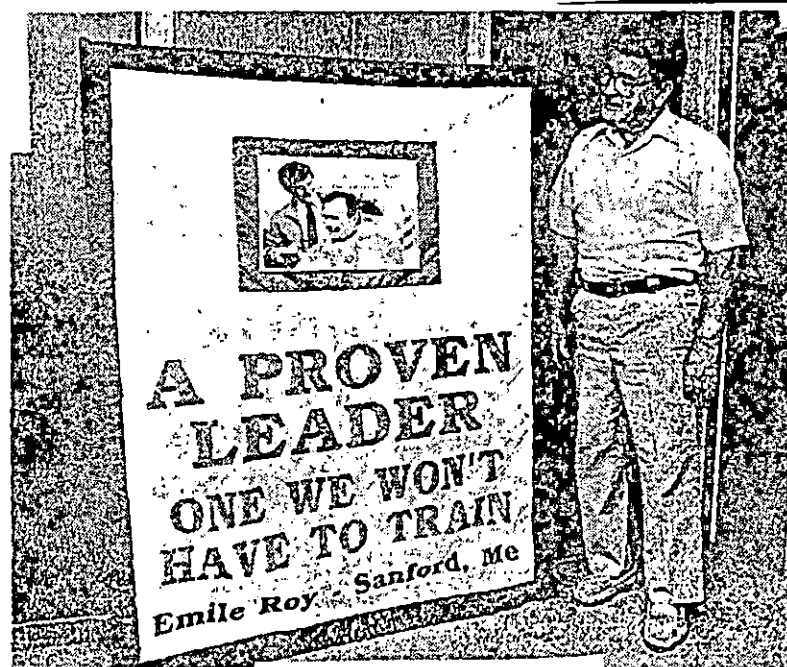
Roy has not only been friends with Bush since he met him in the late 1970s,

after Roy sent a letter of support to him, he has been cutting the president's hair since Bush was vice president under Ronald Reagan.

According to Roy, over 100 people applied to be chosen as delegates, and 22 were selected from both districts in the state.

Roy said he was chosen because he is known for working hard for the Republican party. He pointed out as far as he knows, he was the only Franco-American delegate from Maine selected.

Taking part in the festivities planned in Houston, Roy, along with the other Maine delegates, attended receptions, toured the Space Center and traveled to Galvestown.



August 18, 1992 - THE SANFORD NEWS -

Convention Bound

PRESIDENTIAL BARBER and Republican booster Emile Roy displays the banner he made with help from his daughter, Cindy Davidson, and will bring to the Republican National Convention in Dallas. As can be seen, Roy is a staunch supporter of President Bush. (Photo by Kevin A. Byron)

Maine delegates: white, educated and wealthy

• Most are GOP activists, who work throughout the year on party politics.

By STEVE CAMPBELL
Staff Writer

HOUSTON - They are all white. Most of them are males, well-educated and wealthy.

They support legalized abortions, and most of them are opposed to a government-operated health care system.

They are the Maine delegates to the National Republican Convention.

The Press Herald surveyed the 22 Maine delegates and 18 alternates attending this week's convention about their background and beliefs. Here are some of our findings:

- Fourteen of the Maine delegates are male and 8 are female. But there's a greater percentage of female alternates. So altogether, there's 21 males and 19 females.

- About 50 percent of the delegates and alternates are Maine natives. Most of the out-of-state Republicans were born in Massachusetts, New York, Texas and Canada.

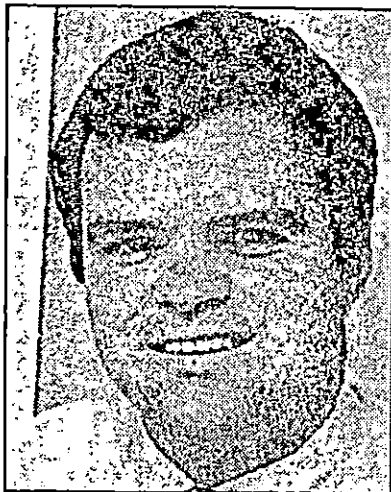
- The delegates are all white - no African-Americans or Hispanics. The Democrats had two African-American delegates.

- The average age of the Maine delegates and alternates is 52, older than the Democratic group.

The youngest Republican is David Lackey of Yarmouth, 28, who is Gov. John R. McKernan's speechwriter.

The oldest are Don Bridenbaugh of Tenants Harbor and Emile Roy of Sanford, who are both 72.

- 78 percent are college graduates, 11 percent higher than the national average for Republicans attending the convention. 18 per-



David Lackey

The youngest Maine delegate is 28



Emile Roy

At 72, one of the oldest delegates

cent attended some college. Only one did not attend college.

- Eight are homemakers, the most frequently cited occupation. Other occupations, in order, include: self-employed businessperson, 7; real-estate broker or investor, 6; public official or service, 6; retired, 4; doctor or nurse, 4; teacher, 2; other occupations, 3.

- Two of the 40 delegates are members of a labor union.

- 16 delegates have an annual household income in excess of \$100,000; 13 make between \$50,000 and \$99,000; 4 earn between \$20,000 and \$49,000; 3 make less than \$20,000; 4 would not comment.

- 31 delegates consider themselves party activists, who work throughout the year on party politics; 9 do occasional work for the party.

- This is the first convention for 26 of the delegates and alternates; the second convention for 7 delegates; the third convention for 4; and the fourth convention for one.

This will be the fifth convention for two delegates - Maine Sen. William S. Cohen and Doris Russell of Castine.

- 28 label themselves moderates; 9 conservatives; 3 liberals.

- 31 support legalized abortions; 5 oppose abortion rights; 4 are undecided. Only one supports a constitutional amendment outlawing abortions; 4 did not know or would not answer the question.

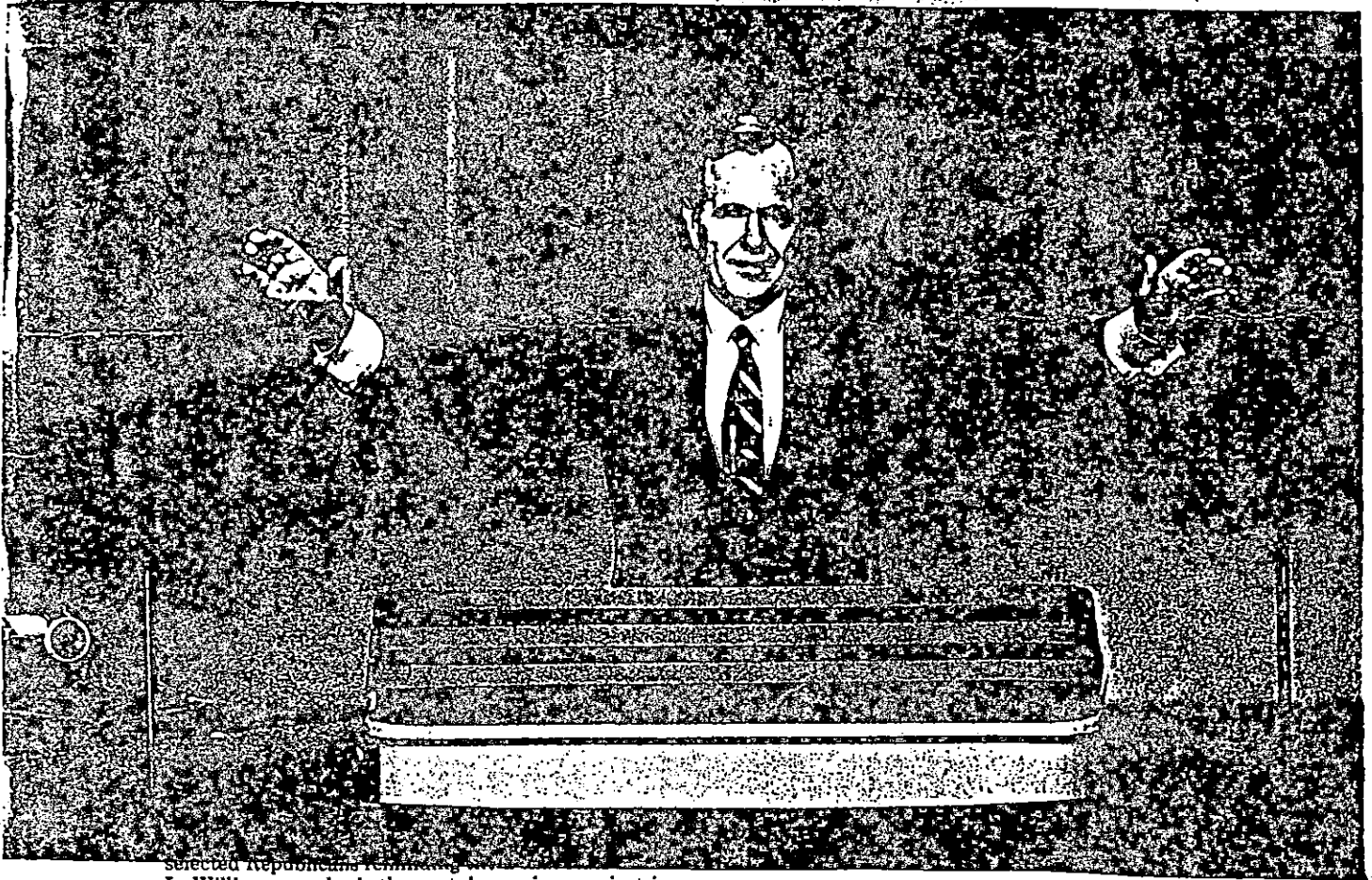
- 60 percent of the delegates oppose raising taxes as one way to reduce the federal budget deficit; 23 percent would support such a move; 7 percent are undecided or would not answer.

- 63 percent oppose the government instituting and operating a national health care plan, 15 percent support it; 22 percent are undecided or would not answer.

- 43 percent think the United States can meet its national security obligations with a much smaller military budget than we have today; 28 percent do not; 29 percent are unsure or would not answer.

- 45 percent of the delegates think black people in the United States are still a long way from having the same chance in life that white people have. 40 percent disagree with that statement. 15 percent are uncertain.

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY



selected Republicans remaining L. Williams — who is the party's nominee against incumbent Democrat Sen. Wendell H. Ford this fall — had been sharply critical of Forgy.

Williams, a Hopkins supporter, is a delegate. The man he defeated for the Senate nomination, Forgy backer Philip Thompson, will also be in Houston as an alternate.

For observers interested in another kind of hardball, the delegation features two former professional baseball players, Rep. Jim Bunning and state Rep. William R. Strong.

★ LOUISIANA

9 Electoral Votes

Chair: Joseph L. Jordan Jr.
Bush 38
Others 0
Hotel: Doubletree
at IAH
(713) 442-8000

38 Delegates

with scandal. Even if he did not win, Duke was expected to run for president (as he had in 1988), and national pundits began to speculate about how a Duke candidacy might affect President Bush's re-election chances.

Now Duke's name is rarely heard. Predictions that he would become a national political force began to abate after Edwards demolished him. Duke did seek the Republican nomination for president, but his message was seized in part by a less controversial messenger: conservative commentator Buchanan. On Super Tuesday, Duke received less than 9 percent of the vote in his home state's primary. Soon thereafter, he ended his campaign.

But he secured the endorsement of Louisiana GOP

★ MAINE

4 Electoral Votes

Chair: John R. McKernan Jr.
Bush 22
Others 0
Hotel: Holiday Inn
Hobby
(713) 943-7979

22 Delegates

George Bush has vacationed at his family's seaside Kennebunkport compound since his youth. And as a national figure, he has spent much more time there than in Texas, his state of residence and the place from which he launched his business and political careers.

As a result, his personal ties to the rank-and-file delegates match his political links to such elected officials as Gov. John R. McKernan Jr. (the delegation chairman), Sen. William S. Cohen and Rep. Olympia J. Snowe. For example, Emile Roy — a Republican organizer in Maine's Franco-American community — is Bush's longtime barber in Maine.

But the delegation's close ties to Bush will not obscure a major division over abortion.

Moderates control the Maine Republican Party, and most of Maine's national convention delegates, including McKernan and Snowe (who are husband and wife), Cohen and state Republican Chairman Edward O'Meara, are strong supporters of abortion rights.

Dr. Wayne Creelman, a psychiatrist, typifies the dilemma faced by some abortion rights Bush delegates. Creelman, a Roman Catholic, said he has been torn by the issue but his work as a mental health professional has led him to an abortion rights position.

Creelman said he would prefer that the national party do what the Maine Republicans did in drawing up their 1992 platform: Drop the abortion issue. "Abortion and abortion rights ought to be out of each of the [national parties] platform; taken out of the public policy story as much as possible," he said. But off at the time of the

★ FACES IN THE CROWD

The Houston Post

★ AUGUST 21, 1992



Leslie Cardenas



Margaret Ward



Emile Roy



Rich Tafel

your pockets friendly plea

ried to run the gantlet
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this week, chances
net Leslie Cardenas.
e of the friendly folks
ou empty your
o a little tub so you
f the metal detectors.
a lot of interesting
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aid.
ose people was Sen.
Cardenas said he was
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knives on his person.
ing to meet the ABC
— like Sam
— or Peter Jennings."
s has seen some other
hings coughed up by
goers — like
nd a half-eaten

s, a resident of
is a member of
oud, a volunteer
ing the convention.
she works for a local
vice company.
ood Republican. It's
eing involved in
his big, even in a
' she said.
it about those
g Secret Service
o lurk in the
d remaining ever

— Robert King

Alaskan backs GOP, paid by independent

When she's on the clock, Margaret Ward works for a political independent, Alaska's version of Ross Perot. But on her own time, her loyalty belongs to George Bush.

Ward earns her salary in Anchorage as office director for Gov. Wally Hickel, a self-made millionaire and political maverick who won the governor's office in 1990 after a grass-roots campaign as an independent.

But her role as an Alaskan delegate to the Republican convention would seem to take her far afield from Hickel.

No conflict, she says: "I'm a Republican. I still consider the governor an independent Republican. We've supported him any time he's run."

Ward grew up in Fairbanks and married her childhood sweetheart, Jerry Ward, an Anchorage developer. They worked for Hickel when he won the governor's office in 1966 as a Republican.

In 1990, Hickel made an unorthodox comeback by founding the Alaskan Independence Party and staged a whirlwind, six-week campaign that put him back in the governor's chair.

"It was really a lot of fun. It was an actual grass-roots campaign where all factions of people came together," Ward said.

— Mary Lenz

He helps keep Bush from getting bushy

Emile Roy is supporting his neighbor for president. In this case, his neighbor happens to be George Bush.

Roy, a delegate from Maine, lives about 20 miles from the president's summer home in Kennebunkport. For years he's been on stand-by for a house call in case Bush needs a trim.

On one occasion while trimming Bush's hair, Roy said the president practiced his French skills. Only later did he realize that Bush was scheduled to meet with French President Francois Mitterrand that day.

Roy's favorite story about Bush illustrates his relationship with the president.

Roy was in Washington visiting a friend when he received an unexpected phone call.

"It's the White House," said his friend. "They want you there at 9:10 tomorrow morning."

When he arrived at the presidential residence the next day, scissors in hand, Roy was in for a surprise. After being ushered into the Oval Office, Bush welcomed Roy and said, "I just wanted to wish you a happy birthday."

As part of the visit, Roy got to see Mille's puppies and was taken on a tour of the first family's living quarters.

"It was amazing to see Lincoln's room," he said.

— Meagan McGovern

Gays stay organized with Log Cabin Club

Whatever the Log Cabin Club appears to be to the uninitiated, it's actually a national organization for gay and lesbian Republicans that claims to have 6,000 dues-paying members across the country.

National president Rich Tafel said the views of the club are in the true spirit of the Republican Party: "The core of the Republican Party's belief has been individual rights and keeping the state out of individuals' lives."

The club derives its name from Abraham Lincoln, who championed human rights for blacks. On Sunday, it voted not to endorse President Bush — at least "not unless there is a dramatic change" in the party platform, Tafel said.

The reason: The platform opposes homosexuality.

Tafel is one of two openly gay members of Massachusetts Gov. William F. Weld's administration.

While some may see gay Republicans as an anomaly, they aren't, Tafel said. "I just think we haven't been very visible in the party."

The Log Cabin Club was formed at the national level about two years ago.

He also said Republican rhetoric about family values is little more than a smoke screen for a failed fiscal agenda.

— Clay Carpenter

MON 21 SEP 92 16:06

PG. 01

Daily
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/21~~THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN~~*CW*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dean:

In case you can't read Secy Baker's
handwritten note at the bottom, it reads

P.S. Teeter recommends not using the
line "I wonder who took his place"
in re draft issue because he says
that person is known and has been
located and might support Clinton.

Fran

September 21, 1992

NOTE FOR POTUS

FROM:

JABIII *JABIII*

Here are the points I suggest you use in discussing debates and the draft issue.

P.S. Tester recommends not using the line "I wonder who took his place in re draft issue" because he says that person is known and has been located and might support Clinton.

9/21/92

DEBATES

- 1) I've offered to debate based on the same rules used in the last four Presidential elections -- rules worked out by good Democrats and Republicans.
- 2) Governor Clinton wants to change the rules. Maybe he's afraid of being asked questions by the press. (Backup: What's wrong with having journalists ask questions?)
- 3) And he refuses to negotiate with us about these rules. If he's afraid to negotiate with us, what does that say about his ability to negotiate with other countries for the United States?
- 4) Look, I want to debate. I'm behind. I'm trying to get my ideas out. He's just trying to coast and make political hay.

If asked on willingness to go "Man on Man": That's ridiculous. I went "man on man" when I risked my life for my country. And he ...well...he didn't.

DRAFT

- 1) The issue is bigger than the draft.
- 2) It goes beyond whether a guy who avoided military service can be Commander in Chief and send others into battle to risk their lives.
- 3) It is not so much a question of avoiding the draft as it is a question of avoiding the truth.
- 4) He's got to take personal responsibility for his choices and level with the American people.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(New York, New York)

For Immediate Release

September 21, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

United Nations
New York, New York

11:02 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Mr. President -- to you, sir, and Mr. Secretary General and distinguished guests. Forty-seven years ago, I was a young man of 21, and like thousands of others of my generation, I'd gone off to war to help keep freedom alive. But forty-seven years ago this month, the war was finally over, and I was looking forward to peace and the chance to begin my life in earnest. Nineteen forty-five, it marked a moment of promise, not just for me, but for all of mankind. A great struggle against dictatorship had been fought and won.

Across the globe we all look forward to a future free of war, a world where we might raise our children in peace and freedom. And this institution, the United Nations, born amidst the ashes of war, embodied those hopes and dreams like no other.

But the hopes and dreams and 1945 remained unfulfilled. Communist imperialism divided the world in two, our hopes for peace and our dreams of freedom were frozen in the grip of Cold War. And instead of finding a common ground, we found ourselves at ground zero. And instead of living on Churchill's broad sunlit uplands, millions found that there was, as Arthur Koestler so chillingly wrote, darkness at noon. And instead of uniting the nations, this body became a forum for distrust and division among nations. And in a cruel irony, the United Nations, created to free the world of conflict, became itself conflict's captive.

I, too, lived through those disputes. I sat where you sit, proudly so, served in this Assembly. And I saw in my time the consequences of the Cold War's hot words on the higher missions of the United Nations. And now, 47 years later, we stand at the end of another war, the Cold War. And our hopes and dreams have awakened again.

Driven by its own internal contradictions and banished by the people's undying thirst for freedom, imperial communism has collapsed in its birthplace. And today, Russia has awakened -- democratic, independent and free. And the Baltic States are free; and so, too, are Ukraine and Armenia and Belarus, and Kazakhstan and the other independent states joining the nations of Central and Eastern Europe in freedom.

The fear of nuclear Armageddon between the superpowers has vanished. And we are proud to have done our part to ensure that our schoolchildren do not have to practice hiding under their desks for fear of nuclear attack as the generation before them.

And I am proud, also, to salute the courageous leaders with nuclear responsibilities -- President Yeltsin, Kravchuk, Nazarbayev, Shushkevich -- who join me in ending the

MORE

superpower standoff that risked nuclear nightmare. This is the first general assembly to seat you as truly independent and free nations. And to you and the leaders of the other independent states, I say: Welcome home; we are now truly United Nations.

With the Cold War's end, I believe we have a unique opportunity to go beyond artificial divisions of a first, second and third world to forge instead a genuine global community of free and sovereign nations. A community built on respect for principle, of peaceful settlements of disputes, fundamental human rights and the twin pillars of freedom, democracy and free markets.

Already the United Nations, especially the Security Council, has done much to fulfill its original mission and to build this global community. U.N. leadership has been critical in resolving conflicts and brokering peace the entire world over. But securing democracy and securing the peace in the century ahead will be no simple task. Imperial communism may have been vanquished, but that does not end the challenges of our age. Challenges that must be overcome if we are finally to end the divisions between east and west, north and south that fuel strife and strain and conflict and war.

As we support the historic growth of democracy around the world, I believe the community of nations and the United Nations face three critical interrelated challenges as we enter the 21st century:

First, we face the political challenge of keeping today's peace and preventing tomorrow's wars. As we see daily in Bosnia and Somalia and Cambodia, everywhere conflict claims innocent lives, the need for enhanced peacekeeping capabilities has never been greater, the conflicts we deal with more intractable, the costs of conflict higher.

And, second, we face the strategic challenge of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction -- truly the fastest growing security challenge to international peace and order.

And, third, we face the common economic challenge of promoting prosperity for all, of strengthening an open, growth-oriented free market international economic order while safeguarding the environment.

Meeting these challenges will require us to strengthen our collective engagement. It will require us to transform our collective institutions. And, above all, it will require that each of us look seriously at our own governments and how we conduct our international affairs. We, too, must change our institutions and our practices if we are to make a new world of the promise of today; if we're to secure a 21st century peace.

With you today, I would like to discuss these three challenges -- peacekeeping, proliferation and prosperity. And I'd like to use this opportunity to begin to sketch how I believe the international community can work together to meet these three challenges, and how the United States is changing its institutions and policies to catalyze this effort.

Let me begin with peacekeeping. The United Nations has a long and distinguished history of peacekeeping and humanitarian relief. From Cyprus and Lebanon to Cambodia and Croatia, the blue beret has become a symbol of hope amid all that hostility. And the U.N. has long played a central role in preventing conflicts from turning into wars, and strengthened peacekeeping capabilities can help buttress these diplomatic efforts.

But, as much as the United Nations has done, it can do much more. Peacekeepers are stretched to the limit while demands for their services increase by the day. The need for

monitoring and preventive peacekeeping, putting people on the ground before the fighting starts, may become especially critical in volatile regions. This is especially the case because of the rapid and turbulent change that continues to shake Eastern Europe and Eurasia.

Across the lands that once were imprisoned behind an Iron Curtain, peoples are reasserting their historical identities that were frozen in communism's catacomb. Where this is taking place in a democratic manner with tolerance and civility and respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms, this new democratic nationalism is all to the good.

But, unfortunately, we need only look to the bloody battles raging in places such as the former Yugoslavia to see the dangers of ethnic violence. This is the greatest threat to the democratic peace we hope to build with Eastern Europe, with Russia and Eurasia; even more so than economic deprivation.

We fully support the efforts of NATO and CSCE and WEU, the CIS and other competent regional organizations to develop peacekeeping capabilities. We are convinced that enhanced U.N. capabilities, however, are a necessary complement to these regional efforts, not just in Europe and Eurasia, but across the globe.

I welcome the Secretary General's call for a new agenda to strengthen the United Nations' ability to prevent, contain and resolve conflict across the globe. And today I call upon all members to join me in taking bold steps to advance that agenda. I, therefore, will be discussing with my colleagues the merits of a special meeting of the U.N. Security Council to discuss the Secretary General's proposals and to develop concrete responses in five key areas.

One: Robust peacekeeping requires men and equipment that only members states can provide. Nations should develop and train military units for possible peacekeeping operations and humanitarian relief. And these forces must be available on short notice at the request of the Security Council and with the approval, of course, of the governments providing them.

Two: If multinational units are to work together, they must train together. Many nations -- for example, Fiji, Norway, Canada and Finland -- have a long history of peacekeeping. And we can all tap into that experience as we train for expanded operations. Effective multinational action will also require coordinated command-and-control and interoperability of both equipment and communications. Multinational planning; training; field exercises will be needed. These efforts should link up with regional organizations.

And, three: We also need to provide adequate logistical support for peacekeeping and humanitarian operations. Member states should designate stockpiles of resources necessary to meet humanitarian emergencies, including famines, floods, civil disturbances. And this will save valuable time in a crisis.

And four: We will need to develop planning, crisis management, and intelligence capabilities for peacekeeping and humanitarian operations.

And five: We must ensure adequate, equitable financing for U.N. and associated peacekeeping efforts.

As I said, we must change our national institutions if we are to change our international relations. So let me assure you: The United States is ready to do its part to strengthen world peace by strengthening international peacekeeping.

MORE

For decades, the American military has served as a stabilizing presence around the globe. And I want to draw on our extensive experience in winning wars and keeping the peace to support U.N. peacekeeping.

I have directed the United States Secretary of Defense to place a new emphasis on peacekeeping. Because of peacekeeping's growing importance as a mission for the United States military, we will emphasize training of combat, engineering and logistical units for the full range of peacekeeping and humanitarian activities.

And we will work with the United Nations to best employ our considerable lift, logistics, communications and intelligence capabilities to support peacekeeping operations. And we will offer our capabilities for joint simulations and exercises to strengthen our ability to undertake joint peacekeeping operations. There is room for all countries, large and small, and I hope all will play a part.

Member states, as always, must retain the final decision on the use of their troops, of course. But we must develop our ability to coordinate peacekeeping efforts so that we can mobilize quickly when a threat to peace arises, or when people in need look to the world for help.

I have further directed the establishment of a permanent peacekeeping curriculum in U.S. military schools. Training plainly is key. The United States is prepared to make available our bases and facilities for multinational training and field exercises. One such base, nearby, with facilities is Fort Dix. America used these bases to win the Cold War. And today, with that war over, they can help build a lasting peace.

The United States is willing to provide our military expertise to the United Nations to help the U.N. strengthen its planning and operations for peacekeeping. And we will also broaden American support for monitoring, verification, reconnaissance and other requirements of U.N. peacekeeping or humanitarian assistance operations.

And, finally, the United States will review how we fund peacekeeping and explore new ways to ensure adequate American financial support for U.N. peacekeeping and U.N. humanitarian activities. I do believe that we must think differently about how we ensure and pay for our security in this new era.

While the end of the Cold War may have ended, the superpower nuclear arms competition, regional competition, weapons of mass destruction continue. Over 20 countries have or are developing nuclear, chemical or biological weapons and the means to deliver them. At a time when the United States and its former adversaries are engaged in deep historic cuts in our nuclear arsenals, our children and grandchildren will never forgive us if we allow new and unstable nuclear standoffs to develop around the world.

We believe the Security Council should become a key forum for nonproliferation enforcement. The Security Council should make clear its intention to stem proliferation and sanction proliferators. Reaffirming assurances made at the time the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty was negotiated, I proposed that the Security Council reassure the non-nuclear states that it will seek immediate action to provide assistance in accordance with the charter to any non-nuclear weapons state party to the NPT that is a victim of an act of aggression or an object of threat of aggression involving nuclear weapons.

And I also call for the indefinite renewal of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty when it is reviewed in 1995. I believe we must explore ways that we can strengthen linkages

Between these suppliers' clubs, the nuclear suppliers group, Australia group and the missile technology control regime, and specialized U.N. agencies. Here, I would like to note UNSCOM's productive efforts to dismantle the Iraqi weapons of mass destruction program and the International Atomic Energy Agency's continuing good work.

But as the U.N. organizations adapt to stop proliferation, so, too, must every member state change its structures to advance our nonproliferation goals.

In that spirit, I want to announce my intention today to work with the United States Congress to redirect the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, known to some of you as ACDA, to refocus its talents on providing technical support for nonproliferation, weapons monitoring and destruction, and global defense conversion.

Under the direction of the Secretary of State, ACDA should be used not only in completing the traditional arms control agenda, but, just as importantly, in providing technical assistance on our new security agenda.

Even as we work to prevent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, we must be realistic and guard ourselves against proliferation that has already taken place. And, therefore, we're working toward a cooperative system for defense against limited ballistic missile attacks. And we fully intend to have other nations participate in this global protection system.

And while expanded peacekeeping capabilities and improved nonproliferation efforts will be critical for building and enduring peace, shared economic growth is the long-term foundation for a brighter future, well into the next century. And that's why I stated yesterday, during a moment of international uncertainty that the United States would be strongly engaged with its global partners in building a global economic, financial and trading structure for this new era. At the same time I urge that our global responsibilities lead us to examine ways to strengthen the G-7 coordination process. And I affirmed America's support for European integration that opens markets and enhances Europe's capability to be our partner in the great challenges that we face in this new era.

While the exact form of integration is, of course, for Europeans to determine, we will stand by them. Economic growth is not a zero-sum process. All of us will benefit from the expanded trade and investment that comes from a vibrant, growing world economy.

And to ensure that the benefits of this growth are sustained and shared by all, fair and open competition should be the fuel for the global economic engine. And that's why the United States wants to complete the Uruguay Round of the GATT negotiations as soon as possible and to create a network of free trade agreements beginning with the North American Free Trade Agreement. At the same time we need to recognize that we have a shared responsibility to foster and support the free market reforms necessary to build growing economies and vibrant democracies in the developing world and in the new democratic states. This should be done by promoting the private sector to build these new economies, not by fostering dependency with traditional government-to-government foreign aid.

Since World War II, foreign assistance often served as a weapon in the Cold War. Obviously, we will still use critical foreign assistance funds to meet legitimate security needs. And as our humanitarian operations in Somalia and northern Iraq, Bosnia and the former Soviet Union will testify, we will continue our robust humanitarian assistance efforts to help those suffering from manmade and natural disasters.

But foreign aid, as we've known it, needs to be transformed. The notion of the handout to less-developed countries needs to give way to cooperation in mutually productive economic relationships. We know that the more a nation relies on the private sector and free markets, the higher its rate of growth. The more open to trade, the higher its rate of growth. And the better a country's investment climate, the higher its rate of growth.

To move from aid, what I would call "aid dependency," to economic partnership, we propose to alter fundamentally the focus of U.S. assistance programs to building strong, independent economies that can become contributors to a healthy, growing global economy.

Now, that means that our new emphasis should be on building economic partnerships among our private sectors that will promote prosperity at home and abroad, also. And working with our Congress, I will propose a top-to-bottom overhaul of our institutions that plan and administer foreign assistance, drastically reducing the bureaucracy that has built up around government-based programs; streamlining our delivery systems; and strengthening support for private sector development and economic reform.

The Agency for International Development, AID, another institution born during the Cold War, needs to be fundamentally and radically overhauled. Promoting economic security, opportunity and competitiveness will become a primary mission of the State Department.

Our assistance efforts should not be charity. On the contrary, they should promote mutual prosperity. Therefore, using existing foreign affairs resources, I will propose creating a \$1-billion growth fund. The fund will provide grants and credits to support U.S. businesses in providing expertise, goods and services desperately needed in countries undertaking economic restructuring.

And I will also support significantly increasing the programs of the Export-Import Bank to ensure that U.S. products and technology promote investment in worldwide economic growth. The United States will work with its global partners, especially the G-7 nations, to enhance global growth at this key point in world history as we end one era and begin another. None of us can afford insular policies. Each of us must contribute through greater coordinated action to build a stronger world economy.

Ladies and gentlemen, I realize that what I've outlined today is an ambitious agenda. But we live in remarkable times -- times when empires collapse, ideologies dissolve and walls crumble; times when change can come so fast that we sometimes forget how far and how fast we've progressed in achieving our hopes for a global community of democratic nations.

And in the face of today's changes, with the loss of so much that was familiar and predictable, there is now a great temptation for people everywhere to turn inward and to build walls around themselves. Walls against trade, walls against people, walls against ideas and investment, walls against anything at all that appears new and different.

As the Berlin Wall fell, these walls, too, must fall. They must fall because we cannot separate our fate from that of others. Our peace is so interconnected, our security so intertwined, our prosperity so interdependent that to turn inward and retreat from the world is to invite disaster and defeat. At the threshold of a new century we can truly say a more peaceful, more secure, more prospering future beckons to us. And for the sake of our children and our grandchildren, and for the sake of those who perished during the Cold War, and for the sake of every

MORE

man, woman and child who kept freedom's flame alive even during the darkest noon, let us pledge ourselves to make that future real. And let us pledge ourselves to fulfill the promise of a truly United Nations.

Thank you and may God bless you all. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

11:31 A.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(New York City, New York)

For Immediate Release

September 21, 1992

TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to approval, I transmit herewith the Headquarters Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Organization of American States ("the Agreement"), signed at Washington on May 14, 1992. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the Report of the Department of State with respect to this Agreement.

The Agreement will place the status of the Organization of American States ("OAS") in the United States on a clear legal basis and will underscore our commitment to the Organization. The Agreement in large measure elaborates and codifies the existing arrangements governing the presence of the headquarters of the OAS in the United States. However, it departs from existing arrangements in several respects. It extends diplomatic agent-level privileges and immunities to a small number of high level OAS officials. It exempts non-U.S. national OAS officials from state and local as well as federal income tax on their OAS earnings and benefits. It affords the OAS immunity from judicial process but in exchange for such immunity obligates the OAS to resolve certain (mainly commercial) disputes through a mutually agreed mechanism or, failing agreement, to submit such disputes to binding arbitration.

Although the Agreement provides that the U.S. will not exclude or expel OAS officials or experts for acts performed in their official capacity, Article XVII specifically states that "nothing in this Agreement shall be construed as in any way limiting the right of the United States to safeguard its own security, or its right completely to control the entrance of aliens into any territory of the United States."

Other provisions address the form and substance of the Official Travel Document; the procurement of communications facilities by the OAS; the disposition of the headquarters property in the event the OAS should cease to maintain headquarters in Washington; the provision of public services to the headquarters; and the privileges and immunities accorded OAS officials and experts.

No implementing legislation is required for the United States to perform its obligations under the Agreement. As a treaty, the Agreement will override federal, state, and local law with respect to privileges, immunities and exemptions to the extent such laws are inconsistent with its provisions. The provisions of the Agreement are

more

(OVER)

not inconsistent with U.S. immigration laws, which will provide the basis for meeting the commitments established by the Agreement for the admission of aliens.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Agreement and give its advice and consent to approval.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
September 21, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(New York City, New York)

For Immediate Release

September 21, 1992

The President today recognized the volunteers of Southern Mutual Help Association of New Iberia, Louisiana, as the 899th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. The volunteers create a decent, drug-free, safe, and clean environment in communities that are suffering economically.

Founded in 1969, the Southern Mutual Help Association transforms rural areas of Louisiana into self-sustaining and prosperous communities. A corps of 30 volunteers helps the staff locate a town in need of assistance and recruits other volunteers from the targeted community and surrounding area for revitalization work. The Association will provide support only where a group of volunteers from the community itself is committed to improving the neighborhoods. Volunteers do all the carpentry, painting, trash removal, and some construction work to build emergency housing and renovate existing structures. They also provide computer literacy and leadership training to raise the self-esteem and vocational skills of community residents. By offering resources, training, and skills development, volunteers lay a foundation of hope for the future.

Another important initiative of the Southern Mutual Help Association is individualized substance abuse counseling and support groups. The volunteers created a drug reduction task force to mobilize community members to rid their neighborhoods of drug addiction. They have reported unusually successful results - drug use reduced in many areas by as much as 50 percent, according to Assistant Executive Director and Co-Founder Lorna Bourg.

In the aftermath of Hurricane Andrew, the Association has been especially busy in Louisiana. Volunteers from around the Nation are working with it to remove debris and construct roofs in areas near the Gulf of Mexico, such as Four Corners, Sorrel, Glenco, Websterville, Ashton, and Centerville.

The President salutes the volunteers of Southern Mutual Help Association 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

(New York City, New York)

For Immediate Release

September 21, 1992

The President today designated Charles R. Hilty, of Ohio, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for Administration, to be Chief Financial Officer of the Department of Agriculture. He will serve in these positions concurrently. This is a new position.

Currently, Mr. Hilty serves as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for Administration. Prior to this, he served as Associate Deputy Secretary of Agriculture, 1991. Mr. Hilty has also served as Minority Staff Director for the House Committee on Agriculture in the United States House of Representatives, 1984-1991; and as Administrative Assistant in the Office of Congressman Edward Madigan, 1978-1984.

Mr. Hilty was graduated from Bowling Green State University (B.S., 1960). He served in the Ohio National Guard, 1960-1966. He was born November 6, 1934 in Bluffton, Ohio. Mr. Hilty is married and currently resides in Washington, D.C.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

(New York City, New York)

For Immediate Release

September 21, 1992

The President today accorded the personal rank of Ambassador to Robert L. Hutchings, of Virginia, in his capacity as Special Adviser for East European Assistance.

Dr. Hutchings currently serves as Special Adviser for East European Assistance. From 1989-1992, he served as Director for European Affairs with the National Security Council. Dr. Hutchings has also served as a Professorial Lecturer in Soviet Studies for the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University, 1986-1990. He has also served as Assistant National Intelligence Officer for Europe with the National Intelligence Council, 1986-1989; and Deputy Director of Radio Free Europe in Munich, West Germany, 1979-1985.

Dr. Hutchings was graduated from the United States Naval Academy (B.S., 1969); William & Mary College (M.A., 1975); and University of Virginia (Ph.D., 1979). He served in the United States Navy, 1969-1974. He was born July 3, 1946 in Bainbridge, Maryland. Dr. Hutchings is married, has one child and resides in Falls Church, Virginia.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

(New York City, New York)

For Immediate Release

September 21, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Charles F. Little, of West Virginia, to be United States Marshal for the Northern District of West Virginia for the term of four years. He would succeed Ronald A. Donell.

Since 1974, Mr. Little has served as a Special Agent for the Internal Revenue Service of the United States Treasury Department. Prior to this, he served as a police officer with the West Virginia State Police, 1960-1974; as a surveyor for Stegmas and Schelhas, 1959-1960; and as a roadman for the West Virginia Department of Highways, 1958-1959.

Mr. Little was graduated from West Virginia State University (B.A., 1988). He was born March 14, 1939 in Davisville, West Virginia. Mr. Little is married, has two children and resides in Davisville, West Virginia.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

(New York City, New York)

For Immediate Release

September 21, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Mark Johnson, of Montana, 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 Senegal. He would succeed Katherine Shirley.

Since 1991, Mr. Johnson has served as Executive Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Management at the United States Department of State. He has served in several position with the Department of State, including: Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassy in Kuwait City, Kuwait, 1991; Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassy in Cairo, Egypt, 1989-1990; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs, 1986-1989; Economic Counselor at the American Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, 1983-1986; and a Legislative Management Officer in the Office of Legislative Affairs, 1981-1983.

Mr. Johnson was graduated from Georgetown University (B.S., 1968) and George Washington University (M.A., 1970). He was born January 12, 1946 in Twin Falls, Idaho. Mr. Johnson currently resides in Great Falls, Montana.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

(New York City, New York)

For Immediate Release

September 21, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert Gregory Joseph, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (Bureau of Verification and Intelligence). He would succeed Manfred Eimer.

Since 1990, Dr. Joseph has served as United States Commissioner to the United States Standing Consultative Commission at the Department of State. From 1987-1990, he served as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Nuclear Forces and Arms Control at the United States Department of Defense. He has also served as Director of Theater Nuclear Forces at the Department of Defense, 1985-1987; and as the United States Representative to the Nuclear Planning Group at NATO Headquarters in Brussels, Belgium, 1982-1985.

Dr. Joseph was graduated from St. Louis University (B.A., 1972); the University of Chicago (M.A., 1973); and Columbia University (M.Ph.L., 1976; Ph.D., 1978). He was born September 29, 1949 in Williston, North Dakota. Dr. Joseph is married, has two children and resides in Alexandria, Virginia.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

(New York City, New York)

For Immediate Release

September 21, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Blaine B. Goff, of Iowa, to be United States Marshal for the southern District of Iowa for the term of four years. He would succeed Warren. D. Stump.

Since 1956, Chief Goff has been employed by the Iowa State Patrol of the Department of Public Safety beginning as a patrolman and moving progressively upward to his current position as Chief. He has served as Chief of the Iowa State Patrol since 1988. Chief Goff served in the United States Marine Corps, 1951-1954. He was born May 21, 1932 in Wayland, Iowa. He is married, has two children and resides in Des Moines, Iowa.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(New York City, New York)

For Immediate Release

September 21, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Mark McCampbell Collins, Jr., of the District of Columbia, to be United States Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for a term of two years. He would succeed E. Patrick Coady.

Since 1991, Mr. Collins has served as United States Alternative Executive Director at the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. From 1989-1991, he served as Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for International Affairs at the United States Department of Treasury. Mr. Collins has also served as Vice President of Project and Specialized Finance at First Boston Corporation, 1984-1989; and as a Research Assistant for the Commission on United States Policy Toward Southern Africa, 1979-1982.

Mr. Collins was graduated from Middlebury College (B.A., 1979) and Columbia Graduate School of Business (M.B.A., 1983). He was born November 8, 1956 in Morristown, New Jersey. Mr. Collins is married, has one child and resides in Washington, D.C.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

(New York City, New York)

For Immediate Release

September 21, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Marshall Fletcher McCallie, of Tennessee, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, to be Ambassador of the United States of America to the Republic of Namibia. He would succeed Genta Hawkins Holmes.

Since 1990, Mr. McCallie has served as Deputy Chief of Mission at the United States Embassy in Pretoria, South Africa. Prior to this, Mr. McCallie served in several positions with the United States Department of State, including: Deputy Chief of Mission at the United States Embassy in Lusaka, Zambia, 1988-1990; Director of the Junior Officer Division with the Bureau of Personnel, 1986-1988; Nigeria Desk Officer with the Bureau of African Affairs, 1984-1986; Political Counselor at the United States Embassy in Monrovia, Liberia, 1982-1984; and Economic Officer at the United States Embassy in Abu Dhabi, 1979-1982.

Mr. McCallie was graduated from Vanderbilt University (B.A., 1967) and The Fletcher School at Tufts University (M.A. and MALD, 1974). He served in the United States Air Force, 1967-1971. He was born June 21, 1945 in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Mr. McCallie is married, has two children and resides in Washington, D.C.

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Mr. Robert E. Allen
Chairman of the Board
and Chief Executive Officer
AT&T Corporation
295 North Maple
Basking Ridge, New Jersey 07920

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON
September 21, 1992

Dear Bob,

Just a quick note of thanks for all you did for the event on Friday. I really enjoyed speaking to the employees of AT&T and appreciate their warm and enthusiastic greeting. Thanks, too, for the video telephone.

It was great seeing you in New Jersey. Best wishes.

Sincerely,

*I salute AT&T
for permitting political
discussion in election
year. A lot cover and more. You do it!*

4001 Nebraska Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20016
202 885-4548

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Pending Daily 9/21
Timothy J. Russert
Moderator

8/18/92

Marlin has closed this file for now. He has regretted the debut show for 20 Sept, but has left the invite open for a "maybe" some time in the future.

August 21, 1992

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

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/21

Dear Mr. President:

Congratulations on your convention.

As you may have read, beginning Sunday, September 20, 1992, *Meet the Press* will be expanded to one hour every week.

We would very much like to have you as our premiere guest for the full hour. The panel would be Tom Brokaw and John Chancellor.

We are confident this debut of *Meet the Press* in its new one-hour format will receive considerable attention.

I hope you will take advantage of this opportunity to have a serious and substantive discussion on the issues confronting the nation.

Sincerely,

Timothy J. Russert

9/21

HEROES:

Continued from A1

voke Franklin D. Roosevelt as a role model; Republicans cite Abraham Lincoln.

But this year the practice has reached a new peak, with battles over which candidate most resembles Truman, and a pantheon of other comparisons from Martin Van Buren to British Prime Minister John Major.

In a turnabout from the usual practice, President Bush, a Republican, has sprinkled his speeches with references to eminent Democrats, most notably Truman, the feisty President who shook off dismal standings in the polls to win reelection in 1948.

Democrat Clinton too has likened himself to Truman, as well as to Kennedy, who ran in 1960 as a youthful challenger to the graying Administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, and to Roosevelt, who ousted the Republicans in the Depression year of 1932.

The comparisons are usually inaccurate, historians say, but that doesn't mean they're all bad. Instead, the scholars say, these uses and misuses of history actually serve a deep national purpose.

"It's a psychological thing," says James MacGregor Burns, the American historian now retired from Amherst College in Massachusetts. "I don't think they care about accuracy. The point is that they're appealing to symbols—symbols of the virtues we want to see in our leaders, like courage and honesty and leadership. It is a way of claiming that they will be leaders, like the great leader-presidents. . . . And that's kind of good, even if it's inaccurate."

At the least, it reaffirms the fundamental standards and values that apply to the presidency. However cynically they may have invoked the hallowed names, they must accept the standards of judging their own performance that doing so implies.

"Politicians play this game for reasons that are useful to them," added Stephen Hess, a scholar on the presidency at Washington's Brookings Institution. "George Bush wants you to think he's Harry Truman? OK, fair enough. . . . [At

Candidates Invoke Ghosts in the Mirror

By DOYLE McMANUS
and JAMES GERSTENZANG
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON — Is George Bush another Harry S. Truman, giving 'em hell in a campaign against a do-nothing Congress? Is Bill Clinton another John F. Kennedy, getting America moving again?

Or are they merely remakes of Gerald R. Ford and Jimmy Carter—two mediocre candidates fighting for the votes of an unenthusiastic electorate?

Every presidential campaign tries to cast its candidate in the mold of Mt. Rushmore, summoning the ghosts of leaders past to inspire the voters of today. Democrats traditionally in-

Please see HEROES, A5

Echoes of Past Leaders Heard in Campaigns

9/21

least] it has some educational value. People ask, 'Who's Harry Truman?'"

Presidents and presidential candidates have tried to turn historical icons to their political advantage since the founding of the Republic.

George Washington's supporters often compared him to Cincinnatus, the noble Roman general who desired only to return to his farm. In 1840, Van Buren and his opponent, William Henry Harrison, both cast themselves in the image of the most popular President of the age, Andrew Jackson. In 1948, Truman—today's icon of choice—ran as Roosevelt's heir and compared himself to another heroic figure: Citation, the celebrated thoroughbred of the period who came from behind to win the Kentucky Derby.

Clinton has been quite deliberate in his use of history. Burns says the Clinton campaign has even called him to make sure its analogies are sound. (He warned them to be careful of FDR, who was often accused of holding more than one position on the same issue—the "Slick Willie" of his day.)

But Clinton has been careful to keep his metaphors under control and rarely dwells explicitly on either Kennedy or Roosevelt. "Americans don't appreciate someone coming on stage and representing himself as someone else," said David Kusnet, the Democratic candidate's chief speech writer—especially when it means assuming the stature of a revered hero.

Bush, on the other hand, may have stumbled in trying to appropriate Truman as a model. The gambit drew an angry denunciation from Truman's daughter, novelist Margaret Truman Daniel, who said her father would have backed Clinton. And reporters forced Bush to acknowledge that in the epic 1948 election, he voted for Truman's hapless opponent, Republican Thomas E. Dewey.

Rep. Barney Frank, a Massachusetts Democrat, jokingly said of the Republicans: "They love dead Democrats."

The tiff over Truman was a prime example of how history is reinvented by

each generation to suit its own purposes. When Truman left office in 1953, he was reviled as a failure; his popularity rating stood at only 23%, the lowest recorded for any President. But in recent years, the reputation of the salty, plain-speaking Missourian has been revived as a symbol of honesty and decisiveness.

"Truman was the most disliked President ever," historian Stephen Ambrose

'I don't think they care about accuracy. The point is that they're appealing to symbols—symbols of the virtues we want to see in our leaders, like courage and honesty and leadership. It is a way of claiming that they will be leaders, like the great leader-presidents. And that's kind of good, even if it's inaccurate.'

JAMES MACGREGOR BURNS
American historian

noted. "And now they're fighting for his mantle. God—politics!"

Bush rediscovered Truman this summer as he wrestled with the dilemma of running despite an opposition-controlled Congress and sinking popularity in the polls, the situation that faced Truman in 1948.

Someone gave the President a copy of a best-selling Truman biography. Its author, David McCullough, was invited to the White House to give a lecture. And the rest, as they say, is history.

On Labor Day, Bush declared that Truman "was a man of decisiveness, not equivocation. He'd find little in common with Gov. Clinton."

Clinton countered with a speech in Truman's hometown of Independence, Mo.,

"George Bush cast his first vote against Harry Truman, and he has spent four years fighting against everything Harry Truman fought for."

By now, a senior White House official acknowledged, Bush has gotten as much help from Truman as the 32nd President is likely to provide, and has quietly taken the Democrat out of his speeches.

"Everyone who is behind appeals to Truman—and usually doesn't make it," the official said. "It is a ridiculous comparison, frankly. It is too long ago. And Clinton isn't Dewey. But '48 is what we'd like," he admitted.

That typifies the other use of historical analogies in election years: the search for a precedent that might suggest how this contest will turn out.

Is this 1948, where an unpopular President will surge from behind by lambasting his opponent without mercy?

"No," says Hess. "The economy was good in '48, and it isn't today."

Is this 1976, where a young Southern Democratic governor will overwhelm a recession-harried Republican President?

"Maybe," says Jody Powell, who was press secretary to Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter that year. "You have a majority of the voting public that is inclined not to reelect the President. What Clinton needs to do is remind people why they are so inclined, and make them comfortable enough with him to act on that."

Oddly enough, some Republicans like the 1976 analogy too. "We came from behind and almost caught up with Carter," said one. "We only have to do a little better this time."

James A. Baker III, the *eminence grise* behind the Bush effort today, was Gerald R. Ford's chief strategist in 1976. GOP insiders' question this year: Can Baker overcome a deficit even greater than the one he failed to overcome 16 years ago?

Or is it 1988, when a relentless negative campaign by the Republican can demolish the Democrat's seemingly formidable lead?

"No, unfortunately," said a senior White

House official who helped Bush win that race against Democrat Michael S. Dukakis. Clinton has proven to be no Dukakis; Bush is defending his record amid a painful recession.

The Clinton campaign's favorite analogy, naturally enough, is 1932, when FDR knocked Herbert Hoover's Republicans out of the White House for a generation.

"It's a stretch," said historian Ambrose, "but you can make a case for 1932. You've got a country that wants change . . . [and] a President in power who said I don't have anything new to offer, but the other guy would be a disaster."

Four years ago, Bush liked to joke that his favorite campaign was not 1932 but 1836—the last election that elevated an incumbent vice president to the Oval Office, the memorable Van Buren.

You don't hear much talk around the White House these days about Van Buren's 1840 reelection campaign. He lost. Instead, White House aides are casting their eyes toward an unusual but more congenial analogy—the surprise reelection last April of British Prime Minister John Major.

The polls—even those taken as voters exited the polling booth—consistently predicted that Major would lose. But the Conservative leader won a whopping 8-point victory.

"The British elections are the ones that apply," argued Bush campaign aide James Pinkerton. "The Conservatives stressed the fundamental importance of the economic issues. . . . It's inspiring to listen to these guys."

The Bush campaign has even consulted Major's chief strategist, John Lacy, for advice.

But the news of Bush's new transatlantic role model has Clinton's aides unfazed.

Said one, borrowing a line from another campaign, of course: "We know George Bush. He's no John Major."

Times staff writers John M. Broder and David G. Savage also contributed to this story.

ATTACK: Anxious Campaign Chief Is Bracing for Battle

Continued from A1

bracing for Bush ads—expected imminently—attacking Clinton's responses on the issue as dishonest.

Bush officials find considerable solace in the Clinton camp's anxiety about the draft controversy. But they are wrestling with great uncertainties of their own, particularly the fear that the resounding silence that greeted the President's new economic plan means that many voters have already closed the book on Bush—no matter what he says.

"You could have that psychology going on," said one senior Bush campaign official. "But I can't buy into that. It's just dysfunctional for me to buy into that at this moment."

Looming over all these uncertainties is the man who has elevated unpredictability to an art form: Ross Perot. Perot has already shuffled the cards in the presidential race twice—once by announcing he would enter the race if volunteers placed him on the ballot in all 50 states, and a second time by announcing he would not.

Now he seems to be edging back toward declaring his candidacy—if only, he says, to ensure an airing for his views on how to cut the federal budget deficit. That prospect has sent the strategists and pundits back to their maps and computers, trying to divine the unknowable: how big a protest vote the Texas billionaire could

draw and whether it would hurt Bush or Clinton more.

At the moment, though, the prospect of Perot Redux is still a distant imponderable for two campaigns grappling with more immediate riddles.

For Clinton, the most pressing problem is finding a way to dispel the cloud of draft-related questions over his campaign.

The current round of interrogation began on Sept. 2, when the Los Angeles Times reported that Clinton's uncle, Raymond Clinton, had lobbied extensively to help him avoid being drafted. When the story was released, Clinton told reporters that the revelations—including news that his uncle had secured for him a billet in the Navy reserves—was "all news to me."

A few days later, his campaign acknowledged he had been informed about the Navy offer last spring; Clinton insisted his response referred to the broader question of his uncle's efforts, not the specific offer of the naval position, and that in any event he didn't know about the naval billet at the time.

Since that dust-up, Clinton has been buffeted by a steady barrage of Republican attacks on the issue, articles in the press examining the evolution of his account and modest new wrinkles in the story that have provided grist for further questions from reporters.

So far, Clinton aides insist, their

polling and focus groups show no damage from the issue; but they are watching the numbers like a doctor concerned that a low-grade fever might suddenly spike to life-threatening heights. Their anxiety is certain to intensify when Bush finally launches his ads attacking Clinton, probably on the draft and taxes. "Nobody knows quite how it is going to play," admits one Clinton adviser.

At the least, the draft issue has functioned like sand in the gears of Clinton's campaign machine. His

pect that some new fact will cause voters to reconsider positive assessments of their candidate. For Bush's campaign, the greatest uncertainty is whether anything will cause voters to reconsider negative assessments of their candidate.

For many Republicans, the muted public response to Bush's revised economic plan, released on Sept. 10 in Detroit, has demonstrated the depth of skepticism about his priorities after four years of dismal economic performance. Bush finally delivered the sweep-

remain in the White House for a second term to direct implementation of the President's economic ideas.

Others aren't sure there is anything the President can do to regain the trust of voters who lost faith in him after he broke his "read my lips, no new taxes" pledge from 1988. In the Washington Post on Saturday, veteran Republican pollster Richard Wirthlin memorably called those "the six most damaging words in the history of politics."

The fact that both candidates are so vulnerable to attacks of their credibility virtually guarantees they will spend the next few weeks trying to jab open the other's wounds. (Clinton on Sunday released an ad ridiculing Bush's economic record—the general election's first negative ad.) And that introduces another uncertainty, centered on Perot.

It's worth remembering one key reason for Perot's popularity in the first place: Many voters disdained both Clinton and Bush. Those feelings have abated somewhat, particularly in Clinton's case. But after several weeks of televised warfare between Clinton and Bush, Republican pollster Bill McInturff says, it's quite possible that by mid-October, each candidate may be viewed negatively by more than 40% of the public.

That kind of dissatisfaction could make a certain diminutive billion-

Bush officials find considerable solace in the Clinton camp's anxiety about the draft controversy. But they are wrestling with great uncertainties of their own.

eagerness to avoid new questions on the issue has forced him to curtail his access to the press; even so, these last two weeks, the three-way fencing match between Clinton, the GOP and the press on the controversy has overshadowed almost anything else he has done.

On Saturday, for instance, questions about the draft dominated a Little Rock, Ark., press conference at which Clinton was endorsed by retired Adm. William J. Crowe Jr., the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

For Clinton's campaign, the greatest uncertainty is the pros-

ing statement of his economic principles that critics have long clamored for—and virtually nothing happened.

"It's a credibility problem," said one senior Administration official. "People don't believe Bush is going to do it. People believe the speech is a campaign document, not a governing document—and that's crippling."

To reverse that verdict, some Republican activists believe that Bush may eventually be compelled to demonstrate his commitment in more tangible ways—such as convincing Chief of Staff James A. Baker III to announce that he will

Uncertainties Hang Over Bush, Clinton Camps

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

WASHINGTON—These days, the presidential campaign has the feel of a battlefield on the night before an offensive. Everyone knows hostilities will escalate soon—but no one except the generals knows exactly when, and no one at all knows which side will suffer most before they conclude. Nearly six weeks before Election Day, the campaigns of Bill Clinton and President Bush both seem embattled and uncertain. Neither side appears entirely confident of the ground beneath its feet.

On the surface, the presidential race has settled into a stable pattern: Since early September most national polls have shown Democrat Clinton holding 51% to 55% of

NEWS ANALYSIS

the vote, and President Bush mired around 40%, sometimes a little more, sometimes a little less.

That's an exceedingly strong position for a challenger, especially a Democrat. When Clinton hit 53% in a Gallup survey completed Sept. 11, it marked a historic milestone: In the history of the Gallup Poll, dating back to 1936, the only Democratic candidate ever to poll that high in mid-September was Lyndon B. Johnson en route to his landslide win over Barry Goldwater in 1964.

Even Franklin D. Roosevelt wasn't that high at this point in 1936, 1940 or 1944, says Larry Huggick, the managing editor of the Gallup Poll.

But the Clinton team's confidence in that lead has been tempered by the fear that more revelations are looming about his efforts to avoid service in Vietnam. When Clinton advisers pick up the phone to talk to a reporter, an anxious note infuses their inevitable first question: Is there anything new coming out on the draft? They're

Please see ATTACK, A5

9/21

Quayle Admits Joining Guard Cut His Risks

■ **Draft:** The vice president defends his actions during Vietnam in light of questions Bush camp has raised about Clinton's avoidance of military service.

By PAUL RICHTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Vice President Dan Quayle acknowledged Sunday that joining the National Guard in 1969 had sharply reduced his chances of being sent to Vietnam, but he insisted that avoidance of military service should not be an issue in the presidential election.

"Obviously, if you join the National Guard, you have less of a chance of going to Vietnam," Quayle said on NBC-TV's "Meet the Press." "I mean, that goes without saying."

The vice president, who has repeatedly attacked Democratic nominee Bill Clinton for his handling of the military service issue, did not answer directly when asked whether avoiding Vietnam was his motive in choosing the Indiana National Guard.

"There are a lot of factors in this," Quayle said. "... Obviously, there were a lot of choices that I had."

He said that by joining the Guard, "of course you had much less of a chance to go to Vietnam. But my unit could have been called up to go to Vietnam. And had it been called, I would have gone."

"Indiana guardsmen did go to Vietnam, and Indiana guardsmen were killed in Vietnam."

Less than 1% of the 2.5 million Americans who served in Vietnam were in the National Guard. Of the 58,000 GIs who were killed in the war, 97 were members of the National Guard.

Quayle said there was "no news" in a New York Times report on Sunday that said Quayle's special connections helped him win a coveted headquarters post in the Indiana National Guard at a time when others were being turned away.

The New York Times reported that Quayle was referred to the unit, which had openings, while others who did not have his connections were not. Other members of the headquarters unit told the newspaper that they too knew someone who knew who to call.

Anyone trying to join the Indiana National Guard by contacting a recruiter was told that it had no openings. There was a waiting list "in the thousands," the paper reported.

Quayle said the charges about how he got into the Guard were "hashed over in 1988."

"I never asked for any special treatment," he said. "No rules were broken, no regulations broken. There were openings. Thousands of people joined the Indiana National Guard in the year 1969, just like I did."

But Quayle said that military service is not a prerequisite for the presidency. "I don't think that military service one way or the other is a definitive character issue on whether you are fit to be president. In this respect, I believe that Clinton's problem is he has not told the truth."

... about how he avoided the draft, not whether he served. Clinton initially avoided the draft by agreeing to



Associated Press

Vice President Dan Quayle on "Meet the Press."

join an ROTC unit at the University of Arkansas; later, he backed out of that commitment. He got a high number in the lottery and was never drafted. Whether he knew of his draft number before he gave up his ROTC deferment is open to question. Earlier, his uncle had lobbied to get Clinton a slot in the Naval Reserves, which he did not take. Clinton says he was unaware of his uncle's lobbying until last spring.

"The issue is the truthfulness or lack thereof of Bill Clinton. He will not come clean with the American people," Quayle said.

David C. Beckwith, Quayle's press secretary, said Quayle was not worried in 1969 about avoiding combat duty because he believed that he could have easily gotten a desk job far from the front lines.

Rather, his concern in picking the Guard was finding a duty that would let him pursue his plan to go to law school without years of delay.

"He wanted to get on with his life," Beckwith said.

On another subject, Quayle seemed to suggest that the White House had not completely made up its mind on the pending cable TV re-regulation bill, although President Bush has indicated that he intends to veto the measure.

Quayle said that as a general principal, the Administration favors competition to control cable TV rates, rather than regulation. Cable was deregulated in 1984, and since then many customers have faced rapidly rising rates and poor service.

"The cities that grant these [franchises] can certainly be more competitive and have more openness..." Quayle said.

The bill was approved by the House on Thursday. This week it goes to the Senate floor for action. The White House has previously indicated that the measure faced a certain veto.

In keeping with Quayle's long-running feud with Hollywood, he said that tonight he'll be watching the season premiere of "Murphy Brown." The show has been the target of the vice president's "family values" campaign since the fictional anchorwoman gave birth to a child out of wedlock last season.

Quayle said he was a temporary resident in Hollywood.

"In the spirit of lightheartedness and joining in the fun, I have sent Murphy Brown's baby a gift and a note," he said.

9/21

Clinton Courts Democrats Who Have Strayed

■ **Democrats:** In Michigan, he attacks Bush's economic record to win voters back.

By EDWIN CHEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WARREN, Mich.—Democrat Bill Clinton Sunday made a strong pitch to woo wayward Democrats who have voted Republican in recent years, delivering a spirited attack on President Bush's economic record.

"It doesn't work," Clinton said of Bush's economic program. "It's time to scrap it."

At a midafternoon outdoor rally at Macomb County Community College, the Democratic presidential nominee said, referring to the Ronald Reagan Administration as well: "We've tried their way for 12 years. It does not work. It's time for a change."

In a state with high unemployment—about 10%—and deep concern about the North American Free Trade Agreement, Clinton told the rally that he favors free trade, but not at the expense of fair trade or environmental degradation. "I'll be for free and fair trade, he said."

Clinton also slammed Bush for refusing to participate in the general election campaign's first scheduled debate, which was to have been held Tuesday night in East Lansing, Mich., accusing the President of trying to hide from a debate about his record.

In keeping with Sunday's focus on the economy, his campaign also released two new 30-second television ads on the topic.

One ad constitutes a direct attack on Bush's economic record, although Clinton portrayed it as merely a contrast between economic realities and Bush's own words over the last four years.

The ad begins by showing Bush promising during his 1988 acceptance speech at the Republican convention to create "30 million jobs in the next eight years." Then the ad cuts to a screen showing the words: "1990, America's jobless rate hits a three-year high."

In another vignette, Bush is shown on July 2 of this year saying: "The economy continues to grow." The next screen has the words and this voice-over: "July 1992—unemployment is the highest in eight years."

The ad ends: "If George Bush doesn't understand the problem, how can he solve it? We can't afford four more years."

Clinton denied the ad constitutes negative advertising.

"I think the American people are entitled to know what he said all along," Clinton told reporters as he left Little Rock, Ark., Sunday morning.

The ad, the Arkansas governor said, "is what this election is all about. The election is about their record."

"I wanted to contrast my plan, which is consistent with what I've been talking about for years and years and years, with the statements and the record of the Bush Administration," he said.

The second ad shows Clinton criticizing "trickle-down economics" and then promising to "give [businesses] incentives to invest in new jobs" and to "spend more on

education and training." Clinton's communications director, George Stephanopoulos, said that both ads would begin airing Sunday night in "10 to 20 states." He did not specify them.

Bush Is Losing G.O.P.'s 24-Year Grip on Colorado

By R. W. APPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

DENVER, Sept. 16 — The last time Colorado voted for a Democrat for President was back in 1964, when Lyndon B. Johnson was the candidate. The next time could be this November.

President Bush is trailing Gov. Bill Clinton in this Rocky Mountain state, according to the most recent polls, and although there is still time for Mr. Bush to catch up, it will not be easy. He is widely seen here, even by some Republicans, as "a failed President, out of ideas and out of steam," said Thomas Cronin, a professor at Colorado College and a leading authority on the Presidency.

Colorado counts. Not because of its electoral votes (it has only eight), and not because it is a bellwether. It counts because it epitomizes a perilous problem for Mr. Bush: with only six weeks left until Election Day, he has still not secured many of the states that ought to constitute his base. And it counts because it shows that even in states

One Republican refers to "a storm of cynicism and disillusionment."

where the economy is on the upswing, as it is here after a painful recession in the mid-1980's, doubts about the nation's economic future are working against the President.

The President as Quarterback

Mr. Bush has already made two trips here this month. He spoke in the Denver suburbs on Tuesday, comparing himself not to Harry S. Truman but to another come-from-behind specialist, John Elway, the Denver Broncos' quarterback, and depicting his Democratic opponent, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, as a dyed-in-the-wool liberal who favors "more government intrusion, more regulation and more spending."

It was a high-risk attempt to capitalize on this region's mistrust of government. Colorado, the only state in the Union with a term-limitation law applicable to Congress, has long harbored suspicions toward Washington, but so far this year the President has been the main focus of what one Republican here calls "a storm of cynicism and disillusionment."

The Democrats are also pressing unusually hard in Colorado, with separate visits scheduled this week by Mr. Clinton; his wife, Hillary; his running-mate, Senator Al Gore of Tennessee, and the party's national chairman, Ronald H. Brown.

"People here are saying, 'Well, it's certainly not morning in America any more,'" acknowledged Howard (Bo) Callaway, a former Army Secretary and one-time state Republican chairman. "But they don't trust Clinton. That's why the draft issue matters. The President has said he isn't perfect, that he's made mistakes, that the economy's bad. What we have to do now is convince people it will get worse — a whole lot worse — if the Democrats win."

That approach, Mr. Callaway said, gave the Conservatives in Britain a surprise victory earlier this year, and

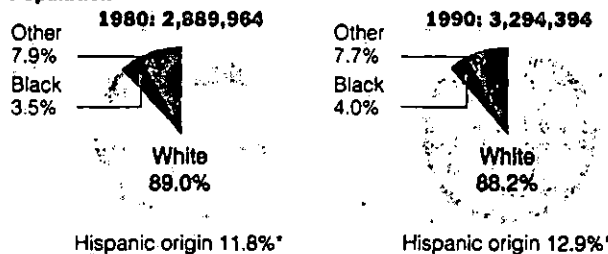
A Mind of Its Own

Colorado goes its own way. It has term limits for its politicians, but it has elected liberals like Gary Hart and Tim Wirth to the Senate. Now Ben Nighthorse Campbell, the only American Indian in Congress, who angers environmentalists with his emphasis on jobs, is the Democratic Senate nominee.

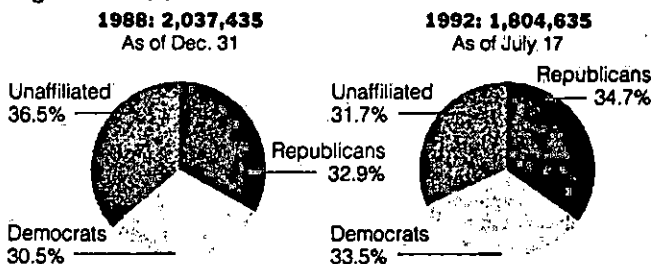


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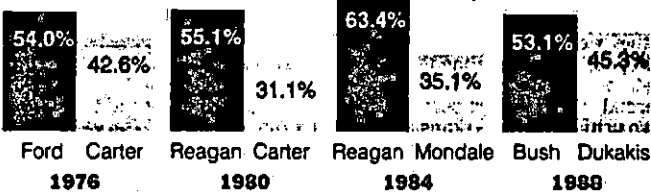
Population



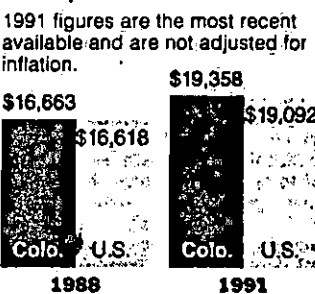
Registered Voters



How Colorado Has Voted in Presidential Elections

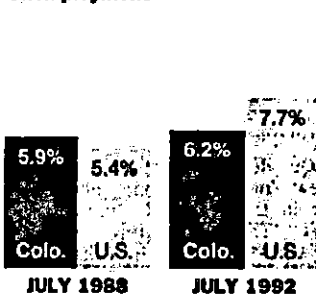


Per Capita Income



Sources: Census Bureau; America Votes; Colorado Election Commission; Colorado Department of Labor and Employment; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis; Bureau of Labor Statistics

Unemployment



could do the same for Mr. Bush in Colorado and in the nation.

Very Independent State

Senator Hank Brown, a Republican moderate, describes Colorado as "one of the most independent states in the country" with no deep-seated allegiances to either party. It has a Republican Senator and a Democratic Senator, a Republican-dominated Legislature and a Democratic Governor. Its

House delegation is evenly split. It has long been viewed as a bastion of abortion rights, yet it has cut off all state financing for abortions.

Chock full of young, well-educated and technologically sophisticated people, many of whom came here because of the mountains and the fresh air, the state has propelled onto the national stage such figures as former Senator Gary Hart and retiring Senator Tim Wirth, both new-breed Democrats.

Colorado's habit of voting Republican for President is ingrained; Robert Ewegen, a Denver Post columnist, said, "A lot of people think it's in our state Constitution that we go Republican in Presidential elections."

But Gov. Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts, a weak candidate nationally, lost to Mr. Bush by less than 10 percentage points four years ago. And moderate Democrats like Gov. Roy Romer and Representative Ben Nighthorse

Political Pulse

Colorado



horse Campbell are now the state's most popular breed of politician, which should augur well for Governor Clinton.

"Democrats here are changing," Mr. Romer said in an interview the other day, pulling from his briefcase a thoroughly annotated study of strategies to cut spending. "We used to be identified with the safety net and redistribution of wealth, but we've become involved with growth and budget control. There's no point in arguing about how to cut up the economic pie when the pie is shrinking so fast that it won't even feed everybody."

"Clinton understands that, and it is helping him in this state."

In addition, Colorado's baby boomers are intensely conscious of the environment, and Mr. Wirth argued that the presence of Mr. Gore on the ticket, with his credentials as one of the Senate's leading environmentalists, was helping Mr. Clinton to "hammer the President on that issue." Earlier this week Mr. Bush vowed to block renewal of the Endangered Species Act unless it took jobs into account, a position that widened the gap between himself and the Democrats.

But the Republican National Convention may have made Mr. Bush and his party look unacceptably extreme to swing voters in the Denver suburbs.

The attacks on homosexuals and on Mrs. Clinton, and the absolutist opposition to abortion that marked the Houston convention, Mr. Romer said, haven't gone down very well with "our pro-choice, two-job yuppies, who tend to be conservative on fiscal issues but libertarian on social questions."

Oppressive on Family Values

Former Senator Bill Armstrong, a fiscally conservative Republican who thinks Mr. Bush has a chance to carry Colorado if he can articulate his program, agreed with the Governor on the party's convention. "For my taste the family values stuff was pretty heavy-handed," Mr. Armstrong said. "In terms of style, it went too far for most people in this state."

But it suited the religious right perfectly, and the religious right has come to play a powerful role within the Republican Party. Representative David E. Skaggs, a Democrat who represents the Boulder area, faces a challenge this fall from Bryan Day, a fundamentalist minister who won a tight primary race. Foes of abortion also ousted several prominent Republican supporters of abortion rights, including State Senator Bonnie Allison, in the primaries.

But in the end, said Mr. Cronin, the Colorado College professor, neither the religious right nor the environmentalists will decide the election. With memories of hard times four and five years ago still fresh, he said, "out of 10 factors that are going to influence this election, the economy is 1, 2, 3 and 4."

The attacks on the President's economic stewardship by Patrick J. Buchanan in the early primaries and by Ross Perot after that, Mr. Cronin added, "hurt Bush more than most people realize, by peeling off supporters who have found it very difficult since then to return to the fold."

Mr. Perot had the backing of close to a quarter of Colorado voters when he pulled out of the race in July, and he retains a highly visible campaign office in downtown Denver. If he reacts to the campaign, he may tip the result here one way or the other.

Even if he does not, his erstwhile backers may hold the key. A poll for The Denver Post, taken Aug. 21 to Sept. 1, showed an eight-point lead for Mr. Clinton, 45 percent to 37 percent, with a

margin of sampling error of plus or minus four points. But 11 percent of the 618 respondents said they were undecided and 7 percent declined to respond, and politicians of both parties

suspect that many of them were former Perot supporters who dislike the President but still find themselves loath to give Mr. Clinton a chance at the job.

The New York Times

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Bush Tries to Recoup From Harsh Tone on 'Values'

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20 — A month after the Republican National Convention, much of President Bush's campaign is still directed at avoiding the harsh tone of the "family values" oratory in Houston, which party strategists have agreed was a mistake that damaged Mr. Bush's re-election effort.

In interviews the last few days, senior campaign and White House officials said the hostility expressed at the convention toward homosexuals, feminists, welfare recipients and women who identify with Hillary Clinton was a

result of a strategy that was poorly managed and consequently ran amok.

At the outset, Bush strategists had decided to use the convention to court the Republican right. But no one was assigned the task of trying to balance the presentation to prevent a zealous, one-note message. Now the White House is facing the task of setting the President's campaign back on a less damaging course in dealing with social issues without alienating the party's conservative wing.

The President is clearly striking for a more mainstream position on social issues than those taken at the conven-

tion, an effort that is perhaps most evident in the way he has dropped any mention of the party's support of a ban on abortion.

In general, the Bush campaign has been forced to soften its approach on issues once mapped for attack in the fall, including the ties between Gov. Bill Clinton and gay rights groups, and the contrast between the extended, grandchild-filled Bush clan and the Clintons' 1980's-style life partnership.

Even the assault on Mr. Clinton's draft record, which is central to the

Continued on Page A14, Column 1

Issues: 'Family Values'

Trying to Recoup From a Campaign's Strident Tone

Continued From Page A1

Bush team's strategy, has been recast to focus on the Democratic nominee's credibility, rather than his patriotism, courage or commitment to his country.

'A Gigantic Negative'

"You don't have to be a rocket scientist to figure out that whatever went on in Houston, fair or unfair, 'family values' took on a connotation that was a gigantic negative," said a senior Bush aide who would comment only if not identified. "So why in the world keep on using the words? Who would be that stupid? But no one is retreating from their principles, because that would be stupid, too. It's just different phrasing, different emphasis."

A diverse group of White House officials, campaign aides and party strategists laid much of the blame for the political fumble to the old team at the White House. Samuel K. Skinner had already resigned as chief of staff before the convention and James A. Baker 3d was not due to take over the job until the Monday after it ended.

The emergence now of the details of what went wrong in Houston seems intended in part to make Mr. Baker's team look good by contrast. But even Republicans outside Mr. Baker's circle say the convention went sour. The full extent of Mr. Baker's involvement in the convention is not known, but some Bush aides say he and his team deserve some blame for the convention's failures, being so intent on sticking to their vacation plans that they refused to become involved in the convention, except to work on Mr. Bush's own address.

In any event, there seems little doubt that insufficient coordination and supervision allowed Patrick J. Buchanan and others who were supposed to be supporting players to dominate the convention.

White House advisers say privately that Mr. Buchanan was permitted to kidnap the President's convention because its managers agreed in advance not to edit his speech. Many speeches were edited by Bush aides, but in addition to Mr. Buchanan's speech another controversial address, by the Rev. Pat Robertson, was allowed to go unchanged.

Bush aides say the convention was planned according to orders from the White House and was not intended to present a right-wing message. But some concede that their efforts to satisfy conservatives backfired, at least in terms of public perceptions.

Now, as the campaign tries to modulate its talk of "family values" without dropping the subject altogether, it has left itself open to renewed criticism that Mr. Bush lacks ideological focus and that their regrets are not about the image projected in Houston, but about the negative results.

Although some Republicans still insist that the Democrats and the news media organizations unfairly emphasized the conservatives' role in the convention, it is evident that the party is trying to define itself as more interested in the inclusive vision of family as defined by Barbara Bush than in the "religious war" espoused by Mr. Buchanan.

Rules for Speech Writers

Bush campaign literature now describes Mr. Bush as favoring "reasonable restrictions on abortions," when in fact he has long supported a constitutional ban. Vice President Dan Quayle, too, has forsaken anti-abortion battle cries in favor of supporting laws, like the one in Pennsylvania, that regulate abortion.

Under the direction of Mr. Baker's aide, Robert B. Zoellick, White House speech writers now must tightly link

specific policies like child care and education, and not to the way people



Vice President Dan Quayle on NBC "Meet the Press" yesterday.

choose to live their lives and conduct their marriages.

Mr. Quayle, who touched off the family values offensive with the speech in which he cited the television character Murphy Brown, has conducted a conscious effort to moderate his oratory. And Marilyn Quayle, who ad-libbed the "draft dodger" attack on Mr. Clinton in her convention speech, is now saying the attack was unfairly misinterpreted as an argument that some life choices are better than others.

But some Republicans said that a great deal of damage had already been done, especially in places like California where Mr. Bush was already having difficulties because of the weak economy.

Some See Fallout

"I have gotten a lot of feedback from California Republicans who believe that Bush's climb in this state is much steeper as a result of the convention, especially among moderate and liberal-leaning Republicans," said Donald Sipple, a Republican media consultant who had a falling-out with the Bush campaign earlier this year.

A senior Bush aide attributed much of the problem to the speeches by Mr. Robertson and Mr. Buchanan. "The convention was not supposed to be focused so much on family values," he said. "But you had two speeches that attracted an inordinate amount of attention, and then Marilyn Quayle's speech seemed to reach the critical mass."

Another official said: "There was inadequate editorial commentary or suggestion on those speeches. The people who were viewing and commenting on them and working with Robertson and Buchanan were simply not sensitive to the issues."

On the day after the convention, the simmering problem came to a boil.

Response to President

In Houston, Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, the House Republican whip, had tried out on campaign aides a line linking Mr. Clinton to Woody Allen's current troubles, and the aides begged him not to use it at an appearance he had scheduled with Mr. Bush the next day.

Mr. Gingrich went ahead anyway, forcing the White House to repudiate his remarks.

Then the President delivered the following line at a gathering of conservative Christians in Dallas: "I was struck by the fact that the other party took words to put together their platform but left out three simple letters: G-O-D."

The comment stirred a cry of protest from members of the clergy around the country and alarmed Mr. Bush's new team of advisers in Washington, officials said. It was no longer the President's surrogates, but Mr. Bush himself, who was at the center of the backlash over the convention.

"I am convinced everyone that regardless of the intention, the tone had gone badly wrong," a senior official said. "The unspoken conclusion was simply that we had to make it right, that we had to take a look at what we are saying and how we are saying it and change it."

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Econoblab on the Campaign Trail

By Herbert Stein

WASHINGTON

However different, the economic proposals of the two Presidential candidates share an important characteristic. They do not deal seriously with the country's three main, and different, economic problems: jobs, growth and poverty. The jobs problem is linked to the recession that began in 1990 and from which we are slowly recovering. This is the issue that makes economics the central concern of this election. The other complaints about the economy — sluggish growth, persistent poverty — were as valid in 1988 as they are now.

So a basic question is what programs the candidates have for accelerating the recovery and regaining high employment. The simple answer is that they have none. A recovery plan would have to consist of one or both of two elements. One would be monetary expansion. I have not read every word in the hurricane of statements made by President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton, but I have read Mr. Bush's "Agenda" and Mr. Clinton's "Plan" and heard a lot of other talk by or for them. I have not seen the words "monetary policy" or anything relating to it in either of their recent utterances, except a fleeting reference in Mr. Bush's Agenda to "sound money" as a good thing. Both candidates are silent on whether the Federal Reserve should increase the money supply faster and get interest rates down further in order to stimulate consumer demand and investment.

The other element of a temporary recovery plan could be tax cuts or spending increases. The timing of such a policy is critical, so that the effects will be felt when they are helpful and not when they are inflationary. This means the program must not raise important conflicts about ideology or sectoral interest, so that it can be quickly adopted once it is proposed. There must not be a long lapse of time for decision-making before money begins to flow and employment increases. Then, the plan — that is, the tax cuts or spending increases — must terminate when high employment is reached before inflation sets in.

In a speech in November 1991, Mr. Clinton seemed to express some interest in a program of this kind. But that has entirely fallen out of his picture. Mr. Bush had some elements of a recovery plan in his proposals in January and February, but they were not serious: a cut of the capital gains tax was the cornerstone of his plan, meaning it could not be adopted.

Both candidates now concentrate on an elaborate reconstruction of the Federal budget. The results, whatever they might be, would probably not be felt in time to contribute to a satisfactory return to high employment and would continue long after the need had passed. Effective anti-recession policy requires a suspension of controversy so that timely agreement on action can be reached. Neither party is open for that, especially during the campaign.

The Clinton and Bush plans focus not on jobs, despite their talk about that subject, but on the longer-run problem of growth. The growth problem is the productivity problem, the slow rise in output per worker since 1973. Nobody, not even all the Nobel Prize winners in economics, knows for sure how to correct that.

But there is agreement that an increase in investment would help. And almost everyone, including Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton, wants more investment. But there is disagreement about the best way to get the investment — by reducing the deficit (freeing up more private savings for productive capital), by spending more on infrastructure, by investing in education and job training, or by lowering taxes so that individuals and corporations would have more money to invest.

If we are to invest more in any of these forms, we will have to consume less — a smaller fraction of the national output, not necessarily a smaller absolute amount. But that means restraining the consumption of the middle class.

This means some combination of raising taxes on the middle class or cutting its Government benefits. The biggest benefit, and the one rising most rapidly, is Medicare. But our candidates are not heroes and are not willing to raise taxes on the middle class or cut their benefits.

Instead, Mr. Clinton tries to find the resources needed for more investment in four areas.

One, by raising taxes on the rich and on corporations. This would not reduce consumption much but would reduce private saving.

Two, by cutting defense spending below the Bush proposal. This is probably real, but provides funds for only about one-fifth of the amount of additional investment Mr. Clinton promises.

Three, by trimming other expenditures in vaguely specified ways that would require him to be more successful than his predecessors in making the Government more efficient.

Four, by having the Government "target" investment to the most productive, growth-promoting projects, either through spending or other encouragement. "Targeting" is one of Mr. Clinton's favorite words. He does

not seem to recognize the gap between aiming at the target and hitting it. There is no reason to think that the Government, no matter how many Massachusetts Institute of Technology professors advise it, would have more hits than misses.

Mr. Bush's growth policy emphasizes spending cuts, although he too is very chary of attacking the big benefits for the middle class. But he is also devoted to giving back in middle-class tax reduction whatever he can save by lower spending, so there would be no net cut in consumption and no release of resources for investment.

With respect to poverty, and the associated problem of the inner cities with their high rates of crime, illegitimacy, persistent unemployment and alienation, our candidates are no more encouraging. They call for many of the same right things — higher financing of Head Start, welfare reform, enterprise zones, job training, more police and so on. But neither man shows any sign of giving these ideas the priority they will require to be adopted in competition with other claims supported by more powerful forces.

Mr. Clinton seems to have no priorities at all. He recognizes a thousand problems and has a thousand solutions, and no one has precedence over any other. He claims to have one priority: he is for "people," meaning the middle class, meaning 98 percent of the population, meaning most voters. He embraces the poor within the middle class, and his policy for the poor is just part of his policy for the middle class. With such a strategy, the problems of the poor will not get the attention or resources they require.

Mr. Bush's priorities are unclear. But since the Los Angeles riots, if not before, he has had the opportunity to demonstrate how highly he rates the problems of poverty and the inner cities, and obviously he does not rate them very highly. Surely they rank below cutting capital gains taxes, for

I should not close on a gloomy note. We have a very rich and strong economy. Americans are capable and adaptable. The economy will recover, it will grow, and people will rise out of poverty. This would happen a little faster if our leaders were more courageous and insightful. But not much faster.

Herbert Stein is author, with Murray Foss, of "An Illustrated Guide to the American Economy." He was chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald R. Ford.

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Nothing Against Your Baby, Ms. Brown

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20 (AP) — Vice President Dan Quayle says he stands by his attack on Murphy Brown but is sending her baby a gift.

Mr. Quayle plans to watch the television comedy's season premiere Monday night with several single mothers.

The Vice President began a battle with Hollywood last May, when he accused the television show of glamorizing illegitimacy by having its lead character bear a child out of wedlock. He made the charge in a speech, saying that the Los Angeles riots were caused in part by "the poverty of values" and that

Hollywood was contributing to it.

The producers of "Murphy Brown" strike back Monday night. The script ends with the fictional news anchorwoman, portrayed by Candice Bergen, delivering a televised rejoinder to Mr. Quayle: "While it's easy to blame television or Congress or even an Administration that's been in power for the last 12 years, the truth is, when it comes to the social ills in this country, there's enough blame to go around."

Today on the NBC News program "Meet the Press," Mr. Quayle said: "I'm going to have a temporary cease-fire with Holly-

wood, although I'm not going to back down from criticizing Hollywood, because I don't think Hollywood reflects our values. But I am going to watch the show, and in the spirit of lightheartedness and joining in the fun, I have sent Murphy Brown's baby a gift and a note."

David C. Beckwith, Mr. Quayle's press secretary, said the Vice President would watch the show at the Washington apartment of a friend who had raised her sister's children. He declined to identify her or the single mothers who will be there. And neither he nor Mr. Quayle would describe the gift.

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THE AD CAMPAIGN

Clinton: Criticizing the President

The Clinton campaign began broadcasting two new commercials yesterday, including its first of the general election campaign that attacks President Bush. The Clinton organization said it had bought nearly \$2 million of television time for the 30-second advertisements in 20 markets, which it would not specify.

ON THE SCREEN Images of President Bush, the picture slightly out of focus, cheerily making upbeat pronouncements about the economy. As he speaks, a narrator and words on the screen raise doubts. The only picture of Mr. Clinton is small photo of him grinning at the end of the ad.

TELEVISION SCRIPT Narrator: "1988." Bush: "30 million jobs in the next eight years." Narrator: "1990. America's jobless rate hits a three-year high." Bush: "I'm not prepared to say we are in recession." Narrator: "March 1992. Jobless rate hits six-year high." Bush: "The economy is strengthening." Narrator: "George Bush vetoes unemployment compensation." Bush: "The economy continues to grow." Narrator: "July 1992. Unemployment is the highest in eight years." "If George Bush doesn't understand the problem, How can he solve it? We can't afford four more years."

Jobless rate hits three year high.

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

ACCURACY The statements are accurate, but the ad juxtaposes images of Mr. Bush with events that are not directly related in time to what he is saying. For example, Mr. Bush is shown on Nov. 8, 1991, saying the nation is not in a recession, and the next image is words saying the jobless rate hit a six-year high in March 1992. The Bush campaign accuses the Clinton organization of exploiting the hardship of Americans in the ad.

SCORECARD In its first negative commercial, the Clinton campaign seeks to avoid being accused of gutter tactics by letting the President hang himself with his own words. The topic is the one that polls show is foremost on the minds of voters: the economy. The Clinton forces are trying to steer the debate in that direction.

On the Economy

ON THE SCREEN Mr. Clinton at a desk in shirt sleeves, tie loose, American flag and old-fashioned radio behind him. Throughout the commercial, the camera cuts from Mr. Clinton talking about his economic prescriptions to words bolstering his remarks: "Income is down," "Higher unemployment," and "What it takes: New Jobs. Cut health care costs."

TELEVISION SCRIPT Mr. Clinton: "We've been under trickle-down economics for 12 years — just keep taxes low on the wealthy and see what happens. Well, I'll tell you what happens: Most Americans are working harder for less money; unemployment's up; health care costs are exploding. We are not doing what it takes to compete and win. I've worked hard on a different plan. Let's give incentives to invest in new jobs. Let's spend more on education and training. Let's provide basic

health care to all Americans. Putting our people first. Rebuilding this economy. Making us competitive. If we do those things, we'll compete and win. And we'll bring this country back.

ACCURACY There are no factual inaccuracies, although Mr. Clinton's assertion that "we'll compete and win" is, of course, speculative. Republicans argue that the tax burden of Mr. Clinton's programs would ultimately fall on everyone, not just the wealthy, who the Governor says are not paying their fair share.

ANALYSIS The two new Clinton ads complement each other, one criticizing Mr. Bush, the other portraying Mr. Clinton as the more capable. In once again inviting viewers to call an "800" number for a copy of its proposals, the Clinton organization seeks to give the impression that it has a meaty, workable plan.

RICHARD L. BERKE

The New York Times

Abroad at Home

W YORK, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1992

ANTHONY LEWIS

The Two Faces of George

BOSTON

Have we ever had two political campaigns so different in style and content? I mean the two campaigns being waged by George Bush.

In one there is the President, reassuring authority figure, reaching out to all Americans, promising to help them in their economic distress. This campaign, positive in tone, offers an "Agenda for American Renewal."

In the other there is Pork Rind George, knee-fighter and scourge of un-American values. This campaign, entirely negative, attacks Bill Clinton as a dangerous leftist in the grip of alien ideology.

The negative campaign began in Houston. The convention there featured speakers from the paranoid right, such as Pat Robertson. (He has called George Bush's "new world order" a plan plotted by Satan, but that didn't keep him off the speakers' list.) The convention theme was attacks on "the other" — working women, gays, the unwed, the un-Christian.

Mr. Bush embraced the extreme right in Houston in order to secure his base among conservatives, especially the increasingly powerful Christian right. He also had a particular strategic purpose: to shore up his support in the South.

When James Baker took over the Bush re-election drive this month, he changed direction. The convention attacks on Hillary Clinton and others, and the general tone of hate, had repelled many Americans. And Mr. Baker understood that to win Mr. Bush had to target voters at the center of the political spectrum.

Accordingly, some of the most strident messages from the convention were toned down. Vice President Quayle, the inventor of "family values," announced that his grandmother had been a single mother and his sister was divorced. He and Mr. Bush seemed to back away from the platform's demand that all abortions be made criminal, even when the pregnancy resulted from rape.

President Bush had been scheduled for weeks to go down to Virginia Beach, Va., and speak to a meeting of Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition. But reading the polls, Mr. Baker decided that dramatizing the Bush-Robertson connection would be bad news.

The solution was to have Mr. Bush speak to the Robertson meeting at 7:40 P.M. on a Friday night, Sept. 11, after the last television network news broadcast. And Mr. Baker rushed through plans for sale of F-15 jets to Saudi Arabia so the President could announce them to a crowd of airplane workers earlier in the day, dominating the news.

The jet sale reflected another aspect of the new, positive campaign: George Bush as Santa Claus. He announced so many sudden benefits that a Lorenz cartoon in The New Yorker showed a woman opening a

The reassuring authority figure and the negative knee-fighter.

letter and telling her husband: "My goodness! It's a check from George Bush for \$150,000 to fix the screen door."

But Jim Baker has evidently decided that the positive campaign is not working well enough.

In Enid, Okla., last week Mr. Bush said Governor Clinton believed in "social engineering" and an "elite central government." Those were old European ideas, Mr. Bush said, and Mr. Clinton was for them because "he and a number of his advisers studied them at Oxford in the 1950's."

Why did President Bush go in for such crude nativism? Because he is running behind in the South, and even in Oklahoma, and because the latest Baker strategy is to smear Governor Clinton.

A Bush campaign official, asked by John Aloysius Farrell of The Boston Globe why they were so interested in Mr. Clinton's time as a Rhodes Scholar, said jokingly, "You mean Red Willie?" It was not a joke when Floyd Brown, who put out the supposedly "independent" Willie Horton advertising in 1988, wrote last week that Bill Clinton's opposition to the Vietnam War while he was at Oxford was "under the aegis and support of one of the most notorious Communist front organizations in Europe."

Surrogates are doing much of the dirty work in the negative campaign. Newt Gingrich says that the Democrats have Woody Allen's family values; the Bush people disavow the crack but the sting remains.

Watch the target, and you can tell which Bush campaign it is. There is one for the North and one for the South, one for the center and one for the right. □

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NEW YORK, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1992

Day of Brawling for Presidential Camps

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20 — On a day of testy partisan squabbling, Gov. Bill Clinton televised the first negative commercial of the fall Presidential campaign today, painting President Bush as an unrealistic leader who talked about prosperity while the economy tumbled into recession.

Vice President Dan Quayle found himself answering new questions about his military record and trying to avoid discussing the Republican Party's anti-abortion stand and Mr. Bush's agreement to the 1990 tax increase, as the campaigns traded accusations on the draft, the economy and taxes.

The two camps also remained locked in a circular argument over debates. Each side is insisting on holding Presidential and Vice-Presidential debates on its own terms and accusing the other of being afraid of what both call a "man-to-man" confrontation.

Attacks on Credibility

Both Presidential camps sought to use the day to undermine their opponent's credibility. The Democrats told Americans that Mr. Bush, who has insisted for at least two years that the economy is on the verge of recovery and still has not acknowledged how sluggish it really is, can no longer be trusted.

"If George Bush doesn't understand the problem, how can he solve it?" the Clinton commercial said, using film clips of Mr. Bush sounding upbeat about the economy. Some of the clips were presented out of sequence to the events they were intended to illustrate.

The Republicans, signaling that they intended to respond to Mr. Clinton's commercial with advertisements of their own criticizing the Arkansas Governor, continued to pound away at his draft record, which White House strategists have made the center of their assault on the Democratic nominee's character.

But Mr. Quayle also found himself on the defensive on the draft issue in an extraordinary, hourlong appearance on the NBC News program "Meet the Press."

Quayle Says Clinton Lied

Mr. Quayle dismissed an article in The New York Times today about his service in the National Guard as a "rehash." The article repeated Mr. Quayle's assertion that he sought the advice of relatives before joining the Guard. But it also disclosed that the unit in which he enlisted was holding slots for people of influence at a time

when Washington had ordered all National Guard units to accept enlistees on a first-come, first-served basis.

Mr. Quayle has said his decision to join the Indiana National Guard 23 years ago "wasn't to avoid going to Vietnam." But he acknowledged today that he knew there was far less chance of going to war if he was in the Guard. He said that he sought no special favors and that "no rules were broken, no regulations broken."

The Vice President tried to steer away from the specific question of service in Vietnam, on which he is as vulnerable to criticism as Mr. Clinton, and to stay on the Republicans' designated target: the question of whether Mr. Clinton has been completely forthcoming on how he avoided the draft.

"I don't think that military service one way or another is a definitive character issue on whether you can be a good Commander in Chief or not," he said. Mr. Quayle said Mr. Clinton "has not told the truth" and added, "That is the issue that qualifies him or disqualifies him in my judgment from being Commander in Chief."

Mr. Bush himself stayed out of the campaign fray. But he took advantage of a meeting in Washington of the International Monetary Fund to appear before television cameras at the White House as host to an international group of finance ministers and state bank officials.

'Do-Nothing Administration'

Mr. Clinton was out on the trail courting Democrats who voted for Mr. Bush in 1988 in mostly white suburban Detroit and helping to register voters at a mostly black rally in Chicago.

In Macomb County, Mich., where he was greeted by a boisterous crowd of people, many of them carrying signs declaring their affiliation with labor unions, Mr. Clinton said those who voted for Mr. Bush in 1988 were "betrayed" by a President who broke his promise not to raise taxes and sought a cut in the capital gains tax rate that would benefit the wealthy.

"They talk about traditional values, but they punish people who work hard and play by the rules and reward people who cut corners and cut deals," he said, adding, "This is a do-nothing Administration that will do nothing for four more years. We are foolish enough to give it to them. And I don't think we are."

Mr. Clinton's oratory followed the track of the two commercials that his campaign began broadcasting today, one of them focusing exclusively on criticisms of Mr. Bush, with emphasis on his economic performance.

Torle Clarke, Mr. Bush's campaign press secretary, said: "Nobody disputes the fact that the economy has not grown as fast as we would like or that

not enough good jobs have been created. We're saying that the most important issue in this election is not just the state of the economy, but what do you do about it."

She called the commercial a "diversionary tactic to get away from answering any questions about the draft issue" and said of Mr. Bush's opponent, "He is slowly bleeding to death on this one as lie after lie after lie by Bill Clinton is revealed."

The Bush team itself was clearly more intent on changing the subject — talking about Mr. Clinton and the draft rather than the current state of the economy.

Quayle Explains Tax Increase

In his appearance on NBC this morning, Mr. Quayle tried to deflect questions about the tax increase of 1990, asserting that Mr. Bush had been forced to agree to the increase in October of that year because of the Persian Gulf crisis.

"He had an international crisis," Mr. Quayle said. "He could ill afford another crisis at home, which probably would have happened by him not going along with that negotiated deal."

But Mr. Bush first agreed to raise

A Democratic attack ad and renewed charges about the draft.

taxes in June 1990, and Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was in August. Other accounts also dispute Mr. Quayle's assertion. A senior official who was present during the Administration's deliberations on the war and the Federal budget has said Mr. Bush never drew a connection between the two issues.

Mr. Quayle, who has been trying to strike a more middle-of-the-road position on abortion than he has taken in the past, also grew evidently uncomfortable when asked about the issue. Although the Vice President said he remained personally against abortion, he refused to say whether it should be banned outright, as the Republican platform, Mr. Bush's own stated position and Mr. Quayle himself have demanded.

Instead, Mr. Quayle tried to focus on laws, like one in Pennsylvania, that limit access to abortions. "I'm trying to change attitudes," he said. "I'm trying to change behavior."

The Washington Post

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1992

JACK ANDERSON and MICHAEL BINSTEIN

The Economy and the Science of Spin

Balding car tires, Olympic basketball victories and used light bulbs have all been served up as omens of economic recovery by Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady since the start of the presidential campaign last winter. "I see robins on the lawn in the economy now," he said recently.

Vice President Quayle pointed to a help-wanted sign in the window of a California Burger King this summer as proof that prosperity lies around the corner.

White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater belatedly acknowledged last December that the economy was in trouble, but he struggled getting out the "r" word when he said the country was in a "recession-like economy."

Welcome to the world of White House spin control—where recessions are periods of "sluggishness," unemployment is "restructuring" and disastrous retail reports reflect "cautious consumers."

All administrations are guilty of gilding. But Brady & Co. are practically Nobel laureates in the spin sciences.

Before the National Association of Business Economists, Brady explained his shopping trip one weekend to buy new tires for the family car. Lots of families must be driving on bald tires, he figured, and there's all that pent-up demand ready to be released. Same with light bulbs. The Dream Team's gold medal would give the U.S. economy a big psychological boost.

Such pep talks may be good politics. But one high-level government economist labels Brady's theory "ludicrous."

"It is true that Americans have been holding onto cars and the average age of cars has risen very substantially over the last couple of years," he said. "But the reason they're doing that is because they don't have the money to buy new tires. They're going to keep running on bald tires until they get jobs."

Since July 1990, 1.9 million jobs have vanished. But the White House has only seemed to come to terms with it politically since last December, when Samuel K. Skinner became chief of staff and imposed *glasnost*, a new openness about problems.

It was August 1991 when, during a golf outing in Kennebunkport, President Bush declared: "I feel all right about things. There's some statistics up and down, but basically I think it's doing all right." Within months, however, Bush was telling angry

primary voters in New Hampshire that the economy was in a "free fall."

Congressional Budget Office Director Robert D. Reischauer, not referring directly to the Bush administration, says historically the role of executive branch forecasters has been to serve as "part analyst, part forecaster, part cheerleader."

"There are two kinds of ways that politics enters," he told us. "One is that any administration, Republican or Democrat, is going to look at the economic outlook in as optimistic a way as possible." He defines spins as being "faced with a development, a fact, a piece of evidence and what you try to do is manipulate how that piece of evidence will be interpreted by the American media first and the American people second."

But on the recession, the Bush administration has often crossed the fine line between spin control and fudging. Though the first recession officially began in July 1990, it took the White House six months before it would even utter the word in public.

Consider the reaction last month to the news that unemployment dropped a mere one-tenth of a percentage point. President Bush threw a news conference to brag about how the economy was "poised for a strong recovery albeit anemically."

In fact, the economy lost 83,000 jobs in August, and would have lost many more had it not been for the surge in government summer jobs for youth. Actually, 167,000 jobs were lost, which is dismal news for an economy that's supposed to be in recovery and should be perking along at gains of up to 300,000 jobs per month.

A damage control SWAT team sprang into action: Bush campaign manager Robert M. Teeter tried explaining away the unemployment problem by referring euphemistically to "restructuring."

"There is a lot of restructuring going on, probably to our long-term benefit," he said. "That is very tough and very painful to a lot of people who are moving from one job to another." Brady himself once cited the therapeutic benefits of recessions because they had a way of "cleansing the economy" of poor performers. Some economists fear the economy is slipping into its third dip since July 1990. What does Brady say?

"I think the years 1993 and 1994 in the United States are going to be banner years."

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1992

JANE APPLGATE

What Small-Business Owners Would Tell Bush and Clinton

Now that all the delegates have returned home and the blizzard of confetti has been swept up, small-business owners face the challenge of choosing the best candidate for president.

President Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton continue to pepper their speeches with compassionate references to the needs of small businesses. Both promise to make things better for entrepreneurs by kick-starting the economy. Despite the promises, many entrepreneurs believe that the candidates are more likely to listen to what big business and special interests have to say because that's where campaign dollars come from.

They may not be big contributors, but here's what five entrepreneurs want to tell the candidates:

Pamela Kirst, president, Kirst Pump & Machine Works Inc., Huntington Park, Calif.:

"I have a lot of qualms about a president trying to improve the economy by shifting the burden onto the back of small business," Kirst said. "For example, payroll tax increases could be really damaging to small business. . . . We'd probably have to lay people off if we had to pay more taxes."

Kirst wants Bush to know she liked what he said about cutting the spiraling cost of litigation. "We are currently involved in a lawsuit that has absolutely no merit, but it costs us time and money to defend ourselves."

And, like most Americans, Kirst is concerned about the ballooning federal deficit. "We couldn't run our business that way," Kirst said. "I don't believe we should be spending money we don't have as a country."

Willie Davis, president of All-Pro Broadcasting Inc. in Los Angeles and co-owner of Preferred Adhesive Inc. of Milwaukee:

Davis, a former Green Bay Packer, said his top small-business concern is lack of access to capital. While big businesses have many financing opportunities, Davis said small businesses find themselves "at the end of the line."

He wants the next president to create more economic enterprise zones to help small-business owners, especially minorities.

"I would also encourage the . . . president to encourage Fortune 500 companies to become more involved in minority purchasing programs," Davis said.

Jim Biedlingmaier, partner in Bill's Hardware, Landover Hills, Md.:

"Small-business owners pay as much or more in taxes than some of the large businesses," Biedlingmaier said. "We're being driven out of the marketplace."

He said he was not very impressed with Bush's tax-cutting proposals. "It's the promises—promises we've heard before," Biedlingmaier said. "That's not to say I'm not for Bush, but I've seen a decline in my business."



LOS ANGELES TIMES SYNDICATE

MAURA WEILER
... regulations thwart small businesses

Franz von Bradsky, president of Green Tree Capital, North Hollywood, Calif.:

"I haven't seen anything from either candidate about dealing with issues that will primarily help small business," Von Bradsky said.

An active member of the Los Angeles Venture Association, a not-for-profit group

devoted to promoting investment in private enterprise, Von Bradsky said promises to cut the capital gains tax won't do much.

"Does \$500 more in your pocket make a difference? I don't think so," he said.

He does support a move to curb litigation. "I think the initiative on the litigation explosion is absolutely correct," Von Bradsky said. "The court system is absolutely ridiculous. The trial awards make no sense."

Maura Weiler, president of Miss Weiler's Gourmet Foods Inc. of Pacific Palisades, Calif.:

As founder of a 2½-year-old health-oriented cookie company, Weiler says there is too much federal regulation thwarting small businesses.

Still, she would like the government to help small-business owners compete by encouraging big businesses to buy products and services from them.

"If supermarkets had to buy a certain amount of a new product, they would give people a chance rather than always having to go with a big company," Weiler said.

If Weiler could meet with Bush and Clinton, she would ask them to emphasize how difficult it is to run a small business in today's tough times.

"I don't think people realize how difficult it can be to compete against larger businesses."

Write to Jane Applgate at the Los Angeles Times, Times Mirror Square, Los Angeles, Calif. 90053.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1992

The Monday Interview

On the Warpath For Clinton

She has been one of Bill Clinton's closest advisers for a dozen years—if not the closest—catching many a bullet for the man she has often described as a “little brother.”

She has meticulously catalogued his gubernatorial record, protected his time, watched his body language to monitor his comfort level, and this year she took over what she bluntly called the “bimbo eruptions”—even hiring an investigator to confront those who dared try to cash in on their acquaintance with Clinton.

And so, when it came time to delve into the candidate's politically troublesome and seemingly ever-evolving draft history, there was Betsey Wright last week researching the record, throwing water balloons at the GOP and happily discrediting those who discredit Bill.

“If the campaign needs a hatchet woman,” she says, in that not-to-be-messed-with tone, “I am more than willing to be it.”

And it won't be the first time. As the long-serving chief of staff to Gov. Clinton, she ran a ship many believed to be a trifle tight. Legislators found her overprotective manner tiresome—“because I wasn't a native Arkansan,” she says—and staff didn't



Betsey Wright, Clinton's record keeper.

take kindly to her edict restricting contact with the media.

Today, as the campaign's research director, she's still taking the heat. Recently, the Other Side seized on her talk of “bimbos,” turning her words on her boss to suggest womanizing.

“I was horrified that my statement was taken out of context,” she says, referring to a controversial press release Bush campaign aide Mary Matalin penned this summer. “And I have a lot of regret that Mary Matalin completely ignored that I used the term [bimbo] to denounce news organizations that pay for lies. It's a generous term for such a person.”

Regarding the draft issue, Wright says

from Arkansas that she has gone “through all his personal papers. I conducted an extensive search through Freedom of Information requests to the various agencies—and quite frankly I came up with nothing.”

She insists those facts that the Bush campaign have effectively characterized as inconsistencies are really just various recollections of 20-year-old truths. “Just because we didn't find it doesn't mean it doesn't exist, and just because [information] exists doesn't mean we can track it down,” she says. “This is a topic that many young men discussed constantly. And there seems to be a lot of memory reconstruction going on these days.”

Her conclusion (not unbiased, we'll note): “It's the Bush administration's pouring of salt on the still open wounds of Vietnam.”

Wright, 49, first met the Clintons 20 years ago when all three worked on the McGovern campaign in her home state of Texas. After toiling on a series of local and national campaigns, she settled in Arkansas about a decade later, running Clinton's campaigns as well as his office, and forging a strong alliance with Hillary Clinton.

“Part of my value is that by now I can read his body language when I see him on television and I know if we're killing him schedule-wise,” she says. “I also can tell if he's been handed a staff briefing paper that he's not entirely comfortable with. I know where he stands after all these years.”

She is indeed considered the foremost expert on his record, and is the one the campaign pushes out front when it feels Bushites are improperly characterizing Clinton. This she does with guns blazing.

“Campaigns are just not the time to be subtle,” she says. “And I have to make certain people understand what I'm saying.”

The Washington Post

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1992

Meg Greenfield

Debating the Debates

As I write it seems there may be some kind of presidential debates this year, but that there is only the smallest chance, if any, that there will be rigorous, informative exchanges of the kind recommended by the bipartisan commission that spent several years working on the subject. George Bush put the kibosh on that. He does not want to go one-on-one with Bill Clinton on the issues for 90 minutes directed and refereed by a single moderator. At the weekend he was still insisting on the old format of two candidates and a panel of (usually) four journalists to ask them alternate questions with an elaborate system of who gets how long to rebut and then rebut the rebuttal and so forth. It's too bad. The old form is much more susceptible to manipulation and conversation interruptus than the form the commission proposed and Clinton accepted.

Start with my people—the press. Even with the most conscientious preparation and self-effacing (self-effacing?) attitude on the part of the questioners, what you have when you have four journalists in addition to the candidates is six egos and six agendas instead of an almost manageable two. When we in the business see our colleagues who have participated in one of these events any time during the week after a debate, we are expected to say but one thing: “Good questions!” That doesn't necessarily mean that they elicited interesting, useful or revealing answers from the candidates.

The compliment means the panelist had a kind of unusual formulation, one the others didn't think of and that was designed to trip up the candidate. The other preferred type of question is the show-off one which reveals the extensive knowledge and profound moral seriousness of the questioner. The candidates are performing for the voters. The journalists are performing for their professional buddies and bosses. I don't mean to suggest that all journalist-questioners on all debates have been like this, but surely enough have been to characterize press participation as by and large distracting and unhelpful.

It also has these disadvantages, not from the candidates' point of view, but from that of the watching public. First, for all the tough-guy questioning mode, the take-your-turn format allows the candidates to escape prolonged questioning or pursuit on a particular issue. Just when things are

getting interesting and the initial posturing and palaver have been challenged or rejected, the subject gets changed. Given such a format, it is all but inevitable that too much will ride on the single sound-bite answer, played and replayed endlessly in the aftermath of the debate. Ronald Reagan's “There you go again” and Lloyd Bentsen's “I knew Jack Kennedy . . .” are prime examples. I think no one can remember—and could not two days after those debates—anything else that was said.

It has been pointed out again and again that the amount of information possessed and flung about by the

*Get rid of the
journalists—and let
the candidates go at
it one-on-one.*

debating candidate does not correlate with his chance of winning the exchange. Jimmy Carter had an enormous store of knowledge about the issues, but was trounced by Reagan, who seemed more self-possessed, confident and common-sense reasonable. These impressions, as distinct from the actual substance of answers, can be critical. It is often forgotten that before their first televised debate, it was thought that Kennedy was a young, unschooled and unready senator who could not conceivably hold his own with the more experienced Nixon. The mere fact of his seeming at least Nixon's equal in the exchanges and his less uptight bearing transformed people's impression of him. It seems as though the worst thing a contender can do is to get overprogrammed and overbriefed, as Reagan did before one debate with Walter Mondale, which he lost, and which Gerald Ford clearly did before the debate he lost to Carter.

The Ford debacle seems to me to illustrate what is wrong with the old format. Ford, you will remember, got into this impossible, truly stupid bind of insisting again and again that Poland was not a country under Communist domination. It seemed incomprehensible. Now the truth is that Gerald Ford certainly knew as well as every fourth grader in the United States did that Poland was a Communist-governed country. But he was wound

up so tight, briefed and rebriefed and briefed once more so stupefyingly, that he just kind of automatically gave the answer to another question than the one he had been asked. He was seeking to say that the Polish people had never in their hearts accepted the communist doctrine, but he was so glazed and preprogrammed that he just kept repeating the answer to a question that had not been asked, instead of hearing the one that had been put. As it is with the clever, triumphant moments, so, too, the spectacular disasters, of which this is the paramount example, tend to be all anyone remembers about a given debate.

You may be sure that for some time now the candidates have been boning up for whatever may come, that the briefers and play actors are doing run-throughs with them, that the debate books with their presumably cunning answers to any weird thing that may come up are being prepared and perfected and studied. The old format with journalists doing the questioning puts a premium on this kind of prepping. It turns the debates into prospective sudden-death contests in which the most irrelevant subject or the most accidental exchange can really determine the outcome. It is for this reason that the “spin doctors” of the candidates themselves perform with such intensity immediately following the debates, trying to control the public's own perception of what it actually saw.

It seemed for a while this year as though things might be different. The single-moderator debate could do more than 50 clever, roughneck journalistic questions to probe the candidates' genuine knowledge and understanding of the issues before them. In 90 minutes a lot of the posturing and pretense and little studied dissembling just has to burn off. Both men could be pressed by the moderator and, importantly, each other to provide real answers. At the end of such an exchange we might even know something we didn't know before about their capacities and their fitness for the office. You'd have thought that real debates would have stood a pretty good chance of happening in the year of the angry electorate when politics-and-gameplaying-as-usual were supposed to have been a thing of the past.

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The Washington Post

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Quayle Again Defends Enlistment in Guard

Vietnam Service Was Unlikely, He Concedes

By Michael Isikoff
Washington Post Staff Writer

Vice President Quayle's assault on Democratic candidate Bill Clinton's draft record was partially diverted yesterday when Quayle was confronted with renewed questions about his 1969 enlistment in the Indiana National Guard, which he acknowledged sharply limited his chances of facing combat in Vietnam.

But he repeated his longtime assertion that his admission was not the result of any special treatment or political influence exerted by his family.

"I never asked for any special treatment," Quayle said on NBC's "Meet the Press." "There were no rules broken, no regulations broken." Quayle said that "obviously, it goes without saying" that by joining the Guard in May 1969, he had "much less of a chance" of being sent to Vietnam than if he allowed himself to be drafted.

Quayle faced new questioning about his military record yesterday in part because he has been one of the leaders of the Republican attack on Clinton for allegedly failing to "come clean" about his own draft history.

In addition, a front-page New York Times story published yesterday repeated allegations first raised in 1988 that Quayle benefited from a "striking pattern of favoritism" in gaining admission to an elite headquarters unit at a time when the Indiana Guard statewide had lengthy waiting lists.

In 1988, following his nomination for vice president, Quayle acknowledged that as a 22-year-old senior about to graduate from DePauw University, he consulted with his parents and then called Wendell Phillipi, a former Indiana Guard commander who was managing editor of the Indianapolis News, a newspaper owned by Quayle's grandfather, Eugene Pulliam.

Phillipi called a senior Guard officer, Col. Alfred Ahner, who directed Quayle to the personnel office of the headquarters unit. Quayle enlisted on May 19, 1969, less than one week before he was scheduled to graduate and face reclassification to 1-A by his draft board. He later transferred to another unit, the 120th Public Detachment Unit, where he served out his five-year obligation, writing press releases and helping prepare a Guard magazine.

Although most units throughout the state had waiting lists, the headquarters unit that Quayle first entered was 11 below its 63-man authorized strength at the time, Guard records have shown. Four years ago, The Washington Post interviewed several former Guard officers who described the unit as a "glory unit" that was generally reserved for "top notch" people—lawyers, accountants or others with a specialty.

Some of these former officers said that despite the apparent va-

cancies, it would not have been easy for anybody to gain admission to the headquarters unit. The Times yesterday repeated that charge, saying the unit did not appear to be operating on a "first come, first served" basis, despite a directive by the administration of President Johnson the previous year that the Guard adopt such a policy to boost minority membership. But no evidence has ever surfaced that Quayle was placed ahead of other candidates or received special consideration in gaining acceptance into the unit.

Clinton campaign spokesman George Stephanopoulos told the Associated Press that the Times story "shows what we've known all along: he [Quayle] received some kind of favorable treatment."

Quayle dismissed the Times story, saying there was "no news there at all. . . . This was all hashed over in 1988." But he was pressed repeatedly by a "Meet the Press" panelist on whether he joined the Guard to avoid the draft and service in Vietnam. Quayle has previously answered questions about his motivation by citing his interest in "getting on with his life" and attending law school.

"Obviously, there were a lot of choices that I had," Quayle said. "I could have just gone ahead and exposed myself to the draft. . . . Obviously, if you join the National Guard, you have less of a chance to go to Vietnam. I mean, that goes without saying. But Indiana National Guard units were called to Vietnam, Indiana National Guard members were killed in Vietnam."

Quayle at the same time renewed his criticism of Clinton, saying the Democratic candidate "needs to tell the American people the truth on this issue. . . . I don't think that military service one way or another is a definitive character issue on whether you can be a good commander in chief or not. What I do think is an element is truthfulness."

Quayle and other Republicans have repeatedly accused Clinton of inconsistent accounts about his 1969 enrollment in a Reserve Officers' Training Corps program at the University of Arkansas law school—a move that permitted him to avoid the draft during a crucial period in the summer and early fall of 1969. Clinton, who unlike Quayle actively opposed the Vietnam War, has said he briefly exposed himself to the draft that fall but then drew a high lottery number that effectively ended his chances of being called.

David Beckwith, Quayle's press secretary, said yesterday that "the differences between Quayle and Clinton are remarkable." While Quayle fulfilled his military obligation, Clinton "worked to evade his" and was "organizing anti-U.S. demonstrations in England." As a Rhodes scholar in 1969, Clinton participated in an anti-Vietnam War protest attended by American students in London. Beckwith said such anti-war protests "overseas" were viewed as "anti-U.S. and anti-American."

The Washington Post

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1992

Remote Control: A Nerve Center Wired for Action

Technology Keeps Message Flowing From Little Rock

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—Right after he had agreed to become Bill Clinton's presidential campaign manager, David Wilhelm placed a telephone call to the Clinton headquarters here. "Clinton for president," a cheery voice answered. It was George Stephanopoulos, hired a week before Wilhelm to be the campaign's communications director who was beginning his career as a senior aide to a possible future president by answering the phones.

"I thought to myself, we have a ways to go," Wilhelm recalled the other day.

That was almost a year ago, when the fledgling Clinton campaign consisted of a handful of aides who worked out of a former paint store. Today, eight full-time operators help to handle the 25,000-calls-a-day telephone traffic at the current Clinton campaign headquarters, which this summer bypassed the Stephens Inc., the large Little Rock investment banking firm, to become the biggest telephone user in the state.

Presidential politics is about communications, and nowhere is that more evident than inside the graceful, three-story building that once housed the defunct Arkansas Gazette newspaper and now serves as the nerve center of the Democratic presidential campaign.

It teems with a full-time paid staff of 350 plus more than 100 volunteers and is crammed with electronic equipment—275 computers, more than 50 fax machines, 600 telephones and wire service machines from three news services plus dozens of television sets that are watched 24 hours a day to monitor the daily skirmishes of the presidential campaign.

This electronic wonderland, and its counterpart at President Bush's campaign headquarters in Washington, is where much of a modern presidential campaign takes place, out of sight of the crowds that gather to see and hear the candidates on their travels and the millions more who turn on the evening news programs to catch a glimpse of the day's political activities. The technology that is available to both sides has vastly increased the pace of the contest, putting a premium on the ability to respond almost instantly to the latest developments.

"You are thinking on almost an hourly basis about what ideas you are going to promote, how you are going to respond to what the president said," Wilhelm said. "It's a constant give and take, and a mistake is magnified way beyond what it is in other campaigns."

All campaigns involve give and take, but none more so than the Bush-Clinton contest. The 1992 presidential campaign has already produced a sometimes bewildering avalanche of information in the form of budget and economic numbers (about the nation and about Arkansas), obscure quotations from the past, and claims and counterclaims by well-known supporters of each candidate.

Computer technology has made it much easier to locate, package and reproduce this kind of information, while a relatively new but increasingly common device—the fax machine—has given both sides instant access to newsrooms nationwide. Since information—the raw material of modern politics—can be assembled and transmitted so much faster than in the past, it is hurled between the two campaigns at an increasingly frenetic pace. When one side delivers a "fax attack," the other side is likely to respond within hours, giving the campaign something of the flavor of a boxing match.

Modern technology "heightens the whole mode of charge and countercharge," said Avis LaVelle, the Clinton campaign's headquarters press secretary.

Technology also has eased the task of running a presidential campaign from the capital of an out-of-the-way state that is remote from the country's political and communications centers. There are still occasional grumbles about how difficult it is to get here—there are no nonstop flights from Washington, for example—but Clinton aides argue that this inconvenience is far outweighed by the advantages of being physically distant from the distractions of the nation's capital but within easy and constant communication with it.

Eli Segal, the campaign chief of staff who oversees its internal operations, estimated that there will be a "seven-figure savings" from running the campaign in relatively inexpensive Little Rock. Senior campaign officials have disrupted their lives, temporarily moving here from Boston, New York, Washington, Chicago, Los Angeles and other major cities. Arriving in the Arkansas capital—some of them for the first time—they have found little to do but concentrate on the immediate task at hand.

"We're free to do our jobs," Wilhelm said. "We don't have the Washington establishment and all that that represents—the job seekers, politicians, staff people—in our face all the time."

And the Democrats think they have become competitive in another way. "We are finally up to the Republicans' speed technically," said Bob Boorstin, the campaign's deputy communications director.

Jeff Eller is one of the little-known officers in Clinton's electronic army. From his office on the second floor of the headquarters building, he can manipulate the satellite dish on the roof, pulling from the air pictures of Clinton hundreds of miles to the east in Macon, Ga., where on this day the Democratic nominee delivered a speech on Medicare to an audience of senior citizens.

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Medicare—and Clinton's charge that Bush plans deep cuts in the health care program for the elderly—was the theme of the day. To reinforce it, the campaign hired its own television camera crew, purchased time on a television satellite and then made a live broadcast of the speech available to nine local television stations in such key states as Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois that were scheduled to conduct individual, five-minute interviews with Clinton after the speech.

The theory, Eller explained, is that if the television interviewers listen to the speech immediately before they interview Clinton, they will be more likely to ask questions about the campaign's message of the day.

Midway through the interviews that include

numerous questions about Medicare and other health care issues, Eller pronounces himself satisfied. "It's a home run," he said. "I can't hear the questions, but I can tell from his answers that they watched the speech."

In a windowless room around the corner from Eller's office, Richard Strauss waged the electronic war on another front. Strauss is something of an anomaly—a 22-year-old child of the television age who is described by colleagues as a wizard with that quaintly familiar technology, radio.

Each day Strauss and his equally young staff in "Radioland," which is what they call the windowless room, crank out 60 to 70 radio "actualities" featuring the voices of Clinton, his running mate, Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.), and campaign surrogates as they deliver the message of the day. These radio "feeds" are carefully targeted on selected states, often tracking the campaign travels of Bush, Vice President Quayle and other Republicans.

They also make actualities available to radio stations across the country through a toll-free telephone line. Within hours of Clinton's Medicare speech, for example, several brief excerpts were available as were excerpts from Gore's latest speech, the voice of the surrogate of the day, and a message in Spanish. The service is widely used by radio stations around the country, report Clinton campaign officials.

With just six weeks to go before Election Day, campaign operatives here meet daily at 7 a.m. to hear a report from the overnight news monitoring team and discuss that day's objectives. Twelve hours later, after the network news broadcasts, they meet again to review the small victories and defeats of the day and begin planning for the next.

It is a daily battle to gain the initiative and set the agenda, with the flow of news providing the score. "Did we have a good day or a bad day?" Wilhelm said. "You know that same day."

The daily "war room" meetings are presided over by communications director Stephanopoulos and senior campaign consultant James Carville, who by all accounts are the key players in directing the Clinton strategy. And despite its military overtones, the "war room" simply is Carville's office and desks for representatives of each of the campaign's major operations such as press, scheduling and opposition research. When the daily Republican attacks come, Carville added, "the people you need to get the [counter] information out are in close proximity. It's all concentrated right there."

Yet for all the technology available to the Clinton campaign and its determination to let no GOP attack go unanswered, not every day is a triumph. It is too easy to become distracted and to forget that Clinton's best chance of winning is to turn the election into a referendum on the economy. "Stuff happens," Carville said.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1992

Clinton Steps Up Economic Attacks

Governor Scores Bush Before Reagan Democrats, Airs Negative Ad

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

WARREN, Mich., Sept. 20—Bill Clinton today sharply escalated his assault on Bush administration economic policy with a populist speech to about 6,000 working-class voters here and the first negative commercial of the campaign.

"The Bush economic act is an old one," Clinton told the crowd on the grounds of Macomb Community College. "It talks about honoring hard work, but it worships the quick buck. It talks about family values, but doesn't value working families. . . . They talk about traditional values, but they punish people who work hard and play by the rules, and reward people who cut corners and cut deals."

The audience, which included many members of the United Automobile Workers union who voted for Bush in 1988, applauded as Clinton declared: "If you assembled automobiles, you've lost out in the last 12 years. But if you take corporations apart, you are a big winner. . . . After four years of raising your taxes, selling out your jobs, betraying your values and violating your trust, Mr. Bush and Mr. Quayle want to do it to you all over again."

In a separate development, the Clinton campaign, determined to muscle public attention away from a nagging draft controversy back onto the economy, today televised the first negative ad of the campaign.

The 30-second commercial, airing in Michigan, Illinois, Ohio,

Georgia, North Carolina, Maine, Connecticut, Oregon, Missouri, Pennsylvania and Louisiana, contrasts optimistic statements by Bush about the economy with data and commentary about unemployment and stagnant growth.

"It's not a negative ad. It uses his own words," Clinton said at the Little Rock, Ark., airport as he prepared to fly here. "I think the contrast is important, and I think it very important that he not be able to come out 50 days before the election and say, 'I've discovered America, I've discovered a global economy, and now I have new ideas.' I think the American people are entitled to know what he said all along."

Using film of Bush, the ad goes:

Announcer: "1988."

Bush: "30 million jobs in the next eight years."

Announcer: "1990. America's jobless rate hits a three-year high."

Bush: "I'm not prepared to say we're in recession."

Announcer: "March 1992. Jobless rate hits a six-year high."

Bush: "The economy is strengthening."

Announcer: "George Bush vetoes unemployment compensation."

Bush: "The economy continues to grow."

Announcer: "July 1992. Unemployment is the highest in eight years. If George Bush doesn't understand the problem, how can he solve it? We can't afford four more years."

Bush campaign press secretary Torie Clarke criticized the Clinton effort, saying the election is "not

about the state of the economy, it's what plan do you have to move the country forward. . . . What's most appalling is that they are trying to exploit the economic hardship suffered by many people."

With just six weeks to go before the election Nov. 3, Clinton and his strategists intend to press economic issues that have been the driving force behind his sustained lead over Bush since July.

The voters in Macomb County are considered classic "Reagan Democrats," and their votes were crucial in producing Republican victories throughout the 1980s. Polls and voter interviews show that there has been a dramatic shift away from Bush here and in similar working-class, heavily Catholic and blue-collar communities.

During the 1980s, the white voters here voiced bitterness and anger at a Democratic Party they said promoted affirmative action programs to the detriment of white workers and raised spending on programs for the nonworking poor. Today, Clinton made a direct appeal for racial cooperation here and later to an audience of blacks at a voter registration rally in Chicago. "We are going up or down together," Clinton told both crowds.

"In most of our big states by the year 2000, a majority of our public school students will come from racial and ethnic minorities," he said in Michigan. "This is a melting pot, and we have to find a way to make our diversity a source of strength and renewal."

The Washington Post

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1992

Electoral Politics May Keep Major Tax Bill From Becoming Law

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

On the campaign trail, President Bush acts as if he were oblivious to a major tax bill pending in Congress.

The president, in his recent speech to the Economic Club of Detroit, said he was eager to work with a new Congress next year, one more in tune with his philosophy, to pass quickly a series of economic measures to get the ailing economy back on its feet.

"Our primary task now is to target America and I intend to fight for this agenda, to fight as hard as I can and with a new Congress," Bush said.

The president's future-oriented message has baffled a number of congressional Democrats and Republicans, who note that a House-passed bill, and the Senate version awaiting action this week, contain most of the president's key initiatives.

"This bill is trapped by both electoral politics and the endemic failure of Congress and the president to agree on anything," said Rep.

Thomas J. Downey (D-N.Y.), a senior member of the Ways and Means Committee.

The \$32 billion bill contains five of the seven tax incentive proposals unveiled by Bush in January, including tax credits for first-time home buyers, accounting changes for computing the minimum tax more favorably to corporations, and measures to boost the sagging real estate industry.

The bill, which began as a way to respond to the Los Angeles riots and big-city problems, would create urban and rural enterprise zones and permanently extend a research and development tax credit, proposals mentioned by Bush in his Detroit speech.

The bill does not contain the capital gains tax cut long advocated by the president.

Some say that in his eagerness to assail Congress to score political points, the president may be passing up a chance to enact a large chunk of his economic recovery program before the election.

"If we don't get a bill, then I think it's a pox on both institutions—the administration and Congress," Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) said last week. "I don't think anyone profits

from that. The public is tired of that and wants to see this system work."

Bush's on-again, off-again pledge to never "ever" again raise taxes, coupled with the Bush-Quayle campaign committee's attack on presidential nominee Bill Clinton as a tax-and-spend Democrat, also

"If we don't get a bill, then I think it's a pox on both institutions—the administration and Congress."

— Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.)

makes it difficult for the president to back a bill that includes at least 26 offsetting tax increases or revenue raisers.

Sen. Bob Packwood (Ore.), the ranking Republican on the Finance Committee, said the White House has been sending out "mixed signals" on the tax issue.

"Until we know roughly what the administration's bounds of accept-

ability or negotiability are, we cannot conclude a bill," he said last week.

"The president is in a position where if he doesn't like it, there won't be a bill," he added. "He has the whip hand."

A White House official said last week that the administration is waiting to see what emerges from negotiations with House and Senate leaders before making a decision on the tax bill. A key factor, he said, will be whether the leadership is able to limit amendments that would add to the bill's cost.

"It's just a question of whether the bill is worth having," the official said. "It started out as an urban aid bill and it has become quite a bit more."

Bentsen, Packwood, Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) and other members of the Finance Committee met privately last week to work out ground rules for pushing through the tax bill, including agreements to drop most of the 85 amendments pending on the floor and to limit debate.

The Senate version of the bill includes an extension of 11 popular tax breaks that are about to expire, the repeal of a 10 percent luxury tax that has hurt the boat and air-

plane industries and the restoration of fully deductible individual retirement accounts (IRAs).

The bill, crafted by Bentsen, was unanimously approved by the Senate Finance Committee, after the House completed work on its version of the bill this summer.

The Bush administration has objected to several sections of the Senate bill and has threatened a veto unless they are dropped. The administration opposes two provisions that would make permanent laws that limit itemized deductions and that phase out personal exemptions for higher income taxpayers. Those provisions were part of the 1990 budget and deficit-reduction agreement that Bush says he regrets signing.

Dole has vowed to try to eliminate those provisions when the Senate resumes work on the bill Wednesday. "A lot of guys don't want to vote for a tax increase," Dole said.

However, those two provisions, which would raise \$8 billion in revenue over five years, are crucial to offsetting the cost of the tax-relief bill. Without them, the more costly portions of the package, including Bentsen's IRA proposals, would be in jeopardy.

In light of the administration's

attitude, some members of Congress, including Dole and Sen. Alan Simpson (R-Wyo.), have suggested paring down the bill to avoid a veto. Bentsen said last week that he would "strongly oppose" efforts to scale back the bill to win its approval.

Downey predicted that Bentsen will be forced to cut back the bill when it reaches conference, largely because House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) has reservations about the Senate bill, including the IRA provisions.

"Bentsen will be sitting across from Rosty, the true 500-pound gorilla, who doesn't care about passing a tax bill," he said.

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The Jobs Dilemma

WHILE THE AMERICAN economy is generating new jobs, it isn't generating them fast enough to keep up with a growing population. Over the past year, the country's labor force has risen by more than 2 million people. But the number of jobs is up by barely 1 million. That's why the unemployment rate is up to a level that will put great pressure on the president who's inaugurated next January.

He will face a terrible dilemma. Policies that make the economy grow faster in the short run, over the next year or so, will hurt growth in the longer term. Vice versa, policies that encourage long-term growth can make things worse, possibly raising unemployment, in the short run.

One important reason for the current very slow recovery from the 1990-91 recession is that both businesses and individuals have been paying off debt. That will make the economy healthier and stronger in the future, but for the present it has depressed the rate of spending and production. Next January's president could, if he chose, offset that low level of private spending by increasing public spending. That's the traditional medicine. But it would mean increasing a federal deficit that's already much too big and risking an increase in interest rates.

With the end of the Cold War, it is clearly desirable to reduce defense spending. The Con-

gressional Budget Office estimated last month that more than 800,000 jobs in the defense sector will disappear by 1995. That includes a reduction of some 360,000 in the armed forces, as well as 130,000 civilian jobs in the Defense Department and about 330,000 jobs in defense industries.

Pressed by foreign competition, many American corporations are reorganizing for greater efficiency and drastically reducing the structure of their management. President Bush applauded the trend earlier this month in his economic plan, but he acknowledged that it means layoffs among both blue and white collar workers, and great uncertainty among people who had thought their jobs secure.

It's hard to think that a quick spurt of growth, created by a temporary dollop of federal spending, will do much for these people. A more promising strategy would depend on getting interest rates lower—but it requires a lower deficit. That brings you back to the dilemma: Reducing the deficit would have to be done very skillfully to avoid a spell of higher unemployment.

The unemployment rate may not be the first thing on the newly inaugurated president's mind next January. But if it isn't handled forcefully and surely—as President Bush has seen this year—it will inflict severe damage on his presidency.

Moral Authority of a Commander in Chief

James Fallows's attempts to discredit the Republicans' use of Bill Clinton's draft record as a campaign issue is a major effort at self-justification ["Put Down That Bloody Shirt, Mr. President" op-ed, Sept. 15]. Worse, he misses a key point.

For years the armed forces of the United States have been made up of volunteers who presumably accepted the risks of combat upon joining up. But when finally confronted with the real threat of full-scale combat against an enemy as clearly despicable as Saddam Hussein, there were still those who suddenly got cold feet. These included the active duty members who openly questioned the purpose of the war, those who became conscientious objectors overnight, the reservists who refused to report as ordered—admittedly few in number, but whose virus of self-interest can quickly spread and cripple their units' effectiveness if not addressed with the full authority of command and military discipline.

And when faced with the prospect of committing American troops in the next crisis, how would commander in chief Clinton respond to these service members? Will he (of new-found maturity) ignore them, these 19-year-olds whose passions and beliefs may be as strong as his were at 23? Or will he hear them and excuse them from their duty, thereby inviting their fellow soldiers to join them in refusing to serve? If resulting courts martial are based on defenses of morality ("the war is wrong") and unpopu-



BY TIM BRINTON

larity ("Vietnam is not worth dying for") how will he respond to requests for executive clemency?

Messrs. Clinton and Fallows can be proud that they opposed a war they thought was wrong. But the thought of a President Clinton explaining to the public and the troops why a war he's leading them into is right and just is both sickening in its hypocrisy and frightening in its implications. It was Lyndon Johnson's inability to convince the public of the justice of his cause that made Vietnam the national tragedy it was. Given the right difficult circumstances, a Clinton presidency begs us to do it all again.

ROBERT C. DALTON
Arlington

The Washington Post

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Vote Should Calm Currency Markets.

By Steven Mufson
and Stuart Auerbach
Washington Post Staff Writers

Finance Ministers Say

European finance ministers said yesterday that the apparent narrow French approval of tighter European unity should calm troubled financial markets, but during a two-hour meeting at the International Monetary Fund here they came no closer to resolving economic policy differences that helped drive currency markets into turmoil during the past two weeks.

The French referendum results helped bolster the French franc on markets last night, but concern remained about the fate of the British pound and Italian lira as the European ministers made little headway toward getting Italy or Britain back into the European Monetary System (EMS).

Fearful that Britain's suspension of its membership in the EMS last week could fan inflation fears and drive up long-term interest rates in Britain, Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer Norman Lamont strongly reasserted his government's determination to continue its fight against inflation. "We are not going to throw away our hard won gains when success is finally within sight," he said.

But at the same time, Lamont said that the European monetary system had forced Britain to keep a tighter monetary policy than it needed to achieve lower inflation.

Lamont held out little hope of Britain rejoining the EMS soon. He warned that the close French vote showed that economic arrangements in the 12-member European Community must be reconsidered.

"We will not have a stable situation if Europe develops ahead of public opinion or regardless of public opinion," Lamont said yesterday after European finance ministers and central bankers emerged from a two-hour meeting here at the International Monetary Fund.

At a White House reception last night, President Bush told EC finance ministers and other officials that they should consider a system of coordinating exchange rates by linking currencies with a "basket of commodities, including gold."

Bush did not spell out how that would work. White House chief of staff James A. Baker made a similar proposal when he was Treasury secretary in 1987, but the idea was not taken up by other countries. Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady did not discuss the idea at the meeting Saturday of the Group of Seven economic powers.

In a brief communiqué, European finance officials said that they "welcomed the result of the French referendum" and expressed a belief that "the result will ease tension in the foreign exchange markets."

Michel Camdessus, head of the IMF, said that the outcome of the French vote should stabilize turbulent currency markets and improve growth prospects for the global economy.

"This result is good for France, for Europe and for the world," Camdessus said. "The strengthening of European monetary cooperation will reinforce the prospects for stability and sustainable growth in the world economy."

German Finance Minister Theo

Waigel, whose country was accused by London of precipitating the currency crisis by maintaining high interest rates, called the French vote "a positive sign for integration in Europe and also a positive sign for the market."

The head of Germany's Bundesbank, Helmut Schlesinger, was equally upbeat. "The French vote will calm the market," he said.

[In Monday morning trading on Tokyo's foreign exchange markets, the German mark rose sharply against the dollar after traders concluded that the "yes" vote on the French treaty would reduce pressure on Germany's central bank to reduce interest rates. At mid-afternoon, the dollar was trading at 1.48 German marks, compared with Friday's close of 1.50 marks. The dollar also weakened slightly against the Japanese yen, trading at 123.9 yen, down from Friday's close of 124.5 yen.]

[The British pound fell sharply, especially against other European currencies, because of widespread expectations that British officials would reduce rates this week. The pound was trading at 2.56 marks, down from Friday's close of 2.61. Against the dollar, the pound fell by half a cent to \$1.73.]

Analysts said that the French vote removed a major cloud hanging over currency markets, but that European economic leaders still had to grapple with their differences.

"They have got to get back to the real issues," said Robert Hormats, vice chairman of Goldman Sachs International in New York. "Their fundamentals are out of kilter. How do you address the fundamental imbalances in European economies?"

There were few signs of that yesterday at the IMF as European leaders continued to restate past positions.

Waigel again defended his country

against recent British and U.S. criticism that high German interest rates had slowed growth in Europe and ignited the currency crisis by drawing investors out of other countries.

Waigel said the high German interest rates stemmed from deficit spending by Germany on reunification. He said that "to cope with German unification, a temporary increase in . . . borrowing was inevitable."

But he said that over the past two years, growth in Europe was half a percentage point higher because of the pumped up German economy. Moreover, he said Germany was financing its deficit from savings and was not borrowing from overseas.

"It would be wrong to say that German unification has reduced growth in Europe and the world," Waigel said.

Many analysts disagreed. They recently said high German interest rates have helped increase the value of the mark as investors seek better returns and as they gain confidence in the Bundesbank's determination to fight inflation through high interest rates.

But the EMS policies have required other European nations to keep their currencies within a close range of the German mark, thus forcing increases in interest rates across the continent to stay in step with Germany—regardless of circumstances in those countries.

In Britain, where the country was just struggling to come out of a long recession, that put enormous political pressure on the conservative government. And in Italy, where the government has been grappling with an enormous deficit, it heightened pressures.

In France, where tough economic policies have yielded low inflation and slow growth, higher interest rates dimmed the prospects for the economy on the eve of the crucial referendum. It gave rise to the appearance that Germany's unification, deficit spending and high interest rates had

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helped keep up unemployment, which has been running at nearly 10 percent.

French Finance Minister Michel Sapin yesterday said: "In this climate of uncertainty, one thing is certain: the risk of inflation has diminished in most countries . . . Our main priority today is economic growth."

At the same time, European finance ministers asserted that they were not planning to abandon the idea of coordinating their exchange rates.

Since the end of the gold standard in the early 1970s, Europe has been seeking a way to keep currencies from gyrating wildly and creating uncertainty for individuals and companies trying to plan for the future.

Since 1979, European countries have closely coordinated their currencies. Britain joined the system in 1990.

Anders Fogh Rasmussen, a Danish finance official, said that "we have to discuss how we can rebuild the credibility of the EMS."

Rasmussen said if European nations fail to patch together a new coordinated exchange rate system that includes Britain and Italy, European economies will operate "in two speeds" with a stronger group of countries closely tied to the powerful German currency and a weaker group with fluctuating exchange rates.

Lamont said that membership had helped bring credibility to Britain's fight against inflation. He noted that British inflation has dropped to 3.5 percent from nearly 11 percent and that British interest rates have gone to 10 percent from 15 percent.

Sapin said that the European monetary system "is designed to guarantee price stability for the benefit of every-

one, ultimately signifying more growth for each country, less inflation and hence lower interest rates."

Most analysts expect a waiting period while markets calm down before European finance ministers take any further measures.

An Italian central bank official said no decisions were taken yesterday to realign Europe's currencies. He called it "a first exchange of views" and suggested that the financial leaders of the European governments would wait to see how markets reacted today before deciding if they have to take any immediate actions.

The European currency crisis, the worst in two decades, dominated the IMF meeting, which was to have focused on ways to help the former Sovi-

et Union make the transition from communism to a market economy.

The French approval of greater European unity may clear the way for a new effort to conclude the Uruguay Round of global free-trade talks, which have been stalled for almost two years over a transatlantic battle of farm subsidies. At July's summit of industrial democracies, French President Francois Mitterand, under pressure from British Prime Minister John Major, indicated he would be more flexible on the farm question after yesterday's vote.

Mitterand was concerned over riling the politically powerful French farmers who benefit from the EC subsidies.

Correspondent Paul Blustein in Tokyo contributed to this report.

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UPSTAIRS, DOWNSTAIRS AT 1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVE.

FISCAL 1991 PAY

The vice president's office and residence. Many of those on the list no longer work for the White House, which was reorganized by former chief of staff Samuel K. Skinner and current Chief of Staff James A. Baker III. The names of more than 1,000 White House employees were released. A selected list of titles and salaries follows.

human resources made available a list of White House staff and salaries for the executive office and the executive residence for fiscal 1991, during the tenure of then-White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu. The list included employees for the executive office, the executive residence and

EXECUTIVE RESIDENCE EMPLOYEES

NUMBER	JOB TITLE	SALARY RANGE
5	Ushers and assistant ushers	\$47,303-\$83,141
5	Calligraphers	\$27,431-\$52,475
1	Doorman	\$25,610
1	Maintenance adviser	\$61,140
1	Grounds superintendent	\$78,761
1	Registrar	\$37,339
2	Curators	\$33,044-\$57,646
1	Secretary	\$24,835
1	Florists	\$19,213-\$25,288
5	Maids	\$28,481-\$54,037
9	Executive housekeeper	\$15,185
1	Housekeeper/housewoman	\$21,757-\$27,459
1	Custodial specialist	\$42,824
1	Bullies	\$34,933-\$47,303
4	Stewards	\$24,878-\$33,044
1	Maids	\$64,051
5	Chefs	\$44,129-\$56,806
7	Operations	\$27,207-\$56,251
6	Carpenters and painters	\$32,364-\$52,075
10	Engineers	\$35,809-\$44,871
2	Electricians	\$32,844-\$54,037

Ninety-five people were listed as employees of the White House residence in 1991. The White House staff included ushers, maids, doorman, groundskeepers, florists, housekeepers, calligraphers, stewards and chefs, carpenters, foremen and engineers. A staff and salary breakdown follows.

WHITE HOUSE STAFF

NAME	TITLE	SALARY
Almond, Deborah A.	Special assistant to the president for media affairs	\$76,400
Anderson, Debra Rae	Deputy assistant to the president, director of intergovernmental affairs	\$97,000
Andrew, Gary J.	Deputy assistant to the president for legislative efforts (House)	\$116,300
Baderman, Paul W.	Deputy assistant to the president for management, director of the Office of Administration	\$107,300
Beckley, Jean	Deputy press secretary to the first lady	\$45,295
Brady, Philip D.	Assistant to the president and staff secretary	\$65,100
Brody, Ann C.	Director of scheduling for the first lady	\$56,119
Burns, James L.	Director, president's personal correspondence	\$46,427
Callio, Nicholas E.	Deputy assistant to the president for legislative efforts (House)	\$115,300
Canary Jr., William J.	Special assistant to the president for intergovernmental affairs (majority)	\$72,600
Card Jr., Andrew H.	Assistant to the president and deputy chief of staff	\$125,100
Caney, David M.	Special assistant to the president and director, Office of Political Affairs	\$83,100
Cicconi, James W.	Assistant to the president and deputy chief of staff	\$96,600
Collins Jr., Paul J.	Political affairs	\$72,800
Cook, Julianne L.	Director of projects for the first lady	\$63,413
Danzansky, Stephen L.	Deputy assistant to the president and director of cabinet affairs	\$97,000
Deaton, Joan W.	Director of correspondence for the first lady	\$50,957
Demarest Jr., David F.	Assistant to the president for communications	\$116,300
Dyer, James	Deputy assistant to the president for presidential aide	\$42,000
Fertis, William B.	Public relations	\$61,149
Fitzwater, Martin	Assistant to the president and press secretary	\$125,100
Foster, Gary L.	Press secretary	\$85,000
Gardner, John B.	Staff secretary	\$85,000
Gates, Robert M.	Assistant to the president and deputy national security adviser	\$125,100
Gelsinger, Spencer E.	Special assistant to the president for presidential press advance	\$62,000
Gray, Alice R.	Special assistant to the president and deputy press secretary	\$60,000
Gray, C. Boyden	Counsel to the president	\$125,100
Hagan, Joseph W.	Deputy assistant to the president for appointments and scheduling	\$82,880
Haley, Sandra Jean	Deputy press secretary to the first lady	\$115,300
Hoddy, Edith E.	Deputy assistant to the president and secretary of the cabinet	\$125,100
Hollingsworth Jr., Dwight B.	Deputy assistant to the president	\$115,300
Holmes, Jeffrey Ralph	Associate counsel to the president	\$79,500
Horner, Constance	Assistant to the president	\$126,100
Katzen, Ronald C.	Deputy assistant to the president	\$100,600
Kaher Jr., John C.	Deputy assistant to the president	\$100,600



Kilberg, Bobbie G.	Deputy assistant to the president	\$100,600
Land, Nelson R.	Associate counsel to the president	\$83,700
McBride, Timothy J.	Deputy assistant to the president and executive assistant to the chief of staff	\$115,300
McClure, Frederick D.	Assistant to the president for legislative affairs	\$125,100
McGowan, Daniel M.	Deputy director of speechwriting	\$67,943
Meizer, Leigh Ann	Assistant press secretary	\$76,400
Maynor, Jeannette L.	Deputy assistant to the president for public liaison	\$100,600
Newman, J. Bonny	Assistant to the president for management and administration	\$96,600
Perez, Anna Maria	Press secretary to the first lady	\$61,149
Petersen, Charles	Assistant to the president and director, Office of National Service	\$125,100
Pickerton, James P.	Deputy assistant to the president for planning	\$97,000
Porter, Roger B.	Assistant to the president for economic and domestic policy	\$125,100
Portman, Robert J.	Deputy assistant to the president	\$115,300
Prescott, Patricia	Deputy assistant to the president	\$115,300
Rogers, Edward M.	Deputy assistant to the president	\$115,300
Rose, Susan Porter	Deputy assistant to the president and chief of staff to the first lady	\$100,600
Sanchez, L. Shive	Associate director, Office of Public Liaison	\$50,957
Schwey, John P.	Deputy counsel to the president for national security efforts	\$125,100
Schwarz, Bruce J.	Deputy assistant to the president	\$100,600
Seidman, Robert Anthony	Deputy assistant to the president for communications	\$110,000
Snyder, James J.	Special assistant to the president	\$71,000
Sununu, John H.	Chief of staff to the president	\$126,100
Super, Kathleen L.	Deputy assistant to the president for appointments	\$125,100
Untermyer, Chase	Assistant to the president for presidential personnel	\$88,700
Waldman, Brian K.	Special assistant to the president	\$88,700
Walden, Gregory Stewart	Associate counsel to the president	\$88,700
Watson, Chris A.	Deputy assistant to the president for communications	\$97,000
Zamaria, Bruce J.	Deputy assistant to the president	\$56,080

NAME	TITLE	SALARY
Abraham, Edward	Assistant to the vice president	\$115,300
Balzano, Denise W.	Chief of staff to Mrs. Quayle	\$75,500
Beckwith, David C.	Assistant to the vice president	\$115,300
Calibbin, William J.	Assistant to the vice president	\$101,200
Jackson, Karl Dion	Assistant to the vice president and press adviser	\$108,300
Kristol, William	Assistant to the vice president	\$125,000
Lord, James R.	Assistant to the vice president for national security	\$108,300
Sullivan	Assistant to the vice president and chief of staff	\$100,000
Margulies, R.	Assistant to the vice president and chief of staff to Mrs. Quayle	\$80,000
Weinstein, Diane G.	Consultant	\$80,000

No longer on the vice president's staff

SOURCE: House Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee on human resources

**On White House staff but in different job

No longer on White House staff

The Washington Post

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Rumors swept the staff of "The Tonight Show With Jay Leno" over the weekend that executive producer Helen Kushnick had been fired, prompting NBC executives to issue a statement acknowledging the network was "considering modifications to the show's management structure" but stopping short of saying she had left. . .

Network sources on the West Coast insisted yesterday that no hard decisions had yet been made and denied rumors that Leno—fiercely loyal to longtime personal manager Kushnick—had threatened to walk away from his \$3 million-a-year job if she were forced out. . .

As the rumors flew on Friday, the network finally issued a brief statement that did nothing to dispel the gossip:

"NBC takes great pride in its late night franchise and couldn't be more pleased with Jay Leno's performance in his new capacity. However, we are considering modifications to the show's management structure and are currently in discussion about appropriate courses of action with Jay and Helen Kushnick. We are confident that the ultimate outcome will be in the show's best interest" . . .

In recent days, according to network sources, NBC Entertainment President Warren Littlefield and John Agoglia, whose job as president of NBC Enterprises includes supervision of "The Tonight Show," have grown increasingly concerned about the direction of the show, which has been tapering off in the ratings after a good start following the Carson-to-Leno changeover in late May. . .

Kushnick's confrontational management style has been getting some unwanted headlines lately, underscoring the growing concern at NBC that "Tonight" with Leno at the helm hasn't settled in. . .

In the most recent ratings, "Tonight" averaged a 4.2/14 for the week ending Sept. 11. The network concedes, however, that its 4.7 rating since the May 25 takeover (excluding the premiere week and political convention weeks) "is comparable to the same period last year" under Carson and Leno and their reruns. . .

Leno and Kushnick go back some 17 years, through all the lean times any hungry comedian experiences. In recent years, that friendship became closer after Kushnick lost her husband and a son and was herself stricken with cancer. . .

She dissolved her management company when she took over as executive producer of "Tonight Show" as Leno replaced Carson in May. . .

In just four months, the fiery Kushnick has become almost as big a story in Hollywood as her star, inspiring considerable negative publicity. . .

One sore spot is her aggressiveness over the booking of guests with rival late-night hosts like ~~Leno and Leno~~ (who blames the demise of his show on her strong-arm tactics)—although the talent in the middle has been understandably mute on the subject. . .

But just last week top talent manager Ken Kragen broke the silence, accusing Kushnick of threats to ban his client Travis Tritt permanently because he wouldn't cancel an appearance on "Arsenio." Kragen didn't like it and he let the L.A. press know it. . .

Under Kushnick (who reportedly goes ballistic if she hears Carson's name around the set), "The Tonight Show" has been less than friendly to Johnny Carson, to whom Leno owes a great deal. And there has been criticism that she is tougher than necessary on the "Tonight" staff—and even on some of the guests. . .

(One unconfirmed story that has been getting chuckles in Hollywood: Kushnick stormed into the green room at "Tonight" one afternoon to berate famed film director Brian De Palma, who remarked after she had left, "I haven't been yelled at like that since I was 4 years old." When De Palma demanded to see the producer of the show to complain, he was told, "That was the producer") . . .

In Other News

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting is looking for a new corporate communications vice president following the departure last week of Rozanne Weissman under pressure from the CPB board. . .

Weissman had been with CPB five years. Melissa Duprat, director of external communications, is acting as interim PR boss at the funding agency. . .

Michael L. Jones has been named station manager and general sales manager of Channel 50 here. He has also been named vice president of parent Corridor Broadcasting Corp. . . .

Andrew Ockershausen continues as vice president and general manager of WFTY. . .

And Channel 4 has named Mike Henry director of advertising and promotion. . .

Henry has been vice president of creative services for Fox-owned WFLD in Chicago. . .

Yo, ABC! Which won a Thursday night with regularly scheduled programming for the first time since September 1982 (you do remember "Joanie Loves Chachi," don't you? Well, don't you?) . . .

The network won with a so-so 11.5 national rating and a 20 percent audience share, as "Delta" debuted in her regular timeslot with a 10.1/18, followed by the season premieres of "Room for Two" (8.4/14) and "Homefront" (9.2/15) and "PrimeTime Live," which got its third-best rating ever, a 15.9/29 on a show that included a Renee Poussaint piece about childhood sexual abuse. . .

NBC averaged an 11.3/20 as a farewell hour of "The Cosby Show" did a 9.9/16; a repeat "Cheers" hour, a 13.8/23; and the farewell hour of "Night Court," a 10.1/19. . .

CBS's all-original lineup did a 10.5/19. "Street Stories" at 9 did a 12.5/21, but "Middle Ages" trailed off with a 7.2/13 at 10. . .

On Fox, "Martin" averaged an 8.8/15, while "The Heights" headed for the depths again with a 4.4/7. Each national ratingzzz point represents 931,000 TV homes. . .

Moving Right Along

CBS News has announced changes in the format of its low-powered "CBS This Morning" that will give local stations more air time during the broadcast for their own local news, weather and traffic—just in time for the November sweeps. . .

The CBS morning block has historically finished third in the national ratings behind ABC's "Good Morning America" and NBC's "Today" despite many format and talent changes over the years. . .

These latest changes, which go into effect Monday, Oct. 26, won't be noticeable on Channel 9 here—at least at first. . .

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WUSA president Hank Yaggi said Friday that the station "initially" would not make the changes but "we'll probably take a look at it eventually"....

"CBS This Morning" does relatively well in this market, usually finishing second behind "Good Morning America" in the ratings. That success and the existence of Nine's one-hour early morning local news preceding the network program are two key reasons for Nine's caution at this stage....

Although the format changes are a CBS News operation, it was the president of affiliate relations for CBS, Tony Malara, who fielded questions Friday about the changes, reflecting the network's concern over station unrest—at a time when, on a separate front, the affiliates and CBS are still negotiating a bitterly fought attempt by the network to sharply cut compensation to the stations for carrying its programs....

Under the new "CBS This Morning" formula, local news times will jump from four to 12 minutes and from one to three news blocks per hour. Cutaways will take place from 7:07 to 7:10, the existing 7:25 to 7:30 cutaway will continue, and there will be another five-minute cutaway at 7:45. The same pattern will be available in the second hour....

In addition, "a shared open will be provided for in each broadcast, with local stations having the unprecedented opportunity for their local anchors to open the broadcast with Harry Smith, Paula Zahn and Mark McEwan and report local news, weather, traffic and sports headlines"....

The network said the new cutaway times are optional and that "stations not making use of each local news time will continue to receive the existing, seamless 'CBS This Morning' format"....

News president Eric Ober said there would be "no substantive changes in the standard format," i.e., the current roster of contributors....

In the most recent ratings, through the week ending Sept. 13, GMA averaged a 3.9/19, compared with a 3.8/19 for "Today" and a 2.2/11 for "This Morning." CBS says audiences for the show, however, are up 29 percent over last year....

Malara estimated that some 100 CBS stations already have a half-hour or hour early local news show in place that can take advantage of the new format....

With the new arrangement, "CBS This Morning" each hour will offer 35 minutes of program time, 12 minutes of local programming time and 13 minutes of commercial time....

Correction: Dan Rather's trashing of CNN last week took place at the Army War College in Carlisle, Pa., not the National War College here, as we surmised Friday. A member of the National War College staff pointed out that in all the years they've had such off-the-record speeches "there's never been a leak"—like the one up there in Pennsylvania that prompted Dan to apologize to CNN president Tom Johnson last week for his remarks....

HIGHLIGHTS

- The return of "Murphy Brown" and "Evening Shade" and the pilot of "Love & War" on WUSA.
- The return of "The Young Indiana Jones Chronicles," and the Giants and Bears on WJLA.
- And the conclusion of "The Kennedys" on WETA.

Sports

Baseball. Baltimore Orioles at Milwaukee Brewers (Channel 20 at 8 p.m.).

NFL Football (CC). New York Giants at Chicago Bears (Channel 7 at 9 p.m.).

Public Broadcasting

The American Experience: The Kennedys (CC) (DVS) (Conclusion). A look at President Kennedy's private behavior and Robert Kennedy's emergence as an advocate (Channel 26 at 8).

Rose Kennedy: The Best of Times... The Worst of Times (CC) (R). Robert MacNeil's interview with the Kennedy matriarch in the 1970s (Channel 26 at 10).

Primetime Movie

Miss America: Behind the Crown (1992) (CC). Former Miss America Carolyn Sapp portrays herself in her story of dealing with an abusive boyfriend (Channel 4 at 9).

Series Premiere

Love & War (CC) (Channel 9 at 10) is previewed by Tom Shales on Page D1.

Series Returns

The Young Indiana Jones Chronicles (CC). Indy travels to Vienna in hopes of securing a peace treaty during World War I (Channel 7 at 8).

Evening Shade (CC). Wood is outraged to learn that his father's old hardware store is being torn down (Channel 9 at 8).

Murphy Brown (CC). In a one-hour episode, Murphy deals with her new life as a mother, and figures out a response for Vice President Quayle (Channel 9 at 9).

Series

The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air (CC). Will and the Banks family help clean up their old Los Angeles neighborhood (Channel 4 at 8).

Blossom (CC). Joey dreams up a fantasy sequence to overcome his writer's block (Channel 4, 8:30).

Hearts Afire (CC). John is insanely jealous over Georgie's celebrity date (Channel 9, 8:30).

Late Night

The Arsenio Hall Show (CC). With Holly Robinson, Gerard Depardieu and Najee with Freddie Jackson (Channel 9, 11:30).

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With Paul Reiser, actor Kristoff St. John, actress Kathryn Harrold and the Blue Man Group (Channel 4, 11:35).

Quayle says Guard issue already settled in '88

FROM CC JOINED DISPATCHES

Vice President Dan Quayle yesterday rejected resurrected charges that strings were pulled to get him into the National Guard in 1969 and renewed his attack on Bill Clinton's explanation of how he avoided the military.

The New York Times, in a lengthy article yesterday reprinting charges leveled against Mr. Quayle in 1988, said there was "a striking pattern of favoritism" on how Mr. Quayle and others got into an elite Indiana National Guard headquarters unit.

"I read the story. There's no new news there at all," the vice president said on NBC's "Meet the Press." "This was all hashed over in 1988."

The issue now, he said, "is the truthfulness or the lack thereof of Bill Clinton."

The Democratic presidential nominee "has not told the truth. He has varillated. He has dodged this

issue," Mr. Quayle said.

The Clinton campaign acknowledged on Friday that Mr. Clinton sought help from Sen. J. William Fulbright's office in 1969 when he was trying to win a spot in the University of Arkansas ROTC to avoid being drafted.

Mr. Clinton worked as an intern during college for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee chaired by the Arkansas Democrat, a leading opponent of the Vietnam War.

Clinton spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers said Mr. Clinton questioned Mr. Fulbright's staff about his options but did not ask them to influence anyone on his behalf.

Following Mr. Clinton's contact, however, Mr. Fulbright's office began exerting a great deal of pressure on the local draft board on his behalf, according to retired Army Lt. Col. Eugene J. Holmes, head of the University of Arkansas ROTC,

and Cliff Jackson, an Oxford classmate of Mr. Clinton's, also from Arkansas.

In a notarized statement made public last week, Col. Holmes said: "The general message conveyed by the draft board to me was that Senator Fulbright's office was putting pressure on them and that they needed my help. I then made the necessary arrangements to enroll Mr. Clinton into the ROTC program at the University of Arkansas."

Mr. Jackson, through his Republican contacts, said last week on CNN's "Larry King Live" that he helped Mr. Clinton get into the ROTC program but later became disillusioned with his former schoolmate "when he started trying to wiggle out of it."

Mr. Quayle said yesterday that "a lot of factors" went into his decision to join the Guard on graduating from

DePauw University in May 1969 and losing his student deferment.

Pressed on whether his main motivation was to avoid being sent to fight in Vietnam, he said, "When I looked at all the options, I wanted to join the reserves."

Mr. Quayle added, "Of course you have much, much less of a chance to go to Vietnam" in the Guard.

"I never asked for any special treatment," he said. "No rules were broken, no regulations broken. There were openings. Thousands of people joined the Indiana National Guard in the year 1969, just like I did."

President Bush, returning from a weekend in Camp David, Md., yesterday, said Mr. Quayle "certainly has" answered all the questions about his military record. "He was in uniform for six years, in the Guard. That's pretty good, especially in this day and age," he said.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1992 •

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



A Hollywood hand for Dan Quayle

There's bad news this morning for aspiring comics, and maybe for some of the big egos in the Republican Party, who are trying to hide out until '96.

Dan Quayle, having the best year of anyone on the hustings, is winning the debate with Hollywood.

Linda Bloodworth-Thomasson, the Hollywood producer who is the "Thelma" to Hillary Clinton's "Louise" and a big-bucks contributor to Slick Willie's presidential campaign, says she thought the Quayle-bashing Emmy awards dinner was "a repulsive display of self-aggrandizement" and a Valentine for the utterly unworthy vice president.

But some of them are actually beginning to get it.

Several of them were on David Brinkley's Sunday-morning TV show yesterday and Sam Donaldson, TV's foremost smart-ass soundbite scholar of the American experience, couldn't even provoke an argument.

"I've heard all kinds of paranoid talk about this being a prelude to a new McCarthyism," said Michael Medved, the thoughtful Hollywood movie critic. "People [in Hollywood] are very worried about sponsor boycotts. Obviously Dan Quayle's no political fool. He wouldn't be saying these things if it turned everybody off. There's a sense that the vice president must be speaking for somebody."

The Hollywood producers aren't fools, either, and that's why they've tried so hard to distort the Quayle message as an attack on single mothers. If the veep advocates spending more on heart research, he should expect to be cast as pro-heart attacks.

"They desperately want this not to be a debate about Hollywood," says Mr. Medved, "because they know if it is about Hollywood, they're going to lose."

Sam inquired of Charlton Heston whether Hollywood has gone completely berserk and represents no value that is truly American.

"I think that's excessive," chided Moses. "I [do



Mary Steenburgen

think] Hollywood's perception of America is inaccurate. The ... people who ride those planes [between Hollywood and New York and Washington] refer to the country they're flying over as 'flyover country.' Not intentionally dismissive, but that's the implication.

"The only villains ... on prime-time television are businessmen, white Southerners, Midwestern farmers, anyone in the American intelligence community, Protestant or Catholic clergymen, and military men above the rank of major."

When George Will pressed her, actress Mary Steenburgen, still smarting from Mr. Quayle's "insult" of "Murphy Brown," nevertheless confessed that she doesn't allow her daughters, aged 8 and 11, to watch television — not even the shows produced by her pal Linda Bloodworth-Thomasson.

So why does Hollywood make gruesome dreck, if, as Michael Medved notes, G-rated films nearly always outperform R-rated stuff at the box office? Particularly if the studios are supposed to be interested only in S-rated movies.

Sam put the question to Richard Dreyfuss, who demonstrated why Mr. Heston regards him as one of the most thoughtful liberals he knows. "What's going on here is that we are rudderless in Hollywood. There used to be a studio system that set certain rules and an agenda, how we behaved and what kind of movies we made, and we made these films, hundreds of them, without the pressure of free TV.

"Free television has created a panic situation that has never subsided in 30, 40 years. So the people try to make what they believe the audience wants, and they are working on a set of false assumptions that people want R-rated movies, that people want violence."

Cokie Roberts wondered how even ever-eager-to-please-everyone Bill Clinton, in Hollywood as his own bag man, could say, "I want Hollywood to write America's future."

What could Slick Willie mean by that?

Mr. Dreyfuss chose his words carefully, conceding that he wouldn't want to hurt delicate Hollywood sensibilities or fragile Clinton chances. But both Hollywood and Mr. Slick, he said, "certainly could do with a certain sense of reflection."

Take a bow, Dan Quayle. That's exactly what you said in the first place.

GOP shrugs off admiral's endorsement

By Carleton R. Bryant
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Voters' understanding of Adm. William J. Crowe's position on the Persian Gulf war will diminish the value of his endorsement of Bill Clinton for president, an administration official said yesterday.

"I think the connection will be very clear to people that, first, Bill Clinton was a waffler on the war, and Admiral Crowe was a very vocal opponent of the war," Robert Zoellick, White House deputy chief of staff, said on CNN-TV's "Newsmaker Sunday," adding, "He was afraid it frankly would ruin our prospects for Mideast peace. He was wrong."

Moreover, Mr. Zoellick suggested that Adm. Crowe, who chaired the joint chiefs of staff in both the Reagan and Bush administrations, may be trying to repay past grievances with his endorsement of the Democratic nominee.

But Clinton communications director George Stephanopoulos, said the retired admiral gave his support to the Arkansas governor because "he thinks that Bill Clinton is the best president for this economy."

"He understands that our national

strength is embedded in our economic strength here at home," Mr. Stephanopoulos said on the same program.

Two months before the start of the Persian Gulf war, Adm. Crowe held a news conference to oppose military action against President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

"The issue is not whether an embargo will work, but whether we have the patience to let it take effect," said Adm. Crowe, who retired from service in 1989.

He also said intelligence reports touting Iraq's potential to build a nuclear weapon were "exaggerated" and a war in the Persian Gulf would nullify peace efforts in the region.

Post-war inspections of Iraq's nuclear facilities revealed that Saddam was within a year of developing a nuclear weapon, and Middle East peace talks are continuing.

Further doubts about Adm. Crowe were raised after publication of the book "The Commanders," a behind-the-scenes account of how U.S. military leaders deliberated over Operation Desert Storm.

In the book, Washington Post editor Bob Woodward wrote that Adm. Crowe worried about whether the civilian leaders of the military were up to the task.

As chairman of the joint chiefs, Adm. Crowe boasted about having "stood up to the president" and congratulated himself on beginning secret talks with his Soviet counterpart without informing his civilian superiors, the book states.

What's more, he "felt bitter" when the general in charge of the U.S. Southern Command in Panama was relieved by the president, Mr. Woodward says in his book.

In his endorsement speech Saturday, Adm. Crowe said: "There has been an inordinate amount of attention in this campaign paid to Gov. Clinton's lack of military service. I personally served in uniform for 47 years, and I am extremely proud of the U.S. military and my connection with it."

"Moreover, I treasure my association with the young men and women who served their country in the armed services. They inspired me every day of my career."

Mr. Zoellick said yesterday that he hoped "the Clinton people have showed [Adm. Crowe] that letter where Clinton talks about his loathing of the military."

He was referring to a letter Mr. Clinton wrote in 1969 to the commander of the ROTC unit to which Mr. Clinton had ap-

plied to avoid the draft for the Vietnam War.

In that letter, although Mr. Clinton did not say he loathed the military, he does try to explain "how so many fine people have come to find themselves still loving their country but loathing the military."

Retired Army Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of the allied forces in the Persian Gulf, has said: "How does a person who admits that he deliberately did not agree with the war, and therefore did not want to go to that war, how does he handle it when he has to send other people to war?"

Asked if the retired admiral's endorsement was meant to "inoculate" Mr. Clinton from the draft issue, Mr. Stephanopoulos said no. "I think you're going to see political charges go back and forth time and time again," he said.



INSIDE THE BELTWAY

Cross-networking

Vice President Dan Quayle must have fueled a few ulcers in NBC's boardroom yesterday when he used an appearance on that network's "Meet the Press" to tout a show on rival CBS. Asked about his feud with CBS sitcom "Murphy Brown," which will respond in its season premiere tonight to the vice president's charge that it glamorized unwed motherhood, Mr. Quayle said, "I'll be watching," and added: "In the spirit of light-heartedness and joining in the fun, I have sent Murphy Brown's baby a gift and a note."

Quayle press secretary Dave Beckwith said the gift may be opened on the CBS "This Morning" show today. He didn't say what the gift was, but it's rumored to be an anatomically correct deadbeat-dad doll from Latin America. Not!

On another point, Mr. Quayle used the prizefight-managerial "we" when asked on "Meet the Press" if President Bush will really debate Bill Clinton. He put it this way:

"Hey, we — we're ready for the debates. I think Bill Clinton evidently is going to go up next Tuesday in Lansing and have a debate with himself. Of course, he's on both sides of all issues so it will be a very interesting debate between Bill Clinton and Bill Clinton. Maybe he'll answer the draft — or his military service questions. . . ."

Old West solution

Down in Chandler, Ariz., the spirit of the Old West still lives. Two Republicans who tied in their primary for a legislative nomination have decided to break the deadlock with a game of stud poker if a recount confirms the tie.

"It's the West," John Gaylord said, explaining why he and Richard Kyle decided on the showdown card game to determine who gets the nomination. Each player — er, candidate — had 3,760 votes in the primary. State law provides for

drawing lots to determine the winner if the recount, scheduled for Wednesday, remains tied.

"I'd prefer a good, solid game of five-card stud, high hand wins," Mr. Gaylord said.

Mr. Gaylord and Mr. Kyle said they want either a beauty queen or state House Speaker Jane Hull, a Republican, to be the dealer. Mrs. Hull was reportedly happy to oblige.



Rep. Bob Dornan has little faith in the "liberal media dweebs."

Dornan won't stop

Rep. Bob Dornan, the fire-breathing Republican conservative from Orange County, Calif., has

been singeing Bill Clinton's rump on a regular basis over the draft-dodging issue, and he says he won't quit. Now he has challenged the press to check the files for details of the young Mr. Clinton's anti-war demonstrations outside the U.S. Embassy in London in October and November 1969.

"Is the media concealing coverage of Clinton shouting 'Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh/The Viet Cong is going to win' and 'Hey, hey, LBJ/How many babies have you killed today?'" a Dornan press release asks.

The congressman, a former broadcast journalist himself, clearly has no great faith that the press will clean up its act on this particular issue. In one recent anti-Clinton polemic on the House floor, Mr. Dornan said: "The liberal media dweebs just about all dogged it during the Korean and Vietnamese fighting. Just check out dominant media culture executives in their mid-40s to mid-50s. . . ." Mr. Dornan, who is 59, was an Air Force pilot from 1953 to 1958.

Noshing for Bruce

You don't hear much around here about Bruce Herschensohn, the conservative California Republican running for the Senate seat relinquished by Alan Cranston — possibly because the aforementioned dweebs have agreed that Democratic Rep. Barbara Boxer is a shoo-in. But the Old Guard hasn't surrendered just yet. A group of conservative stalwarts, including Lee Edwards, Ken Khachigian, Lyn Nofziger, Phyllis Schlafly, Richard Viguerie and Thomas Winter, are

throwing a fund-raising lunch for Mr. Herschensohn Thursday at the Ritz-Carlton here.

Your basic attendance ticket is \$150, with more gratefully accepted. Call 202/546-5833 for reservations.

Better late . . .

Newsweek appears to have found the level it's most comfortable working at. "Just for Kids: '92 Election Special" is designed to "help children 7 to 13 years old understand the presidential election," according to a Newsweek press release. It "hits newsstands," as Newsweek puts it, today inside the regular issue dated Sept. 28. (Maybe they could help children of all ages understand why the Sept. 28 issue comes out Sept. 21, but don't count on it.)

A highlight of the kiddie insert is a bipartisan crossword puzzle with such clues as "Bush said, 'Read my —,'" "Marijuana: Clinton said he didn't —," "Potatoe man," and "Lots of people think Congress is doing a — job" (five letters beginning with L).

Back to you, Dan

Keeping its loyal readers up to date with its usual flair, Joe Farah's media watchdog newsletter "between the lines" offers this item of interest cum commentary: "In Taiwan, politicians hire professional liars at \$5 a day to sit in coffee shops and spread rumors about their opponents. We do the same thing in America, only they're given microphones, TelePrompTers, important sounding names like 'anchorman' and \$1.5 million a year."

Who needs it?

Just in time, the folks at Miracles Magazine have arranged a "miracles conference" in Estes Park, Colo. Begins Oct. 29 and ends Nov. 2. George, Bill, Ross: call your office.

— David Braaten

The first thing we do, let's count all the lawyers

When Vice President Dan Quayle suggested last year that there were too many lawyers in the United States, his audience was understandably cool. After all, Mr. Quayle was addressing the annual meeting of the American Bar Association.

But some 650 California lawyers responding to a recent magazine poll agreed with the vice president. They represented about 76 percent of the lawyers who answered the mail-in poll in California Lawyer magazine, which is distributed to all of the state's 110,000 lawyers.

Nearly half of the respondents — 47 percent — said they favored

limiting the number of new lawyers admitted to the bar.

Poll results did not come from a statistically reliable, random sampling of the state's lawyers, but they do show that the anti-lawyer attitudes widespread among the public can

be found even within the legal profession.

And many of the respondents



Quayle

agreed with critics of the legal system that the rising tide of litigation stems directly from the growing number of lawyers in the United States.

That number has more than tripled in the past four decades, from 221,605 in 1951 to 777,119 at the end of 1991, according to the ABA. The peak growth period was in the 1970s, when the number of lawyers increased by more than 50 percent in 10 years, compared with a 40 percent increase during the 1980s.

Other professions also are increasing rapidly. The number of doctors, for example, increased 75 percent from 1971 to 1987, while

the number of lawyers was increasing about 105 percent.

Barbara Curran, a researcher for the ABA-funded American Bar Foundation, attributes the legal profession's growth to several factors, including the post-World War II baby boom, the increased popularity of postgraduate degrees and the increase in the number of women entering law schools since the 1970s. She declines to enter the debate over whether there are too many lawyers.

"The one thing that can be said is that [only] 5 percent of the lawyer population is not actively employed," Ms. Curran says. "So they

are finding employment in the economy."

Mr. Quayle inflamed his ABA audience last year with a question posed at the end of his speech: "Does America really need 70 percent of the world's lawyers?"

University of Wisconsin law professor Marc Galanter describes the 70 percent figure as vastly exaggerated.

For its part, the ABA dismisses the critics' underlying premise: "There is no evidence that U.S. citizens bring more lawsuits because we have more lawyers," an ABA fact sheet declares.

— Kenneth Jost

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1992 *

MORTON KONDRACKÉ

Bush's edge on economy

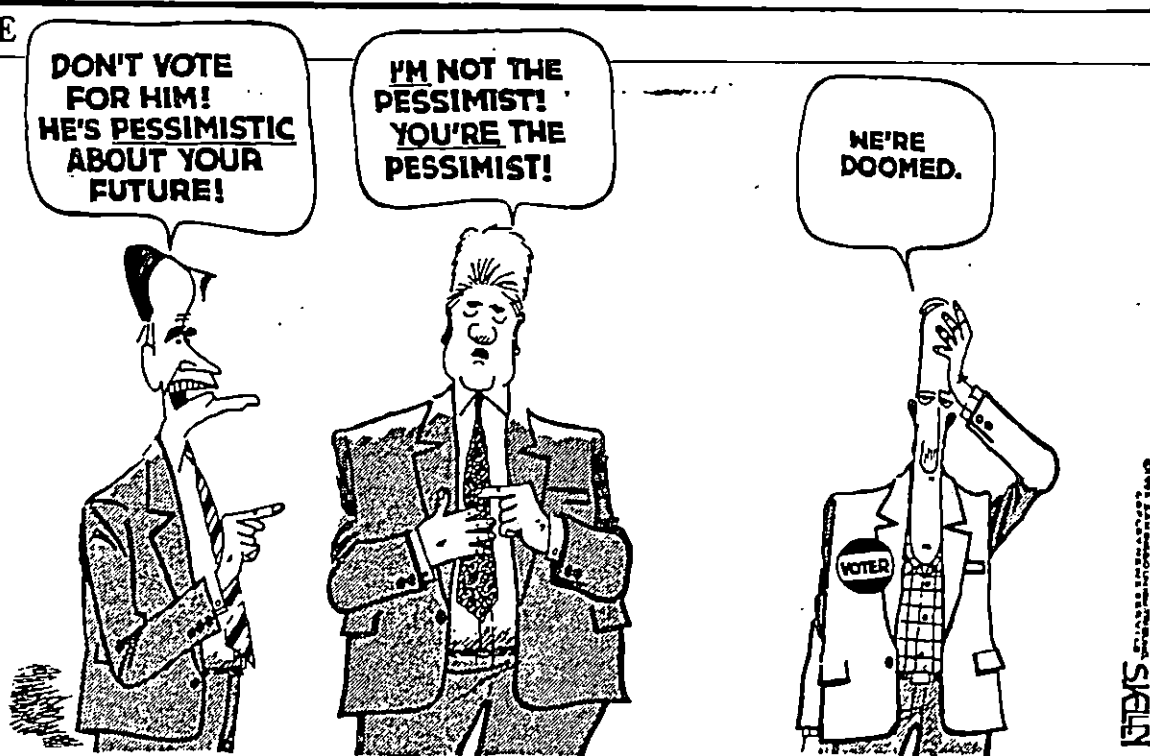
The Bush campaign has won the argument over how many times Bill Clinton raised taxes as governor of Arkansas. On paper, Mr. Bush also wins the argument over which candidate is more likely to reduce taxes, spending and the budget deficit. Mr. Bush's problem, though, is that people don't believe what he says.

Republican focus groups confirm that voters know full well that Mr. Bush reversed his 1988 pledge never to raise taxes and don't trust that in a second term he would concentrate on repairing the domestic economy.

To bolster his credibility, White House aides are urging Mr. Bush to indicate who would be on his second term economic team, and that it include James Baker as White House chief of staff and Jack Kemp as treasury secretary.

"Those who are fixated on the deficit might not like Kemp," one inside booster said, "and the president doesn't trust him. But he's a fanatic for economic growth, and if Bush appointed him, I think we'd win the election."

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



S. KLEIN

White House and campaign aides also think that, despite Mr. Baker's overall improvement in the efficiency of Mr. Bush's team operations, it has missed opportunities to publicize Mr. Bush's new economic program and to rub in its vindication of the claim that Mr. Clinton has raised taxes in Arkansas 128 times

over 12 years.

Mr. Clinton and some major columnists and editorial writers called Mr. Bush a liar (even a McCarthyite) for counting up Mr. Clinton's tax increases. "George Bush and the Republicans are intentionally lying to win the election," said a Clinton campaign handout in late August.

The Washington Post said Mr. Bush was indulging in "fraudulent argument." The New York Times said Mr. Bush was "falsifying the record" and was willing to "trash the truth."

New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis said Mr. Bush's citation of 128 revenue increases "has the

delusory precision of Joe McCarthy's claim the he had the names of 155 or 163 communists in the government." Almost all the critiques took off from columns by Michael Kinsley of the New Republic, alleging a "smear" and "raw decep-

see KONDRACKÉ, page E4

tion" by Mr. Bush.

On Sept. 6, though, The Washington Post published a front-page story reporting on a Clinton release dated three days before confirming 34 tax increases and 93 user fee increases — for a total of 127 increases in all. There's been no recantation, even partially, by the editorialists who attacked Mr. Bush so harshly, and precious little other straight news coverage that Bush aides were vindicated.

The Post editorial page, normally scrupulous in its honesty, declined to print detailed rebuttals by Bush campaign research director David Tell, who compiled the list using state of Arkansas records. It ran one generalized complaint from Republican Party Chairman Rich Bond — on a Saturday, when readership is low.

On the other hand, the Bush campaign has been slow to capitalize on its vindication, even if it originally exaggerated the importance of the Clinton list by neglecting to mention the 73 times Mr. Clinton reduced taxes and fees and by asserting that Mr. Bush, by comparison, has raised taxes only once. In fact, he has raised them more than 30 times, at a total take of \$199 billion.

Mr. Bush didn't help his credibility by declaring last week that he — only to have his press secretary correct his statement to say he meant he'd never be backed into a tax-raising corner by Congress again.

On spending (especially on entitlements), on the budget deficit and on taxes, Mr. Bush's paper proposals appear to offer more restraint than do Mr. Clinton's, but polls show that the public still doesn't trust Mr. Bush on the economy. Newsweek's latest poll shows that by 47-38, voters think Mr. Clinton would handle the economy better than Mr. Bush. Seventy percent think Bush policies have made the economy worse.

The Wall Street Journal on Tuesday suggested that Mr. Clinton's and Mr. Bush's programs were about equally bad in dealing with spending and the deficit, but the bipartisan Committee for a Responsible Fed-

eral Budget says the Journal failed to give Mr. Bush credit for proposing to cap the growth of entitlement programs other than Social Security, saving between \$200 billion and \$300 billion that would otherwise be paid out over the next five years.

Mr. Bush's paper program calls for \$130 billion in other spending cuts, offset by tax cuts, for a total reduction in the deficit from \$329 billion this year to \$117.7 billion in fiscal 1997, according to the Office of Management and Budget.

It would help Mr. Bush's credibility — although also offend some voters — if he would specify exactly where he plans to cut entitlements and spending. So far, Mr. Bush has issued merely "options."

Meantime, Mr. Clinton's budget proposal calls for cutting the deficit in half over four years, but it is based on generating economic growth of 4.6 percent per year, 1.3 percent higher than the administration is figuring on and far more than most economists think possible.

The Bush administration charges that Mr. Clinton really would expand the deficit by \$264 billion — increasing spending by \$337 billion and raising taxes by a net of \$73 billion.

Mr. Clinton has proposed practically no entitlement cuts or non-defense discretionary spending. Mr. Clinton has condemned Mr. Bush — much as he did his former rival, Paul Tsongas — for even broaching the subject of entitlement limitations.

Ultimately, each of the candidates is asking voters to trust his conception of what will juice up the American economy better — tax cuts (in Mr. Bush's case) or "investments" in infrastructure and training (in Mr. Clinton's).

There is virtually no way for anyone to know for sure whether either of these formulas will work. We're going to have to take a leap of faith. On balance, Mr. Bush's numbers inspire more confidence that difficult choices will get made, but Mr. Bush needs to concentrate on convincing voters this will be his major preoccupation, and spend less time destroying Mr. Clinton's reputation.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1992

The professional politicians

Because President Bush committed to rebuilding devastated parts of South Florida and Louisiana and OK'd sales of U.S.-built jets to Taiwan, Bill Clinton has accused him of trying to buy the election by handing out goodies to key constituencies. Aside from the fact that the plane sales to Taiwan are appropriate and overdue and that rebuilding hurricane-ravaged communities is a given, it seems that Mr. Clinton's real complaint boils down to jealousy. It is not that Mr. Clinton is against slopping the federal trough, just that he wishes he could be doing it rather than just promising it.

Last week found the governor of Arkansas playing Santa Claus on the campaign trail. Students at the University of New Mexico were treated to the promise that if Bill Clinton becomes president, the federal government will provide no-questions-asked student loans to all comers (even to those whose parents are the rich Americans Mr. Clinton keeps saying need to pay their share). Come graduation, students could pay off their borrowing either by opting to pay a tiny income tax surcharge for a few decades or by doing two years of community service at reduced wages. This could be an especially sweet deal for those planning careers with moderate entry-level salaries, such as teachers, social workers and other government employees — key Democratic constituencies, it might be pointed out. If the "reduced pay" were around \$15,000, someone who would have made \$20,000 out of college would take only a \$5,000 pay cut for two years. That means \$10,000 of pre-tax, pre-Social Security dollars would suffice to pay for \$40,000, \$60,000 or more of student debt. Nice work if you can get it.

Mr. Clinton told residents of impoverished South Central Los Angeles that he would reform welfare by putting "education and skills and money in your hands." Talking to high-tech workers in Colorado and New Mexico, Mr. Clinton extended equally juicy promises. All that money cut from defense, he pandered in Denver, would go to build "an economy for the 21st century here at home, in environmental cleanup, in new technology." A research center down the road in Golden, Colo., would be watered with so much federal money that it will "flourish like a flower in the desert."

In other words, Mr. Clinton's big-government stripes

are showing. Most telling is the idea that every dollar saved on defense would be spent on some variety of what the Democrats euphemistically call "investment." That word should set off alarm bells in the head of every taxpayer.

A professor who teaches the core, required classes in public finance at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, Dutch Leonard, always starts the semester by telling students that the good government official is always ready with at least 10 ideas on how to spend money, just in case any extra money can be found to spend. Missing from this view, unsurprisingly, is the notion that a government official might ever want to save money. By giving money back to taxpayers, officials give power back to citizens, and that is why today's career politicians can't even conceptualize, let alone consider, cutting spending. What's the point of being a government official, after all, if one is just going to give away power by cutting spending?

Mr. Clinton is just this kind of professional politician. The new class of professional politicians — including his running mate Al Gore — has never known anything but government. It is not just that they love big government, it is that they can't imagine anything *but* big government. And thus they can't imagine any way of addressing problems other than by spending money on them. Never mind that Sematech and other government-sponsored high-technology development projects have been market embarrassments (who was the genius, anyway, who decided that defense spending should be the model for our whole economy?). Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore cannot conceive of technological progress that is not directed by Washington.

In the fast-changing world of entrepreneurial capitalism, no one is ever "in charge." Professional politicians hate that. When no one is in charge, no one gets the kind of glory that comes with gargantuan experiments in social engineering. LBJ's Great Society may have been a disaster we still suffer from, but it remains a monument by which the Texan is remembered. Let's hope that the monuments Mr. Clinton would build to his ambition, should he have an opportunity to do so, are only costly and useless, like the pyramids, rather than costly, useless and destructive, like the Great Society.

Keeping America's military strength

House Majority Leader Rep. Richard A. Gephardt, Missouri Democrat, recently issued a "Congressional Update" to constituents in his district in St. Louis, Mo. — postage paid by taxpayers, of course. Here are some of his words:

"After the collapse of the Cold War, the Pentagon continues to spend \$20 billion on overseas bases, mostly in Europe, Japan and Korea. ... Even as we cut more services and investments here at home, we are preparing to undertake new military commitments overseas. This policy is wrongheaded."

That statement could be passed off as election politics except that, during this election season, our country faces some of the most difficult choices it has made since World War II. Three centers of conflict cut through the election to cry out for attention.

The graphic horror pictures of life in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the desperate faces of men, women and children with no place to hide, appear nightly on television in our family rooms; the efforts of U.N. diplomacy and dangerous attempts to provide relief to the people are all beacons illuminating the tortuous road to peace in this, the No. One and most explosive hotspot.

Second, the endless bickering, posturing and obstinance of participants in the Israeli-Arab peace talks coupled with the intransigence of Iraq's Saddam Hussein have almost persuaded the American people that the maze holding the key to Middle East peace has no solution.

Finally, almost unnoticed, the Pacific Rim is heating up. New ten-

sions are growing in communist China, Taiwan (Republic of China) and Korea. Containing possible conflict may require every ounce of military power the United States can muster. Even then, we may see international conflict erupt that is too great to be controlled.

Everyday we allow the morass in Yugoslavia to continue, it becomes deeper and implies that worse is yet to come. The European Community appears impotent, divided and leaderless. The United Nations seems ineffectual, as it tries desperately to bring relief to the suffering people of Sarajevo. As the situation moves relentlessly toward international military intervention, ghostly memories of World War I, which began in the same area, appear once again to haunt us.

In the third hotspot along the Pacific Rim, Red China and South Korea have just opened relations. That might be good were it not that long-standing South Korea-Taiwan relations have been severed; we barely noticed. Lowering Taiwan's flag at Seoul, South Korea, was a bitter pill for the free Chinese on Taiwan.

Why did South Korea accept this previously unacceptable condition? Simple logic offers a possible answer. The U.S. pullout from the Philippines added a new dimension to the dangerous balance of power game in the Far East. Following the U.S. abandonment of its Philippine bases and threats of further cuts in U.S. military forces, South Korea may be taking precautionary steps in fear of U.S. force reductions there, too.

This would leave South Korea vulnerable to a new North Korean invasion backed by communist China. Separating China from North Korea and linking it politically to South Korea makes the sacrifice of Taiwan palatable under the "One

REPUBLICANS PLAN TO CUT DEFENSE!



DEMOCRATS PLAN TO GUT DEFENSE!



We need an America that truly believes the wise words of Elihu Root, one-time secretary of war, "If you would have peace, prepare for war." History has proven him right.

China" policy, to which both Red China and the Republic of China on Taiwan steadfastly adhere. It also justified politically the sale of F-16 fighter jets to Taiwan for Free China's own defense.

How do U.S.-election politics affect this deadly game? First, can-

didates for election, anxious to please voters influenced by rhetoric typified by Mr. Gephardt's quoted statement, support plans to reduce U.S. military strength and the U.S. presence in Europe by half, to cut our Navy to roughly 400 ships and reduce the U.S. Air Force to 20 wings. Presidential candidate Bill Clinton ups the ante by assuring voters he can reduce U.S. Armed Forces even further.

Whilst this election charade plays out, the "American Century", built on the productivity of U.S. industry and the invincibility of America's Armed Forces, slips away. Our military-industrial base, severely wounded by massive government contract cancellations, can no longer support a total mobilization of America's forces. A half-million professional military personnel are abruptly discharged without advance preparation for their futures, essential job training or prospect of

employment. More than a million defense workers join the ranks of the unemployed. The entire U.S. defense establishment is demoralized.

Meanwhile, the American people wonder why we have a recession.

Do we need a change? Desperately!

The president and Congress need to understand and heed the lessons of history. We, as a nation, must understand that freedom is not free. Our military establishment must be able to fight and win whenever and wherever America's interests are endangered.

We need an America that truly believes the words of Elihu Root, one-time secretary of war, "If you would have peace, prepare for war." History has proven him right. We need an America that not only prays for "Peace In Our Time" but works for the justice and prosperity that makes peace possible throughout the world.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1992 •

The Washington Times

Henry Mohr, a retired U.S. Army major general, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

History and vanishing poll gaps

If modern presidential election history is any guide to the future, Bill Clinton's election lead is supposed to shrink considerably over the next six weeks.

That's the educated opinion of the nation's top polling experts I have talked to in the last week. But these specialists also note that this year's electorate is unusually volatile and given to wide, sudden swings of opinion, and they warn that "anything can happen" in the current political climate.

"I expect Bush will narrow the race as the incumbent usually does," Larry Hugick, vice president of the Gallup Poll, told me.

"If I had to bet today, I'd bet that the numbers will be closer to [Clinton leading by] 52-to-48 percent by Election Day," said Democratic pollster Mark Mellman.

Besides a weakened economy, the driving force behind Mr. Clinton's candidacy, the Arkansas governor

also has this historical precedent on his side: The presidential candidate who leads in the polls by Labor Day has almost always won the election.

In the last three decades, the only exceptions to this were John F. Kennedy in 1960 and Ronald Reagan in 1980, both of whom were roughly tied with their opponents at this juncture in their campaigns and yet went on to win the presidency.

Since modern presidential polling began, only Harry Truman has come back to win after being significantly behind.

While Mr. Bush has sought to identify himself with Truman's come-from-behind campaign, it is a parallel that Mr. Clinton and the Democrats have ridiculed. But it could just as easily happen this year as it did in 1948.

While national voter surveys still show Mr. Clinton with anywhere from a 5- to 15 point margin over Mr. Bush, both camps have polling data that show a large number of voters

still harbor doubts about Mr. Clinton's character and trustworthiness.

And polling experts I have talked to suggest that the margin could shrink dramatically because of several overriding factors:

- Mr. Clinton is running on an economic platform that would raise payroll taxes on businesses and income taxes on upper income taxpayers, proposals that have been strongly resisted by voters before. Mr. Bush is expected to concentrate much of his television ad campaign on Mr. Clinton's tax plan.

- Mr. Clinton remains vulnerable to the draft dodger issue, not because he abhorred the Vietnam War and, in his words, "loathed the military," but because he has been caught telling a variety of conflicting accounts about how he managed to avoid the draft at the height of that war. "The issue is his honesty and candor rather than the disagreement over the war," said a Bush cam-

"If you take the composite of all the polls in the last 10 days, there is only a 6-to-8 point margin."

paign strategist. "That's where we're going to zero in."

Many pollsters believe that if there is any parallel in previous elections to the Bush-Clinton race, the closest is the 1976 contest between President Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter of Georgia. Mr. Clinton had roughly the same lead over Mr. Bush that Mr. Carter had over Mr. Ford when the general election campaign began on Labor Day.

At one point in the summer, Mr. Carter was more than 30 points ahead of Mr. Ford. But by election

week, the race had narrowed to a dead heat and Mr. Carter ended up barely winning by less than 2 percent of the vote.

Like Mr. Clinton, Mr. Carter was a relatively little known governor of a Southern state who was running as a self-styled moderate. The country was emerging from the Watergate scandal, the worst scandal to hit the presidency in our history, and Mr. Ford had pardoned the man responsible for it.

But Mr. Ford was personally popular with Americans, with a job approval rating that averaged 48 percent for the year. Mr. Bush's job approval rating has averaged 40 percent for the year.

Most pundits think that Mr. Clinton's lead is too broad for Mr. Bush to make up the difference in the weeks remaining in this campaign. In fact, polling experts say previous candidates have closed much larger leads in the same time period.

"Both in 1968 and 1976 [Hubert Humphrey and Ford] made up more ground than Bush has to make up to win the election," says Everett Ladd, director of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research. "If Bush makes up as much ground as (the 20 to 30 points) that Ford did, Bush wins by 10 percent."

"This is not to say that this will happen, but there is nothing out there to make it wildly improbable either," Mr. Ladd told me.

"If you take the composite of all the polls in the last 10 days, there is only a 6-to-8 point margin," he said. "There has already been considerable shrinkage" in Clinton's lead.

Meantime, Democrat Mark Mellman concedes that because of the character hits that Mr. Clinton has taken in his campaign, his image in the minds of the voters was now "a lot more malleable than it is for George Bush."

"If some dramatic event happens or some new piece of information were to surface, it is more likely that it would have more of an impact on Clinton than on Bush," he said.

Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

"USA TODAY hopes to serve as a forum for better understanding and unity to help make the USA truly one nation."

—Allen H. Neuharth
Founder, Sept. 15, 1982



Peter S. Prichard
Editor
Karen Jurgensen
Editor of the
Editorial Page
Thomas Curley
President and Publisher



Get on with debates

I'm just really tired of politics as usual.

Now, we can't hear a debate between President Bush and Bill Clinton because Bush or James Baker or somebody doesn't like the format.

Next, we'll dicker over the shape of the table.

This country is going down the tubes. People are out of work; they can't pay their bills, let alone buy anything new.

I want to know what Clinton and Bush are going to do about these problems.

I don't see how I can vote without knowing this.

And I'm irritated that they're going to sit and play games with us.

Darlene Callender
Battle Creek, Mich.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1992

Oregon Is Front Line of Family Values Campaign, With Voters Urged to 'Discourage' Homosexuality

By DAVID SHRIBMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WILSONVILLE, Ore. — This is perhaps the least likely place in the country for the battle over family values to turn into trench warfare.

But the Christian right, for a decade a staple of Southern politics, is establishing a beachhead here in Oregon, a state that prides itself on its progressive traditions and whose politicians have long trafficked in reform rhetoric that soars as high as the Cascade range. The result is a classic cultural clash, shattering the civility of the state's political tradition and transforming this fall's election into a bitter struggle over homosexuality.

Voters here have long used the ballot question, invented in this state as part of the "Oregon System" a century ago, as a tool of progressive reform to shape their unique political culture. But this autumn the ballot measure is being used by social conservatives, who are forcing a statewide vote on whether to declare homosexuality "abnormal, wrong, unnatural and perverse," to direct that it is "to be discouraged and avoided" and to prevent the state from outlawing discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

The debate over the question, known as Ballot Measure 9, has already altered the political environment. "Our Republicans are moderate, our environmental movement is strong, our yuppies are prominent and visible, and then there is the Christian right," says Peter Steinberger, a Reed College political scientist who studies the state's politics. "It's not something you feel when you walk down an ordinary street, but there's discomfort in the political atmosphere."

How Oregon reached this point is one of the most curious stories of this election season. It is a drama that not only illuminates the passions set loose by the phrase "family values" but also has prompted this liberal, tolerant and fiercely independent state to re-examine its most cherished myths about itself.

"This state was always filled with people who wanted to be left alone and do what they wanted to do without anyone in their face," says Genna Southworth, executive director of HIV/AIDS Resources, a service agency for acquired immune deficiency syndrome patients in the Eugene area. "But that's changing."

The principal architect of the change is Lon Mabon, a 46-year-old former manager of a residential care facility for the elderly who founded and heads the Oregon Citizens Alliance, which is working to win approval of the ballot measure. "This is a war between two philosophies," he says. "My life is committed to winning it."

The alliance last summer asked its

members to furnish "verified accounts of sexual deviancy being promoted in state institutions." Its newspaper, under the headline "Perverts on Parade," described a gay-rights parade in Portland two years ago as a gathering of "sexual deviants." This year's literature speaks of homosexuality as "an unhealthy life style."

Mr. Mabon and his allies say their language is strong because the threat from homosexuals is great. "Homosexuality is an abnormal, unnatural and wrong behavior and is very perverse," says Mr. Mabon. "It's a threat to the basic foundation of the country, to our children and to our institutions. Ralf Walters, a city councilman in Springfield, which has passed a city-charter amendment saying public money can't be used "to promote, encourage, or facilitate homosexuality, pedophilia, sadism or masochism," adds: "We're in a war of values here. . . . At what point does a God-fearing nation cross the line and become a pagan nation?"

The drive has prompted a massive counteroffensive. Democratic Gov. Barbara Roberts called the measure "a cancer in Oregon's soul" and spoke of "the McCarthyism of Measure 9." A coalition of labor, religious, women's and business groups hopes to raise \$1 million to fight the effort, which is about the amount Mr. Mabon's group, which raised more money than any other political-action committee in the state this spring, is expected to spend before Nov. 3.

"'Family values' are fuzzy, warm words that are a code to these people in their brown shirts, who go out and define the words in a way to make life miserable for others," says Democratic Rep. Les AuCoin, who is challenging Sen. Bob Packwood this fall. "They turn 'family values' into a bludgeon with which they victimize innocent people."

In pamphlets, public meetings and advertisements, opponents of the measure say it would legalize discrimination; permit government agencies to deny services to those who were thought to promote or facilitate homosexuality; lead to the removal from libraries of such books as "The Color Purple"; and require that medical schools teach that homosexuality is perverse behavior.

Many of those in the Christian right are blue-collar Democrats with Southern roots, but have been drawn toward the GOP in recent years only to receive a frosty reception; Craig Berkman, the state Republican chairman, calls the leadership of the Christian right "out of the era."

But it is precisely Oregon's reputation for progressive thought that may have spawned the Christian right activities in the first place. "Christian right activism seems to flourish in areas where there are substantial numbers of unchurched, secular and liberal people," says James Guth, a Furman University expert in evangelical politics. "The result is a place where there are strongly committed people with different world views and the potential for real conflict."

Some of those who oppose the ballot measure believe that homosexuals have become the ironic victim of the state's longtime tradition of tolerance. "Oregon is so tolerant that we allow people on the fringe to have a big effect on the debate," says Peggy Norman, who heads the effort to defeat the ballot measure. "No one tells anyone that their ideas are too uncomfortable."

But Oregon hasn't always been a sylvan enclave for reformers and liberals. More than a half-century ago, it was one of the few northern states with a Ku Klux Klan presence, and for many years the mandarins of Portland didn't welcome minorities. This month the Portland police offered a \$1,000 reward for clues in identifying those responsible for 15 reported incidents of hate crimes, including cross and swastika burnings, that have occurred in a six-block area of the Sunnyside area of southeast Portland since May.

"People think of this as an 'ecotopia' where anything goes, where everybody is liberal," says Patrick Yack, managing editor of the Register-Guard newspaper in Eugene. "But in many respects this state is just as conservative as many places in the country."

The Oregon Citizens Alliance has already had an impact in Oregon politics, sometimes hurting its own cause and sometimes driving away its own supporters. "They're too confrontational and combative, alienating people instead of bringing them in," says Craig DeMo, the lobbyist for the Oregon Association of Evangelicals, who broke with the alliance over its tactics.

Two years ago the alliance approached the Republican gubernatorial candidate, Dave Frohnmayer, asking, according to Mr. Frohnmayer, for money-raising assistance and control over certain appointments and practicing "very crass Tammany Hall politics at its seamy worst,

masking it all in Christian values." He demurred, so the alliance ran its own candidate, a retired engineer named Al Mobley, who took 13% of the vote but siphoned enough support from Mr. Frohnmayer to give the election to Ms. Roberts, whom they reviled even more.

This year, Sen. Packwood's camp sought enough of a rapprochement to keep the alliance out of the Senate race. The

flirtation between the Packwood forces and the alliance caused enormous discomfort for some of the senator's allies in the women's movement but the senator's camp broke off discussions and this month he came out against the ballot measure. "This is the kind of shooting star that will flare out after a time," he says, "and the hotter the flame, the shorter its life."

A Look in the Mirror

As America gets set to vote for its next president, it's fair to ask the question: Who is America? Who is eligible to vote and who actually will vote? Has the face of the electorate—in terms of age, race and sex—changed much in recent years?

To get a clearer picture of the American voter, we asked Peter Francese, publisher of American Demographics magazine, to look at the recent trends in voting patterns. Here are some of those trends.

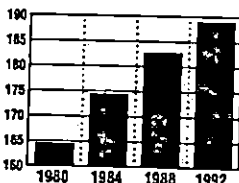
LIVING UP TO THEIR POTENTIAL

The voting-age population has increased 3.4% since 1988, compared with a 4.8% increase between 1984 and 1988 and a 6% increase between 1980 and 1984. The rise in the number of eligible voters, however, has been offset somewhat in recent elections by a declining percentage of eligible voters exercising their right: Between 1980 and 1988, the voting-age population rose by 11%, but the votes cast for president grew by only 5.9%.

If the voting-participation rate returns to the 1984 level of 53%, this year will mark the first time that 100 million people will have gone to the polls.

Who Can Vote

Voting-age population, in millions

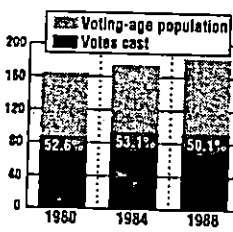


NOTE: Voting-age population represents the U.S. resident population 18 years and older as of Nov. 1

Source: American Demographics

Who Will Vote

Number of votes cast for president, in millions, and as a percentage of voting-age population



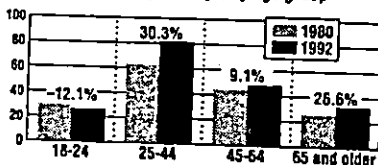
Source: American Demographics

THE YOUNG, THE OLD AND THE BOOMERS

Since the 1980 election, the voting-age population has increased 16.1%, but the youngest age segment has declined while the baby-boomer age segment has grown the fastest.

Slowest and Fastest

Voting-age population in 1980 and 1992, in millions, and percentage change, by age group

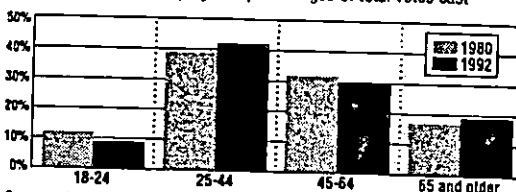


Source: American Demographics; Census Bureau

Different age groups vote at different rates. Assuming that the average voter-participation rates by age of the past three presidential elections hold for 1992, about 40% of 18- to 24-year-olds will vote, nearly 60% of 25- to 44-year-olds, and about 70% of those 45 and older. Applying these participation rates to the population projections by age, less than one in 10 likely voters this year will be a young adult, age 18 to 24; about two in five will be baby boomers; and about one in five will be elderly. Comparing this with the results from 1980, it is estimated that the percentage of voters in the youngest group will fall the most this year, while the percentage of voters in the 25- to 44-year-old group will rise the most.

The Middle Years

Percentages of actual voters in the 1980, and likely voters in the 1992, presidential elections, by age, as percentages of total votes cast

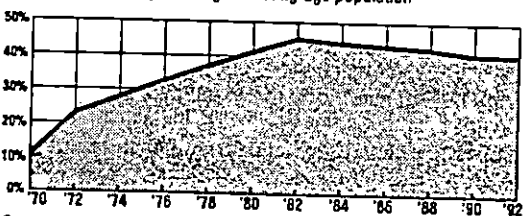


Sources: American Demographics, based on Census Bureau surveys

Baby boomers are about 40% of the eligible voters—slightly greater than the 1980 percentage. But their rate of voting increased from 48% in 1980 to 52.3% in 1988. Meanwhile, the participation rate for non-baby boomers fell—from about 67% to 61%.

The Boom

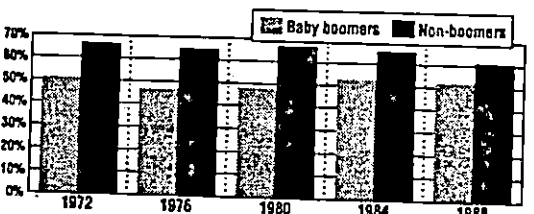
Baby boomers as a percentage of voting-age population



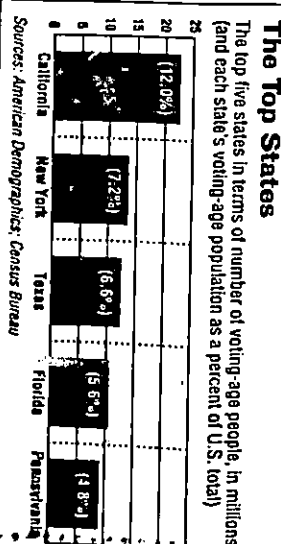
Sources: Census Bureau, Current Population Reports

Boomers vs. Non-Boomers

Voting-participation rates of baby boomers and non-baby boomers in presidential election years



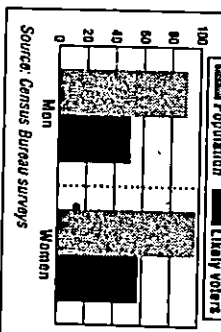
Sources: Census Bureau, Current Population Reports



Sources: American Demographics; Census Bureau

More than one-third of the U.S. voting-age population lives in only five states.

WHERE THE VOTES ARE



Source: Census Bureau surveys

Men and Women

Voting-age population and the likely number of voters, by sex, in the 1992 elections, in millions

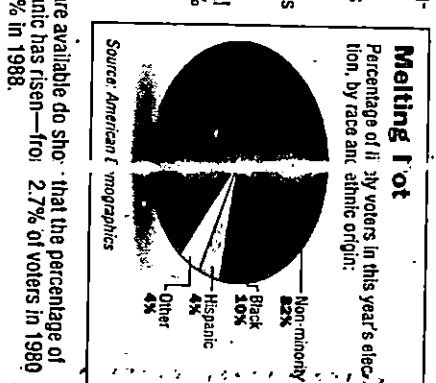
Based on the 1988 self-reported voting rates of 56.4% for men and 58.3% for women, there are likely to be at least six million more women than men going to the polls this November. By comparison, the difference was 6.9 million in 1988, 7.1 million in 1984 and 5.5 million in 1980.

THE GENDER GAP

Based on the 1988 self-reported voting rates of 56.4% for men and 58.3% for women, there are likely to be at least six million more women than men going to the polls this November. By comparison, the difference was 6.9 million in 1988, 7.1 million in 1984 and 5.5 million in 1980.

A RACIAL BREAKDOWN

Among the voting-age population, about 11% is black, non-Hispanic, 3% is Asian or other non-Hispanic, 8% is Hispanic, and 78% is non-minority. Given the historical voting pattern of each racial or ethnic group, 82% of voters this year will be non-minority. A similar breakdown isn't available for previous years.



Source: American Demographics

But the figures that are available do show that the percentage of voters who are Hispanic has risen—from 2.7% of voters in 1980 to 3% in 1984 to 3.6% in 1988.

Murphy Brown's Baby

Remember Little Ricky? Ever since "I Love Lucy," adding a baby to the cast has been a time-honored way to perk up the ratings. But the hoopla surrounding tonight's season opener of "Murphy Brown" owes less to the comic possibilities of a damp and noisy infant than to the fact that the Vice President of the United States ripped the show's main character for glamorizing unwed motherhood. In gratitude for the publicity, maybe Murphy should name her son Dan.

We've read the script for tonight's show, which means we're confident our knowledge of the human condition will be better served watching "The Kennedys," part of public television's fascinating documentary on a complex political family.

The curious who are drawn to "Murphy Brown" by all the free publicity won't be surprised to discover the show's gibes at the Vice President, the President, the Reagans and even Jerry Ford and Richard Nixon. How did Herbert Hoover escape notice? (Last week Candice Bergen told Time magazine that Mr. Quayle was "Bush's buffoon.")

Corky, the show's equivalent of the village idiot, is called upon to defend Mr. Quayle: "I was raised to believe that if you had a child out of wedlock you were bad. . . . Of course, I was also raised to believe a woman's place was in the home, segregation was good and presidents never lie. Oh, this is so confusing." Let's see: If you believe that illegitimacy is wrong, then you are a racist and sexist. You're right, Corky, this is confusing.

At the end, Murphy, newly christened as the Victim of Political Oppression, takes somberly to the airwaves to berate the Vice President: "Unfortunately, it seems that for him the only acceptable definition of a family is a mother, a father and children."

But Dan Quayle never said that.

This is what he said:

- "In 1965 the illegitimacy rate among black families was 28%. In 1989 65%—two-thirds—of all black children were born to never-married mothers."

- "Failing to support children one has fathered is wrong."

- "If a single mother raising her children in the ghetto has to worry about drive-by shootings, drug deals or whether her children will join gangs and die violently, her difficult task becomes impossible."

- "Among families headed by married couples today, there is a poverty rate of 5.7%. But 33.4% of families headed by a single mother are in poverty today."

The only thing outrageous about these remarks is the facts they present. Yet amid the bombast and outrage over Mr. Quayle's passing reference to Murphy Brown, few writers bothered to report the important substance of his remarks.

If most single moms were rich TV correspondents like Murphy Brown, illegitimacy wouldn't be much of a problem. But the median annual income of a never-married mother is \$10,584. Murphy will pay at least twice that to hire a nanny for her son (she interviews three women for the job on the show). And no way will this kid attend a public school in Washington, D.C.; he'll go to St. Alban's, like Al Gore.

No, the Vice President's speech wasn't very funny. Poor children who grow up in fatherless homes really are worse off than children in two-parent homes. They're worse off financially, many suffer more emotionally, and staying focused on school is tough. Not many disagree now that the best cure for childhood poverty is a live-in dad.

None of what the Vice President was actually saying comes across in airing on "Murphy Brown" tonight. Instead, the show is for laughs.

The Battle for the Soul Of a President Clinton

WASHINGTON

Thirteen hundred and forty-one days after his inauguration, and 441 days after the start of the recession, George Bush finally has his economic message. He is the candidate of small government and entrepreneurial capitalism, he told an audience in Enid, Okla., last week; his opponent and his advisers are relics of the days when government planning and social engineering were considered the best remedy for society's ills.

There are some problems with this message. One is that, until recently, President Bush hadn't shown any zeal for cutting the size or scope of government. Dan Mitchell of the conservative Heritage Foundation has compiled convincing statistics that show Mr. Bush presided over the biggest increase in government spending in three decades.

Then there's the poll data suggesting Americans might want more government. Last week's Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll asked voters to choose the best way to use \$25 billion in federal funds. A solid 56% chose the Clinton option of increased federal spending on "job training, education and transportation." Only 10% sided with Mr. Bush's tax cut.

Still, the Bush campaign may be on to something. Americans continue to harbor a deep and abiding distrust of government, and are skeptical of its powers. They may want more government — and they certainly want more effective government — than they've had for the past four years. But they don't want a lot more.

What would they get with President Clinton? The question isn't easy to answer. Until now, Mr. Clinton has governed under the constraints of a very small, very poor and very conservative state. As president, his opportunities to promote government activism would expand geometrically. How much government does he really want?

A look at the men who advise Mr. Clinton on economic affairs provides conflicting answers. All are united in their belief that government needs to be more active than it has been for the past 12 years. And all share the view that the first goal of that activism should be to promote economic growth.

But beyond that, their views diverge sharply. On one side are the moderates: investment bankers Roger Altman of the Blackstone Group, Robert Rubin of Goldman Sachs and economist Robert Shapiro of the Progressive Policy Institute, an arm of the Democratic Leadership Council that has worked to moderate the positions of the Democratic Party. All three profess a healthy respect for markets and a healthy skepticism of government. Messrs. Shapiro and Altman say they want government to provide the basic building blocks for economic growth — education and training, technology and some infrastructure — but they're eager to avoid elaborate industrial-policy schemes.

On the other side are those more enamored with the government's potential planning skills: Occidental College Professor Derek Shearer, consultant Ira Magaziner and, to a lesser degree, economist Robert Reich. All have the advantage of being long-time friends of Gov. Clinton, while the moderates are all more casual acquaintances. Mr. Shearer is the most liberal of the group, but insiders say Mr. Magaziner, known for his brilliance and persuasiveness,

Using Federal Funds

If there were a choice on the best way to use \$25 billion of federal funds, which approach would you favor?

Invest in job training, education and transportation	56%
Reduce the deficit	31
An across-the-board tax cut	10

Source: The Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll

is most influential as a policy adviser. "Derek's shooting with a water pistol," says one Democratic policy adviser, "but Ira's got a high-powered rifle."

A 1960s student activist who led the reform of Brown University's curriculum, Mr. Magaziner made national news at the school's 1969 graduation ceremony by exhorting the graduates, as a protest against the Vietnam War, to turn their backs on Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who was receiving an honorary degree. And after returning from Oxford, he led a quixotic experiment to create a radical urban social democracy in a working-class Massachusetts town named Brockton.

In the past two decades, Mr. Magaziner has made his fortune as a well-regarded business consultant. But he hasn't lost his faith in government planning. In the early 1980s, he was instrumental in crafting the so-called Greenhouse Compact, an industrial-policy plan for the state of Rhode Island that proved to be a political disaster. Voters rejected it four-to-one.

Earlier this year, he described to this newspaper his plan for a \$100 billion program to use Pentagon funds and idle defense contractors to build new mass transit, solid-waste disposal, energy generation and modern communications projects all over the nation. The Clinton campaign adopted Mr. Magaziner's call for new infrastructure spending, but on a smaller scale. And it avoided his suggestion that the government should dole out contracts to struggling defense contractors.

A careful student of public policy himself, Mr. Clinton is too knowledgeable to be dependent on the ideas or ideology of any one adviser. Nevertheless, the split in his economic team may foreshadow a battle for the soul of President Clinton if he wins in November.

—ALAN MURRAY

Eager for Adjournment, Lawmakers And White House Seek Compromises

By DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Eager to see Congress adjourned, the White House and lawmakers on both sides of the political aisle are quietly seeking accommodation even as they pursue separate agendas going into November's elections.

"Both sides believe it's better to get out of here," said House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich. "I don't know what that says about Washington, but that's the way this year has been."

An \$11.1 billion emergency aid package to help Southern states and Hawaii recover from hurricanes Andrew and Iniki was sent to the White House over the weekend. And after breaking the impasse on funding for the Strategic Defense Initiative, the Senate approved a \$274.5 billion military budget for the fiscal year beginning Oct. 1.

Separately, the Senate Appropriations Committee is slated this week to approve an estimated \$13.8 billion foreign-aid bill promising \$10 billion in loan guarantees for Israel over the next five years. And the two houses will begin final negotiations on an array of spending bills covering most of the domestic budget.

The largest of these — \$240.8 billion for the Labor, Health and Human Resources, and Education departments — cleared the Senate on an 82-13 roll call just hours before the defense bill was approved early Saturday. There is still the threat of a veto confrontation over abortion-rights provisions in the measure, but the White House and Appropriations Committee leadership have signaled a willingness to try to resolve these and other spending accounts quickly.

The two most difficult budget areas are natural resources and transportation. President Bush told the Republican convention last month that he would veto any bill that exceeds his requests for the same accounts. But under pressure from Republicans, the budget office is now adjusting its own standards for measuring the spending levels.

In the case of the natural resources bill, these revisions are expected to total more than \$1 billion. And hundreds of millions of dollars in the transportation budget will rise or fall on a final ruling as to what share of the Coast Guard's costs can be charged to the Pentagon.

The process accents the discretionary power available to Budget Director Richard Darman and gives him leverage in striking companion deals with lawmakers. The administration favors a package of savings, for example, that has been blocked procedurally in the House by Veterans Affairs Chairman Sonny Montgomery (D., Miss.). By compromising now, Mr. Montgomery can help appropriators find money not only for veterans' medical care

but also for a rocket motor project in northern Mississippi.

Labor, a traditional Democratic ally, finds itself by comparison at a disadvantage. In a victory for building contractors, the administration forced Democrats Friday to strip out a provision that sought to block Labor Department regulations related to wages of semi-skilled workers. And just days before that, Senate Democrats had to back away from a second pro-labor provision seeking to block new government reporting requirements that unions contend are onerous.

The \$11.1 billion emergency aid package includes nearly \$6.35 billion in grants and assistance to help communities and victims of the hurricanes in Florida, Louisiana and Hawaii. An additional \$4.76 billion is allocated for direct loans and guarantees. The bill also imposes new restrictions seeking to limit Small Business Administration assistance to those people and businesses that stay in the communities.

Adopted on a voice vote in both houses, the compromise includes unrelated language inserted by House Budget Committee Chairman Leon Panetta establishing a marine sanctuary along the Monterey Bay portion of the California coast. But Senate Commerce Committee Chairman Ernest Hollings (D., S.C.) lost a more costly provision claiming an estimated \$35 million in additional federal payments for damage done by Hurricane Hugo in his state in 1989.

The Senate defense bill would cut \$500 million more than the House from the Pentagon's SDI budget. And negotiators now face the tough question concerning the next generation of tactical aircraft for the services. Both measures would spend about \$2 billion to continue Lockheed Corp.'s F-22 fighter, but beyond this point, there are dollar and philosophical differences. The House supports buying more F-16s—built by General Dynamics Corp.—and invests heavily in accelerated development of the AX "deep strike" bombers. By contrast, the Senate would terminate F-16 production, spend much less on the AX, and instead plow money into the Navy's advanced F-18 models built by McDonnell Douglas Corp.

By a 53-43 margin, the Senate rejected an effort to stop the purchase of the last four of 20 B-2 bombers for the Air Force. But on a 55-40 roll call, the Armed Services Committee leadership was forced to accept a nuclear test ban amendment imposing a nine-month moratorium on U.S. tests. The vote was a strategic victory for Sen. Mark Hatfield (R., Ore.) and will make it that much harder for the administration to further weaken a similar rider attached to the pending budget for the Energy Department's nuclear weapons program.

Bush has reshaped the office but, critics say, hasn't dealt with the issues

By MICHEL MCQUEEN



WASHINGTON—On his first full day as president of the United States, George Bush gave 15 lucky tourists a personally guided tour of his new home.

It was a natural move for the president, who, having moved more than 30 times in the course of his adult life, has long enjoyed showing off his new digs to friends and acquaintances.

So it should have come as no surprise when, in the course of the past four years, Mr. Bush played host to: tours of the White House family quarters for members of Congress; popcorn and movie evenings with reporters and columnists; baseball games with Egypt's Hosni Mubarak and Mexico's Carlos Salinas de Gortari; and visits to the presidential retreat at Camp David or his private summer home in Maine with Prince Charles, Margaret Thatcher, Francois Mitterrand, Helmut Kohl, Mikhail Gorbachev, Brian Mulroney and, just last month, Yitzhak Rabin.

A Complex Figure

To George Bush, the 41st president of the United States, the social, the political and the personal are knit together in a seamless web. It is a style that has allowed him some remarkable achievements—in forging the international alliance that waged the Persian Gulf War, in bringing Arabs and Israelis back to the negotiating table, in helping to manage the end of the Cold War.

Yet to a remarkable degree, Mr. Bush also seems, as Elliot Richardson once said of someone else, to suffer the defects of his qualities. The same historians who will take note of Mr. Bush's actions in world affairs will also have to evaluate whether his light hand in addressing domestic problems was deliberate prudence or harmful indifference.

"This is an administration that is going to be remembered as between Ronald Reagan and something else," says Brookings Institution political an-

alyst Stephen Hess, a former aide to Presidents Nixon and Ford. Mr. Hess suggests that in future evaluations by historians, Mr. Bush is "going to be a caretaker president in the best sense of that. He made an effort to take care. The fabric of the country didn't come apart, that's about all."

For better or worse, Mr. Bush has clearly shaped his presidency to fit his own tastes, inclinations and persona. In his graceful, usually accessible governing style, he has restored a sense of intimacy to the nation's highest office that had been lost in an era of tight security and limited access.

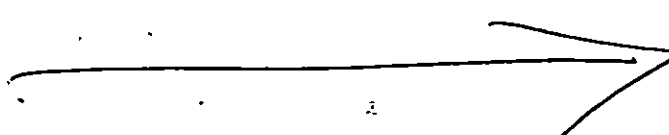
Avoiding the Cocoon

"What you have to fight is the tendency to be isolated. So he fights that by calling his friends, by writing his friends, by having a lot of people in," says Sheila Tate, a public-relations consultant who was Mr. Bush's campaign press secretary in 1988. "Camp David is a succession of guests. In meetings he gives out his post-office box in Kennebunkport and tells people to write direct. He goes to restaurants. Those are the ways he tries to not get caught up in the cocoon."

Staffers are as likely as heads of state to receive Mr. Bush's personal attentions. Early last Christmas morning on his farm in Nebraska, Clayton Yeutter was startled to hear the phone ringing. "I said, 'Who in the world would be calling at seven in the morning on Christmas?'" Mr. Yeutter recalled. It was the leader of the Free World calling to wish his longtime aide a happy holiday.

Similarly, when Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's mother fell while vacationing in Florida two years ago, Mr. Bush called the hospital to check on her even before Mr. Mulroney was able to get there.

Aides and associates have long since learned how to divine the messages etched in Mr. Bush's simple gestures. When he publicly rebuked deputy campaign manager Mary Matalin for a broadside at Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton that the president felt exceeded the boundaries of good taste, he hugged her at a staff meeting the next day, a gesture sure to be reported. Similarly, Cabi-



net members who are said to be out of favor with Mr. Bush often find themselves invited to private dinners and seated at the place of honor at his side.

"He is much more aware and much more plugged in than people imagine in terms of keeping a balance of power of people around him and keeping people on their toes about their assumptions," says William McInturff, a Republican pollster who worked for Mr. Bush four years ago.

But while such friends and supporters close at hand see a deeply engaged leader, others watching the nation's drooping economic standing, increasing crime and other social tensions, and worrisome erosion of such basic services as education and transportation see in Mr. Bush a president who is only in touch with those of like mind; who is ambitious, but more so for himself than for his country; and who doesn't deal with some pressing problems because they frustrate and bore him.

"The fact of Mr. Bush is that he is a status quo president," says William Schneider, a political analyst at the American Enterprise Institute who long ago coined the phrase "the In-Box President" to describe Mr. Bush's approach to the office.

Ronald Reagan, argues Mr. Schneider, was "a man with a vision, a quest." Mr. Bush, by contrast, takes the attitude that "I don't have a quest; I'll just manage things as I can, deal with problems as they emerge."

'Fire Hose' of Criticism

Mr. Bush, who resists self-analysis, has begun more and more to bristle at such observations. He complains that "various sundry surrogates have aimed a fire hose of criticism at me" and that he is being blamed for everything "except that crazy scoring system that was used in the Olympic boxing competition."

He hasn't yet said what he thinks his po

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litical legacy should be; he is still too involved in making sure it isn't written for another four years. But if campaign rhetoric is any guide, he believes he deserves much credit for the fall of communism, for ending the nuclear threat, and for upholding international principles against the threat of despots like Iraq's Saddam Hussein. At home, he believes he deserves at least recognition of good intentions. The complaint of lack of credit is an ironic one, since one of Mr. Bush's most admirable qualities is his modesty.

Former aide Ed Rogers remembers Mr. Bush's conduct when the Berlin Wall crumbled. The president's lack of public exuberance was widely commented upon at the time; meanwhile, "a lot of people ran around the White House trying to get Bush to go to the Berlin Wall, to climb up on it, take a picture...to go get the photo op of the decade, if not the century."

But Mr. Bush refused this advice, Mr. Rogers says, believing it would be gloating. "It would be potentially humiliating for the Soviets" and it would serve no purpose for what was good for the country." He adds, "It was a lot of discipline and class on his part" to pass it up.

A Bumpy High Road

But it is another aspect of his personality that Mr. Bush, after taking the high road, sometimes feels acutely victimized

Mr. Bush, after taking the high road, sometimes feels victimized for doing so.

for doing so. Make no mistake, a president who has so personalized his office also personalizes political disputes. These days he complains, as he did in his acceptance speech at last month's GOP convention, that when the wall fell he expected the press to focus on border guards losing their jobs. When negotiations over a civil-rights bill broke down, the issue as he saw it wasn't a dispute over the content of the measure; it was a case of opponents "trying to grind me into the political dirt."

With the presidential campaign now in its final weeks, Mr. Bush has undertaken a most extraordinary task for a 68-year-old man who has been in the White House for four years, and in public life for nearly 30: He is attempting to reinvent himself. Suddenly, the "status quo president" is trying on an activist agenda. Trailing in the polls, he looks to Harry Truman for inspiration. He runs against what he calls a "do-nothing" Congress; he travels the nation to sprinkle federal largess and demonstrate that he is ready to bring the skills of the international arena home.

But presidential scholar Michael Beschloss says it isn't Mr. Truman that Mr. Bush most resembles; it is another Republican leader of a transitional age, Dwight David Eisenhower.

Mr. Eisenhower, "we now know, was superb behind closed doors," says Mr. Beschloss, but "his ability to educate the public and to convince them to take risks was highly underdeveloped, to say the least. During eight years, never once did he go to the American people and persuade them to take a point of view that was unpopular, involved risk and when it was undertaken involved sacrifice."

Mr. Beschloss agrees that Mr. Bush through his own inclination "absorbed himself in foreign affairs at the expense of domestic." What is important for future analysts to judge, he says, is whether it was necessary for him to neglect domestic issues to perform so well on the world stage.

That is perhaps the ultimate irony: that a man who incorporated so much of himself into his reign has left so much unknowable. ■



SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
Monday, September 21, 1992

7:45 am (20 min)		<u>Video Taping Session</u> (Smith)	459 OEOB
8:20 am		<u>The President and Mrs.</u> <u>Bush depart for New York City</u>	South Lawn
10:15 am	B	<u>Arrive United Nations</u>	New York City
10:20 am		<u>Courtesy Call on UN Secretary</u> <u>General Boutros-Ghali</u> (Scowcroft)	
10:45 am		<u>Courtesy Call on UN General</u> <u>Assembly President Stoyan Ganev</u> (Scowcroft)	
11:00 am	B	<u>Address United Nations</u> <u>General Assembly</u> (Scowcroft)	
11:55 am		<u>Arrives WABC Radio Studio for</u> <u>Interview with Rush Limbaugh</u> (Smith)	
1:05 pm		<u>Arrives Waldorf Astoria Hotel</u> <u>for Private Time</u>	
5:50 pm		<u>Meeting with Team 100</u> (Kaufman)	
6:15 pm	B	<u>Photos with Victory '92</u> <u>VIPS</u> (Kaufman)	
6:40 pm	B	<u>Victory '92 Dinner</u> (Kaufman)	
7:00 pm	B	<u>Arrive Marron Residence for</u> <u>Presidential Trust Dinner</u> (Kaufman)	

UNP 09/21/92
7:00 am
REVISED



9:45 pm B Depart New York for Washington

11:00 pm B Arrive White House

South Lawn

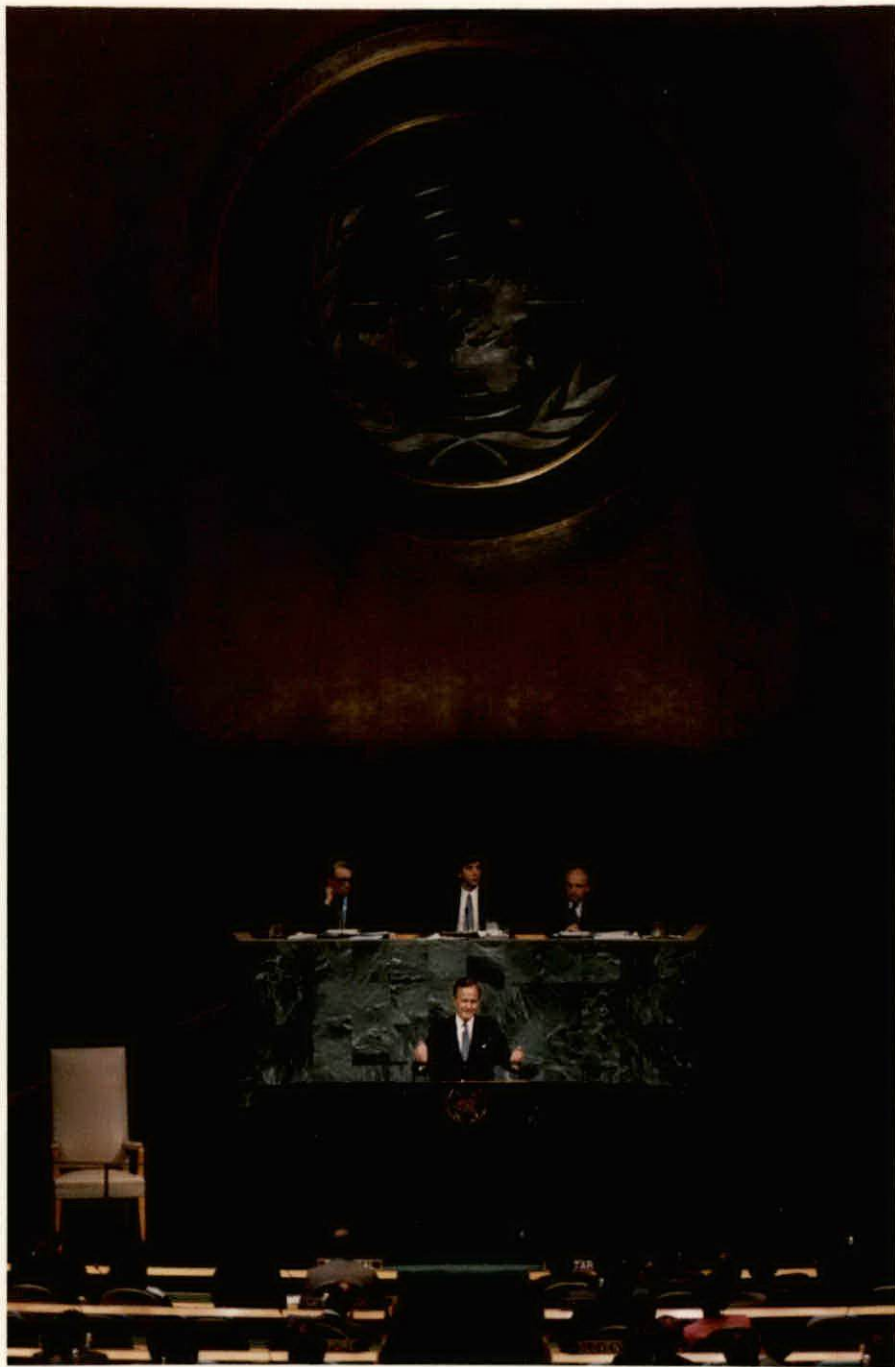
7:06 POTUS In
7:45 POTUS Out to OEOB
7:49 POTUS In Hold
7:53 POTUS In 459
8:04 POTUS Out
8:07 POTUS In
8:15 Sec. Baker In

UNP 09/21/92
7:00 am
REVISED



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United Nations

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