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Folder Title:
Thursday, September 24, 1992 [2]

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(Self-typed)

THE PRESIDENT

September 24, 1992

Dear Ray,

Back at the Camp David Computer.

Thanks for the notes. Bill Schreyer talked to me in N>Y> about the Penn State Visit. Yesterday the visit came off with spectacular success. A tremendous crowd, fired up by Joe Paterno, gave me a warm welcome.

The polls are dreary. The press is drearier; but I remain calm and confident- I really feel in the final analysis we will prevail.

Warm Regards.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Raymond K. Price
President
The Economic Club of New York
4910 Empire State Building
350 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10118-0100



THE PRESIDENT

Wally 7/24
cc'd
Ray Price

September 24, 1992

Dear Ray,

Back at the Camp David Computer.

Thanks for the notes. Bill Schreyer talked to me in N>Y> about the Penn State Visit. Yesterday the visit came off with spectacular success. A tremendous crowd, fired up by Joe Paterno, gave me a warm welcome.

The polls are dreary. The press is drearier; but I remain calm and confident- I really feel in the final analysis we will prevail.

Warm Regards.

THE ECONOMIC CLUB OF NEW YORK

EMPIRE STATE BUILDING · SUITE 4910 · NEW YORK, NY 10118 · (212) 947-7738/FAX (212) 947-7118

FOUNDED 1907

Raymond K. Price, Jr./President

September 21, 1992

Memo for: President Bush
From: Ray Price
Subj: Penn State

I'm finally getting caught up, and expect to have some more "ruminations" for you this week. But meanwhile, my friends at Merrill Lynch alerted me this morning that you're going to be at Penn State tomorrow, and since your friend (and their chairman) Bill Schreyer is vice president of Penn State's Board of Trustees, they felt you might find useful there the portion of his remarks last Friday to the Executives Club of Chicago in which he again said he thought the markets were forecasting a Bush victory, and took a knock at Clintonomics. A few of the relevant pages (11-12 and 18-24) from his speaking text are attached.

For what it's worth, I'm still an optimist.

All best,



FROM: ML NT 31ST. FL

TO:

212 947 7118

SEP 21, 1992

12:24PM

P.12

- 11 -

GIVEN WHAT GOVERNOR CLINTON PROMISES TO DO IF ELECTED -- AND ALL THE UNCERTAINTY THAT HIS PLATFORM WOULD ENTAIL -- I CAN'T BELIEVE THE STOCK MARKET WOULD STILL BE SO CLOSE TO RECORD LEVELS IF INVESTORS REALLY BELIEVED THE POLLS.

I ALSO CAN'T HELP BUT REFLECT ON THE BRITISH ELECTION LAST SPRING. THE DAY BEFORE THE ELECTION, ALL MAJOR POLLS WERE FORECASTING A VICTORY BY THE LABOR PARTY -- WHOSE SLOGAN INCIDENTALLY WAS THE SAME AS GOVERNOR CLINTON'S, "PUTTING PEOPLE FIRST."

FROM:ML NT 31ST. FL

TO: 212 947 7118

SEP 21, 1992 12:24PM P.13

- 12 -

**BUT WHEN IT CAME TIME TO PULL THE
LEVER, THE BRITISH ASKED THEMSELVES:
"DO WE WANT TO TURN THE ECONOMY, THE
TAX POLICY, AND THE NATIONAL DEFENSE OF
THIS COUNTRY OVER TO THE LABOR PARTY?"
AND THEY SAID TO THEMSELVES: "No."**

**I THINK THIS IS BASICALLY WHAT WILL
HAPPEN HERE IN NOVEMBER.**

**SO I'M STILL OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE
PRESIDENT'S PROSPECTS IN NOVEMBER, AND
I'M ALSO BULLISH FOR THE LONG TERM ON
THE U.S. ECONOMY.**

FROM:ML NT 31ST. FL

TO:

212 947 7119

SEP 21, 1992 12:26PM P.19

- 18 -

**HOW DO WE DO IT? HOW DO WE RESTORE THE
AMERICAN DREAM FOR EVERYONE?**

**THE FIRST NEED IS TO ABANDON THE
POLITICS OF ENVY AND PURSUE THE
POLITICS OF GROWTH.**

**THE DREAM IS FIRED BY PEOPLE'S BELIEF
THAT THEY AND THEIR CHILDREN CAN DO
BETTER. THIS HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH
WHETHER SOMEONE ELSE IS GETTING THERE
FASTER.**

FROM: ML NT 31ST. FL

TO:

212 947 7119

SEP 21, 1992 12:26PM P.20

- 19 -

**THAT'S WHAT CONCERNS ME ABOUT GOVERNOR
CLINTON'S ECONOMIC PLAN.**

**THERE'S A LOT THAT CAN AND SHOULD BE
DONE TO INVIGORATE OUR ECONOMY, BUT THE
APPROACH HAS TO BE PRO-GROWTH AND PRO-
PRODUCTIVITY -- PRO-ENTREPRENEUR AND
PRO-RISK-TAKING...**

**... AS OPPOSED TO RAISING TAXES AND
LOOKING FOR A QUICK FIX WITH
TRADITIONAL, POLITICALLY MOTIVATED
PUMP-PRIMING.**

FROM: ML NT 31ST. FL

TO: 212 947 7118

SEP 21, 1992 12:26PM P.21

- 20 -

**CLINTONOMICS BOILS DOWN TO THE
DISCREDITED FORMULA OF INCREASED TAXES
AND INCREASED SPENDING.**

**HE'S PROPOSING MASSIVE TAX INCREASES --
AT LEAST \$150 BILLION OVER FOUR YEARS
-- COUPLED WITH A SPENDING INCREASE OF
\$220 BILLION.**

**AND, ACCORDING TO THE SENATE BUDGET
COMMITTEE'S MINORITY STAFF, WHEN THE
DUST SETTLES, HIS PLAN WOULD INCREASE
RATHER THAN REDUCE BUDGET DEFICITS.
THIS IS HARDLY A PRESCRIPTION FOR
ECONOMIC GROWTH.**

FROM: ML NT 315T. FL

TO:

212 947 7110

SEP 21, 1992 12:27PM P.22

- 21 -

AND, AS WE'VE ALL SEEN TIME AND TIME AGAIN, GOVERNOR CLINTON'S PLAN TO RAISE TAXES ON THE RICH INEVITABLY WILL TURN OUT TO MEAN MORE TAXES ON THE MIDDLE CLASS AND ON SAVERS AND INVESTORS.

THERE SIMPLY AREN'T ENOUGH RICH PEOPLE AROUND TO RAISE THE KIND OF REVENUES THE GOVERNOR WANTS.

FOR EXAMPLE, IF THE GOVERNMENT DOUBLED THE TAX ON PEOPLE EARNING MORE THAN \$1 MILLION A YEAR, THE EXTRA \$39 BILLION IN REVENUE WOULD BE ENOUGH TO RUN THE GOVERNMENT FOR JUST TEN DAYS.

FROM: ML NT 31ST. FL

TO:

212 947 7118

SEP 21. 1992 12:27PM P.23

- 22 -

**DOUBLING THE TAX ON PEOPLE EARNING OVER
\$200,000 WOULD STILL COVER JUST SIX
WEEKS OF FEDERAL SPENDING.**

**AND GOVERNOR CLINTON'S HUGE NEW
SPENDING PROGRAMS AND GOVERNMENT
MANDATES WILL FALL ESPECIALLY HARD ON
SMALL, JOB-CREATING BUSINESSES THAT
SORELY NEED THE INVESTMENT CAPITAL
GOVERNOR CLINTON WANTS TO TAX AWAY.**

**THE MESSAGE OF ALL THIS ISN'T "PUTTING
PEOPLE FIRST," BUT RATHER PUTTING
GOVERNMENT FIRST, A MESSAGE THE
ELECTORATE HAS REJECTED TIME AND AGAIN.**

FROM:ML NT 31ST. FL

TO:

212 947 7118

SEP 21, 1992 12:27PM P.24

- 23 -

THE BUSH PLAN, BY CONTRAST, AIMS TO CUT BACK THE INTRUSIONS OF GOVERNMENT INTO THE ECONOMY -- TO WAGE WAR ON TAXATION, REGULATION, AND LITIGATION -- WHICH, TO ME, IS A PRETTY GOOD HIT LIST.

WHEN THE PRESIDENT SAID HE HOPED TO CUT TAXES ACROSS THE BOARD IN A SECOND TERM, HE DIDN'T SPELL OUT THE OFF-SETTING SPENDING CUTS.

BUT HE DID TIE LOWER TAXES FIRMLY TO NEW SPENDING CUTS THAT ARE RATIONAL AND RESPONSIBLE.

FROM: ML NT 31ST. FL

TO:

212 947 7118

SEP 21. 1992 12:28PM P.25

- 24 -

**AND THAT MEANS HE WON'T LET CONGRESS
PLAY ITS USUAL GAME OF SLICING THE
BEEF... AND SERVING THE PORK.**

**IN TODAY'S GLOBAL ECONOMY, ANOTHER
CRITICAL NEED IS TO RECOGNIZE THAT
THERE IS NO REFUGE BEHIND NATIONAL
BORDERS. WE MUST STAKE OUR FUTURE ON
OUR CAPACITY TO COMPETE IN THE GLOBAL
MARKETPLACE.**

**WHEN WE THREATEN OTHER NATIONS WITH
UNFAIR TRADE BARRIERS, WE ARE
PRACTICING THE STERILE,
SELF-DESTRUCTIVE POLITICS OF ENVY ON A
GLOBAL SCALE.**

Daily 9/24

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Frederick Vreeland
Ambassador to Rabat
American Embassy of Rabat
PSC 74, Box 017
APO - AE, 09718
MOROCCO



CAMP DAVID

9-24-92

Dear Fred -

Thanks for your
words of encouragement from
Rabat. I am confident, but
the press here keeps shoving hell.
Love to Vanessa-Sue, CB,



EMBASSY OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Rabat, Morocco, August 1992

Dear Mr President and Beant Barbara -

Vanessa I want you to know that our hearts go out to you as you move forward from the Convention in these very difficult and ungrateful times.

We send all our warmest wishes and loyal support - and confidence!

"A prophet is not without honor except in his own country." Honor is determined, unfortunately, by the fourth estate that seems to enjoy unlimited

power and unlimited irresponsibility in America. From abroad the picture is of the premier Statesman, judicious policy-maker and the man whom the world hopes will continue to lead the Unipolar world. But only American

can vote, and obviously, the need is to focus on domestic issues, the 3-E's: Education, Environment and the Economy.

And you will!

We know you can do it - surprise them and vanquish.

- Just wanted you to know we send you strength and loyalty. Frank with respect & love,

daily 9/24



CAMP DAVID

9-24-92

Dear Herb,

I'm getting some
'info' so I can write
Dennis Shapiro.

Thanks for your
letter. Sincerely,
Liz

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Herbert S. Hoffman
Hoffman Apparel International Corp.
160 North Washington Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02114

Nancy -
note both
on index.
R.

HERBERT S. HOFFMAN

160 North Washington Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02114
September 18, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

The other night at a YPO dinner the conversation turned to politics. My friend Dennis Shapiro immediately proclaimed "I'm voting for Bush". When I told him of my friendship with the President, he made mention of a letter he sent you a few days ago. I offered to make sure a copy got directly to you, hence the reason I am enclosing it at this time.

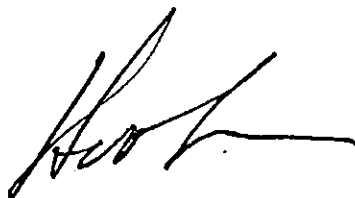
Dennis' company operates throughout the country and therefore I believe a note from you would not only be appreciated but meaningful. I hope you do not mind this suggestion especially considering your hectic schedule.

Incidentally, you saved me a traffic citation. This morning as I was driving I changed lanes and a motorcycle officer pulled me over. He obviously saw my BUSH/QUAYLE bumper sticker on the car for he said "I only have one thing to say... is Bush going to win". With that he gave me a big smile and sent me on my way. It sure pays to support the President!

I am very confident as to the outcome in November. Support for the other guy is very soft. Millions of voters are wavering and I am convinced when the moment of decision arrives these voters will pull the right lever. Confusion reigns but when the choice has to be made the majority of voters will go with the sitting President.

As always, I remain loyal and devoted.

Respectfully,



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



THE PRESIDENT

RZ

Please get reply prepared by Boyden's
office for my sig..

This guy is a supporter.
GB

7

HERB,
9/16
Per our
conversation:
Dennis

September 11, 1992

Dear President Bush,

I do not understand why our anti-trust laws, which exempt BASEBALL, are being used to undermine the integrity of MIT and eight Ivy League schools. I do not understand why the Justice Department has embarked on this action that has resulted in the most Bechtel decision.

I do understand that the United States has taken a lot of punishment in major world markets. Automobiles, television sets, VCR's, machine tools, are just a few. One area in which we have continued to be the leader in higher education. The excellence of MIT, the Ivy League and many other colleges and universities have earned us a magnet for the best minds in the world.

For our courts to dilute the credibility of our most distinguished universities lies in the face of what we still have left in world leadership. A proposal by your administration to Congress to exempt student aid collection from Sherman would not only be well received -- it is the right thing to do.

The sent in by
R. Hoffmann's
9-18-1992

Sincerely yours,
R. Hoffmann



THE PRESIDENT

File

September 24, 1992

Dear Miller,

You were terrific yesterday. I am very glad
the you are heading up our Small Business
effort. I have told the campaign I'd like
to get you involved in the
"spokesman"role, and I have so advised the
campaign.

Many Many Thanks.

(Note : To D Q BATES-- David please follow
up-get this guy on some regional shows-be
sure campaign follows up. Let Oberwetter
know he's willing etc.

*Miller
Hicks
Austin Tex.
co-chair of
our Small Bus group*

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - GEORGE BUSH HANDWRITING

(self-typed)



THE PRESIDENT

September 24, 1992

Dear Miller,

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the you are heading up our Small Business
effort. I have told the campaign I'd like
to get you involved in the
"spokesman"role, and I have so advised the
campaign.

Many Many Thanks.

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

FROM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. R. Miller Hicks
President
R. Miller Hicks & Company
R. Miller Hicks & Company Building
1011 West 11th Street
Austin, Texas 78703

daily 9/24



September 24, 1992

Memo To Roger Porter

FROM: THE PRESIDENT *CP*

I had a call from Chi Chi Rodriguez. Would you or someone in your office call Bill Hayes, Chi Chi Rodriguez Foundation

(813) 726-8829
(813) 585-7047 (Res.)

They have a plan on how to keep kids from dropping out of high school. Just have someone listen to him, find out what they are proposing; and report back to me.

FROM THE PRESIDENT

Presidential Phone Calls
Camp David



DATE: 9-24 TIME: 12³⁰ / 30
Incoming/outgoing

WITH: Chi Chi Rodriguez

SUBJECT: _____

1. gave speech Nations
made Truman -
supported you
will send us tape

2. school - pays to fail
a kid. our fly
came
fail are unhappy

FOLLOW UP: _____

Bill Hayes
Chi Chi Foundation
813-726-8829
585-7047 Mo.
will soon call him

daily 9/24

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 23, 1992

2 SEP 23 P4: 25

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATHY SUPER *K.S. (KS)*

SUBJECT: Honorary Co-Chairman for a special tribute honoring Reverend Leon Sullivan on his 70th birthday

I. EVENT

You and all former Presidents have been invited to serve as Honorary Co-Chairmen for the testimonial dinner honoring Reverend Leon Sullivan on October 5 in New York City.

II. BACKGROUND

Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Carter have accepted. They are waiting for a reply from President Reagan.

James D. Robinson III; Robert Stempel, Chairman of General Motors; and Ruben Mark, Chairman of Colgate Palmolive; have agreed to serve as Co-Chairmen for the tribute. Several CEO's of other leading corporations will serve as vice chairs along with a host of foreign dignitaries and luminaries from Federal, State, and Local Government; the Clergy; Academia; the Nonprofit sector; and the Civil Rights Movement.

Reverend Sullivan has contributed greatly to this country and workers. Earlier this year you presented the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Reverend Sullivan and you have supported many of Sullivan's causes. The proceeds from this event will go toward the International Foundation for Education and Self-Help and to the Occupational Industrial Centers (OIC), which Sullivan heads.

III. RECOMMENDATION

Senior Staff strongly recommends you accept this Honorary position.

This has been approved through Counsel's Office.


IV. DECISION

Approve Approve as amended Regret Hold

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 21, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR PATRICIA COX
OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL SCHEDULING

FROM:  GREGORY S. WALDEN
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Clearance

At your request, a clearance check was performed on Reverend Leon Sullivan, in connection with an invitation to the President to serve as Honorary Co-Chairman, along with all other former Presidents, for a special tribute for Reverend Sullivan in honor of his 70th birthday, at a dinner on October 5. Based on this review, the Counsel's office has no objection to the President agreeing to serve as Honorary Co-Chairman.

att: Kan 1



**AMERICAN
EXPRESS
BANK**

I. Lamond Gouwin
Senior Director

American Express Bank Ltd.
American Express Tower
World Financial Center
New York, NY 10285-2200

July 20, 1992

President George H.W. Bush
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It is my pleasure to inform you that a special tribute honoring our mutual friend, Reverend Leon Sullivan, will be held in New York on ~~October 5th 1992.~~ To celebrate Leon's 70th birthday, thousands of his friends, parishioners, followers, supporters, business associates, and admirers will participate in this gala event. The activities for this evening will include a program presentation at Carnegie Hall and a dinner dance, immediately following, at the New York Hilton Ballroom.

This event is being organized with exceptional support from the business community. My chairman James D. Robinson III; Robert Stempel, Chairman of General Motors; and Ruben Mark, Chairman of Colgate Palmolive; have agreed to serve as Co-Chairmen for the tribute. Several CEO's of other leading corporations will serve as vice chairs along with a host of foreign dignitaries and luminaries from Federal, State and Local Government; the Clergy; Academia; the Nonprofit sector; and the Civil Rights Movement.

The purpose of this letter is to invite you, along with all the other living Presidents, to serve as an honorary co-chairman of this well deserved testimonial for one of our nation's living legends. Reverend Sullivan, and all of us involved in this effort, would be deeply grateful for your support, and we hope that your schedule will permit you to be with us on October 5th.

To facilitate our planning efforts, it would be especially helpful if your staff could give us a reply as soon as possible so that your name can be properly acknowledged on the invitation and program.

An American Express company

AMERICAN
EXPRESS

AMERICAN
EXPRESS
BANK

If you or your staff have any questions, please feel free to contact me at 212-298-3283 or our tribute coordinator, Jewell Jackson McCabe, at 212-397-8890.

Sincerely,

Samuel J. Godwin

daily
*9/24*THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 23, 1992

2 SEP 23 P 3: 3

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *BS*
SUBJECT: Letter from Senator Wallop on SDIPurpose

To shore up Congressional support for SDI.

Background

Senator Wallop has written to you (Tab B) expressing the view that we have jeopardized last year's consensus on SDI by failing to secure amendments to the ABM Treaty.

Despite the demonstrated importance of missile defenses in the Gulf War, and their popularity in the U.S., support for SDI in the Senate has slipped. The Senate Armed Services Committee cut over \$1 billion from your request and a motion to table a floor amendment to cut SDI by another \$1 billion narrowly failed. Senator Wallop argues that the erosion in support for SDI is in part a result of lack of progress toward amending the ABM Treaty.

Nonetheless, we have approached the Russians seeking the changes that Senator Wallop advocates. Thus, in part, the problem is one of misperception. If we can reverse this problem by convincing key senators that we are engaged in serious and delicate negotiations aimed at substantial freedom for SDI and that we have a fair chance of success, we will go a long way toward winning the funding debate. The response at Tab A makes this case. It has been cleared by the Departments of State and Defense.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Proposed Letter to Senator Wallop
Tab B Letter from Senator Wallopcc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Wallop:

I read with interest and concern your letter regarding the ABM Treaty and the Strategic Defense Initiative. I believe there is a misconception about our policy and perhaps underestimation of my determination to move forward on missile defenses.

Let me be clear. The United States is seeking at the earliest possible date changes to the ABM Treaty to permit: deployment of multiple ground-based ABM sites; freedom to test and deploy all types of ABM and ABM-related sensors; unlimited ABM development and testing; and clarification necessary to deploy effective theater defenses without restriction.

We are seeking these changes in serious and sensitive discussions with the Russians. Thus far, the talks have been constructive and of an extremely different tenor than previous negotiations. Moreover, we hope to bring these discussions to a quick and successful conclusion.

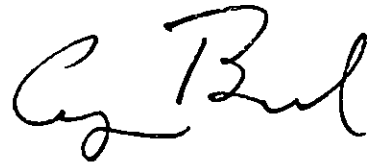
Unfortunately, some in the Senate are seeking to cut further SDI funding. This would undermine both our position with the Russians and our ability to deploy defenses at the earliest possible date.

I hope that we can work together to reestablish the consensus behind SDI that was embodied in the Missile Defense Act of 1991 so that the program can proceed on a realistic schedule, with adequate funding and strong political support. We must be able to defend the United

States, U.S. troops, and our friends and allies against ballistic missile threats posed by mad men and rogue nations. It would be a tragedy of considerable proportion if the SDI program is undercut by Congress just as it is coming to fruition and just as the Russians seem ready to work with us on ways to proceed. I will continue to press the case for SDI and urge that this critical defense program not be held hostage to partisan politics.

I appreciate your steadfast support for SDI.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Casper B. Bell".

The Honorable Malcolm Wallop
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

MALCOLM WALLOP
WYOMING

COMMITTEES:

ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES
SMALL BUSINESS
ARMED SERVICES

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-5001

July 31, 1992

WASHINGTON OFFICE (202) 224-6441
CASPER OFFICE (307) 261-5415
2201 FEDERAL BUILDING 82601
CHEYENNE OFFICE (307) 634-0626
2009 FEDERAL CENTER 82001
LANDER OFFICE (307) 332-2293
POST OFFICE BUILDING 82520
ROCK SPRINGS OFFICE (307) 382-5127
2515 FOOTHILL BLVD. 82901
SHERIDAN OFFICE (307) 672-6456
40 SOUTH MAIN 82801

6418

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to express my concern that our lack of progress in renegotiating the ABM Treaty is jeopardizing the Strategic Defense Initiative and the congressional consensus on the need to deploy missile defenses, which was forged last year around the Missile Defense Act of 1991.

I firmly believe that we missed a unique opportunity to secure initial amendments to the ABM Treaty during your summit meeting with President Yeltsin in June. Failure to achieve some concrete movement on treaty-related issues has sent the message that the Administration is not serious about moving SDI from its current focus on research and development into deployment. This impression was reinforced on July 14, 1992, in the Joint Statement issued by the American delegation sent to Moscow to work out issues related to missile defenses and the ABM Treaty. I was dismayed to learn that the delegation simply kicked the can further down the road by setting up three working groups, descriptions of which include no reference to the ABM Treaty.

I assure you that this view is not merely a knee-jerk response by one Senator. Last week the Senate Armed Services Committee completed its markup of the Fiscal Year 1993 Defense Authorization Bill. The Committee cut over \$1 billion from the SDI program and slashed Brilliant Pebbles to a level that effectively eliminates it from any foreseeable deployment architecture. During the markup, key Democrats stated the view that the Administration is not really serious about deployment of missile defenses, as demonstrated by a lack of progress in renegotiating the ABM Treaty. This argument was used repeatedly to rationalize cuts in funding and other provisions that would force us to deploy a more costly and less effective treaty-compliant system. For example, the Senate bill will force SDIO to include the Ground Surveillance and Tracking System (GSTS) in its initial architecture at a cost of \$1.6 billion when simple early warning radar upgrades would cost only \$400 million and have many advantages over GSTS.

The Honorable George Bush
July 31, 1992
Page Two

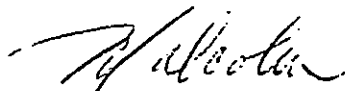
Mr. President, I and other leading proponents of missile defense can no longer make the case for robust SDI funding if the Administration is unwilling to take a stand on the ABM Treaty. Last year, in the Missile Defense Act, the Democrat-controlled Congress urged you to "pursue immediate discussions with the Soviet Union on the feasibility and mutual interests of amendments to the ABM Treaty." The same Congress, which has traditionally tried to impede SDI deployment, is now accusing you of doing the very same thing.

I respectfully urge you to direct your national security and arms control staff to immediately seek concrete changes to the ABM Treaty to permit: deployment of multiple ground-based ABM sites, early warning radar upgrades, unrestricted use of sensors for battle management, unlimited deployment of theater defenses and unrestricted testing of missile defense technologies.

There is no excuse for further delay. Protests by our allies and those in the United States and the former Soviet Union who continue to view the world through a Cold War prism should no longer be permitted to keep America defenseless.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,



Malcolm Wallop
United States Senator

daily 9/24



THE PRESIDENT

RZ *Phil Brady*

Ask someone to find out if there is a foundation to help with the expenses of this fine young firefighter...

Maybe they can call the family or better the fire dept in the area.

GB

5



THE PRESIDENT

September 24, 1992

Dear Scott,

Barbara showed me that fine letter you sent to Vanity Fair. That magazine really did a nasty job on my wife.

I do very much appreciate your setting the record straight on my visit to the hospital. Thanks a lot.

I hope this finds you well on the road to recovery. My warmest regards to your wonderful wife.

Sincerely,

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

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Scott L. Miller
10334 Rubio
Granada Hills, California 91344

To: Tina Brown, Editor and Chief Vanity Fair
Connnde' Naste Publications, Inc.
350 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10017

Ms. Brown I am writing this letter to take exception to your August 1992 article titled BARBARA'S BACKLASH. I will not comment on the article as a whole, but a very specific reference made on page 180 [copy enclosed] to the trip President Bush made to visit the firefighter shot during the L.A. riots. I am that L.A. City firefighter and MARJORIE WILLIAMS was not in that room with us. Both myself and my family take exception to the literary license in describing his visit. The President's visit was uplifting to myself and my family.

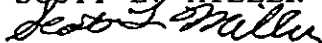
In these times of mistrust between citizens and their politicians, it is important the media is accurate in their representations. In this article there was only one event I had personal knowledge of, and as the recipient of the visit I feel it was grossly misrepresented. For me it invalidated the entire article.

At the time the President visited, I had been out of intensive care for only two days. I was completely unable to communicate other than in writing. The President's visit with me lasted approximately 15 minutes with him doing the majority of the talking. It was not one line as your article represents. As journalists you are experts in communication and should understand that having the recipient of a message correctly understand it, is more important than how it is actually presented. I understood his message and appreciated the fact the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES took the time to deliver it personally. My wife also wanted me to stress how sincere the President was and how much the handwritten letter I received just prior to leaving the hospital meant to us.

Just for my own insight, I would be very interested who the author claims as a reference for her portrayal of this event as myself, my family and my nurses were the only people in the room.

Sincerely,

SCOTT L. MILLER



10334 Rubio

Granada Hills Ca.

91344

cc Bush

Barbara Bush

schools, the threadbare health care, the marginal services—of the unfortunates who people her photo ops.

When Bush decided, in the late seventies, to run for president, Barbara pondered what her major "issue" should be and came up with literacy, a canny choice. On the one hand, as she often explains, it touches on every problem in society, ranging from crime to childhood poverty; on the other hand, it doesn't invite any controversy.

As the vice president's wife she joined the board of the child-oriented Reading Is Fundamental, and as First Lady she founded the Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy, to which she has donated all the profits from *Millie's Book*. It gives away half a million dollars in grants every year to programs that address illiteracy as a self-perpetuating problem passed from parents to children.

But if her signature issue was chosen with calculation, there has been nothing artificial about her good works. Even before Bush's political career began, she was a dedicated volunteer in hospitals; over the years, she has quietly worked at such places as the Washington Home for Incurables, and has served on boards ranging from that of the Ronald McDonald House to that of the predominantly black Morehouse School of Medicine.

Today you can easily see that she has a greater capacity than her husband has to look death and pain in the face. To cancer wards and AIDS clinics, she brings not only helpful publicity but a full self, a capacity to let in the suffering around her and give it its due, which is one of the few gifts any stranger can confer. The presi-

dent, on the other hand, is famous for squirming through visits to hospitals. When he visited the bedside of a Los Angeles fire fighter shot during the riots, the only consolation he could think to offer was for himself: "I'm sorry Barbara's not here," he said miserably.

Every afternoon the First Lady has her staff send up to her office in the family quarters a clip file of stories related to poverty, education, literacy, child care—her issues. And sometimes she reacts quickly to what she reads. In 1989, for example, she was angered by reports that the Salvation Army had been barred from making Christmas collections at some of the snootier local shopping malls. She made a trip to a mall that did permit the solicitations and took along a press pool to capture her dropping some change into the bucket, which successfully shamed most of the Scrooge-ish merchants into line.

This is as good a use of celebrity as exists in America. It is, by the accounts of Democrats and Republicans, blacks and whites, all of those who have fallen in love with the grandmotherly image of the First Lady, the very best of Barbara Bush.

But even in the uprightness of this image lies a certain moral complexity. For the past three and a half years, the First Lady has almost single-handedly symbolized her husband's good intentions in the realm of domestic affairs. Extended to a society's breadth, the Bush model implies a return to an era in which women relieved their powerful men—relieved government—of responsibility for the disadvantaged. It is the old Victorian contract, in which life was divided into two spheres, male and female; while men ran the world, their women ran the soup kitchens.

Bush advisers have worked hard over the years to suggest that Barbara's compassion will one day rub off on her husband, to imply that she can (and should) be relied on to police his interest in social services. "Every time he says 'Head Start,' that's Bar," spokeswoman Sheila Tate told reporters at the dawn of his administration.

And for some time the country seemed to accept the idea that Barbara was a facet of George—a reliable indicator of his goals. At the time of Bush's inauguration, columnists raved about how Barbara would be "the conscience of the White House."

But without Barbara, Americans might have noticed sooner that the self-styled "education president" had offered nothing meaningful in the way of education reform.

Without Barbara, voters might have noticed from the start how disengaged Bush seemed from domestic concerns.

Barbara Bush successfully silenced the

logical question that called out for response: Isn't the *president* supposed to be the conscience of the White House?

As George Bush campaigns for a second term, a lot rides on Barbara Bush's careful balancing act. She is the answer to a frightened campaigner's prayers, a surrogate campaigner who can command almost as much press and hoopla as the president can—while incurring comparatively little risk. As early as last winter one could trace the dawning importance of her role. She was sent to New Hampshire to file the papers for Bush's candidacy, "because nobody would dare to boo Barbara Bush," in the words of a strategist. She spent more time campaigning in the state than the president did.

And when Bush officially announced his candidacy, it was Barbara Bush who introduced him. In a classic reversal of roles, the candidate quoted his wife, referring to "my favorite political philosopher, Barbara Bush."

All through the spring, once the threat of Buchanan's primary campaign had faded, she traveled far more than her husband did, headlining as many as thirty major fund-raisers around the country.

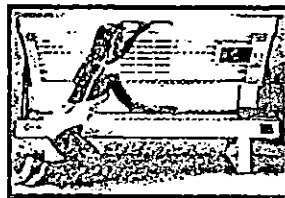
Republican strategists go as far as to say that they believe voters ambivalent about George Bush may think twice about voting his wife out of the White House. It's an extraordinary exception to the normal wisdom, which suggests that the best most spouses can do is adhere to the Hippocratic oath of politics: Just do no harm.

Opinions differ about how badly Barbara Bush wants to stay in the White House. She is said to blame the presidency for the problems of her son Neil, implicated in the Silverado Banking, Savings and Loan Association debacle.

Friends also surmise she has had a more difficult time than she lets on dealing with Graves' disease, the thyroid condition that has tired her and painfully distended her eyes.

But by most accounts she has reveled in her time as First Lady. Even as the president floundered through the spring and early summer, his polls in free-fall, Barbara Bush lived in a charmed circle within her control. She has reached the apotheosis of the life she read about in her daddy's magazines, a victory she presents as grand affirmation of the ultra-traditional plan she has lived by.

"My mail tells me that a lot of fat, white-haired, wrinkled ladies are tickled pink," she said on the eve of Bush's inauguration. "I mean, look at me—if I can be a success, so can they."



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John P. Stewart, M.D., Resident Physician

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5:00 P.M. NEWS UPDATE

CLINTON/HEALTH CARE (Rahway, N.J./AP) -- Bill Clinton said his health care plan would save \$700 billion in eight years and guarantee basic coverage to all while dismissing President Bush's plan as "too little, too late."

"We cannot go on like this, this is a matter that is critical for the survival of this country's future," Clinton told a rally at Merck Pharmaceuticals, a company that limits the rise in prescription drug costs to inflation.

In Washington, Bush spokesman Alixe Glen said the Clinton plan would place "millions of Americans into a government-run health insurance system. It would reduce the quality of care that we enjoy in this country and would ration care for most Americans.... Clinton's pay or play health plan is a prescription for disaster."

CLINTON/IRAN-CONTRA (Rahway, N.J./Reuter) -- Clinton and Al Gore said President Bush might be ducking a campaign debate to avoid questions about his role in the Iran-contra affair. "I'll say this, I've answered a hundred times more questions on the draft than he has on Iran-contra," said Clinton. He pointed to reports that said a new book by Richard Secord will challenge Bush's contention that he was just a bystander at Iran-contra policy discussions.

In Washington, Gore told reporters, "I think the stream of evidence that has come out in the last few weeks indicating President Bush was in the room when the arms for hostages deal was discussed...calls into question his assertion" that he was out of the loop.

FOLEY/SPEECH BAN (AP) -- Speaker Foley, upset by a Republican bashing of Bill Clinton, banned further insulting references to him in floor speeches. Foley said Clinton would now be covered under a rule barring lawmakers from using the House floor to make such remarks about the president, vice president and lawmakers. Foley did acknowledge that House rules allow lawmakers more freedom to attack candidates for president and vice president. "However...in order to maintain decorum in the House, certain minimal standards of propriety in debate should apply to all nominated candidates for president and vice president," Foley said.

Republicans offered no immediate challenge to Foley and said the speaker appears to be within his powers. The order does not block Republicans from criticizing Clinton but does ban language that is personally offensive, such as calling him a liar, as well as personal abuse, innuendo and ridicule. Less than five minutes after Foley's order, Rep. Traficant was told by the presiding officer to tone it down after a sharply worded blast at Bush. Minutes later, Rep. Gejdenson got a tap on the wrist for not expressing his complaints about Bush in the proper form. Wrangling later broke out over remarks by Rep. Fazio that sought to link Bush to arms sales to Iran.

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Daily 9/24

Mr. Tom Coble
Small Businessman of
the Year ~~Greensboro,~~
N.C.

Introduced the
President at meeting
w/ Triad Business
Community

Mr. Thomas Coble
President
Coble Cranes and Equipment
3133 - A Cedar Park Road
Greensboro, North Carolina 27405



GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

September 24, 1992

Dear Tom,

Just a quick note of thanks for your kind introduction in Greensboro yesterday. I really enjoyed my visit with the business community and appreciate all you did to make the event such a success.

Congratulations on your achievement as Small Businessman of the Year. I wish you lots of luck and success!

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

(Chicago, Illinois)

September 24, 1992

**Embargoed for Release
Until September 25, 1992**

The President today recognized the volunteers of the Lehman Community Service Council of Williamstown, Massachusetts, as the 903rd Daily Point of Light for the Nation. These Williams College students address their community's most pressing needs by engaging in a variety of year-long service activities.

Every semester, the Lehman Community Service Council holds a fair to recruit and organize new volunteers and projects. Of the approximately 2000 students at Williams College, more than 500 voluntarily commit to serve for one year in programs that include Hydrotherapy, Louison House, Adult Literacy Training, Homework Hotline, and the Berkshire Farm for Boys.

Hydrotherapy volunteers work two hours a week at the YMCA with individuals who have cerebral palsy or other disabilities. By leading recreational activities such as therapeutic swimming, they provide companionship and support to their new friends. Louison House is a homeless shelter in nearby Adams, where Lehman volunteers work one-to-one with residents, helping them to write resumes and secure jobs. The Adult Literacy Training project matches college students with adults for weekly tutoring sessions in English as a Second Language and GED preparation.

The Homework Hotline helps elementary, middle, and high school students who are unable to meet regularly with a tutor and who do not have help at home with their homework. It is open for calls five days a week, from 7:00 pm to 10:00 pm. Ten Williams College students volunteer with the hotline, answering questions about Math, English, and other primary subjects.

At the Berkshire Farm for juvenile delinquent boys, volunteers visit weekly to tutor, play sports, teach art and music, or just talk. They become well acquainted with the boys, serving as reliable friends and good role models.

The President salutes the volunteers of the Lehman Community Service Council 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

(Chicago, Illinois)

September 24, 1992

For Immediate Release

The President today recognized the volunteers of the Rochester Toy Library of Rochester, New York, as the 92nd Daily Point of Light for the Nation. Toy Library volunteers care for children from low-income neighborhoods.

Founded in 1985, the Rochester Toy Library operates a free playroom that offers children from low-income families a safe place for recreation. In addition, the organization lends toys to children who have none. Most of the toys are donated or purchased through corporate grants. Over 200 volunteers, including high school, college, and Rochester Institute of Technology students and members of scout troops, the Junior League, and the local chapter of the American Association of University Women, offer friendship and individual attention to over 12,000 children up to age eight.

Some 16 volunteers of the Toy Library go to five local schools and daycare centers and "adopt a class," choosing preschool and kindergarten classes in areas where children are at-risk of failing the first grade. They use motivational toys to help children understand the world around them and develop their creativity. Volunteers offer over 400 children needed companionship and help them acquire social skills such as cooperation, sharing, and waiting their turn. With disabled children, volunteers use specially designed toys, such as baseballs that beep, and toys that are easy to handle and understand. These developmentally-based activities enable the youngsters to enhance their dexterity.

According to Executive Director Jane Westerman, as the volunteers instruct the children individually with the toys, the children ask more questions, their games become more intricate, and they learn to express themselves better and understand the world around them. The Toy Library's efforts have increased the youngsters' interest in studying and motivated otherwise disinterested children to develop social, cognitive, and language skills.

The President salutes the volunteers of the Rochester Toy Library 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

Huffington says he'll end PAC donations

By Jerry Cornfield
News-Press Staff Writer

Multimillionaire Republican Michael Huffington, one of the GOP's most generous donors, on Wednesday called for campaign finance reforms and vowed to end his stream of hefty contributions to party pals.

Sounding benevolent and almost repentant, Huffington said that, as a candidate for the 22nd Congressional District, he has learned that special interests subvert the electoral process by funneling huge sums of money to candidates.

Reforms such as curbs on spending and elimination of political action committees is needed, he said at a press conference in Santa Barbara. Huffington said the California Republican Party's finance arm, to which he gave \$25,000 in September, and Team 100, an exclusive Republican group he joined by donating more than \$100,000, would have to be axed.

"Until you run for public office you don't really realize how things work," he said. "As a private citizen I didn't. But I'm outraged by the amount of money that goes into campaigns from special interests, which I really had not focused on as a private citizen. I learned something and I am coming out against it."

Campaign rivals Gloria Ochoa, a Democrat, and Mindy Lorenz, of the Green Party, blasted Huffington's comments.

"He and his family are one of the biggest contributors to the



Steve Maione/News-Press

Republican congressional candidate Michael Huffington, right, and his supporters, from left, Agape Stassinopoulos, Larry Crandell and Santa Barbara City Councilman Gil Garcia.

Republican Party and you mean to tell me that he just discovered the influence that PACs have on this country," Ochoa said.

"He's not really willing to get serious about campaign finance reform. The Republicans have talked about getting rid of PACs for years. It's smoke and mirrors as far as I am concerned," Lorenz said.

Huffington and Lorenz have received no PAC money, while Ochoa has received some money from such groups as the American Nurses Association and members of Emily's List, an organiza-

tion devoted to promoting women in politics.

"The abolition of all PACs will mean that only rich people like Michael Huffington will have the means to run for Congress," Ochoa said. "I think it is a deprivation of the constitutional right of those who earn a living to contribute whatever little they can to support a candidate of their choice."

Lorenz and Ochoa support political action committees, but want to limit contributions from each group to \$100. The two women also endorse a voluntary

spending limit of \$400,000 for the campaign and more equal access to the media, ideas advocated by Common Cause, a non-profit public interest group.

Huffington, termed a one-man PAC by primary-election opponent Rep. Robert Lagomarsino, R-Santa Barbara, rejected the Common Cause cap on campaign spending. He also rejected Ochoa's call for a \$1 million spending limit in the campaign.

"That's like having two fighters in the ring and asking one of

See CAMPAIGN, Page B 8

9/24/92

Santa Barbara News Press

ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL



Steve Maione/News-Press

Republican congressional candidate Michael Huffington, right, and his supporters, from left, Agape Stassinopoulos, Larry Crandell and Santa Barbara City Councilman Gil Garcia.

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"That's like having two fighters in the ring and asking one of

Campaign

Continued from Page B 1

them, because he is stronger, to use just one hand," he said. "That's (money) is just one of the resources I have."

Lorenz and Ochoa called him hypocritical for rejecting any limit.

"It tells me that he is not yet really serious about true campaign finance reform," Lorenz said. "If he uses terms about equalizing the playing field and he refuses to put a limit on his spending, that is hardly fair play."

At the press conference Wednesday, Huffington released copies of a new commercial attacking the tobacco industry lobby.

He said he wanted to end advertising of tobacco products in newspapers and magazines, eliminate cigarette vending machines and ban smoking in all public buildings and private businesses, including restaurants.

Tobacco industry members would fight hard against any advertising ban, said Brennan Dawson, spokeswoman for the industry-financed Tobacco Institute of Washington, D.C.

Seeking such a ban would violate the freedom of speech rights of industry members, Dawson said.

"No one would argue the candidate can pay to get his message across to constituents, yet he argues we can't. It's inconsistent. Either we have freedom of speech or we don't," Dawson said.

SB INDEPENDENT 9/24 - 10/1

ANGRY POODLE BARBECUE



In Dog We Trust

SLIPPERY SLOPE: As a rule, Republicans have three basic solutions to any given problem. The first is to bomb it, invade it, a la Iraq, Panama, and Granada. The second trick up their collective sleeve is to build more jails and lock the "problems" away, which might explain why the United States has more people behind bars per capita than any other nation on earth, including even the former Soviet Union and South Africa. And finally, when the Republicans are seeking that kinder-gentler touch (sounds like a laxative slogan if you ask me), they offer tax write-offs and deductions as incentives.

So when the Democrats came up with a modest—albeit politically timed—proposal that says workers in companies of 50 or more employees have to be allowed to take up to 12 *unpaid* weeks off in the event of a birth, death, or some other urgent family matter (this means you can take this time off and be assured your job will still be there when you come back), George Bush vetoed the bill practically before the ink was dry. Business PACs lobbied hard against the bill, saying it would lead to scheduling headaches and abuse, impose an undue burden on small businesses, and in general be bad for business, and Bush has taken up their cudgel. He insists he's all for family leave, but wants it done voluntarily. And to incite some voluntary compliance, he's willing to give businesses a tax break. Talk about an invitation for abuse! Can you imagine the reporting and enforcement nightmares that would be required to prevent unscrupulous businesspeople from taking undue advantage?

What's interesting in all this is that 20 states, including California, already have family leave laws,

and according to a recent study commissioned by the U.S. Small Business Administration, and reported on in the *L.A. Times* last week, the law has not been a problem. Businesses surveyed in those states did not report that higher payroll costs lead to abuse or created scheduling nightmares. In fact, some companies reported that offering family leave was good for morale. What a surprising concept.

I say all this by way of introduction to the fact that Republican Congressional candidate Michael Huffington, the star of all those TV commercials you see, is vacillating and equivocating something fierce when it comes to family leave and which approach he supports—Congress's or Bush's. On the question of family leave, he told *Independent* reporter Nick Welsh, "I'm absolutely for it *conceptually*." (Last five syllables highlighted to illustrate graceful backpedal technique.)

"Let's put it this way," Huffington said. "The world would be a better place if companies did it voluntarily." Granted, but if wishes were horses, beggars would ride. Yes, Welsh said, but there are two proposals on the table, which one do you support? "There are 10,000 proposals that come out of Congress and Washington every year," Huffington rejoined. "I don't have an absolute commitment to vote for either one."

Well, thanks a whole hell of a lot. I find it curious that Michael is willing to take detailed positions about things he can't possibly change, such as the abolition of all PACs and not allowing tobacco company PACs to make political contributions, the latter being patently illegal, but he just doesn't know his own mind when it comes to a vote that would make some difference in the here and now.

BYE BYE: A regular feature of this column has been the trials and tribulations of the *News-Press* newsroom workers and their unsuccessful efforts to bargain a contract through their union, the Newspaper Guild, with a management team guided by an explicitly union-busting agenda. That saga is now over. Two weeks ago, *News-Press* newsroom workers voted the union out.

Gone. Finito. Busted.

The New York Times, which owns the *News-Press*, offers non-unionized workers an undeniably great benefit package, but union members are not eligible for the same goodies. This has been one of the main bones of contention from the start, and when negotiations broke down this April, union members began what they called a decirculation drive, in which they got 2,700 *News-Press* subscribers to agree to cancel their subscriptions at the anointed hour. It's doubtful whether they would have had much effect if they delivered on their threat, but the anointed hour never came.

Two newsroom workers petitioned for an election to decertify the union, one being former editorial page pundit John Lankford, the congenial conservative in top siders, who has since gone on presumably to bigger and better things in Arizona. Management buttonholed every single worker and all but promised them the same benefits the other non-union *N-P* workers get if they voted the union out. Against management's dollars and cents arguments, the union fought back with politics and ideology, but the members were tired, they saw no light at the end of the tunnel, and they voted the union down.

Speaking of the *N-P*, they distinguished them-

selves for both good and ill in their front-page article from last Thursday highlighting Democratic Congressional candidate Gloria Ochoa's trail of debt and financial flakiness.

If Ochoa has money problems, and she has, that's a legitimate story. In this case, the charges were officially leveled by Pete Gherini, a bigwig with just about every conservative pro-growth organization in town and now active with the Huffington campaign. Part of Gherini's evidence was an internal *News-Press* memo prepared by then-reporter John Lankford last February based on off-the-record interviews with state officials about Ochoa's travel expenses while employed by the California Energy Commission. (Ultimately, Ochoa had to pay back \$3,000.)

What's sleazy is that Lankford gave Gherini the internal memo in the first place. Part of being a reporter is trading gossip; to get some, you have to give some. But you don't betray people who've spoken to you off the record. You just don't. Not only is it unethical, it's stupid. Most papers wouldn't want it to get around that one of their reporters was leaking internal documents based on off-the-record remarks to an obvious political player like Gherini, and it's to the credit of reporter Jerry Cornfield, who did the story, that he included that fact in the story. Cornfield, a political reporter, regularly states from which camp his political dirt was fed, but in this case, there may have been an element of pay-back. Cornfield was the head of the union and Lankford, after all, was one of the two people calling for the decertification vote.

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

Thursday, September 24, 1992

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

Thursday, September 24, 1992

Newsmakers

Frank Zappa quits tour to be treated for cancer

By W. Speers
INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

Frank Zappa, revealed to be suffering from prostate cancer almost a year ago, abruptly canceled scheduled appearances this week in Germany and Austria and flew back to L.A. for treatment. His spokesman in Frankfurt said the rock icon "was feeling very bad," but yesterday Zappa countered: "I was in bad shape but I'm better now. I'm not in the hospital. I'm in my kitchen." Zappa, 51, who played to full houses twice last week in Frankfurt, was due to play in Berlin and Vienna. He's been tight-lipped about his illness, refusing to discuss it or its treatment. November's announcement of his condition was made by his children. "I'm not dead," he said yesterday. "I have no intention of checking out any time this week or within the foreseeable future."



Barbara Bush defended the Republican Party at a luncheon in New York Tuesday, then turned up at a girls club in Bristol, Conn., yesterday to take issue with polls showing her husband far behind Gov. Bill Clinton.

Having words

Barbara Bush and New York Post gossip columnist William Norwich got into it Tuesday at a Manhattan luncheon hosted by execs from Redbook and Vogue mags. The first of 70 diners to query her, Norwich started: "One aspect of the Republican campaign seems to be an all-bets-are-off willingness to delegate women, intellectual Jews and gay people to a category of Other. And as two of those..." "Which two are you?" interrupted the first lady. "All three, ma'am, on a Saturday night," responded Norwich. Then addressing his first statement, Bush said: "I'll tell you something. I don't think that's true. I'm not going to tell you how to live your life and you don't tell me how to live mine. I'm for ya and so is George Bush. And I don't like that impression of the Republican Party at all."

Sean Penn recently got into a scream with an Alitalia agent at a Rome airport when his itinerary to L.A. couldn't be arranged to allow a side trip to Paris. After pelting the agent with a string of four-letter words, Penn snorted: "[Blank] you! I'm taking the train." Countered the agent: "Enjoy the nine hours and [blank] you, too."

wound up providing the requested video material.

Makeovers

Yesterday's USA Today ran two mug shots of Jennifer Grey. One was taken from her current movie, *Wind*. The other — a shot of her at the movie's premiere. They look nothing like each other. Are we talking plastic surgery here? Her publicist refused comment.

Ozzy Osbourne declared he's gone straight in the Living section of yesterday's New York Times: "I am not the Antichrist," the heavy-metalist declares. "I am a family man." And he marched out his five kids and had them recite the anti-booze-and-drug lessons he'd given them, plus warnings against unprotected sex. "All that stuff on stage, the craziness, it's all just a role that I play," said Osbourne, 43. "The closest I ever came to witchcraft is a Ouija

board. ... I can't even watch slash films. They freak me out." He's down from 193 pounds to a healthy 156, has traded Courvoisier for Diet Pepsi, is a member of the Church of England and even (gulp!) prays on his knees before each performance.

Markings

Donald Trump thought his deal bringing the Radio City Music Hall Rockettes to Atlantic City's Trump Plaza Hotel & Casino this winter was so done he sent out invitations to a news conference announcing it. Forget it. ... An issue came up over the last few days that could not be resolved and we had to cancel," said a Trump Plaza exec.

From the why-ask-why dept. comes the Rev. Billy Graham. On a recent visit to the devastation wrought by Hurricane Andrew, the evangelist told some victims in Homestead, Fla.: "It's OK to ask

why. I ask why. There's a reason for this and you'll find out some day what it is."

Bailing out

Rosa Perot never intended to run for president but got caught in a steamroller of his own making and backed out only after he couldn't keep up the charade any longer. So says Jim Squires, the Texas billionaire's campaign media adviser, in the Oct. 1 issue of Rolling Stone. Squires writes that after Perot's initial announcement on Larry King's TV show that he'd run if supporters got his name onto the ballot in all 50 states, he assured his wife that "the conditions were impossible to meet." He quotes Perot as saying: "It will all die down in two or three days." He also says Perot told him: "I knew I didn't have the temperament to be president and I don't." In the end, Squires notes, Perot decided not "to do what he never really wanted to do in the first place: Become a politician."

This story includes information from the Associated Press and the New York Daily News.

Tempo

Chicago Tribune Wednesday, September 23, 1992



**Bob
Greene**

A different time, a different story

I read a book the other day called "Flight of the Avenger: George Bush at War." It's a new paperback edition of a hardback original that came out last year.

President Bush, it has been reported, feels that he is being treated unfairly by the press during the current election campaign. He may well be right.

To me, though, one of the most interesting things about the campaign is not how the news media—and the electorate—are treating Bush specifically, but how we treat virtually all of our sitting presidents. There has been an undeniable change in the last several decades, and as I read "Flight of the Avenger" that change was evident.

Regardless of what you think about the name-calling over Bill Clinton's and Dan Quayle's actions during the Vietnam war, there is little argument that George Bush served honorably and with courage during World War II. He enlisted in the Navy on his 18th birthday, he was said to be the youngest pilot in the Navy—and he was rescued at sea after being shot down during a dive-bombing attack in the Pacific.

I didn't recall hearing much about "Flight of the Avenger" when it was published last year. As I read it, I knew it reminded me of something—another book on a similar subject: a young military man in World War II who survives a crisis at sea and goes on to become president of the United States.

The book was "PT 109: John F. Kennedy in World War II," by Robert J. Donovan, which was published in 1961, became almost a cultural event, and ended up as a Hollywood film starring Cliff Robertson as Jack Kennedy. "PT 109" entered the national mythology as soon as it was published; Americans loved reading about their president at war.



George Bush as a Navy pilot during World War II.

From one 1961 book review of "PT 109":

"If the John F. Kennedy about whom this book is written is the same as the one now in residence at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, D.C., then there still is hope for the country. . . . Kennedy displayed courage, resolution, and the ability

to make up his mind. . . . When the chips were down, the young man had it."

"Flight of the Avenger" got some favorable notices, too, but its author, Joe Hyams, tells me that when the hardback came out last year, the general reaction to the story of George Bush's war exploits was one of skepticism, if not outright hostility. From one 1991 review of "Flight of the Avenger":

"This book about the young George and Barbara Bush could only have been written with the assistance of the President and First Lady—not because it reveals anything significant or surprising, because it does not. . . . [The author] presents the two teenage aristocrats as decent, loyal, generous and modest, straight shooters with no doubts or wrinkles. The sections on the future President's military experiences—even [his rescue at sea]—read like a script for a Ronald Reagan movie. ('He didn't cuss, drink, smoke, or talk about women.') And the story of the romance between George Bush and Barbara Pierce, how two strangers saw each other across a crowded room at a society cotillion, is one we have heard countless times before—though usually set to music by Rodgers and Hammerstein and sung by Ezio Pinza."

Putting aside for a moment that different reviewers see different pieces of writing in different ways, a case can be made that the review cited above for "PT 109" was a pretty typical representation of how Americans felt about their presidents in 1961—and the review cited above for "Flight of the Avenger" is a pretty typical representation of how Americans feel about their presidents today.

"I think people at the time of 'PT 109' were less jaded, less cynical," Joe Hyams said when I asked him why he thought the public's reaction to "Flight of the Avenger" was so lukewarm. "If an author writes a book about a living president that is not scurrilous and is not filled with gossip and scandal, readers may feel they're not being given the real story."

Hyams, author of 28 books, said that when "Flight of the Avenger" was published in hardback, some people accused him of writing it at President Bush's request, to help the president politically.

"I had never met George Bush before I started this book," he said. "I thought the story of what happened to him during the war was a dramatic story, and I was curious to learn more about it. For the record, I am a lifelong Democrat."

Hyams said that when he was growing up, "the president, whoever he was, was a hero. He was like the omnipotent father to the nation. Today, we raise our eyebrows at everything any president says or does. We're skeptical. We don't want to be fooled."

The question is. Have our presidents changed?

Or have we?

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

Political Memo

Backlash for Hillary Clinton Puts Negative Image to Rout

By ROBIN TONER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 23 — Barbara Bush is still vastly more popular and better known in the polls, but Hillary Clinton seems to be riding a heady backlash from the Republican convention these days. Her crowds are big, her portrait on the cover of Time magazine this month was downright beatific, and months of careful maneuvering to recast her image may be finally paying off.

Mrs. Clinton, who dislikes and dismisses the notion that there was ever a strategy to warm her up, says she simply realized last spring that voters were getting a one-dimensional portrait of her.

"People started telling me there were polls showing that people didn't even know if Bill and I had a child," she said in a recent interview. "Well, in Arkansas, everybody knows Bill and I have a child, and they know we protect her and we're not keen on having her made into an object. But then I realized, that's the most important part of my life, and people don't know that about me.

"It wasn't that I changed," she said. "It was that I grew in my understanding of how better to communi-

cate what I care about and who I am."

For much of the 1992 campaign, the endlessly ballyhooed "year of the woman" never quite extended to Mrs. Clinton. Her poll ratings were measured against Mrs. Bush's and found lacking. Her defense of her legal career last spring — an angry "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies" — made even some Democrats wince. At least 20 articles in major publications this year involved some comparison between Mrs. Clinton and a grim role model for political wives: Lady Macbeth.

It all crescendoed to the Republican National Convention last month, where a chorus of speakers denounced Mrs. Clinton, by name or by implication, as a dangerous, rogue feminist. And that, paradoxically enough, may have finally ushered in the season of Hillary Clinton's revenge.

Some experts and political observers suggest that Mrs. Clinton has become a kind of Rorschach test for the culture and its changing attitudes

Continued on Page A23, Column 1

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toward women, attitudes that "are still very charged, very intense, for everybody," says Jean Baker Miller, a psychiatrist at the Stone Center at Wellesley College and an authority on sex roles. "She becomes the figure that people can project these very intense opinions upon."

For some of the speakers at the Republican convention, Mrs. Clinton was the symbol of feminism run wild, a chilly lawyer who equated marriage with slavery and was bent on radically altering the traditional family. For many of the women who reach for her hand when she works

The critics took aim, and may have shot themselves.

the rope lines these days, she is a kind of everywoman, working hard and under siege from the men in the blue suits.

'Any Woman Who's Strong'

"You know why she's being attacked," said Lynn Williams O'Keefe, a Montessori teacher who showed up at a rally for Mrs. Clinton at the University of Colorado at Boulder. "Any woman who's strong is going to be attacked."

James Carville, a senior strategist in the Clinton campaign, puts it more bluntly. "This campaign owes a debt of gratitude to the Republican convention," he said, "for casting her in the role of heroine to a lot of people." Perhaps the surest sign that the Republicans' attacks were misfiring is their comparative silence about Mrs. Clinton over the last few weeks.

"Hillary Clinton, good or bad, is not the issue in this campaign," said

Torie Clarke, press secretary for the Bush campaign.

Mrs. Clinton was well positioned to benefit from a backlash; she has worked hard to recover from the days of the cookies-and-condescension controversy to present herself as wife and mother in addition to lawyer and pol. Last week, for example, she was on the daytime television show called "Home" to chat about the campaign, but also to talk about being a parent; she fielded questions with a group of other mothers during a regular advice feature called "Club Mom."

Later, in a flurry of satellite interviews with local television stations, she told one reporter after another, "I want to be a voice for children in the White House."

Into the Background

Mrs. Clinton says she has simply learned to provide a context for her life. Ms. Clarke, among many other political observers, sees a simpler explanation: the Clinton campaign simply "pulled her back" into a more traditional role for a First Lady contender. At times, in fact, Mrs. Clinton seemed to recede into the background. In recent months, listening to her husband speak and wearing the traditional adoring gaze of the political spouse.

"I am me," Mrs. Clinton responds, somewhat wearily. "I have watched my husband give a million speeches. I don't know if I'm adoring-like, watching him give a million speeches. But you know, that's part of my life. My life is a mix of all kinds of interests and activities. That's who I am."

In the current psychosexual minefield, it is probably not surprising that the Republicans stepped on a few mines in Houston. Kathleen Hall Jamieson, an expert in political communication at the University of Pennsylvania, has been conducting focus groups throughout the year to monitor what voters retain about the campaign. She said she was struck, in the aftermath of Houston, that one phrase above all others was retained by many of the women in her groups:

Marilyn Quayle's comment that "most women do not wish to liberated



Brian Brainerd for The New York Times

Long compared with Barbara Bush, Hillary Clinton was found wanting. But since the Republican convention, when she was a frequent object of scorn,

her image has been changing to a warmer, more popular campaigner. In Boulder, Colo., last week, she responded to the welcome.

from their essential natures as women."

Ms. Jamieson said: "The level of hostility toward her and that speech was very high. I think there was some resentment at someone standing up and telling women what choices are and are not appropriate for them."

The speech was widely taken as a lightly veiled attack on Mrs. Clinton, an attempt to create an unflattering

contrast between the full-time careerist (Mrs. Clinton) and the woman who quit her legal practice to help her husband and raise her family (Mrs. Quayle). Mrs. Quayle, in a recent Op-Ed page article for The New York Times, said that her speech was in no way meant to criticize working women, and was badly misinterpreted.

In general, there were strong reasons for the Republicans to back

down: Recent polls showed big majorities rejecting or ignoring the case against Mrs. Clinton presented at the Republican convention; a Times-Mirror poll released on Thursday showed that 73 percent of those who followed those criticisms said they disagreed with them. And a majority of women now work outside the home.

For all of that, there remains a core of the Hillary-averse; a Time/CNN

poll conducted in late August found that 74 percent said their views of Mrs. Clinton would make no difference in their vote; 9 percent said she made them more inclined to vote for Mr. Clinton, and 14 percent said she made them less inclined.

Her image, generally, pales compared with Mrs. Bush's, who remains in the lofty reaches of public approval that her husband left long ago, and who after four years in the White House is much better known than Mrs. Clinton. The New York Times/CBS News Poll, in late August, showed that about a third of the voters viewed Mrs. Clinton favorably, that 19 percent regarded her unfavorably and that the rest had no opinion. In contrast, Mrs. Bush is viewed favorably by 77 percent and unfavorably by 5 percent.

Even as voters seem increasingly willing to accept women as candidates in their own right, an untraditional woman in the traditional job of First Lady stirs controversy. "It's not her," argues Gloria Steinem. "It's her and him. She's pioneering in public an issue that is at least as important in the long term as any of the issues considered political in the conventional sense, and that is an equal relationship between a man and a woman."

Mrs. Clinton says simply, "The Presidency has not yet experienced the change in relationships and roles that have been played out everywhere else but there." She continues, in many ways, to push the boundaries of her role. When she was pressed in an interview on exactly how she would be a "voice for children in the White House," she did not sketch a modest role.

She talked of "a children and families agenda" that she hoped to help explain to the American people. "Whether that means I will testify, or whatever, I can't predict right now," she added. "But I'm going to be working on that agenda, and I'm going to be very disciplined. And at the end of Bill's first term, I want you to come and interview me and say, O.K., what have you accomplished?"

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NEW YORK POST

METRO EDITION

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40¢ in New York City 50¢ elsewhere

CABLE TV AND

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BUSHES

THE

President poised to veto bill while his son Neil works for industry bigshot



George Bush, then Vice-President, with son Neil and grandson Pierce in Denver back in 1988.

Associated Press

CABLE BIG PAYS NEIL AS PREZ READIES TV VETO

PRESIDENT Bush is threatening to veto a bill that would regulate cable TV and fees, while First Son Neil Bush is collecting a hefty salary working for a cable executive who wants the bill killed.

Denver cable multimillionaire Bill Daniels — a major GOP contributor — hired Neil Bush, of Silverado Savings and Loan, in July 1991 after the S&L collapse that's expected to cost taxpayers \$1.6 billion. Federal regulators accused Neil Bush of conflict of interest in his role with the failed savings institution.

Democrats note that in May 1990, Daniels wrote the president a letter that painted cable TV as "a truly marvelous example of the free-enterprise system at its best," and urged him to take a "strong stand" against cable regulation.

Daniels hired Neil Bush a year later, saying he wanted to give the First Son "a second chance," but adding he would "absolutely" continue to lobby Bush on cable matters.

"Anybody who hires Neil Bush is going to get some heat — but some-

DEBORAH ORIN
INSIDE WASHINGTON



body had to do it," Daniels then said. Asked yesterday if hiring Neil was a conflict of interest, Daniels — in a telephone interview — replied: "It may look like it but if you know me, it's not. I give lots of people a second chance."

The landmark cable regulation bill would protect consumers from exorbitant fees and poor service.

The bill has passed both the Senate and the House by overwhelming margins, and supporters may have enough votes to override a Bush veto.

Daniels noted the president was on record against cable regulation even before his May 1990 letter, and said that, in fact, he has never written to Bush or tried to lobby him since.

"At no time would I talk to the president. Not even once. I will not talk to him, you can't make me talk to him . . . I seldom talk to Neil and that's also on purpose," Daniels said.

Neil Bush's starting salary — with a cable subsidiary known as

TransMedia — was \$60,000, Daniels said, but he wouldn't say what he earns now. And what does Neil do?

Daniels cited as an example a consulting mission to China, where Bush Sr. was once the U.S. envoy — saying the Chinese clamored to have Neil come. "He was welcomed with open arms as the president's son. He's earned his money," said Daniels.

Of course, critics would say that amounts to trading on his father's position.

Asked if there was a conflict, White House spokeswoman Laura Melillo said: "Neil is a private citizen. That has no bearing

[on Bush's expected veto]. The president has long opposed regulation."

In fairness, it should be noted that Colorado newspapers report Daniels, a major charity-giver for the homeless, has, indeed, given a second chance to plenty of people other than Neil Bush — like down-and-out Vietnam vets.

Daniels' allies say that given his 30-year friendship with the president — he held a \$330,000 fund-raiser for Bush in 1987 — he hardly needed to hire Neil Bush to have White House access.

Another reason the Democrats See ORIN on Page 18

Bush son's link to cable honcho

ORIN from Page 5

like the cable issue is that the bill is so popular that for the first time, they think they'll have the votes to override a Bush veto.

But intriguingly, one of the few Democrats to vote no — and he's ready to uphold a Bush veto — is Sen. Tim Wirth (D-Colo.), one of the Senate's experts on broadcasting. He thinks consumers are being sold a bill of goods.

"Wirth thinks it's lousy public policy. It goes far beyond rates and services, and what it really means is an income transfer from cable to ABC, CBS and NBC," a Wirth spokesman said.

With all the flak over Bill Clinton's untruth-telling on how he dodged the Vietnam draft, you'd think he'd be careful to avoid new credibility problems. But there he goes again.

In an article aimed at Jewish voters, Clinton is again claiming he backed the Gulf War — which is untrue, since news reports show he straddled the issue even after the Senate voted to authorize force.

"During the Gulf War I stood with President Bush because I believed his actions were in the best interests of the U.S.," Clinton claims in a piece he wrote for *Moment*, a Jewish-oriented magazine, on "Why Jews Should Vote for Me."

Not!

In his now-famous straddle, Clinton tried to have it both ways two days after the Senate OK'd the war, saying: "I guess I would have voted with the majority [for war]. It was a close vote. But I agree with the arguments the minority made [against war]."

A few weeks back, Bush ridiculed Clinton's Gulf straddle in a speech to B'nai B'rith. Clinton, who spoke the next day, didn't contest Bush's charge and instead dodged the issue — he didn't even mention the Gulf War.

Today, leaders of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations meet Bush chief-of-staff James Baker at the White House — and then fly back to New York to host Clinton.

Bush's soft-on-crime accusation against Clinton gets resounding applause from the Arkansas Fraternal Order of Police, which endorsed Bush last week.

"Gov. Clinton has shown a disrespect for the law-enforcement community," said John Gilchrist, the group's president — and also a Little Rock patrolman — in a telephone interview.

He charges Clinton won't provide law-enforcement funds, dragged his heels for 10 years on skyrocketing juvenile crime and, on a more visceral level, doesn't even come to police graduations or annual memorials to slain officers — "only once in 12 years as governor."

And no, it's not a liberal-vs.-conservative issue, since, Gilchrist hastens to add, Sen. Dale Bumpers (D-Ark.), a liberal hero, "always makes himself available."

Clinton backers counter that they have endorsements from plenty of other police groups.

The average Arkansas prisoner is sentenced to 96 months and serves 16. In New York, the average prisoner is sentenced to 97.5 months — and serves 23.9 months.

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By John Carmoav
Washington Post Staff Writer

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

The TV Column

Adopting a new campaign tactic, President Bush will appear on ABC's "Good Morning America" on Monday, Wednesday and Friday of next week for interviews of about five minutes. Each interview will be devoted to a single topic . . .

On Monday, it will be taxes; on Wednesday, crime; and on Friday, welfare. The interviews will be live from the Map Room at the White House during the second half-hour (7:30 to 8) of the program . . .

GMA co-anchors Charlie Gibson and Joan Lunden will conduct the interviews, but no assignments had been made as of yesterday . . .

Mr. Bush has so far passed up the late-night and early-morning opportunities seldom missed by the competition, although he did appear on an NBC News primetime special with Tom Brokaw a while back . . .

Dorrance Smith, presidential assistant for media affairs, said yesterday the GMA move signals "a more consistent presence on network shows" but did not name other broadcasts on the White House list. Smith also said the president will be doing more local interviews in the closing weeks of the campaign . . .

Ron Allen, who had been at CBS News in Los Angeles, has joined ABC News and will be based in the London bureau . . .

ABC News president Rooney Arledge said in a statement, "We're very happy to have Ron Allen here at ABC News" . . .

Now This

ABC News's "Nightline" will look at President Bush's credibility vis-a-vis the Iran-contra affair tonight, mirroring a "Nightline" piece last week on Democratic candidate Bill Clinton's credibility vis-a-vis the draft . . .

"CBS This Morning's" co-anchor Paula Zahn was in town yesterday interviewing Marilyn Quayle for a segment that airs at 7:10 this morning. And please. Don't ask me why networks arrange these things so that there is no time left for publicity. Never have figured that out . . .

FOX will broadcast U2's first network TV special on Sunday, Nov. 29. The hour will include highlights from the rock-and-roll band's two-year worldwide "Outside Broadcast" stadium tour . . .

Maria Shriver will anchor an NBC News special called "Total Exposure—Privacy and the Press" on Thursday, Oct. 8 . . .

CNN today will have live coverage, starting at 9:30 a.m., from Orlando, Fla., of the Orange County juvenile court trial in which 12-year-old Gregory K is suing his mom for termination of her parental rights. Charles Jaco is correspondent . . .

And, during the lunch break in Gregory K's trial, CNN will have live coverage at noon of acting Navy Secretary Sean O'Keefe as he presents the final report on the Tailhook scandal that has rocked naval aviation . . .

Yay! The 24-hour Sci-Fi Channel premieres tonight at 8 on six cable systems in the Washington market, including Multivision and Metrovision in P.G. County, Cable TV Montgomery, Hauser in Arlington, Columbia in Woodbridge and Benchmark in Manassas and Sterling . . .

Sci-Fi will kick off with that all-time all-timer, the movie "Star Wars" tonight, which will be followed at 10:30 with a "Sci-Fi Channel Preview Show" that will tick off some of the favorites waiting in the transporter room for s.f. fans . . .

That basic fare comes from just about every series you can remember, including "Land of the Giants," "Battlestar Galactica," "Dark Shadows," "Lost in Space," "Dr. Who," "Planet of the Apes," "Voyage to the Bottom of the Sea," "Space: 1999," "The Powers of Matthew Star," "The Prisoner" and maybe a dozen more. The only major series not tied up yet by the USA Network-owned Sci-Fi Channel are the two "Star Treks," which have a lot of life left in syndication before they're ever available . . .

Some 12 original movies a year will eventually be included in the mix (oh, oh, somebody just beamed up C. Airwaves and I'm afraid they've made a botch of it) . . .

"... Talking With David Frost" starts a second season tomorrow night on PBS with interviews of the two vice presidential candidates. Sen.

Gore cratted up David on Monday at the Park Hyatt; Vice President Quayle is due to chat up David today at an undisclosed location . . .

In Memoriam

The American University School of Communication has created an exhibit and tribute to the late Eric Sevareid, which chronicles the life and work of the CBS legend over five decades . . .

The exhibit, which is located inside AU's Bender Library on the school's Northwest Washington campus, will be open to the public through Oct. 4. It was coordinated by AU assistant professor Jill Olmsted, with the cooperation of Suzanne St. Pierre, Mr. Sevareid's widow. The commentator-correspondent died in July at the age of 79 . . .

A journalism scholarship has been established in the name of news producer Ellen Masin Persina, who died of cancer earlier this year at the age of 41 . . .

The first winner is Tony Cedor of Brooklyn, who plans to attend Brooklyn College, majoring in journalism . . .

The scholarship—to go to a needy graduating high school senior who has demonstrated an active interest in journalism as a career—will be endowed through a fund to be created by Ms. Persina's family and is sponsored by the National Press Club's Friends of National Journalism Library Inc. . . .

Tax-deductible contributions made out to "Friends of National Journalism Library Inc." and designating the Ellen Masin Persina Journalism Scholarship Fund can be sent to 5631 Utah Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20015 . . .

Day II of the 1992-93 primetime season (and if you think we're going to do a Day III, IV, V etc. right through CCX, relax) found ABC and Miss Roseanne at the top of the Tuesday night heap . . .

ABC averaged a healthy 16.5 national Nielsen rating and a 26 percent audience share, with "Roseanne" on top at 23.8/36 (she won last week, you know). The season premiere of "Full House" did a 16.6/27, the debut of "Hangin' With Mr. Cooper" a 15.2/24, "Coach" 20.0/30 and "Going to Extremes," which could be going for the sidelines if it doesn't snap out of it, did an 11.7/20 . . .

ABC says the first two episodes of "Roseanne" are up 20 percent in audience over last year . . .

(A perfect place to remind one and all that "Roseanne" reruns begin on Channel 5 the evening of Saturday, Oct. 3, two episodes each Saturday night between 7 and 8. Rosie will replace "The Golden Girls," who have moved to weeknights at 7 on Five) . . .

CBS was second in the Tuesday nationals with a 14.5/23, as "Rescue 911" fashioned a 14.2/23 and the movie "With a Vengeance" a 14.7/23 . . .

The two-hour return of NBC's "Quantum Leap"—with Sam leaping into Lee Harvey Oswald—averaged a 10.8/17, while "Dateline NBC" did an 11.5/20 as the network averaged an 11.0/18 for the evening . . .

But locally on Tuesday, CBS and Channel 9 carried the day, er, night, as "Rescue 911" did a 15.3/23 and "With a Vengeance," a 15.8/24 . . .

On Seven, Rosie did a 23.1/33; "Full House," 13.7/21, "Hangin'," 15.4/22; "Coach," 18.8/27; and "Going to Extremes" a mere 9.5/16 . . .

On the other hand, "Quantum Leap" on WRC did a 10.2/15, "Dateline NBC" 6.4/11 . . .

A two-hour "Baywatch" on WDCA did a 3.1/5, while "Runaway Train" on Five did a 7.0/10 . . .

Over on WETA, "Voices of the Electorate: African American Voters," averaged a 1.3/2, while a rerun of "LBJ" did a strong 5.6/8. That average was the best of any PBS station in Nielsen's top 23 markets airing "LBJ" Tuesday night as the program did a 3.9/6 overall . . .

Each national ratings point represents 931,000 TV homes; each local point, 18,514 TV homes . . .

Yay! "It's Academic" returns for its 32nd season on Saturday on Channel 4. But at a new time, 10 a.m., instead of 10:30. Opening day opponents: Chantilly, Gaithersburg and High Point. And this year they're using film from NBC archives as the basis for some of the questions. Good grief, a high-tech "It's Academic" and to think, 20 years ago ABC News's Cokie Roberts and the APT's Jean Firstenberg and TV consultant Susan Peterson used to sit in Sophie Altman's basement, making up questions for the show . . .

Ins and outs at 'SNL': Jan Hooks will drop by, Victoria Jackson departs

So what's hooking at *Saturday Night Live*?

For one thing, SNL alum Jan Hooks will return at least once to impersonate White House-wannabe **Hillary Clinton**. (No date yet.) Hooks, who left the NBC series after four seasons in '91 to join CBS's *Designing Women*, is known for her First Lady bits, including **Nancy Reagan** and **Kitty Dukakis**, another wannabe.

Lots of other news from SNL, which launches its 18th season Saturday with **Nicolas Cage** (*Honeymoon in Vegas*) as host and music by **Bobby Brown**.

SNL graduate **Dennis Miller**, whose late-night talk show lasted about 15 minutes, may also pop up from time to time, says SNL czar **Lorne Michaels**. Miller won't go back to his old stomping ground, "Weekend Update." **Kevin Nealon** owns that now.

Victoria Jackson, a regular since the 1986-87 season, has left and is living with her new hub, a cop, in Miami. (That leaves **Julla Sweeney** as the only female among eight rep players.) Also not returning: featured players **Slobhan Fallon** and **Beth Cahill**.

To replace Jackson, **Rob "The Richmeister" Schneider** has been promoted from a featured player.

Now that on-again, off-again presidential hopeful **Ross Perot** may be on again, **Dana Carvey** will be doing him, along with **President Bush**. (For the record, Carvey

By **GAIL SHISTER**



TV/radio talk

doesn't do **Bill Clinton**.) Carvey's SNL contract runs through the Oct. 31 show, and he's expected to resign. He has a separate prime-time deal with NBC.

On the hosting front, **Tim Robbins** (**Bob Roberts**) is set for Oct. 3, with musical guest **Sinead O'Connor**. Oct. 10, it's **Joe Pesci** and the **Spin Doctors**, and **Christopher Walken** is penciled in for Oct. 24.

Rolling Stone **Mick Jagger** will perform solo sometime in November. Jagger has done his thing twice before on SNL: with the **Stones** in October '78 and with reggae star **Peter Tosh** in December '79. He took a bow when girlfriend **Jerry Hall** hosted on Valentine's Day 1986.

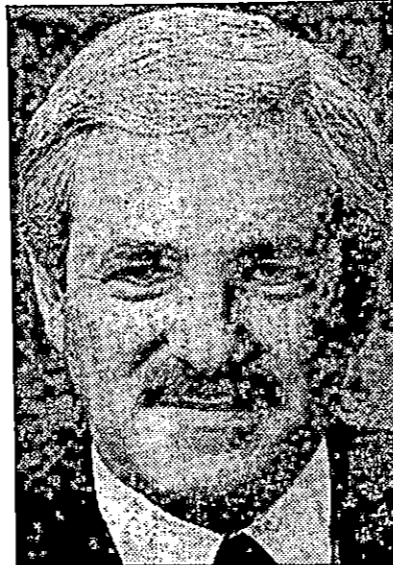
Ready, set . . . Stop the presses! There's a change at Channel 6's *Action News*!

WPVI, which makes a news change every few decades whether it needs to or not, this week unveiled a spiffy — and colorful — news set. The set, PVI's first new look since 1974, debuted on

Monday's 5 p.m. show, with **Marc Howard** and **Lisa Thomas-Laury**.

The new set features a blood-red carpet and faux marble anchor desk speckled in red, gray, white and blue. Startling stuff to viewers, but no big deal to no-nonsense anchorstar **Jim Gardner**.

"Do we have a new set?" says Gardner, a 16-year PVI vet. "Obviously, the environment is a little more contemporary, and we're enjoying it, to a degree. But it would be a mistake to think our focus is the set and not the news."



Jim Gardner says to focus on news, not Channel 6's new set.

While the set has been spruced up, top-rated *Action News* is more straightforward than ever these days, Gardner says. "We're just covering the news, without being glitzy or sensational or overly commercial about it. I'm more proud of our news now than I have been in 15 years."

Bush on "GMA." President Bush, who vetoed this week's debate with **Bill Clinton** in Michigan, will answer *Good Morning America's* questions during three live remotes from the White House Monday, Wednesday and Oct. 2. (Can you say *spin control*, boys and girls?)

Charlie Gibson and **Joan Lunden** will query Bush on separate topics each day — taxes, crime and health care, respectively. Each five-minute session will air during the 7:30-to-8 a.m. segment.

Short stuff. **Jane Pratt**, editor of the teen-girl *Sassy* magazine, will host a weekday talkie for cable's Lifetime, beginning in January. The hour-long 5 p.m. show — no title yet — is aimed at women under 30. Most recently, Pratt hosted the teen-oriented *Jane* from March to June on Fox's WNYW in New York. . . . Penn grad **Ron Allen** (Class of '79), an L.A.-based CBS correspondent since 1989, has joined ABC News as a correspondent in the London bureau. Allen, a Hillside, N.J.,



Jan Hooks, still a regular on CBS's *"Designing Women,"* will bring her **Hillary Clinton-impersonating** skills.

native, joined CBS News in '88 as a Washington-based correspondent. He began his career in '80 as a desk assistant for CBS News in New York. . . . NBC's *In the Deep Woods*, starring **Anthony Perkins** in his last film role, will air Oct. 26. It was originally slated for Oct. 19. . . . *Almost Live*, a Seattle-based sketch show hosted by **John Keister**, debuts at 9:30 p.m. Sunday on Comedy Central. *Live*, will also be seen at 10 a.m. weekdays on the cable network. . . . NBC is first out of the chute to announce a made-

for-TV flick about Hurricane Andrew. **Brian Pike** will executive-produce the project, to air this season. ABC also has a movie in development. . . . Baby boom: A tip of the 'ol rabbit ears, tastefully accessorized in pink, to Channel 29 news boss **Roger LaMay**. He and his wife, **Peggy Bradley**, yesterday became parents of 8-pound, 3-ounce **Rose**. They have two sons, **Lecho**, 10, and **Jacob**, 8. Bradley returned home seven hours after giving birth. (What a woman.)

HEALTH AND BEHAVIOR

A better prognosis for women's medical research

By Kim Painter
USA TODAY

Two years ago, women's health research became a front-page issue. Women, it seemed, had been largely ignored by researchers who assumed that what they knew about men's bodies could be applied to women's.

Reports were issued, meetings were held, expert committees were formed. And, unlike many front-page issues, this one did not go away.

Today, the National Institutes of Health has, in Dr. Bernadine Healy, a director who considers women's health a top priority.

The agency, which funnels money to researchers nationwide, has an Office of Research on Women's Health, charged with ensuring adequate numbers of women in taxpayer-supported studies — both as participants and researchers.

And NIH is about to award grants for the most ambitious health study ever: a 14-year \$625-million look at risks for heart disease, cancer and osteoporosis. (the brittle bones disease) among 150,000 postmenopausal women.

In a recent talk to health writers, Healy said, "We have seen an awakening about the importance of women's health ... not just to women, but to the nation as a whole."

But, as a new report from NIH makes clear, women have a long way to go to achieve health equity with men.

The report, developed in consultation with top experts in a variety of fields, says:

► Women's longer lives come at a price: more disease and disability. The problems of old age — from Alzheimer's disease to hip fractures — are primarily problems of women.

► Throughout life, women have poorer health than men do. They are more likely than men to seek treatment for everything from gallstones to arthritis. They even have more colds and flus — perhaps because they spend more time with children.

► Women suffer more serious consequences than men do when faced with certain ill-

nesses. A woman who gets a sexually transmitted disease — as 6 million do each year — can suffer infertility, ectopic pregnancy and painful pelvic infections; she can also pass infection to a baby during pregnancy and birth. With the exception of AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases rarely affect men so seriously.

► And yet, women's health is more like men's than many doctors seem to realize. The top killers of men and women are heart disease, cancer and stroke. Most studies on those diseases have focused on men.

"When I read the whole thing from cover to cover, there were things that hit home to me, even as a physician," Healy says. She is particularly concerned about the ravages of sexually transmitted diseases, which increasingly strike teenage girls, and the effects of smoking. Women now are more likely to start smoking

and less likely to quit than men are; lung cancer, not breast cancer, is now the leading cancer killer among women.

Healy says she hopes the report will be "a call to arms" for researchers, stimulating studies that look at the entire life-

span of girls and women.

To encourage such research, the Office of Research on Women's Health — with a 1992 budget of \$10.2 million — is supplementing grants made by the various institutes at NIH and is providing the bulk of funding for some studies on women "that might not otherwise be done," says Dr. Vivian Pinn, head of the office.

For example, she says, the office is providing \$1 million for research on endometriosis and uterine fibroids at the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

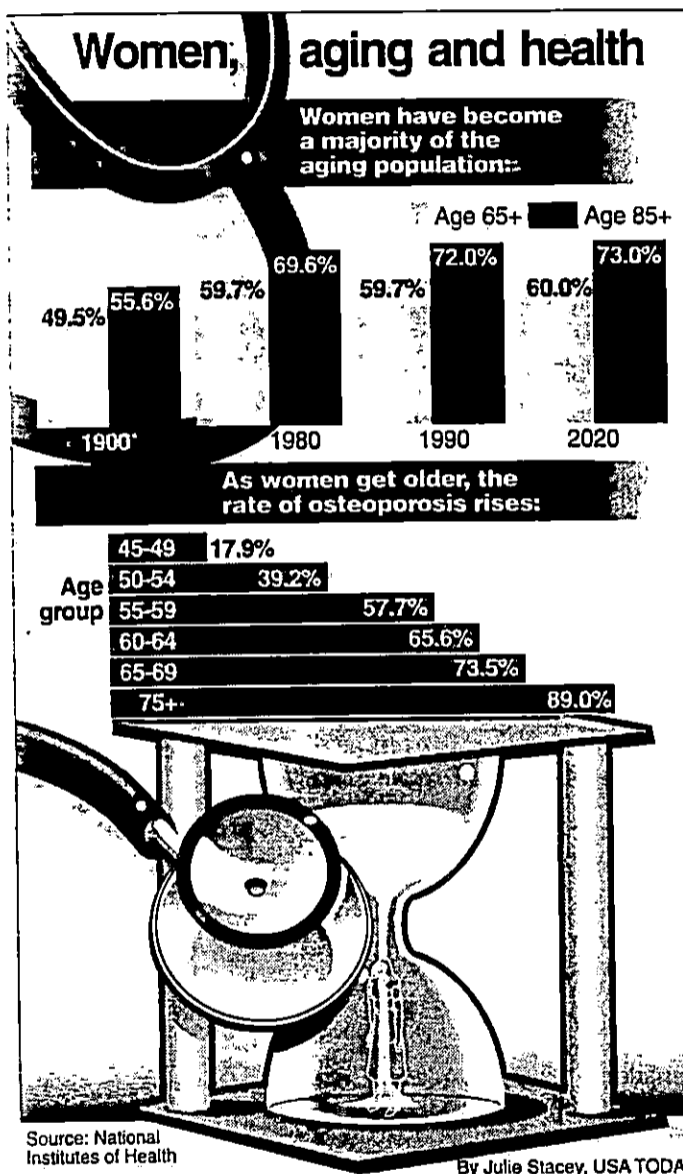
"These are major causes of infertility, pain and hysterectomy," Pinn says. "Yet we don't really understand how they occur or how to prevent

them or manage them without surgery."

Women's health advocates generally are pleased with what they've seen in the past two years. "Certainly more is being done than in the past," says Anne Kasper of the Campaign for Women's Health, Washington.

But, she says, "We feel much more needs to be done. We need to keep prodding."

And, Kasper says "We're also concerned about what will happen if President Bush is defeated and Bernadine Healy (a political appointee) leaves ... We need to assure that trials and programs and procedures and even the concept of women's health research are embedded in the institution.



Many unknowns awaiting answers

What don't medical researchers know about women? Enough, apparently, to fill a 200-page report with more than 170 specific research questions.

The questions, in a new report from the National Institutes of Health, were posed by experts in reproduction, aging, heart disease, cancer, infectious diseases and other fields.

If the report has its intended effect, many of these questions will be answered in studies over the next few years.

A sampling:

- ▶ What are the differences between male and female fetuses?
- ▶ What factors contribute to girls' self-esteem?
- ▶ How does the brain change after puberty?
- ▶ Why do more females than males suffer depression after puberty?
- ▶ How widespread are physical and sexual abuse of girls and women? How does abuse affect them through life?

▶ Why is injury the leading cause of death among women ages 15 to 44?

▶ Can hormones given early in pregnancy safely prevent miscarriage?

▶ What causes benign tumors of the uterus — which occur in 45% of women?

▶ Why do 25% of women in their 30s and 40s develop endometriosis (a condition in which fragments of the uterine lining get into other parts of the body, causing cysts and pain and, sometimes, infertility)?

▶ What can young women do to prevent cancers of the lung, breast, colon, uterus and ovaries later in life?

▶ How does early menopause affect health?

▶ How can hot flashes be controlled?

▶ Why does a woman's blood pressure often go up after menopause?

▶ How do alcohol, tobacco and drugs affect women over 65?

▶ How does aging in women differ from aging in men?

Healthy advice for now

U.S. women will have to wait years for results from some of the major new studies on women's health. In the meantime, scientists say there are things women can do to increase their chances of long, healthy lives. Best advice:

▶ Don't smoke. Smoking not only causes lung cancer, it contributes to heart disease, hypertension, osteoporosis, miscarriages, premature births and infant deaths. It's especially important not to smoke if you take birth control pills. The combination substantially increases heart risks.

▶ Eat a low-fat diet. You'll reduce your risk of heart disease and cancer — including, many experts believe, breast cancer.

▶ Get a yearly breast exam and, if you're sexually active, a yearly Pap smear. If you're over 50, get a yearly mammogram. Cervical and breast cancers detected early are often curable.

▶ Exercise regularly for a healthier heart, healthier lungs and stronger bones — and, perhaps, better mental health.

▶ Protect yourself from sexually transmitted diseases.

The Philadelphia Inquirer

Thursday, September 24, 1992

Women in Congress

Ferraro's defeat was no real setback

"The Year of the Woman" in politics is on course despite a bump in New York last week when Geraldine Ferraro — the biggest celebrity among the women candidates — lost her Senate primary by a whisker. On the same night that Ms. Ferraro was losing to a guy, Patty Murray won in Washington state to become the 10th woman insurgent to grab a major-party nomination for the Senate.

Thus this chamber — the most male-dominated part of the U.S. government other than the presidency itself — is highly likely to become more representative of the population at large. Politics junkies might recall that in 1984, the major parties nominated nine female challengers, all of whom lost. But most of those candidates were sacrificial lambs challenging strong incumbents. This year, three of the races have no incumbent, while the incumbent in a fourth is a recent appointee. And in this year of the alienated voter, incumbency itself is no longer a guaranteed advantage.

What's more, now that the Evil Empire and the U.S. economy are both in shambles, the electorate seems to actually be tilting toward women candidates. Opinion polls are suggesting that the average voter now has more confidence in women candidates on personal qualities such as integrity and on key issues such as the economy and health care. To put this cynically, the male-dominated political establishment has done such a wretched job on domes-

tic issues that it's inconceivable to many voters that women would be any worse.

In addition to the highly publicized Senate races, more than 100 women have won the Democratic or Republican nomination for the House. With redistricting, retirements and public anger about all those "bounced" checks guaranteeing a high turnover, major gains are certain for that chamber as well.

For long-time advocates of electing more women to high office, New York represents the principal disappointment. As the returns came in, some of Ms. Ferraro's supporters were griping that she could have won but for another woman. New York City Comptroller Elizabeth Holtzman not only refused to defer to the former Democratic vice-presidential nominee, she also cut her up with attacks on her integrity. Women were supposed to bring their kinder, gentler natures into this seamy business of politics, some say.

We believe that it's naive — and patronizing — to expect women candidates to treat each other with kid gloves when a powerful office is on the line. What's more, political skill at slicing and dicing an opponent can be applied to winning victories on Capitol Hill. So even though the New York primary left a one-time hero of the women's movement bloodied and beaten, that gutter fight in its own unsavory way shows how far women candidates have come.

Business

Chicago Tribune Wednesday, September 23, 1992

Quaker takes hand in helping families

By Eileen Ogintz

When Quaker Oats Co. employees told bosses how hard it is to juggle jobs and families, management listened—in a big way.

"There was a time when companies expected employees to not let their families interfere with work. Today that can't be done. And values have changed. People won't do it," said Robert Montgomery, Quaker Oats vice president-human resources. "People are saying to employers, 'You need to help us with this.'"

That's what 1,100 Quaker employees did when they responded to a recent survey on how family concerns affect work performance. Management realized that although Quaker is considered progressive on such matters—the company recently was named by Money Magazine as one of "The 10 Big Companies with the Best Employee Benefits"—it wasn't doing enough. And the need was going to in-

crease, the survey shows. ■ Family-leave backer continues fight. Page 3.

Nearly half of those surveyed said they plan to have or adopt a child soon. Sixteen percent have some responsibility for elderly family members, and more than two-thirds expect to take on such responsibility.

Only 16 percent of those surveyed have a spouse or partner who is not employed outside the home. Those with young children are working. Fewer than one-third of employees with children under 13 have a spouse who is home caring for the children.

In no uncertain terms, working parents told bosses that family responsibilities interfere with work. Consider some of the findings:

- Nearly 9 of 10 respondents who don't have an at-home spouse indicated they spend some time in working hours attending to family

See Quaker, pg. 4

Quaker

Continued from page 1
concerns.

- More than 60 percent of those without an at-home spouse were absent from work an average of three days last year because of a child's illness; 40 percent of those with elder-care responsibilities were absent an average of more than three days.

- Almost two of three said they were late to work or had to leave early because of child-care problems in the preceding year. Half of those caring for elderly relatives said the same thing.

- More than half of those with children couldn't work extra hours or attend company-related functions because they couldn't find child care.

Montgomery said the results were a catalyst for Quaker to add "family-friendly" policies, to move up the launch of a drastic revamping of benefits packages and to increase the company's involvement in the American Collaboration for Quality Dependent Care, a newly formed coalition of major corporations that has pledged millions of dollars to dependent-care programs across the country.

This month Working Mother magazine released its seventh survey of the best companies in America for working mothers, expanding the list from 85 to 100 companies. Despite the recession, the magazine said, family-friendly programs are growing.

Quaker hopes to be at the forefront with benefit plans being unveiled and made available to employees next year. The company will match 25 cents for every dollar

an employee sets aside in before-tax dollars to pay for child care. The company also will match at the same rate before-tax dollars an employee earmarks for unreimbursed medical expenses.

"We wanted the money we were spending to better address the needs of the diverse work force," said Melanie Fiat, a Quaker benefits-plan manager who helped devise the packages.

Quaker provides a "Mother's Room" for women who continue breast-feeding after returning to work from maternity leave. There are breast pumps, a refrigerator and lactation counseling.

"I couldn't have continued to breast-feed if it weren't for the Mother's Room. It really helped my son's transition to day care," said Cathy Abrahamian, an administrative assistant. "We're so glad to see Quaker doing so much for working mothers."

Quaker employees with school-age children can use "School Smart," a telephone counseling service staffed by former teachers that helps parents deal with school-related issues.

Employees may take unpaid family leave to care for a new baby, a sick child or an elderly parent—whatever need they have in their family.

At Quaker's Chicago headquarters, 75 to 100 employees work less than full time at the office, Montgomery said. They share jobs, have flexible schedules and work part time while keeping benefits.

"This is all being driven by the employees," Montgomery said. They're helping us understand the issues.

"I'm proud of what we've done. But there's a lot more we have to do."

NATION

MORE NATIONAL NEWS
ON PAGE B5

Children suing parents unlikely to become trend

By Nancy E. Roman
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A 12-year-old in Florida, Gregory K, goes to court today to seek a "divorce" from his biological parents and a chance to forge a new life with adoptive parents and their eight children.

When it was filed, Gregory K's suit was viewed as potentially revolutionary because it might set a precedent allowing children to sue their parents. But legal experts now say that is not the case.

"In terms of the fears raised by the people who hate Hillary Clinton — that everyone will sue their parents — this is not the case," said David Chambers, a law professor at the University of Michigan and an expert in the field. "This is the tragic case of a kid caught in limbo. This is

not the kid who has been told six weeks in a row that he has to take out the garbage."

Coinciding with a rash of media attention to Mrs. Clinton's writings advocating that children have a greater voice in the legal system, Gregory K's story captured and held national attention.

Politicians, including Pat Buchanan, have referred or alluded to Gregory's case as an example of what could happen if liberal lawyers like Mrs. Clinton were to give children carte blanche in the courtroom.

But those who have scrutinized the case say that if Gregory K wins, the case will be a precedent only for foster children waiting to be adopted.

At best, Mr. Chambers said, foster children and their would-be adoptive parents will have an avenue to cir-

cumvent "slow process of the agencies."

Gregory K's lawsuit alleges that he has been abused and neglected and asks the state to terminate parental rights so he can be adopted by the family he has been living with.

All 50 states have laws that allow their social agencies to terminate parental custody in cases of neglect or abuse. Gregory's case asks Florida social workers to exercise that option.

"It's not awfully different from a judge taking the kid into chambers to interview him during a custody battle," said Joseph Condo, a leading divorce lawyer in Virginia. "We had a case in the same ballpark right here in Fairfax: The child had been the subject of an unbelievably toxic custody case and asked to be removed from the custody of his fa-

ther.

"The idea that this will open floodgates and that you will have all kinds of people bringing suits — the process is too conservative for that," he said.

Bruce Fein, a Washington-area legal scholar, agreed that the impact of Gregory K's case will be "marginal."

"The public doesn't know what this case is about," he said. "There are lots of real reasons for criticizing Hillary Clinton, but this isn't one of them. This is about children having standing to allege neglect sufficient to terminate parental rights."

Gregory K lived with his mother for the first few years of his life and then went for what his mother describes as a monthlong visit with his father in Colorado. He didn't return for four years, during which he

sometimes lived with his father in homeless shelters.

According to documents from Florida's Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services, when Gregory returned to his mother, she put him and his two brothers — Zachary, 10, and Jeremiah, 8 — in foster homes.

She would get them back for a month or two, until she no longer had the emotional or financial strength to care for them. According to state records, Gregory spent seven months of the past eight years with his mother.

When Gregory met his adoptive father, he had been living at a boys ranch for two years.

On a segment of the television show "20/20" that aired Friday, he told interviewer Barbara Walters he didn't remember what his mother

looked like when she came to visit recently.

"I just want a place where I feel safe and that I'm happy and that I know people will always be there for me," he said.

"It's like a kid standing in the middle of the road waving," said Sanford Ain, a leading Virginia divorce lawyer. "Here I am, come and determine whether parental rights should be terminated."

David Chambers said social agencies may be nervous about this case "because it takes the control out of their hands." But he predicted that very few foster children will sue for termination of parental rights.

"Most of the kids who are in long-term foster care are 5, and have been in foster care for 4½ years of their life," he said. "The idea of them bringing a suit is pure fiction."

COMMENTARY

SUZANNE FIELDS

More fun without their fathers?

Spare us the experts, please. No sooner do we begin a debate about the importance of fathers to their children than the experts tell us it ain't necessarily so.

The Washington Post, ever vigilant for evidence that the unconventional is the norm, reports: "Drawing on a series of recent, large-scale studies of children from broken or fatherless homes, many sociologists now believe that the consequences of absent fathers or divorce have been overstated and that a conventional two-parent household may be far less critical to the healthy development of children than previously believed."

In fact, it gets "better" (i.e., worse) than that: Many children are unhappier in two-parent families than one. (Should children who suffer the indignity of living in an intact family be eligible for some sort of government relief?)

In the chutzpah interpretation of the year, The Post cites the research of one sociologist who finds that "black girls tended to show higher levels of antisocial behavior when their fathers were present in the home, suggesting they were in some respects worse off in an intact family than with a single mother."

It's not clear exactly what kind of intact families are worse. It's not hard to imagine that brutal, alcoholic, drug-abusing fathers could be worse, but it defies common sense and street smarts to believe that loving, caring committed fathers are worse than no fathers at all.

Frank Mott, an Ohio State University researcher who surveyed more than 1,700 children found that youngsters between 5 and 8 who are raised in fatherless families have behavior problems and more difficulty in math and reading than children in intact families only when their mothers have major educational and emotional problems themselves.

He can't explain why the black girls might do better without a father in the house, and he worries how his data will be used, but he says he has little control over that.

This modest observation hardly justifies the headline, "Value of the Conventional Family May Be Overstated, Studies Suggest." Such comparisons are a little like discovering that it's better to be rich than sick. Overeating can give you a bellyache, but this is no reason to cancel the food flights for the children of Somalia.

Mr. Mott's research, conducted from 1979 to 1988, has limitations because it doesn't yet examine children as teens or in early adulthood.

Other research shows that children of divorce have increasing problems as adolescents. They're more likely to require psychological therapy, experience school problems, engage in drug abuse, violent behavior, suicide and have illegitimate children than children raised with a mother and a father.

Mr. Mott told the American Sociological Association what most of us intuitively know: White boys who grow up without fathers are often unruly and don't do well in school,

even if their mothers are educated women with good jobs. The white boys miss having a man to look up to.

"Girls in fatherless homes often have a similar problem. Several years ago, I wrote a book, "Like Father, Like Daughter," a book about the influence of fathers on their daughters, and many women told me about the pain they felt without daddy to hold their hands and give them emotional sustenance at crucial junctures in their lives. Some overcame their anger and pain, but just as many told me how difficult it was to develop trust in a man after the first man in their life abandoned them.

No research into human experience can isolate all the psychological factors that make us who we are, but we challenge the fates at our certain peril if we abandon the accumulated wisdom of the ages, questioning the family, the bedrock structure of society, and its value for sons and daughters, black and white, of growing up — in that best of all possible worlds, with a loving mother and a father.

Suzanne Fields, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

Thursday, September 24, 1992

Schools' reign of terror

STANLEY Pacheco would prefer not to think about the November afternoon in 1986 when he took a bullet in the neck at school.

There was a time when schools were safe havens for children and teenagers, but that time has passed. Soon we'll see back-to-school ads that feature combat gear.

In 1986 Pacheco was a junior at Jamaica High School in Queens. One day he got into an altercation in the cafeteria with a student named Gregory Evelyn.

It was typical adolescent foolishness, teenage boys bumping into each other and showing off in front of teenage girls. Usually this is harmless. It's your basic hormonal episode. Life has been like that since the beginning of time.

But a week later Pacheco and Evelyn encountered each other again, this time in the school's auditorium, which was supposed to have been supervised but was not.

Words were exchanged, and then Pacheco turned to walk away.

But Evelyn wasn't through with him. And Evelyn had a gun, a loaded .38. He pulled it, aimed it at Pacheco — this was in a public school, remember — and fired.

Pacheco collapsed, paralyzed immediately and permanently from the neck down.

"When I couldn't get back up I pretty much knew subconsciously what had happened," said Pacheco. "I guess I knew I was paralyzed. But it didn't really hit me until, like, in December. At first I didn't believe it.

"I try to avoid talking about it."

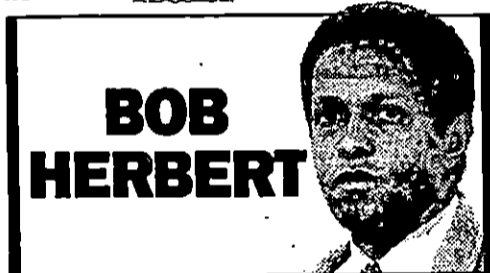
He tries to avoid even thinking about it. But this week that has been impossible.

On Monday, Pacheco won his lawsuit against the Board of Education. About the same time the verdict was coming in, 15-year-old Damian Ennis was stabbed to death in a fight at

South Shore High School in Brooklyn. "I heard about it on the news," said Pacheco.

"The irony is horrifying," said Pamela Liapikis of the Sullivan & Liapikis law firm, which represents Pacheco. "How many Stanley Pachecos does there have to be before the city addresses this problem in a meaningful way? Haven't they learned anything from their tragic mistakes?"

In the immediate aftermath of En-



nis' death, we were told that South Shore was a terrific school, a safe school, and that there had been no need to take extraordinary steps to protect the students.

In that kind of atmosphere, Ennis' death could be viewed as a tragic aberration.

But students at South Shore said that many kids regularly come to school armed with knives, and that fights are common. And later we were told that the principal had asked that metal detectors be installed to screen out youngsters with weapons.

Now, with a kid dead, South Shore will get its metal detectors.

If we don't honestly confront this problem, we will soon get used to the murder of children at school. It will no longer be front-page news. After all, we've gotten used to 2,000 homicides a year in New York.

And we won't pay any attention at all to the likes of Stanley Pacheco, whose life is a horror.

He can't feed himself. He can't brush his own teeth. He can't move.

He watches television and listens to the radio.

Luckily, he has two brothers and some very good friends who take him out in his wheelchair.

"My friends come to see me every day," he said. "Sometimes they take me to the movies, something like that."

It requires a major effort. Pacheco has to be lifted by a mechanical hoist from his bed and lowered carefully into the wheelchair. And it requires the strenuous efforts of three young men to maneuver him through the tiny halls of his parents' house and carry him outside.

"Mostly he just lies in bed," said Robert Sullivan, the lawyer who argued the case. "He has to be turned every two hours. He has constant bedsores, constant urinary infections, constant respiratory problems due to the fact that he's not turned enough."

Sullivan said the medical costs are "astronomical." He estimated it will cost more than \$20 million to provide Pacheco with the medical care he will need for the rest of his life.

On Monday the jury in the Pacheco case found that school officials were negligent in allowing Pacheco, Evelyn and 20 to 30 other students to hang out unsupervised in the auditorium. As part of a school safety program, a security guard had been assigned to the area, but the guard was not around when the shooting occurred.

The jury is expected to decide today or tomorrow on the amount of damages Pacheco will receive.

Evelyn, who was 17 when he shot Pacheco, pleaded guilty to attempted murder and was sentenced to 7 to 21 years in prison.

WHEN asked about his reaction to the verdict on his lawsuit, Pacheco said, "I was relieved a little bit, I guess. If I get this money it will make things a little easier for me. I don't know."

He was not in any way elated. In fact, he made it clear he would rather be talking about something else.

numismatic **ne**

FEATURING COIN MARKET

VOL. 41 NO. 36

September 1, 1992

IOLA, WISCONSIN 54990

It's official: Silver dollar for White House sells out

The U.S. Mint's rapid-fire selloff of the White House dollar caught procrastinators at every level in numismatics by surprise.

The announcement came Aug. 13 that the 500,000 mintage had sold out in just over three weeks. The coins were first offered July 17.

Collectors who were just getting around to ordering to beat the pre-issue discount deadline of Aug. 28 were caught short. So were dealers, many of whom paid little or no attention to the issue and who will be scrambling to find coins to fill aftermarket requests from collectors who didn't make the cut.

First hints of the sellout came last week when the Mint's ad agency canceled ads for the coin, informing *Numismatic News* that "over 400,000 had been sold." So far no breakdown is available as to the split between the number of uncirculated specimens and proofs. The split depends on the orders for each version.

For the first time, West Point's "W" mintmark appears on a proof silver commemorative. The previous usage was only on the gold commemoratives struck there since 1984 and the 1990 uncirculated Eisenhower dollar.

Denver is striking the uncirculated



Collectors who didn't act quickly will now have to buy the White House silver dollar on the aftermarket. It took only three weeks for the entire 500,000 mintage to sell out, catching many by surprise.

White House coins.

Half of the \$10 million total surcharge added to the coins' prices (\$28 for the proof and \$23 for the uncirculated) is going to the White House Endowment Fund. The fund maintains the historical public rooms and supports the White House collection of fine art and historic furnishings.

The Mint gave collectors plenty of warning that this might happen, noting

in its ads that a "quick sellout is possible." A Page 1 headline in the Aug. 4 *Numismatic News* noted, "Chances of sellout good."

The application form states that the Mint may stop accepting orders at any time. The Mint also hyped the mintage as the lowest for a commemorative silver dollar in almost a century. Mintage for the Lafayette dollar of 1900 was 36,026.

Mint replaces criticized reverse design

Profile of White House architect James Hoban on reverse

By Beth Deisher
COIN WORLD Staff

A new reverse design has been selected for the 1992 White House Bicentennial silver dollar.

The new design, by U.S. Mint Sculptor Engraver Chester B. Martin, features a bust profile of White House architect James Hoban to the right and the doorway of the White House to the left.

Martin's design replaces the "T-shirt" plaque design by Mint Sculptor Engraver John M. Mercanti featuring a quotation attributed to President John Adams upon his second night's stay in the new White House: ... MAY NONE BUT WISE MEN EVER RULE UNDER THIS ROOF.

The Commission of Fine Arts rejected Mercanti's design at its June 18 meeting despite being informed by Mint representative Kevin Cullinane that it was the choice of Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady. Members of the commission questioned the wisdom of placing the quotation on currency as well as depicting the north portico of the White House on both sides of the coin.

A letter dated July 1 from Commission of Fine Arts Chairman J. Carter Brown to Acting Mint Director Eugene Essner documents the commission's rejection of the design: "The design — with the eagle and plaque weighing down on the White House — was disturbing, and the text of the plaque was thought to be a poor choice in today's gender-conscious society."

The letter also reveals the Mint acted quickly to provide an alternative design for the commission to consider, although the substitution of design did not become public until the Commission of Fine Arts released the text of Brown's letter at the request of *Coin World* July 9. The U.S. Mint confirmed the selection of an alternative design July 10.

"As you know, late in the afternoon following our meeting, your office brought over an alternative design for the reverse side showing a doorway of the White House together with a profile of the architect James Hoban," Brown's letter states. The commission chairman also notes that the alternative design has been "circulated to our members for comment, and we now have a consensus for its approval."

Brown's letter also formally documents the commission's approval with comments of the obverse design by the Mint Sculptor Engraver Edgar Z. Steever IV. The commission suggested: "(1) The chain from which the lantern is suspended must be behind, not in front of, the columns. (2) The two potted trees on either side of the door, the shrubbery and trees on the lawn, and the fountain should be removed, as they will only make the design confusing and detract from the architecture of the White House when reduced to coin size."

Knowledgeable sources indicate the Mint is following the commission's advice and now describe the obverse design as a straight elevation architectural rendering

of the north portico of the White House.

The commission also suggested a slight modification of the figure of Hoban and the addition of his name to the newly selected reverse design, which Brown described in his letter as having been the design favored by the curator's office and staff of the White House Historical Association. The authorizing legislation directs the Secretary of the Treasury to consult with the White House Historical Association and the Commission of Fine Arts in design selection.

In the letter, Brown voiced the commission's unhappiness with being left out of the process and being asked to essentially rubber stamp designs approved by the Secretary of the Treasury. "I would like to say once again, that as a general rule, the commission would like to see all the designs for proposed coins and medals that have been prepared by the Mint staff, not just the one or two favored by the Secretary after the fact, as it were. The authorizing legislation, I should emphasize, states that the Secretary defer his opinion until after consultation with the commission."

According to Hamilton Dix, manager of the Mint's Office of Public Information, pre-issue sales of the White House Bicentennial silver dollars were scheduled to launch to the Mint's customer mailing list July 17. Pre-issue prices are \$28 for the Proof version and \$23 for Uncirculated. Prices will increase Aug. 28 to \$32 for the



NEW DESIGN for reverse of White House dollar features profile of White House architect James Hoban.

Proof version and \$28 for the Uncirculated specimen.

The law authorizing production of the White House silver dollar specifies a maximum combined mintage of 500,000 in Proof and Uncirculated versions.

Each silver dollar will carry a \$10 surcharge, which will be paid by the Treasury to the White House Endowment Fund. The money is to be used as a "permanent source of support for the White House collection of fine art and historic furnishings and for the maintenance of the historic public rooms of the White House." ■

COIN WORLD - 27 JULY '92, p. 1

ASSOCIATION of BANK HOLDING COMPANIES

September 24, 1992

*R2
get source
to call a thank
Lud.*

TO: President Bush
FROM: Lud Ashley
RE: Clinton's ROLLING STONE interview re banking

In a recent ROLLING STONE interview in Little Rock, Clinton made some really stupid remarks about his intention to create "a different sort of banking system" where "a certain percentage of the bank assets of this country have to be devoted to community banking."

As you will see from my attached WASHINGTON OBSERVATIONS (part of a newsletter which goes out weekly to the CEOs and other officers of our member banks), what Clinton has in mind is to use a development bank operated by the South Shore Bank in Chicago — which Clinton claims was patterned after a similar loan facility initiated by a bank in Bangladesh — as a model for his new sort of banking system.

I sent a draft letter over to your campaign people (Joe Cicconi) that I think might be sent out over your signature with great effectiveness. I can promise you that 90% of all American bankers, and most of their employees, will agree with it.

Speaking of banking, John Robson at Treasury should get high marks for the way he handled the recent deposit insurance premium increase. His action will save U. S. banks \$650 million in 1993. I've made it clear to our members that Treasury deserves full credit for this, but they should not be allowed to forget it.

daily 9/24

Just in over the President's personal fax.

393-1158

Sandy

*9/25/92
Called
Lud. not
in office
talked with Sandy &
asked her to relay
message
B*

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - GEORGE BUSH HANDWRITING

Daily
w/answers



September 24, 1992

Memo To Roger Porter

FROM: THE PRESIDENT *CS*

I had a call from Chi Chi Rodriguez. Would you or someone in your office call Bill Hayes, Chi Chi Rodriguez Foundation

(813) 726-8829
(813) 585-7047 (Res.)

They have a plan on how to keep kids from dropping out of high school. Just have someone listen to him, find out what they are proposing, and report back to me.

FROM THE PRESIDENT

George Bush

*Roger**I wrote Chi Chi
Thailer!**GAB*THE WHITE H
WASHINGTON

September 25

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Chi Chi Rodriguez Foundation

I was able to reach Bill Hayes of the Chi Chi Rodriguez Foundation this morning and learn more about the program they have established to help keep underprivileged kids in school.

The program was initially developed in the late 1970s as an after school program to concentrate on economically disadvantaged kids. As he described it, the concept is to improve the whole child by providing the kids in their program with clothes, haircuts, etc. Not least, they teach them to golf.

They persuaded the city of Clearwater to provide the land, and, with privately donated funds (tax deductible through their 501(c)(3) foundation), they built a golf course.

They now have a joint venture with the Clearwater public school system and are constructing a school building as an extension of the pro shop for 450 elementary and secondary students. Among other things, the kids work in an apprenticeship, learning various business aspects of managing a golf course.

Hayes, who is a former school teacher has been developing 2,000 lesson plans for teaching math, science, etc. based on things one can learn around the golf course and in the pro shop. Children learn math working in a real business. As he explained, it not only teaches them math but exposes them to the free enterprise system.

The Foundation has succeeded in attracting private donations because donors have seen the positive affect the program has had on the lives of the students. The teachers are paid their normal salary by the public school system and are paid additional funds for the work they do in connection with the after school program. The program also involves requirements for the kids who attend relating to clothes and appearance.

The program appears to work well because of the dynamism of Rodriguez and Hayes and their ability to mobilize support in

the Clearwater community. I will have someone explore with the Department of Education what the Department knows about the program, and the potential for replicating it, or something like it, elsewhere. It sounds like a fascinating public-private partnership.



THE PRESIDENT

On the Train - Ohio

9-26-92

Dear Chi Chi -

We followed up. Roger
Porter called Mr Hayes and
was most impressed as you
can see. (attached Porter memo)

Thanks for your loyal
support -
By Paul

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Chi Chi Rodriguez
1720 Merriman Road
Akron, Ohio 44334

daily 9/24
w/answer



THE PRESIDENT

RZ *Phil Brady*

Ask someone to find out if there is a foundation to help with the expenses of this fine young firefighter...

Maybe they can call the family or better the fire dept in the area.

GB

5

Mr. O'Connell

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

9/30
F 91

DATE: 9/28/92

TO: ~~PHIL BRADY~~

Rose Lamouia 32 SEP 28 P12:18

FROM: SHIRLEY M. GREEN *sg*
Deputy Assistant to the President for
Presidential Messages and Correspondence
Room 94, OEOB, x7610

CB

Attached is the information the President requested about the financial condition of the Los Angeles fireman.

It doesn't appear that he has any unmet needs at this time.

September 25, 1992

TO: Shirley Greene
From: Sally Kelley
Re: Scott Miller - LA Firefighter

Talked with Chief Cathey---Community Liaison Officer, LA
Fire Department (213-485-5954).

He indicated Scott was up and around -- very mobile. There is still some lack of mobility in his left arm and he is undergoing intensive physical therapy to remedy that. He is still having some trouble with his speech --but that is improving. Chief Cathey commented on his outstanding attitude and felt sure that there would always be a place for him within the Department.

He did not feel that there was any financial need at the moment as Scott is receiving Workmen's Compensation along with his regular salary. However, if money did come in, Scott asked that it go to the LA Firemen's Relief Association which helps widows, orphans and disabled fireman. The money could be earmarked for Scott's use if the need should arise. The address is 2900 West Temple Street, Los Angeles, Ca 90026



THE PRESIDENT

September 24, 1992

Dear Scott,

Barbara showed me that fine letter you sent to Vanity Fair. That magazine really did a nasty job on my wife.

I do very much appreciate your setting the record straight on my visit to the hospital. Thanks a lot.

I hope this finds you well on the road to recovery. My warmest regards to your wonderful wife.

Sincerely,

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

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Scott L. Miller
10334 Rubio
Granada Hills, California 91344

To: Tina Brown, Editor and Chief Vanity Fair
Connnde' Naste Publications, Inc.
350 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10017

Ms. Brown I am writing this letter to take exception to your August 1992 article titled BARBARA'S BACKLASH. I will not comment on the article as a whole, but a very specific reference made on page 180 [copy enclosed] to the trip President Bush made to visit the firefighter shot during the ~~L.A. riots. I am that L.A. City firefighter and MARJORIE WILLIAMS~~ was not in that room with us. Both myself and my family take exception to the literary license in describing his visit. The President's visit was uplifting to myself and my family.

In these times of mistrust between citizens and their politicians, it is important the media is accurate in their representations. In this article there was only one event I had personal knowledge of, and as the recipient of the visit I feel it was grossly misrepresented. For me it invalidated the entire article.

At the time the President visited, I had been out of intensive care for only two days. I was completely unable to communicate other than in writing. The President's visit with me lasted approximately 15 minutes with him doing the majority of the talking. It was not one line as your article represents. As journalists you are experts in communication and should understand that having the recipient of a message correctly understand it, is more important than how it is actually presented. I understood his message and appreciated the fact the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES took the time to deliver it personally. My wife also wanted me to stress how sincere the President was and how much the handwritten letter I received just prior to leaving the hospital meant to us.

Just for my own insight, I would be very interested who the author claims as a reference for her portrayal of this event as myself, my family and my nurses were the only people in the room.

Sincerely,
SCOTT L. MILLER
Scott L. Miller
10334 Rubio
Granada Hills Ca.
91344

cc Bush

Barbara Bush

schools, the threadbare health care, the marginal services—of the unfortunates who people her photo ops.

When Bush decided, in the late seventies, to run for president, Barbara pondered what her major "issue" should be and came up with literacy, a canny choice. On the one hand, as she often explains, it touches on every problem in society, ranging from crime to childhood poverty; on the other hand, it doesn't invite any controversy.

As the vice president's wife she joined the board of the child-oriented Reading Is Fundamental, and as First Lady she founded the Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy, to which she has donated all the profits from *Millie's Book*. It gives away half a million dollars in grants every year to programs that address illiteracy as a self-perpetuating problem passed from parents to children.

But if her signature issue was chosen with calculation, there has been nothing artificial about her good works. Even before Bush's political career began, she was a dedicated volunteer in hospitals; over the years, she has quietly worked at such places as the Washington Home for Incurables, and has served on boards ranging from that of the Ronald McDonald House to that of the predominantly black Morehouse School of Medicine.

Today you can easily see that she has a greater capacity than her husband has to look death and pain in the face. To cancer wards and AIDS clinics, she brings not only helpful publicity but a full self, a capacity to let in the suffering around her and give it its due, which is one of the few gifts any stranger can confer. The presi-

dent, on the other hand, is famous for squirming through visits to hospitals. When he visited the bedside of a Los Angeles fire fighter shot during the riots, the only consolation he could think to offer was for himself: "I'm sorry Barbara's not here," he said miserably.

Every afternoon the First Lady has her staff send up to her office in the family quarters a clip file of stories related to poverty, education, literacy, child care—her issues. And sometimes she reacts quickly to what she reads. In 1989, for example, she was angered by reports that the Salvation Army had been barred from making Christmas collections at some of the snootier local shopping malls. She made a trip to a mall that did permit the solicitations and took along a press pool to capture her dropping some change into the bucket, which successfully shamed most of the Scrooge-ish merchants into line.

This is as good a use of celebrity as exists in America. It is, by the accounts of Democrats and Republicans, blacks and whites, all of those who have fallen in love with the grandmotherly image of the First Lady, the very best of Barbara Bush.

But even in the uprightness of this image lies a certain moral complexity. For the past three and a half years, the First Lady has almost single-handedly symbolized her husband's good intentions in the realm of domestic affairs. Extended to a society's breadth, the Bush model implies a return to an era in which women relieved their powerful men—relieved government—of responsibility for the disadvantaged. It is the old Victorian contract, in which life was divided into two spheres, male and female; while men ran the world, their women ran the soup kitchens.

Bush advisers have worked hard over the years to suggest that Barbara's compassion will one day rub off on her husband, to imply that she can (and should) be relied on to police his interest in social services. "Every time he says 'Head Start,' that's Bar," spokeswoman Sheila Tate told reporters at the dawn of his administration.

And for some time the country seemed to accept the idea that Barbara was a facet of George—a reliable indicator of his goals. At the time of Bush's inauguration, columnists raved about how Barbara would be "the conscience of the White House."

But without Barbara, Americans might have noticed sooner that the self-styled "education president" had offered nothing meaningful in the way of education reform.

Without Barbara, voters might have noticed from the start how disengaged Bush seemed from domestic concerns.

Barbara Bush successfully silenced the

logical question that called out for response: Isn't the president supposed to be the conscience of the White House?

As George Bush campaigns for a second term, a lot rides on Barbara Bush's careful balancing act. She is the answer to a frightened campaign's prayers, a surrogate campaigner who can command almost as much press and hoopla as the president can—while incurring comparatively little risk. As early as last winter one could trace the dawning importance of her role. She was sent to New Hampshire to file the papers for Bush's candidacy, "because nobody would dare to boo Barbara Bush," in the words of a strategist. She spent more time campaigning in the state than the president did.

And when Bush officially announced his candidacy, it was Barbara Bush who introduced him. In a classic reversal of roles, the candidate quoted his wife, referring to "my favorite political philosopher, Barbara Bush."

All through the spring, once the threat of Buchanan's primary campaign had faded, she traveled far more than her husband did, headlining as many as thirty major fund-raisers around the country.

Republican strategists go as far as to say that they believe voters ambivalent about. George Bush may think twice about voting his wife out of the White House. It's an extraordinary exception to the normal wisdom, which suggests that the best most spouses can do is adhere to the Hippocratic oath of politics: Just do no harm.

Opinions differ about how badly Barbara Bush wants to stay in the White House. She is said to blame the presidency for the problems of her son Neil, implicated in the Silverado Banking, Savings and Loan Association debacle.

Friends also surmise she has had a more difficult time than she lets on dealing with Graves' disease, the thyroid condition that has tired her and painfully distended her eyes.

But by most accounts she has reveled in her time as First Lady. Even as the president floundered through the spring and early summer, his polls in free-fall, Barbara Bush lived in a charmed circle within her control. She has reached the apotheosis of the life she read about in her daddy's magazines, a victory she presents as grand affirmation of the ultra-traditional plan she has lived by.

"My mail tells me that a lot of fat, white-haired, wrinkled ladies are tickled pink," she said on the eve of Bush's inauguration. "I mean, look at me—if I can be a success, so can they."

But on the press is a rare dropout from Sm graduatir on the cr

George her to c a vast, fered in same ro: daily sac

This v collision women's of perso. the mos life.

Towar May eos about the giant

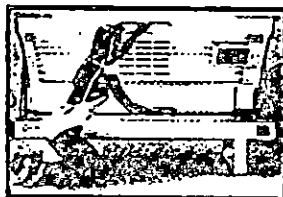
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John P. Stewart, M.D., Resident Physician

Washington Post

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

JACK ANDERSON and MICHAEL BINSTEIN

Is the Auto Pen Mightier Than Quayle?

Letters Vice President Quayle wrote as a senator have twice come back to haunt him. Both times the vice president deflected the blame by claiming they were signed by young staff members wielding his office's automatic pen.

The latest example stems from a recent column in which we detailed Quayle's intercession with the Justice Department on behalf of a GOP fund-raiser named Stephen Goot who was convicted on racketeering charges for his role in fixing drunken driving tickets. That federal investigation into local court corruption was dubbed "Operation Bar-Tab."

Goot was awaiting designation to a federal prison to serve a 20-year sentence (later reduced to 15) in 1988, when Quayle sent the JULY 7 letter to Justice marked "RUSH REQUEST/IMMEDIATE ATTENTION." Quayle asked that Goot be assigned to a minimum-security prison because "there is a concern for his physical safety if he is not assigned to a penitentiary with other 'white-collar' criminals."

Goot was moved 12 days later from a temporary detention center in Chicago to a minimum-security federal prison camp in Duluth, Minn. A Bureau of Prisons spokesman said the decision to move Goot to "Club Fed" was made two days before Quayle's request arrived. Follow-up correspondence from Justice to Quayle does not note that.

Goot, who was released on parole earlier this year, denies his safety ever was imperiled, credits Quayle with keeping him out of a much harsher medium-security prison and surmises that Quayle got involved at the behest of mutual friends in Indiana politics. Goot says he was a Quayle fund-raiser and supporter in his two Senate races, and he met Quayle at least once.

Questioned by ABC's Sam Donaldson about our column, the vice president suggested the Goot letter might bear the signature of his automatic pen.

Quayle's director of communications, Jeffrey Nesbit, says that Goot's case was routine constituent work, probably handled in Indiana by a "young individual caseworker" using the automatic pen, which all congressional offices have. Nesbit says that as a senator, Quayle personally authorized the use of his office's auto pen. But Nesbit also says that Quayle cannot recall any details about the Goot case.

Four years ago, Quayle also sought to disown a politically embarrassing letter by using the auto-pen defense.

On Oct. 22, 1988, Quayle signed a letter praising the work of the National Security Political Action Committee, an independent political committee that was funding some of the more virulent versions of the Willie Horton television commercials in the fall campaign. Federal election laws bar independent organizations from orchestrating their spending activities with presidential campaigns.

Quayle wrote the group extending his gratitude for a copy of another videotaped attack on Democratic presidential nominee Michael S. Dukakis that it was funding. In his letter, Quayle describes the group's efforts as "a source of encouragement as well as a great boon to our efforts," the New York Times reported. A Quayle spokesman later dismissed the letter, arguing that it had been written by an intern and signed by an automatic pen.

Automatic pen or not, Barbara Budgin is angry that Quayle would give his senatorial blessing to Goot's cause. Budgin served as an official of a local chapter of Mothers Against Drunk Driving in the Indiana community in which "Operation Bar-Tab" took place.

"I think that it's wrong that Quayle or anyone else would intercede on his [Goot's] behalf and make him as comfortable [as possible] in the time of incarceration," she told us. "Who knows how many lives directly or indirectly will be lost down the road in relation to his activities as far as fixing tickets."

Although Quayle's office chalks up the case to routine constituent casework, a canvassing of Senate offices suggests otherwise.

Sen. Alan K. Simpson's (R-Wyo.) response was typical. Simpson said the kinds of cases he receives are typified by the letter of a woman with terminal cancer asking that her incarcerated son be allowed to serve out the remaining months of his sentence close to home. Simpson forwarded the correspondence to prison authorities, and the son was moved to a detention center of the same level of security. Simpson also said that he keeps his office's auto pen locked in a room and it's only employed—with the knowledge of his chief of staff or mail supervisor—for responding to mass mailings on a particular issue.

A Democratic Senate staff member said of Quayle's intervention: "If it was a Democratic fund-raiser in prison, we wouldn't touch that mother with a 10-foot pole."

THE RACE FOR PRESIDENT

A Daily Digest



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Clinton lifts hands with Sens. Sam Nunn, left, and Albert Gore Jr., his running mate, during stop in Columbus, Ga.

Bush Warns of 'Misery on Main Street'

Clinton Serves Up Rhetorical Grits During Georgia Bus Tour

By Ruth Marcus and Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Bush said yesterday that Bill Clinton and his "Oxford cronies" would mean "misery on Main Street" as his campaign mounted a broad attack on the Democratic nominee's record, including a television ad depicting Clinton as a tax-and-spend governor.

In a Washington briefing, a seven-minute attack video, the 30-second ad and a campaign swing by Vice President Quayle, the theme was the same: Clinton as a proponent of big government and an untrustworthy candidate who has taken both sides of issue after issue.

The Arkansas governor, meanwhile, was laddling out rhetorical grits on a down-home bus trip through southwest Georgia. "I'm glad to be in a place where I don't have an accent," Clinton said. "A place where a moonpie is something you eat, a mudcat is something that plays baseball, a promise is something you keep, and a president is someone who cares about ordinary working people, like the pride of south Georgia, Jimmy Carter."

Campaigning with Sen. Sam Nunn and Gov. Zell Miller, Clinton struck a tone of moderation, saying, "We had to change the Democratic Party so the Democratic Party could command the confidence of a majority of the American people."

It was a day filled with economic charges and countercharges. Bush used a visit to Greensboro, N.C., to propose a \$20 billion, five-year program of tax breaks for small business, telling a gathering of business people that "I've been there myself" as a Texas oilman.

If Clinton is elected, the president said, "you can board up the windows or you can hand out the pink slips." But a senior administration official acknowledged that the chances Congress would approve the tax breaks this year are "slim to none."

In a rally in State College, Pa., where he appeared with Pennsylvania State University football coach Joe Paterno, Bush continued to pound Clinton as a backer of government bureaucracy. Clinton supporters, including one wearing a chicken suit and others sporting beaks, clucked to show their disapproval at "Chicken George" for balking at a debate with Clinton.

White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater again used harsh language in discussing Clinton's draft record. "He lies about it every day," Fitzwater said.

The new TV ad, which uses speeded-up footage of Clinton signing bills and playing saxophone, says: "Bill Clinton has promised to increase government spending \$220 billion. Guess where he'll get the money?"

George Stephanopoulos, Clinton's communica-

tions director, called the ad "highly misleading," saying that "the very taxes that Bush hits us on are ones that he himself has raised," including levies on liquor and wine. He said Arkansas taxes as a percentage of personal income have declined under Clinton and that the ad ignores Clinton's plans for \$145 billion in spending cuts. "They're just trying to scare people," Stephanopoulos said.

But Charles Black, senior adviser to the Bush campaign, said: "I don't think they can even pretend they can make up all that with spending cuts. . . . He can talk now about taxing the rich, but for 12 years in Arkansas he's been taxing the poor, the working class and the middle class."

Asked if the campaign was wary of running a harsher ad, Black told reporters: "I suppose a humorous ad gives you less backlash than other formats. . . . It makes it more memorable, more entertaining, and therefore makes it stick better."

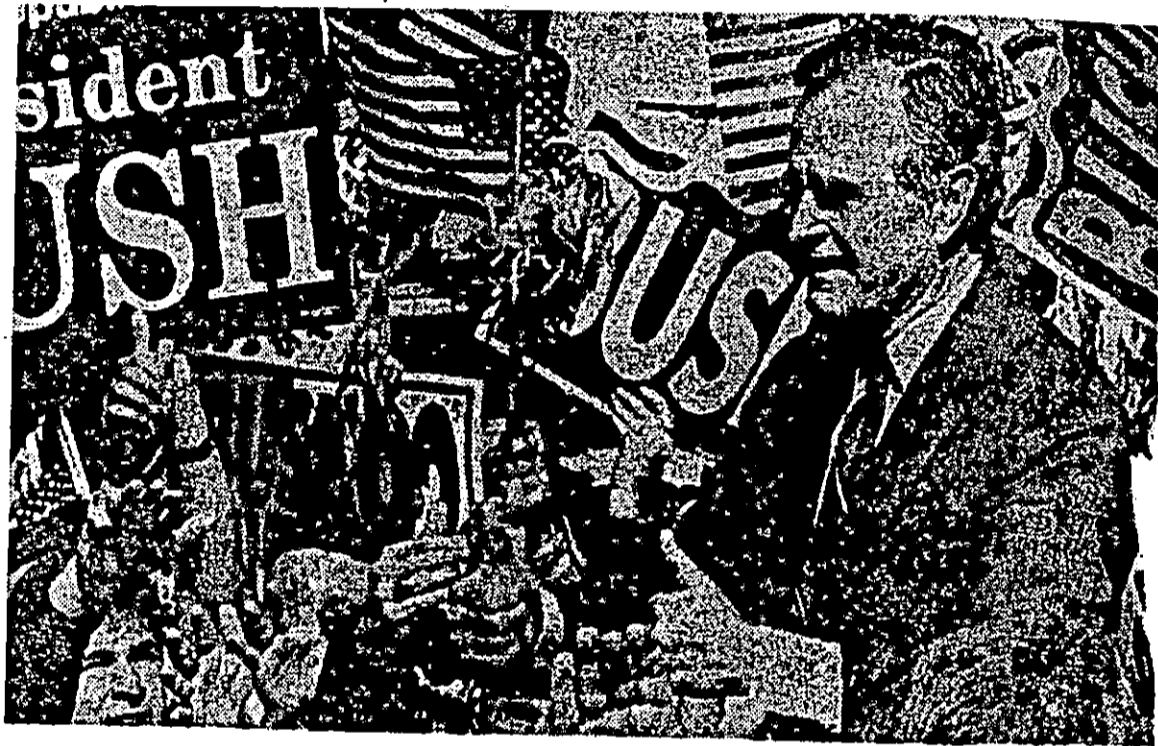
Sources said the Bush campaign, which has aired previous ads on network television, bought time in Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Connecticut and Maine. The video, which may be used in future ads, features a mock "Clinton vs. Clinton" debate. In one scene, Clinton vows to serve his four-year term as governor; in the next he accepts the presidential nomination.

Quayle carried the same message to a rally in Oklahoma City, saying Clinton's position has shifted dramatically on tax cuts, the Persian Gulf War, welfare reform, school choice and public funding for abortion. Noting that Oklahoma native Will Rogers once said he never met a man he didn't like, Quayle said Clinton "never met a tax he wouldn't hike."

On the Democratic swing through Georgia, Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, tried to shore up Clinton on military issues. Nunn said Clinton "never, ever asked me how much can we cut from defense. Many times he's asked me what we need to do to secure our nation. . . . I trust Bill Clinton to be the commander in chief of this country."

Later, at a rally in Valdosta, Clinton retaliated for Bush's attempt to portray him as an elitist by calling him an "Oxford man." Clinton, who studied at Oxford as a Rhodes scholar, noted that Bush had attended prep school and Yale and got "\$300,000 from his daddy to start the family business."

Marcus reported from North Carolina and Kurtz from Washington. Staff writers Thomas B. Edsall in Georgia and Richard Tapscott in Oklahoma City contributed to this report.



President Bush signals his optimism to crowd of thousands of university students and others at State College, Pa. AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

at Schroeder

Affordable Family Leave

In a critique of the family leave bill passed by Congress—and vetoed this week by President Bush—Charles Krauthammer (op-ed, Sept. 18) sees the position that benefits such as this are a good thing, but that they should be socialized. That's a worthy goal, but does it really mean we need to give employers cash—“Do the Right-thing Stamps,” as it were—just because we ask them to adhere to a minimum universal standard that benefits society as a whole? I don't think so. Imposing regulatory costs on employers is as legitimate as it is time-honored. Moreover, under the tax code, business expenses—even the minimal costs associated with family and medical leave—can be written off against a company's income.

So why should employers be paid cash, or a tax credit, as Krauthammer proposes, by the taxpayers to do what is required of them by law? Do the taxpayers reimburse General Motors for the overhead costs imposed by wage-and-hour laws? Do

we write a check to the Marriott Corp. every time it installs a smoke detector in accordance with safety laws? Do we give Exxon a \$1,000 U.S. Savings Bond every time it doesn't spill oil in Prince William Sound? Do we pay McDonald's

Taking Exception

a stipend for maintaining a clean kitchen in accordance with local health codes?

The best way to socialize costs is to establish a broad minimum standard that every employer must adhere to. Then the costs are shared equally. If standards are not imposed, some employers will avoid their responsibilities. Consider the health care mess. The employees of companies with no health insurance plan often end up in public hospitals. The taxpayers pay the bill.

In reality, these companies have access to free

health care (i.e., free to them, not to the taxpayers), giving them a competitive advantage over those companies that provide health insurance. The latter company pays twice, once for health insurance for its own employees and a second time in taxes to pay for the health care of its competitors' employees who have been dumped onto the public health care system. If every company were required to offer a minimum health care plan, the costs would be shared, and every employee would have health insurance.

Krauthammer's goal of socializing costs is laudable. But the most efficient way to do that is to require a minimum standard for every employer. That is what minimum wage laws do, that is what federal safety laws do, and that is what the family and medical leave law just vetoed by the president would do.

The writer is a Democratic representative from Colorado.

urt Rowen

And Economic Scare Tactics

led in the polls, President Bush became enamored of Democratic ideas, especially Harry S. Truman. A key White House aide confided that the goal of doubling GNP from \$5 to \$10 trillion, fed into Bush's speech on the economy, was designed to evoke grand-theme memoranda that Kennedy's promise to put a man on the moon.

Bush doesn't have the same reservoir of brainpower demonstrated by the late Yale professor James Tobin, who was approached by Kennedy in 1961 to join the Council of Economic Advisors. He demurred at first, saying, “I don't want me in the council. I'm an ivory tower economist.”

Kennedy's reply was: “That's the best I can do in an ivory tower president.”

Coming from the president's speech in Tulsa, Okla., last week, there's little doubt of Bush being mistaken for Truman. In some of the sleazebagging of the campaign, Yale George Mead, a great institution of learning, was a place of radicalism that had infected Clinton and some of his closest advisers when they studied there as scholars.

It came as close as he could to saying that Oxford had tainted his opponent with socialist or communist ideas. He can't use those words, instead con-

jur-ing up the specter of “social engineering,” which he linked to the command philosophies of the former communist states.

“My opponent is drawn to these views,” Bush said. “He and a number of advisers studied them at Oxford in the 1960s. But they are shrewd enough to know that the welfare state doesn't sell in America, so my opponent labels his latest technique for government management ‘investment.’”

This is one more sign of the desperation of the Bush campaign, which has only one main weapon left—the effort to destroy Clinton by recycling old news about his decision 23 years ago to duck the draft.

Some newspapers, notably the Wall Street Journal, have joined in a campaign to sully the reputation of a few Clinton advisers and to seek to demonstrate that there is a policy split among six well-known economists on Clinton's advisory team. Three, the Journal says, favor markets and are skeptical of government, while the other three are “more enamored” of planning.

WSJ articles and columns have especially condemned Ira Magaziner, a business consultant and fellow Clinton Rhodes scholar, and Derek Shearer, now on leave from Occidental College, as “planners” who believe in big government. This week, columnist Alan Mur-

ray raised the prospect that the split on the team may foreshadow a “battle for the soul of President Clinton if he wins in November.”

In an interview with Clinton earlier this year, I came away with the firm impression that his advisers are free to offer their views but that he makes his own decisions. Each of the six knows that no one of them has an inside, exclusive track.

For example, Clinton told me he disagrees with his close friend Robert Reich, who argues that the national ownership of major corporations is less important than the spur to investment and to jobs they provide the local economy.

“It really does matter what our trade policies are and who owns your manufacturing base, when it comes to research and development and the generation of new technologies which keeps your country on the cutting edge of high wages and jobs,” Clinton said.

“So I think he is basically right, but not entirely right. That's the only place I part company with him,” Clinton said.

The key economic posts in a Clinton administration would not necessarily go to those on his present list of advisers. Clinton said he wouldn't rule out crossing party lines to pick a secretary of Treasury or other high economic advisers in his Cabinet and elsewhere in

government: “I'd like to get some people who really understand what it takes to get real growth. I want people in my administration who have really made a living in and really understand the dynamics of the global economy.”

But if he appoints a pro-growth Republican or investment-oriented independent, he told me, “I want it to be someone who understands that over the long run, to have growth, it has to be manifest in the lives of ordinary Americans.”

“The theory of the last 12 years was—if you just reduce taxes enough on upper-income people and corporations, then investment and growth will occur. The countries with which we are competing have a much more sophisticated theory, which is that you've got to guarantee a certain level of investment, both public and private, and a high level of [public-private] cooperation, not picking winners and losers, for competition in the global market.”

These views have acceptance among a wide range of economic experts, and increasingly among businessmen who have seen America's competitive edge dwindle.

Clinton told me he is “a pragmatist and iconoclast.” I think Murray and the Journal can rest easy about that battle for his soul.

Senate's New Sensitivity Message of Anger Spurs Women's Agenda

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

With 11 female candidates pounding on its door and criticism over its handling of Anita F. Hill's sexual harassment charges against Clarence Thomas still stinging, the nearly all-male Senate seems to be getting the message.

In the most dramatic display so far of its new-found sensitivity to women's concerns, the Senate late Tuesday voted 89 to 4—after a last-minute scramble in which nearly 30 senators switched votes to be on the winning side—to cut \$200 million from military projects and use \$185 million of it for breast cancer research.

The "firewall" that was built to protect defense spending from raids by advocates of increased domestic spending was breached in spirit, if not letter, but even those who opposed the transfer on budgetary grounds did so with eloquent reluctance.

"Anita Hill was the great evangelizer," Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski (D-Md.) said after the vote in reference to the outpouring of anger over the Senate's handling of Hill's sexual harassment

charges against Thomas during his Supreme Court confirmation hearings last year.

In what Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) characterized as a "defining moment" in modern politics, this anger spilled over into campaigns, producing a record-high number of female nominees for the Senate and a perception on the part of male candidates that they would ignore women's concerns at their peril.

"Whatever [senators] may say in public, they are obsessed with their behavior in the Hill-Thomas case," added Harriett Woods, president of the National Women's Political Caucus. "And good politicians that they are, they can't help but notice how well women candidates are running this year. The Senate is playing conscience catch-up with its votes."

Regardless of the reason, hardly a day goes by without a Senate vote on an issue of concern to women, from legislation to guarantee workers a right to unpaid leave to care for medical emergencies, to amendments dealing with pension rights for abused spouses of military personnel.

See WOMEN, A11, Col. 1

Women's Agenda Builds in the Senate

WOMEN, From A1

Bills from individual senators are piling up on issues such as stalking and other forms of domestic and street violence directed against women.

While major bills that would guarantee abortion rights or raise maximum penalties for sex discrimination on the job are expected to die in the rush to adjourn by early October, senators say an ambitious women's agenda is building for next year.

One reason is the expectation that the number of women elected to the Senate could double or triple next year. Mikulski and Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-Kan.) are the only women now serving in the Senate who were elected to their seats. Sen. Jocelyn Burdick (D-N.D.) was recently appointed to fill the seat of her late husband, Quentin Burdick, until an election is held later this year.

Women are currently running well ahead of their main rivals in Illinois and for two Senate seats in California and are in close races in several other states. Mikulski is a strong favorite for reelection

Another reason is that male senators, even those who are not immediately threatened with opposition from women, appear to be reluctant to do anything that might be interpreted as insensitivity to women.

"They're grasping for any key vote that they can wave before voters this year or put on their résumé for later," Woods said.

The vote on funding for breast cancer research Tuesday night was a case in point.

"We need an all-out war on breast cancer," said Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) in introducing the amendment to raise by \$185 million the \$25 million that the House and the Senate Appropriations Committee had approved to expand a small Army-funded breast cancer research project at the University of Pittsburgh, which was championed by Rep. John P. Murtha (D-Pa.).

"We will not win the war against cancer until we commit to it the way we committed to winning the Cold War," Harkin added, shrouding his maneuver in good old-fashioned military rhetoric.

"It is rather difficult to argue against this proposal, but I will try

my best," responded Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii), gently suggesting that Harkin was breaking the "spirit" of the budget by taking military funds for what is essentially a domestic project.

When votes for the project were safely in hand, senators began streaming onto the floor to change their "no" votes to "yes." Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) was overheard urging the Republican cloak room to alert absent senators to the stampede. An unofficial tally showed 28 senators, including Inouye and Dole, switching their votes. Several others waited until the last minute before casting votes in favor of the proposal.

The Senate initially voted to take the money from the "Star Wars" anti-missile defense program but had second thoughts about that, leaving the cut to be absorbed elsewhere in the defense budget.

"There's a changed atmosphere around here," Harkin said yesterday. "A lot of our male colleagues don't want to be on the wrong side of any women's issue." Asked if this would have happened before the Hill-Thomas controversy and its aftermath, Harkin said: "Probably not."

Lawmakers Pitching Issues at White House

Bush Swinging Vetoes to Hold GOP Bases

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

This is the month that the Democratic-controlled Congress is sending President Bush's legislative chickens home to roost.

With barely six weeks left in a campaign where the president is struggling to reach beyond his base of traditional Republicans to shape a winning coalition in November, Congress is sending him legislation that he must veto to avoid being accused of flip-flopping.

But killing bills to grant family leave, to control the rising cost of cable television or to help fund abortions for poor women are actions not likely to gain many votes for Bush beyond those already in the Republican column.

Nicholas E. Calio, the White House aide for legislative affairs, said, "The schedule was done for political purposes, and no one in Congress would deny it with a straight face."

Another administration official noted that Bush is "on the wrong side politically" of at least four and perhaps more issues Dem-

ocratic congressional leaders have made a priority in Congress's remaining days before adjournment:

■ **Family leave.** Using the traditional White House device of waiting until late at night to take action to minimize news coverage, Bush, in a post-10 p.m. statement Tuesday, vetoed the family leave bill that would have required employers of more than 50 workers to give them up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave for family emergencies.

The White House scrambled this month to come up with a Republican alternative, a tax credit to employers who grant such leave. But Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton and the Democrats have been bashing Bush for weeks on the issue, calling the president pro-family in rhetoric but anti-family in policy.

■ **Cable television.** The legislation responds to widespread complaints about rapid price increases levied on consumers by cable operators, many of whom

See PRESIDENT, A10, Col. 1

PRESIDENT, From A1

hold monopolies. The legislation attempts to regulate price structures and passed the Senate with a large enough majority to override a veto.

Bush aides said the president is expected to follow through this week on his promise to veto the legislation as part of the president's anti-regulation philosophy. But one official ruefully noted, "Being in favor of cable TV price-gouging, as we are being portrayed, is not exactly a populist position. This is not an easy issue to make our case on."

■ **Abortion.** Democrats have abortion language in at least two spend-

ing bills, a replay of efforts that have been made at least a dozen times during the Bush presidency.

The language would allow federal funds to be spent in connection with abortions for poor women. Bush will veto such legislation again in adhering to his antiabortion policies, with aides agreeing that focus on the abortion issue may please conservative Republicans but is not a plus for most other voters.

■ **China.** Legislation to renew most-favored-nation (MFN) trade status has been crafted to highlight China's human rights, arms proliferation and trade policies. The legislation would impose restrictions on Beijing, and

Bush has vetoed every version of it since the Tiananmen Square massacre his first year in office. Bush has steadfastly maintained that encouraging China to reform will work better than punishing that nation, a position that has little public support.

Republicans give Democrats credit, as one put it, for "recognizing earlier than we did the political potential" for issues to be pushed in the final weeks of Congress that coincide with the final weeks of the presidential campaign.

"These are grenades being rolled our way in a guerrilla war Congress is waging on Bill Clinton's behalf," a senior White House official said.

Bush's stands on those issues have not altered much his four years in the White House and to switch positions now, his aides acknowledge, would be politically suicidal. "Are you kidding," asked one aide when questioned whether Bush should avoid vetoing the cable bill. "This is the week we are on the air accusing Clinton of flip-flopping," a reference to a new Bush advertising campaign against Clinton that began yesterday.

The seeds of Bush's current legislative problems were sown in better times when then-White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu labored for the president's first three years in office to keep Bush right with con-

servatives, who had little love and not much trust that he was one of them, and with traditional GOP constituencies such as business.

The presidential primary challenge to Bush by conservative commentator Patrick J. Buchanan that divided the party all the way into the August national convention kept the president and his aides focused on solidifying his base. But in the general election campaign, the president's task is to recapture swing voters, and, to some extent, Republican and Independent women who are disproportionately going Clinton's way.

The abortion and family leave issues, in particular, are considered by

the White House to be hurting Bush with women, and the cable issue "hurts with almost everyone," one official said.

Bush aides point out that they, like Clinton aides, believe the economy is and will remain the major issue of the campaign. But they acknowledge the issues Congress had handed them—aimed at highlighting the differences between Democratic and Republican approaches—have forced them into damage-control tactics.

"We all agree if Congress never came back here [after the summer recess], it would have been a great gift," one official said.

Small Business Hails Bush Tax Plan

Analysts Doubt Proposals Would Get Economy Moving Again

By Albert B. Crenshaw
Washington Post Staff Writer

Small-business representatives welcomed President Bush's proposal to cut their taxes, but there was little expectation among accountants and other experts that the cuts would get the economy moving again.

Bush's proposal, released yesterday during a campaign stop in Greensboro, N.C., includes a variety of accelerated write-offs, deductions and cuts for small firms and ones newly started.

Samuel P. Starr, a Coopers & Lybrand accountant here, noted that while the plan would cost the Treasury \$20 billion, no individual business could expect to get very much.

"In a macro sense there are literally hundreds of thousands of small businesses that could take advantage of this, but from a micro perspective [they could say], 'Hey, this is no great shakes to me personally. I don't think you are going to motivate me personally to one thing or another,'" Starr said.

The owner of a struggling Capitol Hill business said her real problem is the economy, not taxes. "If I were making money I'd love [the Bush plan], but I'm not," said the owner, who didn't want to be named. She can't buy new equipment until she does make money, she said.

Thomas A. Gray, a staff economist

with the NFIB Foundation, an arm of the National Federation of Independent Business, said the Bush plan would "certainly help in a lot of ways." But he said lack of demand is a major factor in holding back small businesses at the moment, and they are not likely to rush out and buy new equipment until demand picks up.

Gray said the new provisions would be "extremely important if the economy starts to grow again," because business would be more able to expand to meet new demand.

He said he thinks the economy will begin to expand, and probably soon. "Both households and businesses have done a great deal to rebuild their balance sheets. That's releasing more money every day and some day that money's going to go shopping," he said.

But the package overall drew applause from both the NFIB and the Small Business Legislative Counsel. "Small businesses are poised to take off," said NFIB President Jack Faria.

Among other things, the plan would:

- Eliminate capital gains taxes on the sale of newly issued small-business stock.
- Lower the lowest corporate income tax bracket to 10 percent from 15 percent.
- Allow firms to write off as much as \$25,000 in equipment purchases immediately. Generally, equipment

must be depreciated over its useful life, but firms now may take up to \$10,000 in immediate write-offs.

■ Allow firms to deduct as much as \$2,500 in start-up costs—legal fees and the like—rather than amortizing them over a period of years as they are now required to do.

■ Raise to 100 percent from 25 percent the amount of health-care premiums a self-employed person can deduct.

Several accountants noted that some of the president's proposals yesterday—or proposals similar to his—were in a large tax bill he vetoed last spring. For example, the increase in the equipment write-off limits was in that bill, though in a slightly reduced form, they said. There was also a capital gains tax break, though only 50 percent, for start-up company stock.

"What I see here is essentially a kind of repackaging of a number of things that have been around... for a while," said Gerald Portney of the KPMG Peat Marwick accounting firm.

While the benefits would cost the Treasury \$20 billion, Bush aides said the president has already proposed some \$132 billion in spending cuts, which they said would offset it.

The Clinton campaign immediately attacked the proposals as "another big giveaway" and charged that Bush has already committed the \$132 billion to pay for other items, such as a proposed 1 percent tax cut.

Hill Votes to Make U.S. Comply With Laws

Associated Press

The nation's atomic weapons complex and other federal facilities will be subject to the same environmental laws, fines and civil suits as private industry under legislation approved yesterday by Congress.

The legislation ends the Pentagon's and the Energy Department's immunity from all federal, state and local hazardous waste laws. It passed on a voice vote by the Senate and was sent to the White House hours after the House cleared it 403 to 3.

President Bush was expected to sign the bill. "The days of the double standard are over," said Rep. Dan Schaefer, (R-Colo.) who co-wrote the bill with Rep. Dennis E. Eckart (D-Ohio). "We cannot ask private industry to comply with environmental laws when the federal government itself does not comply. And the government in many cases is much more of a polluter."

Senate, House and administration officials reached a compromise earlier this week on what has been a five-year legislative effort to address the fact that the federal government has been one of worst U.S. polluters as part of the nuclear arms race of the past five decades.

The bill was spawned by disclosures of massive violations of the nation's primary hazardous waste law—the Resource Conser-

ment atomic weapons plants at Rocky Flats, Colo.; Hanford, Wash., and Fernald, Ohio.

The department and the Pentagon for decades have claimed immunity from the law while allowing radioactive and other hazardous wastes from their plants to pollute.

"The Environmental Protection Agency and the federal government have condoned wanton pollution by federal facilities, some of them the nation's worst polluters," Eckart said. "We need to make sure that the neighbors living near a federal facility know that it will be operating as safely and cleanly as any other facility in their back yard."

The bill gives the Environmental Protection Agency ultimate authority to take enforcement actions against any federal agency—but only after extensive consultations.

State officials would get the same powers, plus the right to inspect the federal plants at least once a year for compliance with their laws. However, any fines that states collect from the federal government would have to be used to clean up or protect the environment.

"Without state enforcement under a waiver of sovereign immunity, there is no one to assure compliance," said Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine). "The result is that the federal government can and does act as

Michael Kinsley

Killer Irony...

"You see," said George Bush in a speech Sept. 17 at Enid, Okla. Bush uses "you see" the way other politicians use "frankly": as a subconscious signal that what follows is, er, disingenuous. "You see," he said, "I believe our tax system is fundamentally the product of a wartime economy. The cost of fighting two world wars and a Cold War vastly expanded the number of people who had to pay taxes and raised marginal tax rates."

This was supposed to illustrate one of Bush's "profound" differences with Bill Clinton. The trouble is that Clinton has called for deeper defense spending cuts than Bush. Bush attacks Clinton for this. It is ironic, if nothing else, to hear Ronald Reagan's heir blaming tax rates on defense costs, then offering that analysis as a reason to vote for himself over an opponent who wants to spend less on defense than he does.

Bush went on, "High tax rates created pressure for exceptions—tax loopholes." He condemned "the discovery and enlarging of loopholes . . . by special interests." Yet this very speech began with lavish praise for Oklahoma Sen. Don Nickels for "taking the lead" in pushing for expanded loopholes for independent oil drillers.

A highly developed sense of irony is not an essential quality for a president of the United States. But George Bush is dead to irony. At a certain level of brazenness, logical inconsistency amounts to dishonesty. How can he mean what he says, if it is so self-contradictory? How can you trust a man who cares so little whether any given statement he utters follows logically from his past statements and actions? I used to complain that Jimmy Carter's governing philosophy was, "Today is the first day of the rest of your administration." Bush one-ups Carter. He reinvents himself sentence by sentence.

Sometimes the inconsistencies are a conscious strategy of having it both ways.

On abortion, the Bushies put an absolute constitutional ban—no exceptions—in their platform, to appease the zealots, then drop broad hints that the candidate himself has more moderate views. On the Clinton draft matter, Bush says the issue is "service to country." Then, when pressed about Dan Quayle and other Republican draft avoiders, the Bushies insist that the issue is merely Clinton's "credibility," not his military record.

Bush began the Enid speech, at a campaign rally, by explaining that it was "not a rally speech." It was, rather, a "serious talk." Bush presumably will let us know when he is making a campaign speech and therefore need not be taken seriously. The distinction Bush likes to make between what he calls "campaign mode" and his other modes is one of his more charming bits of disingenuousness. It so clearly reveals his unspoken belief that in "campaign mode," anything goes.

Bush explained in Enid that he puts his faith in "individual working men and women" whereas "my opponent puts his faith in . . . government planners" and "European models learned at Oxford in the 1960s."

In fact, both candidates have a ver-

sion of industrial policy. Bush's is, if anything, more like central planning, with its tax breaks for investments of particular types or in particular locations. Clinton's emphasis is on more traditional government activities such as building roads and educating people. Furthermore, as we all know, the size and the cost of government have increased under Bush's presidency—and would have increased just as much if his budgets had been enacted with no congressional interference.

The introduction of "Oxford" as a campaign theme is a move of almost comic desperation by a candidate who can't use "Harvard" this time around, since it's not available, and dares not use "Yale" for the obvious reason. In Enid, he accused Clinton of planning rule by "a new . . . elite of the so-called 'best and brightest,' adding, slyly, "The best and brightest are right out here [in middle America] where you know what's going on."

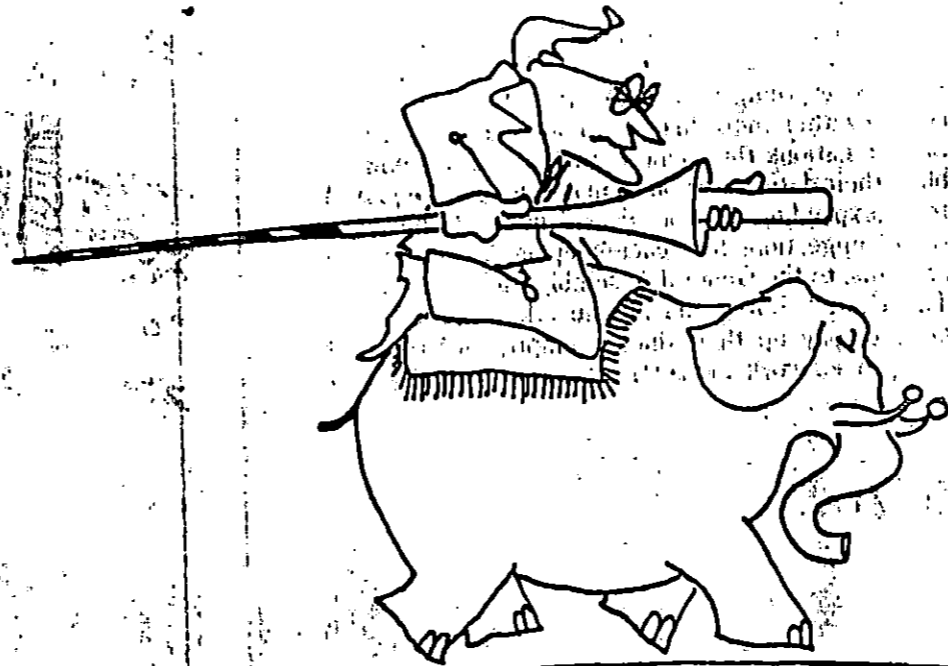
I like that "so-called," "So-called" by whom? The label "best and brightest" is never applied without irony. That phrase entered the language when it was used ironically by David Halberstam to condemn the architects of the Viet-

nam War. This is a war George Bush supported and criticizes Clinton for having ducked. If Bush did have a sense of irony, he'd be getting dizzy by now.

Not only did Clinton attend Oxford, but he "chose to run for office at an exceptionally early age." By contrast, "I built a company from the ground up." Let's leave aside the \$300,000 from his uncle (\$1.5 million in today's money) that paved the ground on which young George built his business. And if Bush really wishes to make an issue of the fact that "my opponent" has devoted his life to public service (salary as governor: \$35,000), perhaps people are so cynical about government that this is a clever strategy. But anyone with a drop of irony would pause, before embarking on this theme, to consider the Dan Quayle problem: Quayle also practiced law very briefly before entering politics for good. Does that disqualify him to be president?

If you're George Bush painting Bill Clinton as part of the establishment elite and yourself as a product of middle America, it helps to be without irony. But you're counting on the voters to be dead to irony themselves.

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BY T. GIBSON

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

Bush 'Out of the Loop' on Iran-Contra?

Record Indicates He Attended Meetings Involving Arms Sales, Rebel Aid

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writer

Buried among 1,700 pages of notes written by then-Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger during the Iran-contra affair is one referring to a January 1986 meeting at which Weinberger voiced opposition to covert arms sales to Iran in the presence of George Bush, then the vice president.

The note, which appears to contradict Bush's repeated assertion that he was never present when either Weinberger or then-Secretary of State George P. Shultz objected to the arms sales, is among classified documents being reviewed for possible use in Weinberger's upcoming trial, according to

informed sources. The note is important because it confirms earlier testimony by Shultz placing Bush at the January meeting.

Questioned again lately by reporters about Iran-contra, Bush sought to dismiss further discussion of his role in the worst political scandal of the Reagan administration. But new information emerging from court cases and congressional records since Bush last ran for president has cast fresh doubt on his assertions that he was "out of the loop," generally uninvolved in and largely unaware of the most controversial Iran-contra operations.

There are numerous indications in the documentary record that Bush was at meetings where deci-

sions were taken in the mid-1980s about both the secret sale of arms to Iran and some of the covert efforts to aid the contra rebels in Nicaragua.

Polls have shown that the public is skeptical of the president's denials of involvement. A USA Today/CNN/Gallup Poll reported last week that 55 percent of the respondents were dissatisfied with Bush's "explanation of his involvement in the Iran-contra arms deal when he was vice president."

Earlier this month, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton questioned Bush's credibility on Iran-contra, citing another note that had just turned up in the court-

See IRAN-CONTRA, A12, Col. 1

IRAN-CONTRA, From A1

papers of the Weinberger perjury and obstruction case. That note, written by a Shultz aide, described a 1987 phone conversation between Shultz and Weinberger in which the two Cabinet members expressed disbelief at public comments by Bush that he had been unaware of their strong opposition to the arms sales to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's government.

When Bush was asked about the Shultz aide's note during an NBC interview Sept. 6, he replied that "this seems to me to be just a late smoke screen out of that dead old saw out there. And I have nothing to explain. . . And nobody has suggested that I've done anything wrong."

In the almost six years since the scandal surfaced, records and testimony from congressional and legal proceedings reveal that Bush, while vice president, watched Iran-contra unfold from a front-row seat in the White House.

In 1984, 1985 and 1986, Bush regularly attended key Reagan administration meetings on secret aid to the contras, some of it meant to circumvent a congressional ban, or meetings on covert arms sales to Iran, intended to gain release of U.S. hostages in Lebanon and create an opening to the Tehran regime.

He also attended three White House meetings in November 1986 that Iran-contra prosecutors working for independent

The relationship between Bush's national security adviser at the time, Donald P. Gregg, and a former CIA employee who became an operative in the secret contra resupply operation, Felix Rodriguez, has never been fully explained. While Gregg has acknowledged learning of Rodriguez's role in the resupply operation months before it became public, he has said he did not inform Bush about it even after Rodriguez's name was publicly linked to the operation.

Bush told NBC's Tom Brokaw earlier this month that he had "given every bit of evidence I have to these thousands of investigators" who have looked into the matter. But Bush has never provided a comprehensive explanation in public of what he heard and did in Iran-contra.

The House and Senate committees that investigated Iran-contra in 1987 did receive records from the vice president's staff, but Bush himself never testified before Congress about the affair.

Bush appeared in December 1986 for about an hour before the Tower board, which was appointed by President Ronald Reagan to investigate the scandal, but the session took place without a stenographer

Although Bush has spoken to Iran-contra investigators, he has never provided a comprehensive explanation in public of what he heard and did.

present, and the 11 pages of notes taken by the board's counsel remain classified.

One participant at the session said Bush "lectured them almost nonstop." His appearance occurred shortly after the board and its staff were named and before any of them had time to acquire much background in the affair. As a result,

essentially listened to Bush's presentation rather than questioned him, the source said.

Bush was questioned under oath by Walsh's investigators for two hours on Jan. 11, 1988, and afterward told reporters the session "went well." The results of that session have not been made public.

Since the 1988 presidential campaign, Bush has asserted that he has answered all Iran-contra questions posed to him by reporters. But during the 1988 campaign, The Washington Post supplied Bush aides with 30 questions about Bush's and his staff's involvement in Iran-contra and, after several weeks, received word that Bush would decline to provide answers.

Bush's first major public address on the arms sales to Iran and the diversion of profits to support the contras came on Dec. 3, 1986, eight days after the diversion was publicly disclosed by then-Attorney General Edwin Meese III.

Bush acknowledged "mistakes" were made but described the "Iran initiative" as an attempt "to begin a dialogue with Iran"; the arms sales were "a signal" to the Iranians with whom the United States was dealing because they "were taking enormous personal risks by just talking with us"; and "the president is absolutely convinced that he did not swap arms for hostages."

Bush summed up saying, "I was aware of the Iran initiative, and I support the president's decision to approve it."

In the summer of 1987, Bush was a full-fledged candidate for the GOP nomination to succeed Reagan, and the Iran-contra scandal was affecting his chances. During an August 1987 interview with David S. Broder of The Washington Post, Bush said he failed to oppose the selling of arms to Iran because he never heard the objections of Shultz and Weinberger.

counsel Lawrence E. Walsh have concluded set the stage for an attempted coverup of one particular set of Hawk missile shipments to Iran in 1985.

Moreover, Bush while vice president developed a working relationship with Oliver L. North, the National Security Council aide who was the key mover-and-shaker in Iran-contra. North's daily diary notes of that period contain numerous references to Bush and Bush's aides in the context of Iran-contra operations. Hundreds of pages of North's notebooks were released in 1990 in response to a lawsuit brought by the National Security Archive, a nonprofit research institute, and Public Citizen, a public interest group.

The Washington Post

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"Maybe I would have had a stronger view," he told Broder. "But when you don't know something, it's hard to react. . . . We were not in the loop."

In his campaign biography, "Looking Forward," published later in 1987, Bush wrote that his "first real chance to see the picture as a whole" did not come until Dec. 20, 1986, when he was briefed by Sen. Dave Durenberger (R-Minn.), chairman of the Senate intelligence committee, which had held a set of closed-door hearings on the affair.

After that meeting, Bush wrote, he was "left with the feeling . . . that I'd been deliberately excluded from key meetings involving details of the Iran operation." He felt that he had been "out of the loop."

It was not until January 1988, when a Washington Post story disclosed that Bush had attended nearly three dozen morning presidential briefings during 1986 at which Iran and the hostages were discussed, that he first acknowledged he had participated in

See IRAN-CONTRA, A13, Col. 1

IRAN-CONTRA, From A12

the decision-making process on the arms sales.

Bush has faced criticism about his repeated declaration that he was unaware of the opposition to the Iran arms sales by Reagan's two senior Cabinet members.

Shultz in congressional testimony placed Bush at an Aug. 6, 1985, White House meeting where Reagan, just out of the hospital, sat in his pajamas as his top advisers argued over an Israeli plan to send arms to Iran to gain release of the hostages.

Shultz also recalled to the Tower board that he said: "I thought this was a very bad idea, that I was opposed to it, that we were just falling into the arms-for-hostages business and we shouldn't do it."

At a Dec. 7, 1985, White House meeting, Shultz and Weinberger again strongly voiced their objections to the arms deals. Bush was attending the Army-Navy football game that Saturday, and was not present for the discussion. National security adviser John M. Poindexter, according to testimony, reportedly always briefed Bush on major meetings he missed.

Bush was at a Jan. 7, 1986, meeting in the Oval Office where Reagan and his aides discussed Weinberger's and Shultz's doubts about direct U.S. involvement in the sale of arms to Iran. Some U.S.-made arms were delivered to Iran in 1985 by Israel with White House approval.

The Weinberger note, which was classified by the Pentagon along with the former defense secretary's other notes after they were discovered more than a year ago by Iran-contra prosecutors, refers to this January meeting. Weinberger objected to the proposed direct sales on legal grounds, and Shultz maintained such U.S. involvement would be seen as trading arms for hostages.

Shultz told the Tower board about that January meeting: "It was clear to me by the time we went out that the president, the vice president, the director of central intelligence [the late William J. Casey], the attorney general, the chief of staff [Donald T. Regan], the national security adviser all had one opinion, and I had a different one and Cap shared it."

Bush was present at another White House meeting on the morning of Jan. 17, 1986, when Reagan signed the presidential authorization called a "finding" to permit the covert transfer of U.S. arms to Iran and the withholding of that information from Congress.

Poindexter's memo to Reagan justifying the Jan. 17 finding notes the opposition of Shultz and Weinberger. Such memos were normally sent also to Bush. Poindexter's notes about that meeting indicate that the Cabinet members' opposition was mentioned.

On Feb. 1, 1986, Poindexter sent a note to Robert C. McFarlane, his predecessor as national security adviser who had left gov-

ernment but was still involved in the Iran arms operation, saying: "The hostage plan is still working, and it calls for the hostages to be released on 9 Feb. . . . Most importantly, president and VP [vice president] are solid in taking the position that we have to try. . . ."

Information disclosed by court hearings and Congress over the past few years indicates Bush also may have known more about the contra resupply operation than he has publicly stated.

Bush, according to documents, was present at a June 1984 meeting when Reagan gave McFarlane, then national security adviser, the task of keeping the contras together "body and soul" in the face of the impending congressional prohibition of U.S. military assistance to the rebels.

Bush attended another White House meeting in June 1984 at which discussion took place on soliciting third countries for funds for the contras. He was also told that month by McFarlane about secret payments from Saudi Arabia to support the contras.

The North trial in 1989 provided the first documents indicating the Reagan administration also had a secret plan to reward Honduras in 1985 with arms in return for support of the contras. The White House and State Department documents produced at the trial listed Bush as a recipient of a February 1985 presidential decision paper to provide "incentives" to Honduras. A March 1985 trip by Bush to Honduras was

arranged to deliver a personal message from Reagan about the delivery of aid.

Bush and other Reagan administration officials denied that the incentives plan amounted to a quid pro quo. But additional documents released at a June 1989 Senate hearing showed the Honduran armed forces commander requested increased U.S. aid as the price of continued support for the contras.

Bush has continued to deny there was any quid pro quo.

Questions about the link between Bush and Rodriguez, the onetime CIA operative involved in the contra resupply operation, date from October 1986 when the American survivor of the crash of a C-123 cargo plane shot down over Nicaragua identified Rodriguez as part of the effort.

Bush described Rodriguez as "a patriot" but denied knowing of his activities on behalf of the contras. He also echoed the general administration position at that time that the suddenly exposed resupply network was not associated with the U.S. government.

In May 1990, a provocative note relating to a meeting between North and Bush on Aug. 6, 1986, surfaced with the release of hundreds of pages of North's notebooks. The note shows that before meeting Bush on Aug. 6, North received a call from a member of his secret contra-resupply team who was complaining about Rodriguez.

North then met with Bush's aide Gregg and, after two more phone calls with government officials associated with Central

America, North recorded in his notebook a meeting "w/V.P." The note does not reveal what the two men discussed.

Two days later, Gregg met Rodriguez in Washington and has said he learned then of Rodriguez's involvement with North's resupply operation. Gregg's notes of that Aug. 8 meeting read in part: "A swap of weapons for \$ was arranged to get aid for the contras."

Congressional investigators read that sentence to mean that Gregg was told then of the diversion of profits from arms sales to Iran to purchase military aid for the contras. But neither Gregg nor Rodriguez has offered an explanation for the notation.

Rodriguez has said he complained to Gregg on Aug. 8 that North's associates were overcharging the contras. Four days later, Gregg called a meeting of administration officials dealing with the contras to try to clear up Rodriguez's allegations.

Gregg testified that he never told Bush about the meeting or what he had learned from Rodriguez, saying the information "was not very presidential."

Bush's relationship with North appears to have reflected a confidence in North's abilities. He picked North for a key role on his vice presidential anti-terrorism task force. On Nov. 27, 1985, he sent North one of his famous handwritten notes expressing particular appreciation for North's "dedication and tireless work with the hostage thing and with Central America."

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992 A29

Richard Cohen

Schlafly's Silence

SAN FRANCISCO—The greatest of all family values may well be humility. It turns out that some of those who, either by their statements or by their silence, were telling us all how to raise our children could not quite practice what they preached. Diane Mosbacher, daughter of George Bush's friend and campaign aide, Bob, is a lesbian. John Schlafly, son of the renowned Phyllis, is gay. The children are out of the closet, but it is the parents who have been "outed."

The news about Schlafly made the front page here—"Schlafly's son: gay and GOP," the headline in the Examiner said. But of course this is San Francisco, a city once known for fog and sourdough bread but now probably more famous as the homosexual capital of America. Actually, Schlafly had been "outed" earlier. A gay publication, New York's *QW*, had done a story, and certain journalists, myself included, had been sent anonymous announcements.

I confess to having been surprised. Schlafly, after all, was right in the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment, and while it is true, as she insists, that she was never a gay basher, it's also true that she linked passage of the ERA to gay rights. She once denounced a proposal for AIDS education as "the teaching of safe sodomy," and so Pat Robertson had good reason to introduce her at the Republican National Convention as the woman who saved the nation from having homosexual rights guaranteed by the Constitution. No protest on her part is recorded.

And that, of course, is the rub. I cannot contradict her claim that she never went in for gay bashing, but then she never went in for bashing the gay bashers, either. She rises with the ugly crowd. They are those lucky people who can discern erotica in the driest of textbooks, who can't distinguish between sex education and porn and who have a screaming fear of homosexuality. They are the people who provide the white noise of silent approval when a gay is treated shabbily.

Randall Kennedy makes a similar point about his fellow black intellectual (and one-time Harvard Law colleague) Derrick Bell in the magazine *Reconstruction*. Reviewing Bell's new book, "Faces at the Bottom of the Well," Kennedy faults Bell for explaining but not condemning the racism, antisemitism and outright bigotry of the Rev. Louis Farrakhan. He calls this an "egregious toleration of bigotry," which, if it is that, is hardly limited to black intellectual circles. Within the GOP it's SOP.

After all, from Schlafly it is a small step to Mosbacher, a Bush-Quayle campaign chief, and Bush's ward, the callow and feckless Dan Quayle. Quayle, in particular, has trafficked in prejudice. When he maintained that homosexuality was a choice, which he acknowledged the contrary evidence but doggedly and unconvincingly insisted he believed otherwise, he had the demeanor of a man who was arguing someone else's case. Here was the unprincipled pol saying something he did not totally believe. Good reason, too. Both science and experience contradict him.

We are told of gays who say they had no desire to be what they became, and science suggests that for some homosexuals, the clue to their behavior lies in their genes. We may be talking about a continuum—everything from casual choice to determined compulsion. Whatever the case, we are certainly talking about an area in which little is known and not much of that is understood.

For homophobes and those who would exploit them for political gain, it's important to treat homosexuality as a choice casually made—like what's for dinner tonight. Otherwise, it could not be morally condemned. If it were in nature, like red hair or webbed feet, then it would be beyond the moral condemnation of even a party platform. The insistence on treating homosexuality—all homosexuality—as a matter of casual sexual preference shows a kind of preference itself: a determination to let prejudice get the better of reason and knowledge. This the Republican Party has done in heroic measure.

Schlafly should not be condemned for her son—nor he for his homosexuality. But she should be condemned for her refusal to say to her fellow right-wingers, "You are talking about my son. You are talking about something you don't know anything about." The same holds, although to a lesser degree, for Mosbacher and, of course, for Bush and Quayle. Their refusal to condemn bigotry—indeed, their willingness to exploit it—shows once again that in the public realm (as opposed to their exemplary private conduct) Bush and Quayle are without principle and soon, one hopes, will be without public office as well.

POW Policy Sowed Lasting Doubts

Nixon Incited Outrage Over the Missing That Is Surfacing in Hearings

By Thomas W. Lippman
Washington Post Staff Writer

The senior officials of the Nixon administration who have been appearing before a Senate panel this week to "tear the scabs of the Vietnam War," as Henry A. Kissinger put it Tuesday, are being haunted by a ghost of their own creation.

Within weeks after taking office in 1969, President Richard M. Nixon and his senior aides embarked on a campaign to incite national outrage over North Vietnam's treatment of U.S. servicemen taken prisoner in the war. They made the fate of the U.S. prisoners a major issue in the conflict, almost as much as the fate of South Vietnam.

"It led to an impasse: Nixon would not give up the bombing raids so long as Hanoi held a single prisoner, while Hanoi would not give up

the prisoners so long as any American armed forces remained in Indochina," wrote Stephen E. Ambrose in his biography of Nixon.

Many analysts say this campaign was undertaken in an effort to drum up public support for an unpopular war. But 20 years after the war, it has come back to haunt the very people who started it. Some American troops have remained missing forever after every U.S. war, but only in the Vietnam War has doubt about the fate of the missing remained emotionally and politically volatile for two decades.

In the view of E. Bruce Franklin, a left-wing Rutgers University professor and author of "M.I.A. or Mythmaking in America," the former officials appearing this week before the Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs to defend themselves and point fingers at their for-

mer colleagues, are getting what they deserve. He has long argued that they cynically hyped the prisoner issue as an indispensable device for continuing the war in the face of popular protest.

It is because of their efforts, Franklin said, that there is still intense public and media interest in the prisoner issue. It explains why testimony that Nixon may have known that some prisoners were left alive in Laos when U.S. troops withdrew in 1973 attracted nationwide headlines and television news coverage this week, even though Nixon and his aides said at the time that they had doubts about the fate of some missing American soldiers.

Kissinger, who as Nixon's national security adviser negotiated the Paris agreement with North Vietnam that ended the U.S. role in the war, said, "It is the ultimate irony

See POWs, A7, Col. 1

Fate of Missing Remains Volatile Issue

POWS, From A6

that our Herculean efforts to get an accounting [of the missing servicemen] in 1973 should be twisted 20 years later into 'evidence' that we knew POWs had been left behind."

It was hardly a secret in the spring of 1973, he told the Senate panel, that North Vietnam had not fulfilled its pledge to provide a full accounting of all troops listed as missing in Laos and Cambodia as well as Vietnam. Nixon said so in a speech to the nation—the same speech in which he said that "all of our American POWs are on the way home," the sentence now depicted by some senators on the committee as a deliberate deception.

William Clements, who was acting defense secretary after all Americans had supposedly been released in the spring of 1973, is scheduled to testify today about his reported insistence that "they're all dead"—a remark he is said by an aide to have made in April 1973

when the aide suggested that some prisoners may have remained in Laos or Vietnam.

Some committee members and some relatives of the missing have interpreted this reported remark as

Architects of Nixon's Vietnam policy are haunted by a ghost of their own creation.

evidence that Nixon, after using the prisoners as an excuse to prolong the war, was willing to turn the government's back on them when he no longer needed them.

Kissinger rejected such suggestions as "unforgivable libel." But relatives of the 2,226 men still

listed as missing in Indochina have long suspected that Nixon and Clements in effect ordered the book on them closed.

The relatives have said that the Pentagon's perceived reluctance to investigate reported "live sightings" of U.S. MIAs, and what they see as the reluctance of several administrations to press Hanoi for access to plane crash sites and information about men who may have died, stem from this apparent attempt to shut down the issue.

Committee Chairman John F. Kerry (D-Mass.) is prepared to stoke this flame today. He says the secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air Force asked Clements 50 to 75 times after April 1973 for permission to reclassify as prisoners of war men who had been listed as missing but were known to be alive in captivity.

Clements denied every request, Kerry says, because Nixon had declared there were no more prisoners.

Senate Resumes Debate on Urban Aid-Tax Bill

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate yesterday glumly resumed debate on a \$32 billion urban aid and tax relief package that few members believe can be passed in a form acceptable to President Bush before Congress adjourns early next month.

The president's latest pledge to never "ever, ever" again raise taxes has so puzzled members of Congress that Sen. Bob Packwood (Ore.) said he was uncertain which provisions of the bill constitute tax increases that would prompt a veto and which are merely "revenue enhancers" that would pass muster with the White House.

"Here we are with this dilemma as we start down this road," said Packwood, the ranking Republican on the Finance Committee. "What will he accept? . . . There's an outside possibility this will all be a futile exercise."

Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), meanwhile, fretted that senators are so bent on loading the bill with special-interest amendments that it will sink of its own weight.

"Let's not collectively overload this boat and kill this piece of legislation," Bentsen pleaded.

"No one started this process with the goal of it lurching to a dead and exasperating halt," he said. "This measure started with and has been sustained by the needs of the American people."

Late yesterday, the Senate by voice vote approved a \$1.3 billion amendment to make it easier for self-employed people and employees of small businesses to obtain affordable health insurance and to prevent insurance companies from denying coverage to such workers because of age or health problems.

The amendment backed by Bentsen and Sens. Dave Durenberger (R-Minn.) and John F. Chafee (R-R.I.) would allow self-employed individuals to deduct the entire cost (instead of 25 percent) of their health insurance. It also would protect individuals with health problems who change jobs from being denied coverage.

Many of these measures were included in a tax bill Bush vetoed in March.

The Senate tax bill, which would create 125 urban and rural enterprise zones, was drafted last summer in response to the Los Angeles riots and other urban unrest that shocked the nation. But since then, little has

been said in either the Senate or House about the plight of the cities.

Instead, the bill has been adorned with an array of tax breaks for corporations and the real estate industry, liberalized rules for individual retirement accounts (IRAs), repeal of the luxury tax and an extension of a dozen highly popular tax breaks such as a low-income housing credit.

"The emerging legislation has little to do with the conditions it would supposedly ameliorate," according to a study by the nonprofit Institute for Research on the Economics of Taxation. "If the bill were to become law, it would be a sprawling tax act scarcely addressing the problems of depressed urban areas."

Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.), a leading opponent, said, "No one really

believes this bill is going to get the economy going."

The Senate spent much of yesterday debating whether to extend by eight months a hefty tax credit for unconventional natural gas exploration (the Senate agreed, 52 to 41) and whether to grant companies such as Federal Express exemption from a law to allow them to offer more generous retirement packages to their nonunionized pilots (also approved, 56 to 41).

Drafted by Bentsen, the urban aid bill contains five of the seven tax incentive proposals Bush unveiled in January to boost the economy, including tax credits for first-time house buyers, accounting changes for computing the minimum tax more favorably to corporations, and

measures to boost the sagging real estate industry.

But by renewing his 1988 no-new-taxes pledge and repeatedly attacking Democrat Bill Clinton for having signed 128 (actually, 127) tax and fee increases as governor of Arkansas, the president may have foreclosed the option of signing—so close to the Nov. 3 election—a bill full of offsetting tax increases.

Among the largest revenue raisers are provisions that would make permanent laws that limit itemized deductions and that phase out personal exemptions for higher-income taxpayers. Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) has described the two measures as "poison pills" that would prompt a veto; he plans to attempt to strike them.

Clarifying Patent Law For Genes

Hill Asked to Settle 'Prior Publication'

By Malcolm Gladwell
Washington Post Staff Writer

National Institutes of Health Director Bernadine P. Healy has asked Congress to take up legislation clarifying when and how scientists should be allowed to receive patents on human genes.

The call follows the announcement, earlier this month, by the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office that it was initially rejecting an NIH application for patents on 2,400 human gene fragments that have been identified by federal researchers.

The Patent Office decision is not necessarily final. In fact, the office raised similar objections in more than 90 percent of the patents it reviews. But at a congressional hearing Tuesday, Healy said the Patent Office decision has raised enough questions to make congressional or federal action to change the way patents are issued for human genes "a matter of some urgency."

Healy's request to Congress follows her controversial decision earlier this year to file for patents on more than 2,000 human genes that NIH researchers have decoded.

The issue is not whether a patent can be issued on a human gene. Under patent law, a scientist who undertakes the difficult task of decoding the strands of DNA that make up the estimated 50,000 to 100,000 genes in the human body is allowed to receive a patent for his or her work, and receive royalties from the use of those genes if and when they are cloned and sold commercially.

What has not become clear, however, either under American or international patent law, is how to structure the patent system in order to best encourage the commercial development of drugs and therapies from human genes and assure the exchange of information among scientists.

For example, should the government be in the business of seeking patents for genes, or should it leave that to the private sector? More specifically, when should a patent be awarded?

Genes are hugely complicated structures. Typically, scientists have decoded them one fragment at a time, publishing at each step of the way. Often they have been able to decipher parts of a specific gene's structure long before they understand what exactly that gene does.

Should a patent be awarded on a gene before its sequence is fully decoded? And should it be awarded before a scientist discovers specifically what the gene does?

It was to generate a debate on some of these questions that the NIH decided last year to file for patents on thousands of gene fragments discovered by its scientists. Many were not complete gene sequences; nor in a majority of cases did the researchers understand what the genes did. But agency officials said they wanted to see how the Patent Office would respond.

The office has now ruled. In initially rejecting the applications, the Patent Office ruled that the NIH filing failed the requirement that the patent be "non-obvious" or unique. The Patent Office said that since even smaller fragments of the genes had been published in the scientific literature, the genes discovered by NIH were not the original discoveries.

This is precisely what NIH officials and some industry officials had feared. It means that if any company wanted to go to the extra trouble of decoding the full sequence of a gene, discover how it works, and make it into a drug, it could not receive a patent for its product and protect its investment because the Patent Office would consider that extra effort "obvious."

In order to encourage commercial development of human genes, Healy argued, Congress should consider clarifying this issue in a separate law, stipulating that "the prior publication of partial gene sequences not preclude a subsequent patent on the full genes and/or partial genes with known function." Several bills circulating in Congress also have suggested making this same change to the way the Patent Office considers applications for patents on human genes.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

VERBATIM

At a stormy hearing Tuesday before the Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs, Chairman John F. Kerry (D-Mass.) and former secretary of state Henry A. Kissinger sparred repeatedly over Kissinger's statement that he and his boss, President Richard M. Nixon, were prepared to "move heaven and Earth" to force North Vietnam to provide a "full accounting" of American servicemen missing from the Vietnam War. If Nixon administration officials believed North Vietnam had reneged on its commitment to do that, Kerry asked, why didn't Nixon and Kissinger ask Congress for authorization to resume bombing Hanoi? Kissinger said he resented such a question from a former antiwar activist who is now part of a legislative body that had undermined Nixon's ability to carry on the war. The following excerpt is representative of the tense exchange.



Sen. Kerry: Well, Mr. Secretary, I think the question that most Americans would ask is why here because 20 years later this question confounds America. And the fact is that there are people who are listed as POWs who aren't home or didn't come home that we don't know what happened to them.

Now I didn't negotiate the agreement: You did. You negotiated the notion that there would be a full accounting. And the question before Americans is the very question you posed yourself: whether we would move heaven and earth for that full accounting. There is nothing in the record that suggests you asked the Congress of the United States for the right to bomb because they were holding prisoners that they wouldn't give back. Nothing.

Kissinger: Mr. Chairman, for somebody who opposed any—the military operations, who was accusing the government for deliberately prolonging the war, it does not come as good grace to make this accusation.

If you are talking, sir, about the question of what happened to the prisoners?—I am on your side. And I also want to point out, I did not start this debate. I kept meeting with protesters all during the war because I thought we had to unify this country. But there is no doubt that the Congress knew that we looked at bombing as a means of enforcing the agreement. We did not—

Kerry: On the POWs?

Kissinger: On everything, sir. Can you imagine that we would have

resumed military operations and not asked for the POWs?

Kerry: Well, you see, the question I ask—and I know this is all hard, and I'm not comfortable with it, I'll tell you that. But—you know, notwithstanding the fact that I indeed opposed the war and was one of those suggesting there were ways to get out—I was working with families of POWs then too. And every statement I ever made or we ever made included the notion of getting a full accounting and the return of the POWs. I never knew that they might be holding somebody still. I don't think the American people were informed of it.

Now let me let my other colleagues have an opportunity. We are taking a longer question period here today—

Kissinger: But I can't let it stand that we did not know they were holding POWs. We knew. We had inadequate accounting for the missing in action, and I repeat, Mr. Chairman, it is totally inappropriate for those who prevented any sort of military action to blame those of us who wanted to enforce the agreement because they can find this or that document that gave one other reason.

We would have enforced the agreement and all its provisions, and no sensible other interpretation is possible.

Kerry: Let's come back to that later, if we can . . .

—Compiled by Thomas W. Lippman



THE WASHINGTON POST

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Adopting a new campaign tactic, President Bush will appear on ABC's "Good Morning America" on Monday, Wednesday and Friday of next week for interviews of about five minutes. Each interview will be devoted to a single topic...

On Monday, it will be taxes; on Wednesday, crime; and on Friday, welfare. The interviews will be live from the Map Room at the White House during the second half-hour (7:30 to 8) of the program...

GMA co-anchors Charlie Gibson and Joan Lunden will conduct the interviews, but no assignments had been made as of yesterday...

Mr. Bush has so far passed up the late-night and early-morning opportunities seldom missed by the competition, although he did appear on an NBC News primetime special with Tom Brokaw a while back...

Dorrance Smith, presidential assistant for media affairs, said yesterday the GMA move signals "a more consistent presence on network shows" but did not name other broadcasts on the White House list. Smith also said the president will be doing more local interviews in the closing weeks of the campaign...

Ron Allen, who had been at CBS News in Los Angeles, has joined ABC News and will be based in the London bureau...

ABC News president Rooney Arledge said in a statement, "We're very happy to have Ron Allen here at ABC News"...

Now This

ABC News's "Nightline" will look at President Bush's credibility vis-a-vis the Iran-contra affair tonight, mirroring a "Nightline" piece last week on Democratic candidate Bill Clinton's credibility vis-a-vis the draft...

"CBS This Morning's" co-anchor Paula Zahn was in town yesterday interviewing Marilyn Quayle for a segment that airs at 7:10 this morning. And please. Don't ask me why networks arrange these things so that there is no time left for publicity. Never have figured that out...

FOX will broadcast U2's first network TV special on Sunday, Nov. 29. The hour will include highlights from the rock-and-roll band's two-year worldwide "Outside Broadcast" stadium tour...

Maria Shriver will anchor an NBC News special called "Total Exposure—Privacy and the Press" on Thursday, Oct. 8...

CNN today will have live coverage, starting at 9:30 a.m., from Orlando, Fla., of the Orange County juvenile court trial in which 12-year-old Gregory K is suing his mom for termination of her parental rights. Charles Jaco is correspondent...

And, during the lunch break in Gregory K's trial, CNN will have live coverage at noon of acting Navy Secretary Sean O'Keefe as he presents the final report on the Tailhook scandal that has rocked naval aviation...

Yay! The 24-hour Sci-Fi Channel premieres tonight at 8 on six cable systems in the Washington market, including Multivision and Metrovision in P.G. County, Cable TV Montgomery, Hauser in Arlington, Columbia in Woodbridge and Benchmark in Manassas and Sterling...

Sci-Fi will kick off with that all-time all-timer, the movie "Star Wars" tonight, which will be followed at 10:30 with a "Sci-Fi Channel Preview Show" that will tick off some of the favorites waiting in the transporter room for s.f. fans...

That basic fare comes from just about every series you can remember, including "Land of the Giants," "Battlestar Galactica," "Dark Shadows," "Lost in Space," "Dr. Who," "Planet of the Apes," "Voyage to the Bottom of the Sea," "Space: 1999," "The Powers of Matthew Star," "The Prisoner" and maybe a dozen more. The only major series not tied up yet by the USA Network-owned Sci-Fi Channel are the two "Star Treks," which have a lot of life left in syndication before they're ever available...

Some 12 original movies a year will eventually be included in the mix (oh, oh, somebody just beamed up C. Airwaves and I'm afraid they've made a botch of it)...

"... Talking With David Frost" starts a second season tomorrow night on PBS with interviews of the two vice presidential candidates. Sen.

Gore chatted up David on Monday at the Park Hyatt; Vice President Quayle is due to chat up David today at an undisclosed location...

In Memoriam

The American University School of Communication has created an exhibit and tribute to the late Eric Sevareid, which chronicles the life and work of the CBS legend over five decades...

The exhibit, which is located inside AU's Bender Library on the school's Northwest Washington campus, will be open to the public through Oct. 4. It was coordinated by AU assistant professor Jill Olmsted, with the cooperation of Suzanne St. Pierre, Mr. Sevareid's widow. The commentator-correspondent died in July at the age of 79...

A journalism scholarship has been established in the name of news producer Ellen Masin Persina, who died of cancer earlier this year at the age of 41...

The first winner is Tony Cedor of Brooklyn, who plans to attend Brooklyn College, majoring in journalism...

The scholarship—to go to a needy graduating high school senior who has demonstrated an active interest in journalism as a career—will be endowed through a fund to be created by Ms. Persina's family and is sponsored by the National Press Club's Friends of National Journalism Library Inc....

Tax-deductible contributions made out to "Friends of National Journalism Library Inc." and designating the Ellen Masin Persina Journalism Scholarship Fund can be sent to 5631 Utah Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20015...

Day II of the 1992-93 primetime season (and if you think we're going to do a Day III, IV, V etc. right through CCX, relax) found ABC and Miss Roseanne at the top of the Tuesday night heap...

ABC averaged a healthy 16.5 national Nielsen rating and a 26 percent audience share, with "Roseanne" on top at 23.8/36 (she won last week, you know). The season premiere of "Full House" did a 16.6/27, the debut of "Hangin' With Mr. Cooper" a 15.2/24, "Coach" 20.0/30 and "Going to Extremes," which could be going for the sidelines if it doesn't snap out of it, did an 11.7/20...

ABC says the first two episodes of "Roseanne" are up 20 percent in audience over last year...

(A perfect place to remind one and all that "Roseanne" reruns begin on Channel 5 the evening of Saturday, Oct. 3, two episodes each Saturday night between 7 and 8. Rosie will replace "The Golden Girls," who have moved to weeknights at 7 on Five)...

CBS was second in the Tuesday nationals with a 14.5/23, as "Rescue 911" fashioned a 14.2/23 and the movie "With a Vengeance" a 14.7/23...

The two-hour return of NBC's "Quantum Leap"—with Sam leaping into Lee Harvey Oswald—averaged a 10.8/17, while "Dateline NBC" did an 11.5/20 as the network averaged an 11.0/18 for the evening...

But locally on Tuesday, CBS and Channel 9 carried the day, er, night, as "Rescue 911" did a 15.3/23 and "With a Vengeance," a 15.8/24...

On Seven, Rosie did a 23.1/33; "Full House," 13.7/21, "Hangin'," 15.4/22; "Coach," 18.8/27; and "Going to Extremes" a mere 9.5/16...

On the other hand, "Quantum Leap" on WRC did a 10.2/15, "Dateline NBC" 6.4/11...

A two-hour "Baywatch" on WDCA did a 3.1/5, while "Runaway Train" on Five did a 7.0/10...

Over on WETA, "Voices of the Electorate: African American Voters," averaged a 1.3/2, while a rerun of "LBJ" did a strong 5.6/8. That average was the best of any PBS station in Nielsen's top 23 markets airing "LBJ" Tuesday night as the program did a 3.9/6 overall...

Each national ratings point represents 931,000 TV homes; each local point, 18,514 TV homes...

Yay! "It's Academic" returns for its 32nd season on Saturday on Channel 4. But at a new time, 10 a.m., instead of 10:30. Opening day opponents: Chantilly, Gaithersburg and High Point. And this year they're using film from NBC archives as the basis for some of the questions. Good grief, a high-tech "It's Academic" and to think, 20 years ago ABC News's Cokie Roberts and the AFT's Jean Firstenberg and TV consultant Susan Peterson used to sit in Sophie Altman's basement, making up questions for the show...

HIGHLIGHTS

- "The Comedy Store's 20th Birthday" on WRC.
- The season premiere of "The Simpsons" on WTTG.
- And the debut of "Rhythm & Blues" and the return of "A Different World," "Cheers" and "Wings" on WRC.

Public Broadcasting

Evening Exchange. With Rep. Ed Towns (D-N.Y.) on the upcoming Congressional Black Caucus legislative weekend, and "Why Johnny Can't Tell Right From Wrong" author William Kilpatrick (Channel 32 at 7).

The American Experience: Nixon (CC) (DVS) (R). An examination of the 37th president's life and career (Channel 26 at 8).

Primetime Movies

Red Dawn (1984). A bunch of teenagers defend a town against invading commies. Two hours (Channel 20 at 8).

Sapphire (1959). A music student is murdered when it is found she was passing as white. Two hours (Channel 50 at 8).

Special

The Comedy Store's 20th Birthday (CC) (Channel 4 at 10) is previewed by Tom Shales on Page C9.

Series Pilot

Rhythm & Blues (CC) (Channel 4, 8:30) is previewed by Tom Shales on Page C9.

Series Returns

A Different World (CC). In Part I, Whitley and Dwayne recall their honeymoon in Los Angeles during the riots (Channel 4 at 8).

The Simpsons (CC) (Channel 5 at 8) is previewed by Tom Shales on Page C1.

Cheers (CC). Rebecca accidentally sets the bar on fire (Channel 4 at 9).

Wings (CC). The plane makes a crash landing in the icy ocean (Channel 4, 9:30).

Series

Delta (CC). A lack of sleep causes problems for Delta on the job (Channel 7 at 8).

Top Cops (CC). The stories of three officers killed in the line of duty (Channel 9 at 8).

Martin (CC). Martin's plumber drops dead in his apartment (Channel 5, 8:30).

Room for Two (CC). Edie is afraid to undergo surgery, and Jill deals with an aggressive producer (Channel 7, 8:30).

The Heights (CC). J.T. confronts his father about their painful past (Channel 5 at 9).

Homefront (CC). Ginger becomes a personality at a radio station (Channel 7 at 9).

Street Stories (CC). The story of a Colorado woman looking for the truth behind her brother's plane crash during the Persian Gulf War (Channel 9 at 9).

PrimeTime Live (CC). With a report on car repair fraud (Channel 7 at 10).

Middle Ages (CC). Walter sees green when his wife pulls up on the back of a co-worker's motorcycle (Channel 9 at 10).

Star Trek: The Next Generation (CC) (R). Riker is accused of murder (Channel 20 at 10).

Late Night

The Arsenio Hall Show (CC). With Raquel Welch, Clint Black and Dr. Ruth Westheimer (Channel 9, 11:30).

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With Billy Crystal and Kathryn Harold (Channel 4, 11:35).

Late Night With David Letterman. With comedian Bill Connelly (Channel 4, 12:35 a.m.).

Friday Morning

Today (CC). With Alexander Haig and actor Daniel Day-Lewis (Channel 4 at 7).

Good Morning America (CC). Jimmy Connors and Martina Navratilova preview their match (Channel 7 at 7).

CBS This Morning (CC). With Tim Robbins and Gore Vidal of "Bob Roberts" (Channel 9 at 7).

THE WASHINGTON POST

Congress Says Yea to Metro, Nay to NSF

Subway System Given \$170 Million; Planned Foundation Move to Ballston Rebuffed

By Charles W. Hall
and Santiago O'Donnell
Washington Post Staff Writers

Congress, acting on local money matters as it moves toward adjournment, voted funds for Metro construction yesterday but has turned down an appropriation for the National Science Foundation's planned move to a new headquarters in the Ballston section of Arlington.

The \$170 million appropriation for Metro keeps alive the possibility that the planned 103-mile subway system will be completed by 2001.

Denial of funds for the foundation move created the possibility that the federal government will pay millions of dollars for an empty building leased for the agency in Ballston. However, two Northern Virginia congressmen said they expect that the move will still take place.

The Metro appropriation, approved by a House-Senate conference, fell short of Metro's request for \$182 million, which had administration and Senate support. But it surpassed the \$165 million approved by the House for fiscal 1993.

Metro sought the \$182 million

for a cost-saving "fast-track" schedule that calls for completing the subway's remaining 13.5 miles and nine stations by 2001.

"We are pleased with Capitol Hill and grateful for the support and assistance of the local congressional delegation," a Metro spokeswoman said. The appropriations "will help us with our fast-track schedule," she said.

"I think \$170 million was the best we could do in light of the cuts coming into the transportation bill," said John Barry, legislative director for Rep. Steny H. Hoyer (D-Md). "This action does not preclude us from getting supplemental funds next year."

The action on the National Science Foundation move by a House-Senate conference committee late Tuesday night sparked sharp disagreement over whether Congress had in fact killed the move. Foundation officials oppose the move, saying they must remain in Washington to fulfill their mission.

Rep. James P. Moran (D-Va.) said he was assured by congressional colleagues yesterday that the foundation will move to Ballston, even though the \$16 million that

foundation officials said was needed for the move was turned down.

"It's very important for Northern Virginia, and I will commit that NSF will relocate to Ballston, period," Moran said. "NSF will just have to eat the moving cost. I don't think they have any alternative." A spokesman for Rep. Frank R. Wolf (R-Va.) said he also expected the move to proceed.

Raymond Bye, a spokesman for the foundation, said Congress killed the move.

"The Office of Management and Budget told the House-Senate committee that if this funding were not restored, the move to Ballston would be terminated," Bye said. He added that he expected that another agency would be found to occupy the 450,000-square-foot building in Ballston, which is scheduled to open early next year.

Regardless of whether the building is occupied, the federal government is obligated to pay \$13.5 million annually for it on a 20-year lease.

The move surprised and angered Arlington officials and Ballston business leaders, who helped lobby to land the prestigious agency during

an intense competition between Maryland's and Virginia's congressional delegations.

House and Senate leaders deleted funding for the moving costs this summer, but prospects for restoring the funding appeared to brighten on Friday, when a General Accounting Office study said the move to Ballston would save up to \$81 million in leasing costs.

The study said the move would add only a few minutes in travel time to the White House over another District of Columbia site that had been considered.

Bye said foundation officials need to be near the White House to carry out their mission: to provide support for science and engineering research and education.

He also said foundation leaders had repeatedly urged the General Services Administration not to sign the lease for the Ballston building, saying they did not expect to receive the necessary moving money from Congress.

Jim Handley, GSA's regional administrator, said GSA officials signed the lease only after receiving agreement from the foundation director at the time to move to Ballston.

Senate Sweetens Tax Bill With Cut in Health Costs

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 23 — Burdened by growing election-year partisanship over taxes, the Senate moved today to make it more difficult for President Bush to kill a \$31 billion tax bill by passing an attractive measure cutting health care costs.

April's rioting in Los Angeles gave impetus to the legislation, which would include a series of incentives for businesses to invest in impoverished urban neighborhoods, creating what are known as enterprise zones. But supporters of the measure said its prospects have been damaged since it was last considered on the Senate floor nearly two months ago. President Bush, trying hard to reinvigorate his sagging re-election campaign, has hardened his anti-tax position.

In a surprise development, Senators Lloyd Bentsen, Democrat of Texas, and Dave Durenberger, Republican of Minnesota, introduced an

amendment today that would increase tax deductibility for health insurance costs for the self-employed from 25 percent to 100 percent. It would limit yearly insurance premium increases for health plans offered by small employers to 5 percent above national health cost trends.

The amendment, passed by a voice vote, would also prohibit all group health insurance and self-insured employer plans from excluding coverage for pre-existing conditions for more than six months.

The measure dovetails with health proposals by President Bush to tinker with the current medical insurance system rather than moving toward a national health insurance plan extending benefits to more than 30 million people who are not covered.

Senator Jay Rockefeller, Democrat of West Virginia and a leader on health care reform, said: "This is an advance, but I need to say we have an enormous amount left to do. There are now almost half a million preg-

Continued on Page D3

Senate Sweetens Tax Bill With Cut in Health-Care Costs

Continued From First Business Page

nant women out there without insurance. I look forward to coming back next year under President Clinton to reach universality of health care and cost containment."

Although they did not voice their concerns publicly, some liberals were unhappy about the limitations of a proposal that will not cover the country's poor. A senior aide to a Senator who prefers a more sweeping approach said, "This is a drop in the bucket."

Hot Election Issue

With health insurance costs rising out of the reach of millions, health care is a hot election issue. Health care costs consume 13 percent of the gross national product, a share pro-

Self-employed could deduct all their premiums.

jected by health care experts to increase to almost 17 percent by the end of the decade.

But even though the amendment passed tonight, it will not insure that the tax bill will be enacted.

Senator Bob Packwood of Oregon, the ranking Republican on the Finance Committee, joined Democrats today in criticizing Mr. Bush for his unwillingness to say which tax provisions in the bill he can support, and which he cannot. Noting that several measures, like one erasing deduct-

ibility of country club dues, could be construed as tax increases, Mr. Packwood openly wondered if they were acceptable to the White House, or whether they would be veto bait.

"There is an outside possibility this is a futile exercise," he grumbled, "because at the end, we may have done something the President will not accept."

The White House has said it would like to support the legislation but that it cannot agree to any major tax increases.

New I.R.A. Provision

The bill is a potpourri of measures, including a repeal of luxury taxes on jewelry, furs and yachts, creation of new individual retirement accounts, and a variety of tax benefits for businesses that invest in 125 urban and rural enterprise zones around the

country. Taking up amendments one by one in what was expected to be only the first of several days of debate, the lawmakers approved by voice vote a proposal by Senator Bob Dole, Republican of Kansas, and Mr. Rockefeller to extend for eight months a tax credit for the extraction of natural gas from difficult geological formations like tight sands and shale.

The measure, intended to benefit the Appalachian region, Kansas, and the San Juan basin of New Mexico and Colorado, will be paid for by shortening extensions on several other expiring tax credits from 18 months to 15 months, including one for low-income housing. It passed, after a motion to table it was defeated 57 to 41.

Senate leaders want to complete work on the bill before the end of the weekend. But first the Senate must consider an amendment offered by

Mr. Dole, the Republican Senate leader, striking provisions that would make permanent two tax increases on the wealthy that were incorporated as temporary measures in the 1990 budget agreement that President Bush is now calling a mistake. The two measures, phasing out personal exemptions and limiting itemized deductions for wealthy citizens, are now set to expire by 1996.

Making the increases permanent is designed to pay for revenue shortfalls created by an expansion of I.R.A. benefits. Mr. Bentsen, chairman of the Finance Committee, would like to establish a new type of I.R.A. in which money that has stayed in accounts for five years could be withdrawn tax-free.

The House has passed a more modest tax bill, which includes fewer enterprise zones and some capital gains tax breaks for business executives investing in disadvantaged areas.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

The New York Times

BUSH SAYS CLINTON IMPERILS BUSINESS

Democrats Accuse President
of Squandering Arms Cuts

By MICHAEL WINES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 23 — President Bush continued his political assault on Gov. Bill Clinton today, using his first television attack ad and two pointed speeches to broaden his profile of Mr. Clinton as a tax-and-spend liberal.

Mr. Bush said at a morning rally in Greensboro, N.C., that Mr. Clinton's plans for higher business taxes would wipe out scores of thousands of jobs in that state alone and millions of businesses nationwide. Later, at Pennsylvania State University, he told a roaring crowd of students that his rival was "taxing everything he can get his hands on" as Arkansas' Governor in the 1970's and 1980's.

By contrast, Mr. Bush proposed in Greensboro to cut small-business taxes by \$20 billion in a second term, something he said would create new businesses and jobs in "the backbone of the economy."

Another Debate Canceled

By Administration estimates, that brought to \$165 billion over five years the total of tax cuts that Mr. Bush has pledged to seek since his campaign began. [Page A22.]

Criss-crossing Georgia by bus, Mr. Clinton and his running mate, Senator Al Gore of Tennessee, responded by attacking Mr. Bush's economic record in speeches and in a new commercial. The Clinton campaign again accused the President of avoiding confrontation when organizers of a debate set for Tuesday in Louisville canceled it today

Continued on Page A22, Column 4

The Overview

Bush Urges Cut in Small-Business Taxes

Continued From Page A1

over Mr. Bush's objection to the format.

In Columbus, Ga., Mr. Clinton accused Mr. Bush of squandering billions of dollars in military spending cuts made possible by the collapse of communism.

'Got It Upside Down'

He said Mr. Bush has poured that money "into a looming budget deficit to pay for the S. & L. crisis and ballooning health-care costs." And Mr. Gore lambasted Mr. Bush for what he called "the worst economic performance since the Great Depression."

"Unemployment under Bush and Quayle is up," he said. "New housing starts are down. Poverty is up. Personal income is down. Bankruptcies are up. Consumer confidence is down. Everything that should be down is up; everything that should be up is down. They've got it upside down. We want to turn it right-side up."

Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton have traded punches before. But today's campaigning seemed to mark the full emergence of the President's own negative political strategy, weeks after the Clinton campaign began a daily pounding of Mr. Bush's performance as President.

A senior Bush campaign official said the race was moving toward a new stage in which the President, having in his advisers' view set out a plausible economic policy and rebuilt some lost credibility, would start reminding voters of Mr. Clinton's liabilities.

"A big chunk of his lead is pretty soft — over a third of it — and they know it," said the official, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

Attacking on Fast-Forward

Moving to claim that chunk, Mr. Bush's advisers summoned reporters to the Washington campaign headquarters today to view a 30-second commercial that combines humor with a biting attack on Mr. Clinton's taxation record as Arkansas governor.

The advertisement intersperses speeded-up film clips of Mr. Clinton signing legislation with a recitation of his state tax increases on groceries, beer, mobile homes, consumer goods, tourism and cable television. It concludes by noting that Mr. Clinton wants to raise Federal spending by \$220 billion in the next fiscal year, and asks: "Guess where he'll get the money?"

The Bush campaign said the commercial went on the air today but declined to say where it had bought broadcast time.

Campaign officials made it clear that the commercial is but the first of many negative advertisements. "The fact is, Bill Clinton has been a big taxer in Arkansas," the campaign's senior political adviser, Charlie Black, said.

"We're simply raising the legitimate point that you have to judge what's likely to happen with taxes on his record."

The Clinton campaign's communications director, George Stephanopoulos, called the commercial misleading. "It's interesting to see George Bush talking about spending when he is on this pander parade," Mr. Stephanopoulos said, referring to Mr. Bush's recent trips around the nation to distribute Federal largess like disaster relief and contracts to build aircraft.

He added: "It's hard to imagine anybody with less credibility on taxes than George Bush, a man who says 'read my lips' about taxes. It's time to reach for your wallet and check the facts."

Heckling Over Debate

By some measures, it was one of Mr. Bush's better days, with sharp speeches and lively crowds, while Mr. Clinton drew subdued audiences. But the President was dogged by questions about his refusal to debate Mr. Clinton until both campaigns have negotiated a format and locales. Mr. Clinton has agreed to a series of debates proposed by an independent, bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates.

That group today scrapped plans for a first debate, set for this Tuesday in Louisville, because Mr. Bush had not agreed to the format. Last week, a debate scheduled to take place in Michigan earlier this week was canceled for the same reason.

At a rally in State College, Pa., Mr. Bush was loudly heckled on the matter. "I want a debate," he asserted, "over issues, and an argument over ideas, and I will stand on my record. And I won't let that Arkansas Governor run away from his record either."

The Clinton campaign chairman, Mickey Kantor, said his candidate would be in Louisville on Tuesday whether or not Mr. Bush showed up. "We keep accepting," he said. "They keep rejecting. They are missing in action."

On the road in North Carolina, Mr. Bush accused Mr. Clinton of supporting programs that would tax millions of small businesses into bankruptcy.

Mr. Bush claimed that local businesses would be ruined by Mr. Clinton's tax proposals, including \$150 billion in new personal and corporate income taxes, a 1.5 percent tax on payrolls and a health care plan that would require another 7 percent payroll tax.

"If you're like the typical small business, you operate with a profit margin of about 2 percent," Mr. Bush said. "His payroll taxes alone amount to 4 percent to 5 percent of your operating expenses. That's your profit margin, and then some. So here's your choice: you can board up the windows or you can get out the pink slips."

Mr. Bush unveiled his own business plan, combining tax and policy changes costing \$28.1 billion over five years.

The plan mixed new proposals with some that have been languishing for months in Congress.

Passage Unlikely

Bush aides said legislation implementing the program had not been drafted. Nor was it especially likely that a Democrat-dominated Congress would pass the program, they conceded.

Mr. Clinton, meanwhile, unleashed another negative television advertisement in Mr. Bush's adopted home state, Texas. Like earlier ones, it focuses on the high unemployment rate, using a close-up shot of Mr. Bush's lips as background for the complaint: "Bush promised 30 million jobs in eight years. He's 29 million short."

It concludes by asking, "Can Texans really afford four more years of this?"

Mr. Clinton said today that his campaign "is competitive all across the South, and we intend to press them" through the fall. Today's bus trip aimed to calm Georgians' fears that Mr. Clinton's efforts to avoid the Vietnam-era draft, and his advocacy of sizable military spending cuts, would not result in harm to a state of big military bases, sprawling defense plants and conservative, patriotic servicemen and women.

Support From Nunn

Standing on stages draped in flags, Mr. Clinton supported both the defense establishment and retraining programs for workers displaced by Pentagon cuts. For insurance, he brought along Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia, chairman of the Armed Services Committee.

Mr. Nunn said Mr. Clinton would be "a Commander in Chief we can trust," and likened him to Thomas Jefferson. "You've been accused of everything that Thomas Jefferson was accused of, except being raised on cornbread," Mr. Nunn said. "And I'm waiting for that one, because that's going to help us right here in the South."

With an advertising film crew along to record the proceedings, Mr. Clinton was more sober and substantive than usual, beginning his day with a reiteration of his defense policy for an invited audience.

He and Senator Gore missed few chances to appeal to regional pride. "I'm glad to be in a place where I don't have an accent today," Mr. Clinton said. "A place where a moon pie is something to eat, a mudcat is someone who plays baseball, a promise is something you keep and a President who cares about ordinary people." The Mudcats are a local baseball team.

Everything you need to know for your business day is in Business Day. The New York Times

The New York Times

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

THE AD CAMPAIGN

Bush: Getting Tough With a Touch of Humor

The Bush campaign yesterday began broadcasting its first attack commercial of the general election campaign. It is also the first advertisement of the season that uses humor to press its point. Bush aides would not say how often the 30-second ad would be shown but said it was the first that would be seen only in local markets and not on the national networks.

ON THE SCREEN Opens like a travelogue, with a "Welcome to Arkansas" road sign filmed from a moving car. In fast forward, the camera intersperses shots of the Arkansas Governor signing bills that raised taxes and footage illustrating the tax increase: a cash register for a sales tax, a beer being poured for a beer tax, Mr. Clinton playing the saxophone on television for a cable television tax. The commercial ends with another fast-motion signing ceremony and these words in white on a black background: "Guess where he'll get the money?"

TELEVISION SCRIPT Announcer: "To pay for his increased spending in Arkansas, Bill Clinton raised state taxes. And not just on the rich. He increased the sales tax by 33 percent. Imposed a mobile home tax. Increased the beer tax. He assessed a tourism tax. Created a cable TV tax. Supported a tax on groceries.

"And now, if elected President, Bill Clinton has promised to increase Government spending — \$220 billion.

"Guess where he'll get the money?"
Bluegrass music plays in the background.

ACCURACY The figures cited are accurate but not necessarily in context. Mr. Clinton has proposed

Guess where he'll
get the money?

spending \$220 billion. But the ad fails to mention that the Governor has also proposed spending cuts that would at least partly offset those increases. It is also true that Mr. Clinton has increased the sales tax by 33 percent, to 4½ cents from 3 cents over his tenure as Governor. But the Clinton campaign contends that the state and local tax burden in Arkansas as a percentage of personal income has declined under Mr. Clinton.

SCORECARD Facing a gap in the polls, the weeks before Election Day dwindling, and an attack ad earlier this week from Mr. Clinton, the Bush campaign saw little choice but to go on the offensive. The ad clearly seeks to portray Mr. Clinton as another tax-and-spend liberal from a tax-and-spend state.

Humor softens the tone of a tough, hard-hitting ad and protects Mr. Bush from looking as if he jumped right to the gutter. Attacked relentlessly by the Democrats on the economy, the Bush campaign is trying to turn this critical issue on Mr. Clinton.

Clinton: For Texans Only

The Clinton campaign yesterday began broadcasting a 30-second commercial in Texas that blames President Bush for lost jobs in the energy industry. The campaign would not divulge the locations or frequency of the broadcasts.

ON THE SCREEN As a tick-tock sound is heard in the background, the word "alert" in red type flashes on the screen. The camera zooms in on a blurry black-and-white photograph of Mr. Bush's lips. Words matching the announcer's script appear typed on the screen over the President's face.

TELEVISION SCRIPT Mr. Bush speaking: "Read my lips."

Announcer: "Another broken promise from George Bush. Bush promised 30 million jobs in eight years. He's 20 million short. In Texas, we've lost over

160,000 jobs in the energy industry alone. Mr. Bush, you said you'd do anything to save your own job. But you've done nothing to save ours.

"Can Texans really afford four more years of this?"

ACCURACY The figures themselves are accurate. But the loss of oil industry-related jobs is generally considered less the fault of the Reagan and Bush Administrations than of the decline in world oil prices over the past decade.

SCORECARD The ad seeks to tweak Mr. Bush in his adopted home state on what has become an overriding issue in the race. Mr. Clinton seeks to protect himself from being perceived as waging too harsh an attack because the commercial uses the President himself making the infamous pledge.

RICHARD L. BERKE

The New York Times

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

VOTE IS SET TODAY ON VETO BY BUSH

Senate Will Consider Override to Enact Bill Establishing Unpaid Family Leave

By MICHAEL WINES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 23 — Reacting to President Bush's late-night veto of family-leave legislation, Democratic leaders in the Senate today scheduled an override vote on the politically contentious bill for Thursday.

The legislation would require larger companies to grant at least 12 weeks of unpaid leave to any employee to deal with a birth or adoption or family emergencies like a parent's or spouse's sickness.

Democrats criticized Mr. Bush's veto as a betrayal of the family values theme the Republican ticket has been espousing in the Presidential campaign. Congressional Republicans, on the other hand, went on the defensive by pressing for the alternative Mr. Bush has proposed: a tax credit for employers who let workers have unpaid time off in family emergencies.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, said the veto would be overridden "if enough Republican members of Congress support the needs of working parents struggling to deal with their dual responsibility to their families and their jobs."

Mr. Bush has yet to lose a veto battle with the Democrats who control Congress, and there is little suggestion that this legislation, which was passed earlier this month by vote of 241 to 161 that is well short of the two-thirds needed to override a veto, would break that pattern. The bill passed the Senate on a voice vote in August.

Late-Night Timing

The battle over the legislation is far more intense in the world of Presidential politics than it is in Congress, and the timing of Mr. Bush's veto on Tuesday night — hours after the network television news programs had been broadcast — suggested that the White House was seeking as little publicity for its action as possible.

In a written statement issued about 9 P.M. Tuesday night, near the end of 15 hours of campaigning, Mr. Bush said he supported the concept of family leave but was rejecting the legislation because the financial burden it would impose on businesses would further dampen the growth of the economy and new jobs.

Today, Mr. Bush worked a defense of his veto into a campaign day devoted to depicting his opponent, Gov. Bill Clinton, as an advocate of governmental social engineering programs that hurt business. Mr. Bush said he supported the concept of businesses giving unpaid leave to workers who needed time off for medical reasons or the birth of a child, but added: "I'm not going to do what the liberal Congress wants me to do, slap another mandate on business's back. I am not going to do that."

He added, "I believe in family leave, and I believe our approach to facilitate family leave through tax credits is a far better way than putting new mandates on a guy who is struggling to make ends meet."

Little Chance of Action Soon

Mr. Bush formulated his tax credit proposal soon after the House passed the Democratic measure, and White House officials have acknowledged that there was little chance it would receive any real consideration, much less actual passage, before Election Day.

When the President vetoed a family-leave measure in 1990, saying he opposed the idea of requiring businesses to provide leaves, he did not offer an alternative bill.

The timing of the veto announcement was criticized by Mr. Clinton on Tuesday night, and he attacked the veto again today on a campaign bus tour in Georgia, saying: "Seventy-two countries have a family- and medical-leave act. We're being told by this President we can't. I was taught to believe that America was the we-can country."

The bill passed by Congress is broadly similar to the one Mr. Bush vetoed in 1990. It requires companies with 50 or more workers to grant employees unpaid leave to care for a sick child, parent or spouse, or for their own medical needs, like pregnancy, as well as requiring that employees' health insurance remain in force during such a leave.

It would not apply to employees who work fewer than 25 hours a week and would allow the exclusion of workers in the top 10 percent of the pay scale. Those restrictions limit the bill's coverage mostly to the largest employers, about 5 percent of companies, employing roughly half of the nation's workers.

Bush's Argument

Mr. Bush said last week in New Jersey that he believed family leave was an idea whose time was nigh. But he contended that most large companies already offered family leave to their workers and that the legislation would place an undue regulatory burden on those that did not. That would cost money, slow employment growth and eventually hurt some families the bill sought to help, he said then.

He also argued that the legislation might lead companies to break the law by practicing job discrimination against women, even though the legislation applies equally to men and to women.

"Think of the impact mandated family leave has on hiring decisions," he told a meeting of A.T. & T. employees and women service organizations on Friday. "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 care for a child. He won't leave to care for his family. And this is illegal, and we must enforce the law. But mandated family leave could encourage this subtle kind of discrimination."

Bush and Bounty

Opening the Federal Coffers for Votes, And the Certain (but Unspoken) Costs

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 23 — Today, President Bush offered a \$20 billion tax break to small businesses. Last week, it was \$500 million a year to companies that give workers time off in family emergencies. Before that, it was a 1 percentage point across-the-board reduction in tax rates for individuals.

And these are just the tax cuts Mr. Bush has proposed since the White House published its mid-year budget review in July. All told, the tax breaks he has put forth in his election campaign would cost the Government about \$165 billion in lost revenue over the next five years.

That does not count the tax credits and deductions Mr. Bush would allow so that people could get medical insurance, a cost that could easily reach \$20 billion a year. Nor does it count the tens of billions more he says he would spend for job training and for tuition payments for students in private schools.

It is not unusual for Presidential candidates to make generous promises as the election approaches. But Mr. Bush does so in the same breath that he

tax increases. He says merely that his tax cuts would be balanced by spending reductions; he almost never says which ones. He did not say today, for example, how the country could afford \$20 billion in tax relief for small businesses.

A senior White House official said the new tax proposal would be more than offset by \$132 billion in spending cuts that Mr. Bush has recommended over the years and that have been rejected by Congress.

Cut What? and Where?

There are several problems with that figure:

The first is that the White House and the Bush campaign have no list of programs that are included in the \$132 billion total. Only \$72 billion of the cuts are in the budget for the next fiscal year, of which \$38 billion results from an accounting gimmick.

The second problem is that Mr. Bush no longer advocates some cuts he favored early in his Administration that are presumably included in the \$132 billion. For example, two years ago, he recommended cutting price-support payments to farmers by \$20 billion. Congress approved about \$15 billion, but less than \$1 billion of the remaining cuts are included in next year's budget.

Finally, and perhaps most important, the President's staff uses the same \$132 billion figure to show how they would pay for tax cuts, how they would reduce the budget deficit and how they would finance such election-year plums as the reconstruction of Homestead Air Force Base in South Florida.

But this is not the full extent of Mr. Bush's budgetary sleight of hand. He said he favors putting a cap on all mandatory spending programs except Social Security so they could rise no more than the rate of inflation and the rate of increase in the eligible population. Such a cap, he said, would save the Government \$294 billion over the next five years.

Shrinking Mandatory Programs

Mandatory programs, also called entitlements, are those like Medicare, Medicaid, veterans benefits, food stamps and agricultural price supports that pay benefits automatically to everyone who is eligible. They make up about three-fifths of the Federal budget, and almost all economists think that they somehow should be reined in.

But here is the rub with Mr. Bush's

Promises of greater benefits, and yet no new financial pain.

advocates a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget and at a time when the Federal deficit is about \$330 billion, the highest ever.

Clinton Promises, Too

Mr. Bush's Democratic opponent, Gov. Bill Clinton, also makes big promises: \$20 billion a year for public works, medical care for all, an expanded student loan program, tax cuts for the middle class, continued spending on popular weapons programs. And some of the Governor's arithmetic is almost as shaky as Mr. Bush's. But Mr. Clinton does talk about both the specific taxes he could raise and much deeper reductions in military spending than the President wants.

And Mr. Clinton does not promise to balance the budget, only to cut the deficit in half over four years.

Mr. Bush, of course, is sworn against



President Bush received a wet but enthusiastic welcome from supporters yesterday as he arrived for a campaign visit to Greensboro, N.C.

plan: He offers no clue how it would work, nothing that would give any voter any indication that a favored benefit might be sliced.

Mr. Bush has never said, for example, whether the cap would apply to the total of all mandatory programs or to each individually. If it is the total he is talking about, then the unanswered question is, "Which programs would be permitted to grow and which ones would shrink?" If each program would be individually capped, who would become ineligible and whose benefits would be reduced? Would the Government simply stop writing checks part way through the year? Mr. Bush never says.

Medicare and Medicaid, by far the largest mandatory programs besides Social Security, have been growing at about 13 percent a year, more than

three times the rate of inflation. Does Mr. Bush have some plan he has not announced to lower medical costs? Or would the elderly and the poor find that some of their medical bills were not covered?

No Time for Bad News

Mr. Clinton's accounting is also open to question. His pledge to cut the budget deficit in half over the next four years is based largely on the optimistic assumption that the economy will grow somewhat faster than Congressional authorities and most private economists anticipate. A promise to collect more taxes from foreign corporations based in the United States is probably more smoke than substance. And promises to save billions by cutting administrative costs throughout the Government and improving manage-

ment of the savings and loan bailout are probably not realistic.

Like most other politicians, Mr. Clinton almost never delivers bad news. In the Middle West, he says he will continue generous farm subsidies. In Florida, he promises no cuts in Social Security or Medicare. And when he arrives in a community where weapons systems are built, he becomes outright hawkish.

He tells voters in Michigan and Ohio, for instance, that he would continue to build the M1-A1 tank. He tells those in Fort Worth that he supports continued production of the V-22 Osprey, the troubled craft that takes off like a helicopter and flies like an airplane. And he says in Connecticut that he supports building the Seawolf nuclear submarine.

The biggest gap in Mr. Clinton's calculations involves medical insurance.

He calls medical care "a right, not a privilege," and he promises an insurance package that includes coverage for nursing-home care and prescription drugs for every American.

Mr. Clinton says the price to the Government, perhaps \$30 billion or \$40 billion a year, would be offset by controlling medical costs, but he has not offered a fully developed cost-control plan. His staff says that if the health-care plan proved to be too expensive, it might have to be phased in over several years, a caveat that Mr. Clinton himself does not make in his stump speeches.

But that said, Mr. Clinton has put out the most complete tax and spending figures of any recent Presidential challenger. If they do not add up, they are not nearly so far off as President Bush's.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

In Their Own Words

PRESIDENT BUSH

In a speech yesterday at Penn State University in University Park, Pa.

“And, yes, I want a debate. I want a debate over issues and an argument over ideas, and I will stand on my record, and I won't let that Arkansas Governor run away from his record, either.

You know, I think the American people have a right to know what they're buying into because, remember, if you buy what candidate Clinton is selling, there's no refund, there's no rebate. Actually it's more like a permanent payment plan, and I don't think we need that for the United States of America.

On one issue, and I think it's the fundamental issue in this campaign, my opponent and I have just agreed to disagree. It's a question of how our economy grows and how our country works, and it's kind of like 'Jeopardy.' It all comes down to how you ask the question. And my opponent asks, what makes the economy grow? And his answer, and look at his program, is government planners and projects and programs.

And I ask, who makes this country grow? And my answer is you, the individual working men and women, building and buying a freedom of the market. ”

GOV. BILL CLINTON

In a speech yesterday in Columbus, Ga.

“There are people like that all over the world who are struggling to develop the capacity to have nuclear technology; to be able to drop chemical weapons; to be able to drop biological weapons on their people, on other people.

We cannot risk that happening. So there are significant challenges to us in the world we are living in. What does that mean? I conclude that it means we need not so many people in uniform as we used to have. We need not so many people in Europe as we used to have, because the Europeans don't face the imminent threat of a large Soviet Army marching across Eastern Europe into Western Europe. We need not so much money spent on the space-based portion of 'Star Wars,' but we do need to focus on greater training and mobility of our forces, on land, in the air and on the sea; and on maintaining the enormous technological lead we have in the development of both tactical defenses and defensive weapons.

Which means we have to maintain a strong infrastructure of technology in this country. And we have to continue to train, equip, and work with our military forces at a smaller level to make sure they are still the strongest, the best, and now the most mobile in the world, hopefully being able always to be used in cooperation with our allies.

That is the defense plan I have put forward to the American people in this election. It will require us to spend less money that we are now spending. But I think it will give us a stronger national defense than Mr. Bush's proposed budget. ”

VICE PRESIDENT DAN QUAYLE

In a speech at a rally yesterday in Fort Worth, Tex.

“As the case of military service makes most clear, these differing positions are, in fact, more than mere flip-flops. They reflect a fundamental element of Governor Clinton's character: the triumph of expediency over principle, of convenience over truth. Governor Clinton says he is the candidate of change, but he truly is the changing candidate.

Don't get me wrong. If you are in public life, sooner or later some variation will creep into the record. Sometimes, leaders genuinely change their minds or they may alter course in the best interest of the nation. It's one thing to take a political risk in the hope of helping your country. But it's another matter to change your position to avoid political risk in the hope of helping yourself.

One lesson we've learned over the past two centuries is the need for strong character in our Presidents. This country has prevailed in rough times when our leaders have adhered firmly to principle and truth. But when our Presidents have vacillated or lied or attempted to be all things to all people, then we have lost national confidence and steered toward crisis. ”

The New York Times

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

Foreign Affairs

LESLIE H. GELB

Mr. Bush, Statesman . . .

George Bush was not at a political rally in Pittsburgh or San Diego Monday when he recalled his military career, backhandedly rebuking Bill Clinton for failing to serve, and then proposed revamping U.S. foreign aid to create 40,000 new U.S. jobs. No, he was plugging his own campaign in New York — in a solemn speech before the U.N. General Assembly, of all places.

Mr. Bush's odd sense of place should surprise no one. For a year and a half now, almost everything he has done or not done abroad has been in direct service of his own political ambitions at home.

The Foreign Policy President has turned into the grandest Domestic Politics President on record, far outstripping his predecessors in subordinating national interests to personal political interests. At times this practice has been so blatant and so dismaying that even his own aides have been too embarrassed to deny it.

General Schwarzkopf, who obviously likes Mr. Bush, says as much in his new book about the Iraq war. The general maintains that unnamed White House officials ended the rout of Iraqi forces at 100 hours because they "really knew how to package an historic event." So Saddam Hussein — Mr. Bush's Hitler — was allowed to slip off the hook at least in part to make the President look good.

George Bush canceled a long-planned visit to Japan last December after polls showed the public thought he was spending too much time on foreign affairs. Then, to salve Tokyo's hurt, he rescheduled the trip.

But against all State Department

. . . or merely Mr. Politics?

advice he brought along the heads of the Big Three auto manufacturers, who largely created the gigantic trade deficit with Japan, so he could pretend to be battling the Japanese for American jobs. Mr. Bush's closest aides flinched privately over the spectacle of the President bashing on bended knee.

The Foreign Policy President dawdled through six winter months over aid to the ex-Soviet Union. Few Americans wanted or expected him to do much, because the principal burden of reform must rest with the Russians themselves. But he did nothing, for fear of being accused of squandering dollars on foreigners.

That is, he did nothing of consequence until his aides got word of an impending Clinton aid proposal. They frantically stitched together a Bush plan, and the President unceremoniously ran to the cameras an hour ahead of Mr. Clinton — and, his aides admitted, without even knowing the cost to the American taxpayer.

Still stymied by presumed public unhappiness with foreign adventures, Mr. Bush tried to ignore the Serbian slaughter of Bosnian Muslims. He hid behind the patently phony argument that any strong action would quickly land the U.S. in a Vietnam-style quagmire. Only recently did he begin to take the actions he spent months dis-

missing. By then, through his fearful inaction, he had sacrificed Bosnian lives and American leadership.

With little political incentive to please American blacks, Mr. Bush ignored refugees and starvation in Haiti and Somalia. In so doing, he forfeited America's moral leadership. For the first time since 1945, America has no moral basis for urging humanitarianism on others, and cannot credibly implore Europeans to care for refugees from Yugoslavia and Romania.

For no reason other than to gain votes in Texas, where F-16 fighters are produced, Mr. Bush recently rushed to sell the aircraft to Taiwan. His decision violated a solemn agreement with China — thereby diminishing America's ability to dissuade others from making questionable arms sales.

Only in the Mideast did Mr. Bush retain the mantle of statesmanship that he had earned by organizing Desert Storm, escorting the Soviet Union away from Communism and helping Germany to unite. By pressing Israel to stop West Bank settlements, he lost votes at home. But by bringing about Arab-Israeli talks he gained the respect of all — until he yanked a reluctant James Baker, the force behind the talks, out of the State Department and into the Presidential campaign.

All Presidents play politics with foreign policy in election years. But to keep his office Mr. Bush has, to an unprecedented degree, stroked the lesser instincts of Americans — and squandered America's credibility, moral leadership and power. □

An Unwed Mother for Quayle

By Maggie Gallagher

Like Murphy Brown, I am a journalist and an unwed mother. After 10 years as an unwed mother and six years of writing about family issues, I would like to share my personal recipe for single motherhood. It is too late for Murphy Brown, but, after all, she's only a fictional character who doesn't matter so much.

But it may not be too late for the many young professional women I interview who are actively contemplating raising children outside of marriage.

If you're thinking of unwed motherhood, it helps to:

1. Have relatively affluent parents who got and stayed married themselves. That way you can rely on their marriage, rather than your own, to give your child the emotional and financial emergency support system he or she needs.

2. Be able to choose a profession with flexible hours that allows you to take time out and work from home, and be sure to get an Ivy League degree first.

3. (This one is especially tricky.) Find a boss who doesn't mind if you bring a sick 4-year-old and his dinosaur



Cathy Hull

Maggie Gallagher, a senior fellow at the Center for Social Thought, is author of the forthcoming book, "The Abolition of Marriage."

saurus to the office, which will happen regularly.

4. Accept that, even if you make a good living, you are going to have far less money than anyone you know —

except other single mothers.

5. Expect to give up all the advantages of single life — freedom, romance, travel — and receive none of the advantages of marriage — emo-

tional, logistical and financial support.

6. Prepare for the nights when your child cries himself to sleep in your arms, wondering why his father doesn't love him. (If your child is allowed to express his real feelings, there will be many such occasions.)

In other words, even if you are lucky enough to find yourself in the most privileged circumstances, unwed motherhood is a bad bargain,

Children need a father. I should know.

whether planned or unplanned. When Glamour magazine recently asked its readers to describe "the highs and lows" of being single moms by choice, fully half expressed serious regrets. It is an even worse bargain for the children.

Dan Quayle was right on target when he said that marriage is the best social program ever invented for the protection of children.

The evidence on this is now overwhelming. (To cite only one of many statistics that back up this claim, single mothers are six times more likely to be poor than married mothers are.)

As impressive as the body of evidence is, it doesn't capture the true costs of the collapse of marriage. Even the many children in single-parent households who grow up with all the material accouterments of a middle-class family are being deprived of one very precious and irreplaceable thing: a father.

And, as Murphy would find out if she were a real person and not a Hollywood fantasy, children not only need a father, they long for one, irrationally, with all the undiluted strength of a child's hopeful heart. To raise one's own child without a father may, at times, be a painful and tragic necessity, but it should never be just another life-style option.

Before we can address the real problems single mothers and their children face, we must admit that there is a problem.

We have to stop pretending that all choices are equally good — that single motherhood is just an alternative family form and that fathers are just another new disposable item in the nursery. □

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992



Reuters

Alan Greenspan, left, chairman of the Federal Reserve, talking yesterday with Nicholas F. Brady, Secretary of the Treasury, in Washington.

Administration Admits Pressuring Greenspan

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 23 — Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady pressured the Federal Reserve chairman, Alan Greenspan, to achieve a certain amount of economic growth shortly before Mr. Greenspan's renomination and thought he had received a commitment, Administration officials said today. But the officials denied that the Fed chairman had agreed to change monetary policy at Mr. Brady's behest.

Administration officials said today that in meetings in July 1991, shortly before Mr. Greenspan was renominated, Mr. Brady told the Fed chairman that he hoped the Fed would help achieve 3 percent growth in 1992. The meetings came just before President Bush renominated Mr. Greenspan to a second four-year term as chairman.

Joseph R. Coyne, a Federal Reserve spokesman, said today, "As far as extracting a commitment to achieve a certain level of economic growth, that's nonsense."

A Treasury official said, "It's not unusual for the Treasury Secretary and the chairman to talk about the growth potential of the U.S. economy."

A Question of Propriety

Economists said today that it would be highly unusual and improper for a Treasury Secretary to seek a commitment from a Federal Reserve chairman to achieve a certain level of economic growth as a quid pro quo for renomination.

The interaction between Mr. Brady and Mr. Greenspan was first reported in The Los Angeles Times today.

One Administration official confirmed that Mr. Brady, in his talks with Mr. Greenspan, had evidently misconstrued something that Mr. Greenspan had said. This official said that Mr. Brady had come away thinking that Mr. Greenspan had committed himself to changing Fed policies to reach a certain rate of growth.

Fed officials as well as economists said it would be absurd for a Federal

Reserve chairman — just one of seven members of the Federal Reserve Board — to agree to achieve a certain level of growth because so many economic variables exist that this would be impossible.

"It's off the mark to say a commitment was asked and a commitment was given," said a Treasury official who was involved in monetary matters at the time. "What's not too off the mark was they met and talked about Fed policy." This official added that it was clear that Mr. Brady thought Mr. Greenspan was moving too slowly to lower rates. The official noted that Mr. Brady and Mr. Greenspan have long met with each other several times a month.

Mr. Coyne, the Federal Reserve spokesman, confirmed that Mr. Brady and Mr. Greenspan met in July 1991 shortly before he was renominated. "Brady did mention to the chairman that he would like interest rates lower, but he's been saying that for three years," Mr. Coyne said.

One Administration official speculated today that in their talks Mr. Greenspan might have explained to Mr. Brady that Federal Reserve members had agreed among themselves to increase the money supply by between 2.5 percent and 6.5 percent with the expectation that this would produce economic growth of 3 percent. This official said Mr. Brady might have construed this as an agreement on Mr. Greenspan's part to achieve 3 percent growth.

Several months later, the Administration energetically criticized the Federal Reserve for failing to meet the central bank's own targets for monetary growth, saying that this helped cause the economic recovery of early 1991 to sputter in the second half of the year.

According to Administration officials, four officials were in charge of recommending whether to renominate Mr. Greenspan: Mr. Brady; Richard G. Darman, the White House budget director; Michael J. Boskin, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and John Sununu, the former White House chief of staff.

Questions keep ticking

On another subject, USA TODAY says President Bush must repair holes in his credibility.

Unanswered questions linger like time bombs; they tick until finally they explode, shattering trust in those who fail to answer.

President Bush now faces such time bombs — questions left unanswered about his role as vice president in the Iran-contra scandal.

He says that he was not involved. But today's Page One cover story details mounting evidence that he was.

It's past time for Bush to address the discrepancies.

The scandal spoke volumes about public trust. Public officials, with Marine Col. Oliver North as point man, peddled arms to Iranians and used the concealed profits to fund revolution in Nicaragua, against the will of Congress. They ignored the law, the Constitu-

tion, Congress and the citizenry. They became a rogue government dispensing with democracy to pursue their goals.

A special prosecutor's investigation raised questions about Bush's role. So have news reports and court documents — and now a book by Richard Secord, who was convicted in the scandal.

One particularly troubling piece of information showed that on Jan. 17, 1986, President Reagan signed an Iran arms sales document, with an attached memo saying Bush had been briefed.

Another critical conflict: After Bush claimed publicly that he was out of the decision-making loop, Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, who had opposed Iran-contra, privately disputed his contention, according to a memo by Shultz.

Bush must clear the fog. He owes the public a full explanation of the discrepancies before the ticking credibility bomb explodes.

Bush touts incentives for small businesses

By Jessica Lee
USA TODAY

GREENSBORO, N.C. — President Bush Wednesday proposed a \$20 billion package of tax breaks, regulatory relief and investment incentives to benefit small businesses.

Bush also urged voters to compare his experience in the oil business with Democrat Bill Clinton's résumé as a lawyer and politician.

"I happen to think that meeting a payroll is not a bad qualification for being president," Bush said to enthusiastic applause from business owners.

Both here and at a rally at Penn State University, Bush once again called Clinton "Gov. Taxes" — as the Bush campaign aired a new TV ad attacking Clinton's

tax record in Arkansas.

"I see small business as the backbone of the American economy," Bush said. "Gov. Clinton sees small business as the goose that lays the golden eggs."

Bush's proposals include allowing 100% deductibility for health insurance costs and eliminating capital gains taxes on newly issued stock in small business.

The incentives are aimed largely at businesses with fewer than 500 employees and would be financed by Bush's recommended spending cuts.

But neither Bush nor his aides would say when his plan for "encouraging entrepreneurial capitalism" will be sent to Congress in legislative form.

► Adwatch, 5A

"People are still sifting through these two candidates," Bush deputy campaign manager Mary Matalin says. "They're sitting in the Clinton camp right now, but they're uncomfortable about it. They're just waiting. I think they're listening to the end."

But so far, the Republicans have not found anything that many voters seem willing to lis-

ten to.

"They've had so many false starts in this campaign," says Clinton pollster Stan Greenberg. "Now they talk about family values being a false start. A week from now, they'll be talking about the draft being a false start. There is a growing stability to this vote."

► Campaign index, 5A

'Bush's story doesn't hold water'

President insists he was excluded from key meetings
Editorial, 10A

By Sam Vincent Meddis
USA TODAY

The Bush campaign — eager to exploit Bill Clinton's Vietnam draft explanations — may have a growing credibility problem of its own with the Iran-contra case.

President Bush consistently says he wasn't part of the Reagan administration's arms-for-hostages deals with Iran or its

illicit support of Nicaragua's rebels.

Prosecutors who closed nearly six years of investigation last week brought no charges against him.

Yet the Iran-contra record suggests Bush — a former CIA director who touts his foreign policy expertise — was at least informed, if not an actual player.

And his credibility may suffer further after the release Friday of potentially damaging new information in a book by retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard Secord, a convicted

Please see COVER STORY next page ►

COVER STORY

Bush's honesty is on the line

Continued from 1A

Iran-contra operative who directed deliveries of arms shipments. Secord's bitterness toward the Reagan administration is likely to spill out during a scheduled interview tonight on ABC's *Nightline*.

The scandal, a covert operation that threatened to become Reagan's Watergate, is becoming a political liability at a time when Bush can least afford it.

Recent evidence from investigations by special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh has put Bush in an even more embarrassing spot than during his 1988 race.

Bush went on the offensive this week over Clinton's draft record, blasting the Arkansas governor's "total failure to come clean with the American people."

But there is considerable public doubt about Bush's truthfulness. In a USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll last week, 55% said they aren't satisfied with Bush's explanation of his Iran-contra involvement, while 36% said they are satisfied.

"Bush's story doesn't hold water," says Tom Blanton of the National Security Archive, a Washington-based research organization that has closely studied the Iran-contra record.

Bush's insistence that his Iran-contra involvement was minimal helped him avoid questioning by Congress in 1987, says Thomas Polgar, a former CIA officer and top analyst with the Senate Committee that probed the scandal.

But a memo released by prosecutors last month in the pending Iran-contra trial of former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger might have forced Bush to the witness chair.

"There was no 'smoking gun' to confront Bush, but I think that memo would have done it," says Polgar. "It would have been inevitable to call Bush and have him questioned under oath."

The 1987 note concerned a phone conversation between Weinberger and then-Secretary of State George Shultz, who seemed shocked by Bush's public disclaimers of Iran-contra knowledge.

Bush had told *The Washington Post* he was unaware of the two Cabinet members' opposition to Iran arms deals, or otherwise might have objected to them.

"But when you don't know something, it's hard to react," Bush said at the time. "We were not in the loop."

But the note, dictated by Shultz to a trusted aide, contradicts Bush. Bush "was on the other side," the note says. "Why did he say that?"

Shultz and Weinberger have declined comment, and Bush brushes aside questions about the note. "I've given every bit of evidence I have to these thousands of investigators," Bush said in a recent TV interview. "And nobody has suggested that I've done anything wrong at all."

Special Commission — appointed by Reagan after the Iran-contra affair

was exposed in 1986 — and Walsh's prosecutors, have interviewed Bush. The questioning, however, was before investigators uncovered Weinberger's notes.

But Bush's critics say the issue is not one of criminality. As with Clinton and the draft, Bush's honesty is on the line.

Pamela Naughton, staff counsel of the House Iran-contra committee, says a public accounting is warranted. "Bush has never... answered these questions."

Strong doubts remain about how Bush could have been unaware of Oliver North's clandestine network that provided military help to the Nicaraguan rebels when Congress had prohibited such aid.

North, who had a reputation for blabbing within the intelligence community about his covert activities, had regular contact with Bush, according to his personal notebooks released in 1990.

But the toughest questions for Bush stem from secret weapons sales to Iran — a notorious terrorist sponsor — even as the Reagan administration publicly condemned such dealings by others.

In his 1987 autobiography, *Looking Forward*, Bush reasserted he knew nothing of objections to arms sales by Weinberger and Shultz, declared he had been "deliberately excluded from key meetings" involving the operation.

Bush, attending the Army-Navy game, missed a Dec. 7, 1985, White House meeting at which Weinberger allegedly complained that U.S. arms shipments to Iran were illegal. But congressional documents and other testimony show Bush attended other crucial meetings, including:

► Aug. 6, 1985, when Shultz told Reagan he opposed selling arms to Iran, adding, "We are just falling into the arms-for-hostages business."

► Jan. 7, 1986, where Weinberger and Shultz expressed objections to the sale of arms to Iran.

► Jan. 17, 1986, when Reagan signed an Iran arms sales document, with an attached memo saying Shultz and Weinberger opposed it.

Another nagging question facing Bush involves a widely reported July 29, 1986, meeting he had in Jerusalem with Amiram Nir, an Israeli agent who worked with North on the hostage swaps.

Nir detailed efforts to swap weapons for hostages in Lebanon, according to notes of a Bush aide. Nir, who died in a plane crash in rural Mexico in 1988, told Bush the deals were with Iran's "most radical elements," undercutting Reagan administration claims that the operation was partly an attempt to improve relations with Iranian moderates.

Nir emphasized, however, that the radicals "can deliver... that's for sure."

Bush says he didn't fully understand the briefing. But the day after the meeting with Nir, Reagan OK'd a stalled shipment of HAWK missile parts to Iran.

WASHINGTON AND THE WORLD

GOP rolls out a leave bill, doubts success

By Maria Puente
USA TODAY

Republicans in Congress Wednesday introduced their version of a family leave bill following President Bush's veto of a Democratic-backed bill.

But with only two weeks remaining in the session, Congress is unlikely to accept the GOP alternative.

It grants a tax credit of up to \$1,200 per employee to employers with 50 or fewer em-

ployees who allow workers to take leave.

"I'm not too optimistic about this," acknowledges co-sponsor Rep. Fred Grandy, R-Iowa.

"The only things that will be dealt with in this Congress will be things that have a pipe bomb in them that is supposed to go off under the president's chair," adds Sen. Alan Simpson, R-Wyo.

As for the Democrats' bill — which the president vetoed late Tuesday — an override at-

tempt would almost certainly fall far short of the two-thirds vote needed.

Reaction Wednesday:

▶ "(The GOP bill) is a cynical, transparent, last-ditch effort to persuade people against voting for override," says Sen. Christopher Dodd, D-Conn.

▶ "If those pushing (the Democratic bill) were as concerned about family leave as they seem to be about scoring political points, we'd have passed this months ago," says

Sen. Larry Craig, R-Idaho.

On the stump, Bush said: "I am for family leave. I am not for putting further mandates on small business."

Polls show overwhelming support for family leave.

"The veto is going to hurt him because it's something that is easily understood" by the public, says Rep. Nancy Johnson, R-Conn., one of 37 House Republicans who voted for the Democrats' bill.

The Democratic bill re-

quired employers of 50 or more workers to guarantee 12 weeks of unpaid leave to care for newborns or ill relatives.

Bush vetoed a similar bill in 1990. Congress approved a second bill in 1991.

Democratic leaders waited until August to bring it up for a final vote.

"It seems so cynical and so phony ... to trot stuff out in the last couple of weeks ... destined solely to try to embarrass the president," Simpson says.

Perot again adds twists to campaign

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

With only 40 days to Election Day, the 1992 campaign Wednesday appeared more unsettled than ever.

Among developments:

▶ President Bush turned down a new debate offer.

▶ Both campaigns unleashed negative TV ads.

▶ Speculation grew about the return of Ross Perot.

A second attempt to schedule a presidential debate was scrubbed when the Bush campaign again objected to the single-moderator format.

Democratic nominee Bill Clinton had agreed to a debate Tuesday in Louisville.

Bush is "running for cover," said Al Gore, Democratic vice presidential candidate.

"I want a debate," said Bush, who also wants to revise terms.

With no debate scheduled, new TV ads waged war:

▶ Bush warns Clinton will raise taxes.

▶ Clinton says Bush failed to produce 29 million jobs.

But most attention Wednesday focused on Perot, who may re-enter the race next week after meeting backers in Dallas.

Bush's campaign has concluded Perot will almost certainly run, and is intensifying efforts to keep the Perot backers they've won over.

"I've heard nothing ... that would indicate he is not getting back in," said Charles Black, a Bush campaign adviser.

Today, former Perot business adviser and New York investment banker Theodore Forstmann joins the Bush campaign as national co-chairman.

Bush, on the campaign trail, has spoken to Perot volunteers.

And Perot supporters in Texas are getting letters today, reminding them of Bush's commitment to reduce the deficit, key to Perot's economic plan.

"We're reaching out," says Mary Matalin, deputy Bush campaign manager.

Bush advisers doubt Perot will regain mass support, but concede new strategies would be needed if he does.

Bush's focus on pivotal states could be diverted to holding off Perot in Texas and Florida.

As for Clinton, he again invited former Perot supporters to back him. "We want all kinds of people to come together."

▶ Can Clinton be beaten? 4A
▶ Bush ad preys on tax fear 5A

Alzheimer's test may be on horizon

By Tim Friend
USA TODAY

A simple test soon may be available to determine if a person is susceptible to Alzheimer's disease, new research suggests.

The early detection test — working much like cholesterol tests that show potential for heart disease — also may lead to ways of reducing the risk of Alzheimer's when it is present.

The developments come from a breakthrough in research on a substance called beta amyloid protein.

Earlier studies found that plaques in the brain — believed to cause the USA's 20 million Alzheimer's cases — were made of the protein.

Scientists assumed the protein was residue of dead cells.

But the new research — in three studies out today in *Nature* and *Science* — shows beta amyloid protein is made by normal cells in healthy people.

"These unexpected findings suggest beta amyloid protein has a normal function throughout one's life," says Dennis Selkoe of Brigham and Women's Hospital in Boston.

"It may be that the buildup of beta protein is too much of a good thing, similar to the buildup of cholesterol."

Next: Scientists are expected to determine the normal level of beta protein, then develop a test for high levels.

Also, researchers at Athena Neurosciences in San Francisco, have begun testing drugs on cells that make beta protein.

A drug may then be found that lowers levels of the protein and reduces the risk of plaque buildup in the brain.

Clinton standing on more solid ground

By Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

With 40 days until Election Day, the presidential race is becoming Bill Clinton's to lose. A series of volleys from President Bush — from family values to an economic plan to Clinton's draft record — have failed to shift many voters.

Clinton is capable of losing it, by fumbling further on the draft, by sitting on his lead, or by any mistake that brings lingering unease about the Arkansas governor to the surface.

But as Bush launches another attack on Clinton's record, evidence mounts that Bush's fate is largely out of his hands.

"At this point, it really is Bill Clinton's race to lose," says Gallup pollster Larry Hugick, echoing a sentiment voiced even by some Republicans.

That is suggested most strikingly by the polls. Back on Labor Day, Clinton's double-digit lead was suspect in a year marked by rapid shifts. But since then, Clinton has maintained a lead that seems, at minimum, nine points.

The state-by-state picture is even bleaker for Bush. He trails in such contested states as California, Ohio and Missou-

ANALYSIS

ri and is behind in states that in 1988 he took for granted — such as Georgia and Indiana.

More ominously, Bush may have bumped against a ceiling. He has not risen above 42% in any USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll since mid-July.

During the same period, as Republicans hit Clinton as a big taxer and a spate of stories focused on Clinton's draft maneuverings, voter approval of the Democrat barely slipped.

From the start, this campaign's underlying dynamic has been an angry weariness with Bush, which has pushed voters, however reluctantly, to a pockmarked rival. That has created an unusually volatile electorate.

But time is growing short, and voter sentiment is beginning to gel. The latest USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll found 42% of all voters certain of their support for Clinton. Just 32% are firm for Bush — leaving 26% up for grabs.

Bush is faced with the improbable task of winning two-thirds of those swing voters, says analyst William Schneider: "It's going to be very, very tough."

Adds Gallup's Hugick: "I've seen a lot of talk about how weak Clinton's support is. But I just don't see that."

It is a measure of how little control Bush has over the situation that virtually all the forces underlying the election seem to have conspired to trap him a worst-campaign scenario.

The economy seems an endless source of bad news, clouding any attempt to focus on issues that are problematic for Clinton, such as the draft.

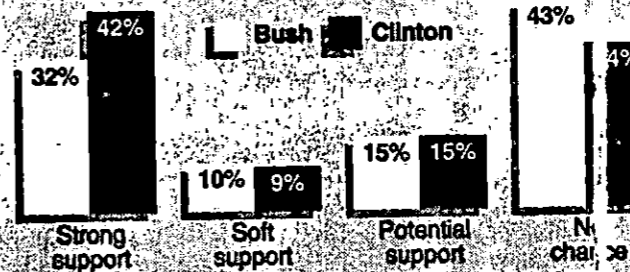
The Cold War's end has moved foreign affairs off the screen — an immeasurable help to Clinton, who boasted that his Arkansas National Guard leadership qualified him to be commander in chief.

Bush and his advisers seem not to have grasped the anti-politics sweep of 1992, which gave birth to Ross Perot's candidacy and which Clinton aides discovered among voter discussion groups in New Hampshire 10 months ago.

Bush's talk about a possible tax cut, his varying attacks on Clinton and his rejection of a bipartisan proposal for debates may be feeding public cynicism. That places him in the kind of box politicians try to avoid — where every action is

Bush's 'no chance' obstacle

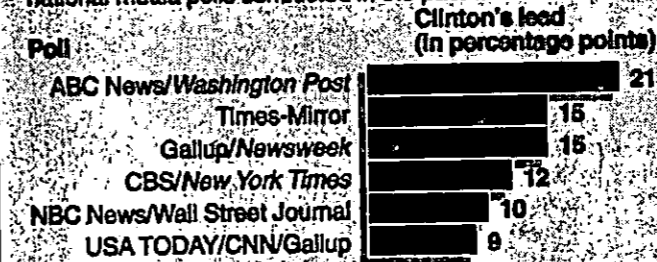
The latest USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll shows there is a much larger block of registered voters saying there is "no chance" they will vote for President Bush than there is saying the same of Bill Clinton. How the degree of support breaks down for the two candidates:



Source: A USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup nationwide telephone poll of 1,112 registered voters conducted Sept. 11-15 by the Gallup Organization. Margin of error: 3 percentage points.

Clinton's poll strength

Clinton maintains a strong lead over Bush in a variety of national media polls conducted in the past two weeks:



Source: USA TODAY research

USA TODAY

judged as political.

That, several pollsters say, explains why Bush's serious-minded economic speech in Detroit two weeks has made little difference. And it is a major obstacle he will have to overcome to get voters to focus on his latest attacks.

Still, other forces could accomplish what Bush alone can not. Another revelation about

Clinton and the draft, particularly combined with a Republican ad, could collapse Clinton's house of cards.

And a major Clinton gaffe, such as — during debates, assuming they are held — opening the door to a broad-based tax increase, could give voters an excuse to flee back to Bush.

Bush aides say voters have not made a final decision.

Bush Unveils Tax-Reduction Plan for Small Businesses

■ **Economy:** He says his program would save the firms \$28.1 billion over five years. He portrays himself as the candidate of 'Mom & Pop Inc.'

By JAMES GERSTENZANG
TIMES STAFF WRITER

STATE COLLEGE, Pa.—Warning of "misery on Main Street" if Democrat Bill Clinton is elected to the White House, President Bush on Wednesday unveiled a tax-reduction plan for small businesses and repackaged previous proposals as he portrayed himself as the candidate of "Mom & Pop Inc."

The White House said the President's proposals would save small businesses—and cost the U.S. Treasury—\$28.1 billion over the next five years. The White House said the program's cost would be covered by the \$132 billion in budget cuts called for by Bush.

"I see small business as the backbone of the American economy. My opponent, Mr. Clinton . . . sees small business as the goose that lays the golden eggs," Bush said.

Most of the tax savings would come from programs already announced, and a senior Administration official said after Bush outlined his plan in a speech to

business executives in Greensboro, N.C., that it was "fair criticism" to suggest that most of the program represented "repackaging."

Meanwhile, the President's campaign sought to build on Bush's efforts to raise questions about his rival's intentions by broadcasting a new TV commercial in several key battleground states that targets Clinton's record on taxes. The ad seeks to imply that every time Clinton has raised taxes as governor of Arkansas, he enjoyed it.

Bush aides last week said the campaign planned to launch an ad about Clinton's draft record and they said Wednesday it remained under consideration. White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater, continuing the drumbeat on the issue on a day Bush did not refer to it directly, flatly accused Clinton of lying about his efforts to avoid military service during the Vietnam War.

But public opinion polls have shown most voters are not overly concerned about the draft issue, and Bush senior campaign adviser Charles Black told reporters Wednesday that the President and his team recognize "the fundamen-

tal debate is on the economy."

Although Bush himself has acknowledged that many voters have been disappointed by his record on that issue, he and his campaign aides apparently believe that by talking frequently about economic matters—and hammering away at Clinton's proposals—they can make some headway.

"We know from our research that people are not enamored with [Clinton's] economic plan once they know what it is," Black argued. "And when they know the records . . . people will choose Bush's economic plan."

Reflecting that strategy, Bush on Wednesday touted his plans to aid small businesses—and depicted Clinton as a threat to them—before two audiences in North Carolina.

The President's political focus on small business is based on the expectation that it can enhance his appeal not only to the owners of such firms, but also to their employees. At the same time, getting small business back on its feet is seen as crucial to reviving the nation's economy.

The small business economic package that Bush detailed also represented the latest in a series of efforts by him to take advantage of his incumbency by offering government assistance to groups to which he is speaking. Recently, for

instance, he announced approval of foreign sales of military aircraft when speaking to aircraft assembly line workers.

The aircraft sales—combined with federal disaster assistance he approved in the wake of Hurricane Andrew, farm subsidies from existing programs he stressed when addressing farm groups and the tax relief proposals for small businesses—would pump \$52.5 billion into local economies, industries and workers' pockets. At least one-quarter of it would come from foreign governments, the rest from the Treasury.

The President on Wednesday also addressed several thousand students at a sun-drenched rally on the Old Main lawn at Penn State University and then headed to Camp David, Md., for a break today from the campaign trail.

Bush beat Democrat Michael S. Dukakis in Pennsylvania and North Carolina four years ago. But in a sign of his political troubles nationwide, polls show Bush trailing Clinton in Pennsylvania and locked in a close race with the Democrat in North Carolina.

One of the two new elements in the small business economic plan Bush spotlighted would allow the immediate write-off of up to \$2,500 in the costs of starting a new enterprise, rather than spreading

these costs out over multiple years. A senior Administration official said this proposal would require no congressional action and White House aides said it would cost the government a relatively modest \$500 million over five years.

In addition, Bush called for the elimination of taxes on capital gains from newly issued small business stock, at a cost to the Treasury of \$700 million over five years. This is intended to make investment in new small businesses more attractive.

Other measures, already proposed, would reduce the lowest corporate tax rate to 16% from 15%, allow the self-employed to deduct 100% of their health insurance premiums, provide tax credits to help smaller companies meet the costs of giving employees leave to meet family emergencies and increase to \$25,000 from \$10,000 the amount of business expenses that smaller firms can deduct from their business taxes.

The reduced tax payments would come not only from increased deductions and lowered tax rates, but from simplified paperwork that, the White House said, would make it easier for businesses to claim tax savings to which they are entitled.

In his remarks in North Carolina, Bush contended that Clinton would impose a litany of taxes if elected,

saying: "It's taxing just to talk about this whole program ahead. Somebody said, 'that taxes my memory.' And Clinton says, 'that's a good idea, let's try it.'"

According to Bush, in order to meet the cost of payroll taxes he said Clinton would impose to pay for health care and job training plans the Democrat has proposed, small business would have a choice: "You can board up the windows or you can get out the pink slips. You can continue to operate, but to do so you're going to have to lay off some of your rather small work force."

Clinton, who also proposes economic incentives for small businesses, has disputed that his health and job training programs would put people out of work.

At his Penn State appearance, Bush was introduced to cheering students—and a vocal minority of Clinton supporters—by the school's longtime football coach Joe Paterno.

Bush beamed at Paterno and, for good measure, he also saluted "that world-renowned baton twirler, John Mitchell," a campus star of sorts for his role in the university's marching band.

"Real talent," Bush said.

Times staff writer Thomas B. Rosenstiel contributed to this story from Washington.

Bush's Denial on Iraqi Arms Aid Challenged

■ **Foreign policy:** Papers show the State Department knew that U.S. exports were used in Baghdad's weapon programs, a congressional Democratic asserts.

By DOUGLAS FRANTZ
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Statements by President Bush that U.S. exports did not assist Iraq's development of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons before the Persian Gulf War are contradicted by newly declassified documents, a Democratic congressman charged Wednesday.

One of the documents shows that by July, 1990, a month before Iraq invaded Kuwait, the State Department had identified 73 exports approved by the U.S. government that were probably being used in Iraq's ambitious weapons programs.

The same document—which urged stricter controls on the sale of such goods—confirms that then-Secretary of State James A. Baker III was told that Iraq was obtaining the equipment through U.S. firms.

Rep. Sam Gejdenson (D-Conn.), who released the material, said the records demonstrate that Baker knew that the U.S. government was approving exports that were helping Iraq develop nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and that Bush should have known.

"George Bush has been categorically denying facts that were well-known within his Administration and by his friend, Secretary Baker," Gejdenson told reporters.

For months, critics have asserted that the Bush Administration permitted the export of sensitive material to Iraq in the hope that relations between the two countries would improve. Ultimately, those critics charge, the Administration inadvertently helped build Iraq's war machine.

In June, Bush denied that the United States provided any technology that helped Iraq's nuclear, biological or chemical capabilities. In a July 1 TV appearance, he repeated the denial and called such allegations politically motivated.

White House spokesman said Wednesday that he stood by the President's statements. In a response prepared in July after a story in The Times describing similar documents, the National Security Council said the record supported Bush's denials.

"Reports that U.S. technology significantly enhanced the weapons capability of Iraq are unfounded and simply untrue," said the report to Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser.

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's campaign has largely ignored the Iraq revelations, but in response to Gejdenson's statements and to assertions Monday by Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), Democratic

National Committee Chairman Ronald H. Brown on Wednesday accused Bush of concealing the Administration's prewar military assistance to Iraq.

"It is long past time for George Bush to come clean with the American people and explain why his intelligence agencies, State Department and Justice Department simply looked the other way when confronted with clear evidence that Saddam [Hussein, Iraq's leader] was using front companies here in the U.S. to fuel his military machine," Brown charged.

In response to a question at his press conference, Gejdenson denied that his release of the documents was political. He said his House Foreign Affairs subcommittee has been trying for two years to persuade the State Department and other agencies to declassify material related to U.S.-Iraq policy.

The documents show that concerns were mounting in the State Department in July, 1990.

A July 19, 1990, memo to Baker from Iraq and Mideast experts in the State Department warned that Iraq was developing chemical and biological weapons and ballistic missiles and that it was working on nuclear weapons. The memo recommended that Baker support stricter controls on exports to Iraq.

"Iraq has been attempting to obtain items to support these proliferation activities from U.S. exporters, in some cases successfully," said the memo, which was initialed by Baker to acknowledge that he had read it.

An initial review uncovered 73 export licenses for goods sent to Iraqi facilities that were "probably proliferation related," the memo said. Among them were 17 licenses for bacteria with uses in biological weapons and sophisticated computers with uses in chemical and missile programs.

On July 25, 1990, nine days before Iraq invaded Kuwait, Baker asked then-Commerce Secretary Robert A. Mosbacher for "stricter controls over exports." "Iraq's extraordinarily aggressive weapons proliferation efforts make this situation urgent," wrote Baker, who is now Bush's chief of staff.

Gejdenson contended that Baker's request was an attempt to "cover his trail" as the Administration saw its efforts to influence Hussein failing. But a State Department official said Wednesday that the department acted to restrict exports to Iraq as soon as it uncovered hard evidence of abuses. Previously disclosed documents, however, indicate that U.S. intelligence agencies had warned of Iraq's weapons programs as early as 1985.

Uncertainty Over Debate With Bush Forces Clinton to Readjust Schedule

■ **Campaign:** The Democratic candidate's aides scramble to rejuggle his itinerary, awaiting a last-minute decision to face-off by the President.

By EDWIN CHEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

COLUMBUS, Ga.—Bill Clinton may be winning the battle of public opinion over the stymied presidential debates, but the continuing uncertainty is taking a toll on the Democratic nominee—forcing him to cut down on campaigning and to frequently rejuggle his schedule with a wary eye on the chance that President Bush may change his mind and agree to a square-off on short notice.

In recent days, an increasingly frustrated Clinton has not only altered but in some cases curtailed his all-out, bone-numbing campaign—one that often begins early in the morning and does not end until a few hours before dawn.

"It frustrates him. He'd rather be out there campaigning hard every day," conceded Bruce Lindsey, Clinton's campaign director and a close friend.

Instead, Lindsey said, "We've had to keep [debate] dates available and free and uncluttered because every week we're waiting for them to say whether or not they would participate the following week."

Vice presidential nominee Al Gore's campaign has been similarly affected, said aides to the Tennessee senator.

A bipartisan debate commission had proposed three presidential and one vice presidential debates. The series was to have begun last Tuesday and continued next Tuesday, Oct. 4, and Oct. 15. The first two have been canceled because Bush rejected the format—one moderator rather than a panel of questioners—and refused to negotiate with the commission. He wants to use the 1988 format, which included three panelists and a moderator.

The phlegmatic campaign pace was evident Wednesday morning as Clinton, Gore and their wives kicked off a bus tour, their fifth since the Democratic convention in July.

In Columbus, a city with a huge military presence, an unusually subdued Clinton detailed his plan to convert "every dollar" taken from

the defense budget into domestic investments, including rebuilding the infrastructure and providing job training.

In emphasizing his general campaign theme that a strong America begins at home, Clinton also said he would allow military personnel mustered out of the service who are just short of retirement benefits to earn credits toward retirement by performing public service in the civilian sector.

The bus trip got a lukewarm send-off. On a gray, muggy morning in Columbus, several hundred people waited listlessly. The local high school band was lackluster and the warm-up speakers were uninspiring, inexplicably leaving gaping minutes when no one was at the dais. A faulty public address system did not help.

When Clinton and Gore finally showed up—half an hour late—each delivered an uncharacteristically flat talk. Some in the crowd left while Clinton was speaking.

Undaunted, the Arkansas governor said he and Gore intend to press their campaign throughout Dixie, adding: "We're competitive all across the South."

Asked about Texan Ross Perot's possible re-entry into the presidential race, presumably because neither Clinton nor Bush has addressed the federal budget deficit to his satisfaction, Clinton replied: "It is simply not true that I haven't addressed the problems. I've got a book out that goes into more details about most issues than his plan does."

As the bus caravan progressed from Columbus toward Valdosta near the Florida border, both Clinton and Gore began picking up steam, seeming to draw sustenance from the enthusiastic if mostly small crowds along the way.

Lindsey said in an interview he does not know whether the Bush campaign's latest refusal to join the bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates in trying to salvage the debates is a ploy to throw Clinton and Gore off stride.

"I don't have any idea what their strategy is," Lindsey said. "But if that is their strategy, I think it's a poor one because, frankly, the American public wants debates. And this continual week-by-week refusal to participate is, in my opinion, hurting him much more than it's hurting us. I think the American people understands who's agreed to debate and who hasn't."

Meanwhile, Vice President Dan Quayle offered the GOP's view of the debate standoff: He accused Clinton of ducking them. "I'm begin-

ning to think that Bill Clinton doesn't want a debate," Quayle said aboard Air Force Two as he returned from campaigning in Texas and Oklahoma. "He's sitting on his lead."

Clinton's partial campaign slowdown—freeing him to attend two recent football games in the span of 48 hours—is not "a cautious strategy" on the part of a candidate with a commanding lead in virtually all the polls, Lindsey insisted.

Wednesday's Clinton-Gore bus trip through southwest Georgia, for instance, might have been longer, but its planned, 13½-hour itinerary was dictated in part by the lingering possibility, however slight, that a presidential debate could still be held Tuesday in Louisville, Ky., campaign aides said.

Thus, Clinton was scheduled today to have the entire afternoon off from campaigning while in New York City, concentrating instead on briefings, debate-preparation and meetings.

But by midday Wednesday, the debate commission canceled next week's debate because Bush had refused to negotiate with it.

In an interview aboard Clinton's jet late Tuesday night—hours after Bush rejected the commission's latest proposals—Lindsey added:

"Here we are—Tuesday—the commission suggested a debate in Louisville. Obviously, we kept Monday available. We kept Tuesday available. And we kept other days lighter than you would schedule if you had complete flexibility."

But with Bush's continuing refusal to meet with the commission—his campaign insists on talking directly with the Clinton camp—the governor's schedulers are scrambling to fill the time in Clinton's schedule previously carved out for debate preparation.

Before too much longer, Lindsey added, Clinton will resume a full-bore campaign that assumes there will be no debates. But Lindsey would not specify when that might be.

"At some point, it'll become evident that they're not serious about it, that we need to go about our business and they need to go about theirs," he said. "I can't tell you what that point is. But if they propose a debate on Nov. 2, I doubt seriously that we'll accept."

The election is Nov. 3. Neither candidate is likely to agree to a debate on the eve of the election because if he made a glaring error he would have no time to recover.

Times staff writer John M. Broder contributed to this story from Texas.

Quayle Details Clinton 'Flip-Flops'

■ **Politics:** Vice president says reversals reflect 'the triumph of convenience over truth.'

Democratic camp cites changes in Bush's positions on issues.

By JOHN M. BRODER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

FT. WORTH—Opening a new line of attack on Democratic nominee Bill Clinton's record and his character, Vice President Dan Quayle on Wednesday detailed a list of what he called Clinton's "flip-flops" on 10 key issues.

In a breakfast speech to a Republican audience in Ft. Worth, Quayle accused Clinton of changing course on abortion, taxes, health care, the Persian Gulf War and his draft record. He said the reversals indicate deep personal flaws that disqualify Clinton for the presidency.

"As the case of military service makes most clear, these differing positions are, in fact, more than mere flip-flops," Quayle said in his harshest personal attack yet. "They reflect a fundamental element of Gov. Clinton's character: the triumph of expedience over principle, of convenience over truth. Gov. Clinton says he is the candidate of change, but he truly is the changing candidate."

The Clinton camp responded immediately with its own list of 45 alleged flip-flops by Bush on issues including crime, arms sales, abortion, minority quotas, the environment and—of course—taxes.

"For Dan Quayle to talk about flip-flops is laughable. George Bush and Dan Quayle are the biggest flip-floppers of all time, given their 'read my lips, no new taxes' pledge of 1988 and then two years later they signed the biggest tax increase in history," said George Stephanopoulos, Clinton's communications director. Actually, it was the second biggest; Ronald Reagan signed the largest.

Stephanopoulos said that most of the alleged flip-flops in Quayle's list were distortions or outright falsehoods. "I don't feel a real need to go through it point by point," he said.

In the Ft. Worth speech, Quayle tacitly acknowledged that Bush had gone back on his word on at least one major issue—taxes. But he put a statesmanlike spin on it.

The President's policy reversals, Quayle averred, were for the good of the nation, while Clinton's were nothing more than slimy political self-interest.

"If you are in public life, sooner or later some variations will creep into the record. Sometimes leaders genuinely change their minds, or they may alter course in the best interests of the nation," he said.

"It is one thing to take a political risk in the hope of helping your country; but it's another matter to change your position to avoid political risk in the hope of helping yourself," he added.

Quayle specifically charged Clinton with contradicting himself on these issues:

- In 1990, when he was running for reelection as Arkansas governor, Clinton pledged to serve his full four-year term and not seek any higher office. He broke that promise to launch his bid for the presidency less than a year later.

- During the primary campaign, Clinton proposed a tax cut for the middle class; in June, he denied that such a tax cut was the "center" of his economic package. (He does still propose a middle-class tax cut, but a smaller one.)

- In 1990, Clinton appeared to endorse the right of parents to choose among public and private schools for their children, with a system of tax breaks or vouchers to assist them; this summer, he said that spending public funds on private schools was wrong.

- In January, Clinton said he "wouldn't rule out" limiting the terms of members of Congress; in July, he said he opposes term limits.

- In a written description of his health care plan, Clinton said that a tax increase would not be needed to fund the program; in an interview with *USA Today* last month, he acknowledged that the plan would require a payroll tax for most employers.

- Earlier this year, Clinton said he opposed a New Jersey bill limiting welfare benefits for each child born to a recipient; in May, he said as President he would allow such a program.

- Several years ago, he told the Arkansas Right to Life organization that he opposed government funding of abortions; his current health care program would allow some tax-paid abortions.

- In a July television interview, Clinton said he would only appoint to the Supreme Court judges who would uphold the right to abortion; 10 days later, he said he would apply no such "litmus test" to judicial nominees.

- Clinton has said repeatedly that he supported President Bush's decision to go to war against Iraq; at the time of the vote to authorize the use of force, Clinton said he agreed with those who opposed the war. (Clinton's exact quote was: "I guess I would have voted with the majority if it was a close vote. But I agree with the arguments the minority made.")

- Clinton's story on his draft record has changed repeatedly over the years. He denied ever receiving an induction notice or a deferment because of his promise to join the ROTC; this year, he acknowledged receiving both.

PERSPECTIVE ON POLITICS

Jews Have the GOP All Wrong



American Jews can vote Republican with confidence that no one could have done better on Middle East issues.

By ABRAHAM D. SOFAER

American Jews have never accepted the Republican Party. Even after the Reagan/Shultz team had proved its bona fide support for Israel, only 30% of Jewish voters supported the Republican ticket in the 1984 election. Support for George Bush was lower in 1988 (25%), and some polls have indicated an even smaller percentage of Jewish voters prefer Bush over Clinton. In a political system in which presidential elections are usually determined by less than 5%, this disparity of support is astonishing.

Jewish voters, like other Americans, vote on the full range of issues, not just Israel. But the security of Israel is a major issue to most of American Jewry, and the relatively low level of support for President Bush stems in part from a seriously distorted view among Jewish-American voters of the Republican record on Israel. By every objective standard, the Bush/Baker team has done exceptionally well.

— *Economic assistance.* The Bush Administration increased economic assistance for Israel to the highest level ever (\$1.2 billion in grants), provided \$400 million in loan guarantees in 1990 and now will make available \$10 billion more. Following the Gulf War, Israel received emergency assistance of \$650 million.

— *Political support.* The Bush Administration undertook in 1988 to reverse the U.N. resolution that Zionism equals racism. Secretary of State James A. Baker III succeeded in achieving what for years U.N. and U.S. diplomats claimed was politically and legally "impossible." Baker also held firm to commitments to oppose the creation of a Palestinian state, and to terminate the dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organization if it resumed support for

ence that any state wanting a role in the peace process must establish full, diplomatic relations with Israel is helping to overcome the last vestiges of Israel's political isolation.

— *Military assistance.* The Bush Administration continued \$1.8 billion of all-grant military support for Israel, with important modifications,

including early disbursement (worth \$90 million per year) and the allowance of \$475 million per year in purchases from Israeli companies. The United States has financed two-thirds of the Arrow anti-missile program (\$188 million) so critical to Israel's security. Joint exercises continue, and this Administration has created a \$100-million stockpile of arms in Israel for use by either country.

— *Israel's security.* The Gulf War contributed enormously to regional security and led to the destruction of Iraq's capacity to harm Israel for many years to come. Even though the use of force against Iraq was both legally and morally beyond doubt, most Democrats and virtually all Jewish Democrats in Congress voted against authorizing the President to act. This anti-war Jewish contingent would have had enormous influence on a Democratic President, and would have provided such a President political protection from criticism by Israel's supporters. Had the Democrats succeeded in preventing war against Iraq, the consequences for Israel could have been catastrophic.

— *Saving Jews.* The Bush Administration helped save hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews, and are continuing that process. Bush also personally worked to save thousands of Ethiopian Jews, both as vice president and President.

— *The peace process.* The Bush/Baker team succeeded in bringing most of Israel's enemies to the peace table without any compromise of its security. Many Jewish leaders and commentators attacked the Administration and predicted that it would never succeed in moving the peace process forward. Much remains to be done, which is why it is so important that the same leadership be continued.

Instead of focusing on this record of

support for Israel's well-being, critics refer repeatedly to those few instances where the record could have been even stronger. The President admitted he was wrong to suggest that Israel's supporters are too powerful. Supporters of Israel are entitled like other Americans to work for what they believe is right. Furthermore, U.S. support for unbalanced resolutions against Israel in the U.N. Security Council is unfair.

But these shortcomings cannot justify disregarding how much was done. Furthermore, one cannot reasonably assume that the Democrats could have matched this Republican record. Have Democrats said fewer nasty things than Republicans about Israel or American Jewry? Was the Carter/McHenry team any more balanced in the Security Council? Should we expect more from Clinton? As for Iraq, the Democrats would have done less than President Bush to stop Saddam Hussein, not more. Unquestionably, the Bush/Baker style differs from that of Reagan/Shultz; but the results of their efforts are at least equally deserving of support.

How could this record then evoke so negative a reaction from so many Jewish Americans? Max Fisher says that American Jews—normally serious people—are irrational when it comes to politics. They welcome promises of more spending, though they know that more spending will be socially irresponsible. They want to be uplifted with rhetoric, when they know Americans need to be brought down to earth. The source of these attitudes is a complex story, reflecting our compassion based on long periods of suffering and injustice. But we do our country, ourselves and Israel a great disservice by such indulgence.

It is time to evaluate that record fairly, and to vote with the clear realization that each of us is responsible for the consequences of his or her vote. And in terms of Israel's interests, a vote for Bush ensures continuity of the peace process and of the close and constructive relationship between him and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

Abraham D. Sofaer, an adjunct professor at the Hoover Institution, served as legal adviser to the State Department from 1985 to 1990.

From War Protester to Commander in Chief?

■ **Election: Lincoln and Bush are contrasting examples of why the draft is a non-issue.**

By JACK DIGGINS

Republicans are eager to contrast President Bush's World War II military record with Bill Clinton's purported lack of martial valor. Bush's prior military experience, we are told, eminently qualifies him as a leader in times of war and diplomatic crisis, whereas Clinton would allegedly hesitate to send youths into combat just as he had avoided the draft during the Vietnam War.

Presumably anyone who "betrays" America in time of war and refuses the call to arms cannot possibly be a statesman of leadership capabilities and a military strategist prepared to use armed force as an instrument of politics. He is not to be trusted.

The example of Abraham Lincoln refutes such a claim. In 1847, Lincoln as a member of Congress adamantly opposed the maneuvers President Polk had been taking to precipitate a war with Mexico.

Unlike Theodore Roosevelt, Lincoln had no streak of bellicosity, and unlike Bush, he would not gloat over victory and boast of how he "kicked ass." Lincoln made light of his service in the Black Hawk War of 1832. Later he said that the real war was not with Indians but mosquitoes. The only fighting Lincoln liked was wrestling.

In the case of the Mexican War, Lincoln knew that the President was lying and that the war was an unjust aggression to annex new territories and possibly to spread slavery into the Southwest. He paid a price for his opposition. One paper called him a modern Benedict Arnold; another accused him of having "spotted fever," after Lincoln's attempt to force the President to

admit that Mexico had jurisdiction over the exact spot where blood had been shed in a border skirmish. The label "spotty Lincoln" stuck and boded ill for his political aspirations.

Despite his revulsion toward violence and his anti-war record in the Civil War, Lincoln went on to become the greatest commander in chief in American history. Lincoln could sense a mistake before it became a disaster, and he was willing to replace his military commanders as he continually defined the objectives of the war. Again and again he urged his generals to attack, and he privately reprimanded them for allowing Confederate armies to escape. The young congressman who had opposed the Mexican War had more fighting spirit than his generals.

Is there any connection between Bush's military record and his conduct in foreign affairs? The invasion of Panama was as

bungled as it was bloody, and in the Gulf War young American men and women were fighting against an enemy that Bush and his advisers had armed to the teeth. The war itself signified the failure of Bush's assumption that Saddam Hussein would back down and pull out of Kuwait rather than risk a military confrontation and certain defeat. There seems to be no connection whatsoever between Bush the Navy aviator and Bush the President, whose statecraft suffers from systematic misjudgment.

The Bush campaign parades its candidate as a military hero, but his political career is spectacularly unheroic. Leaving aside domestic politics, Bush's conduct in Cold War diplomacy hardly represents a profile in courage or conviction. For all the claims of the Republicans to having won the Cold War, Bush is hardly the person to take credit. At the moment of truth, when apparatchiks attempted a coup against Mikhail Gorbachev, Bush hesitated and waited to see which side would prevail. During the days of Tian An Men Square,

Bush, Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger and other "experts" sided with the butchers of Beijing, while Chinese students invoking Jefferson and Lincoln were massacred. The Republicans reasoned that Japan, and not China, would emerge as an expansionist threat and thus a U.S.-Chinese coalition must be nurtured. With this rationale, the Vietnam War must be judged the stupidest and most tragic war in American history, one for which there could be no Gettysburg Address explaining why 58,182 lives had not been lost in vain.

In betraying American ideals to power politics, Bush seems to believe "an evil empire" in one part of the world can become a land of economic opportunity and strategic defense in another. The Republican Party, led by its renowned military hero, has revised Lincoln's "house-divided" biblical warning: A world can exist half-slave and half-free.

Jack Diggins is a professor of history at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

Monsieur Camdessus' Considered Doubt

Is an American recovery impossible under current policy?

U.S. economic policy is of the greatest moment not only to Americans but to the entire world, of course. When the U.S. economy sneezes, some nations get a cold and a lot of others tend to have an anxiety attack, jump in to say *Gesundheit* and pray for recovery. The health of the U.S. economy is never an American-only worry.

Since mid-1990 the United States has been mired in a debilitating recession whose end point is sadly not yet in sight—and which has become a major issue not only in the U.S. presidential election. For this reason, the highly respected managing director of the International Monetary Fund has expressed serious reservations about current U.S. monetary policy. In a speech in Washington Wednesday that is raising eyebrows both here and abroad, Michel Camdessus marked the United States for criticism.

The Camdessus critique is that any economic policy that relies heavily on artificially lowered interest rates to stimulate recovery is doomed to failure if that economy is suffocating from chronic government deficits. In remarks to the board of governors of the IMF and the World Bank, which are excerpted today on our Op-Ed page, Camdessus suggests that trying to bail out a faltering economy by pushing down benchmark interests, instead of moving to at least reduce the level of debt servicing that has accrued because of a gigantic deficit, is like trying to bail out the proverbial leaking boat with a teacup.

Camdessus' warning deserves to at least be debated and considered at government's highest levels. After all, the Federal Reserve Bank has engineered the reduction of benchmark U.S. interest rates by four percentage points over the last two years and the economy is still in the

mud. Perhaps interest-rate reliance, which this newspaper and many other observers hoped would work, is ill-conceived.

If so, that would be at odds with the policies of the Bush Administration, which has relied so much on the efforts of Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan to lower interest rates to stimulate the economy. Indeed, Greenspan would appear to have been under extraordinary

White House pressure to do that. According to a report Wednesday by Times staff writer James Risen, senior Administration officials met privately with Greenspan to lobby him to ag-

gressively cut interest rates. These meetings took place in the spring and early summer of 1991, when Greenspan's first term as Fed chairman was expiring and he was up for reappointment.

It is hardly unusual for White Houses—whether Republican or Democratic—to try to have their way with the nation's central bank, which was established as an independent agency precisely to insulate it from such pressure. And indeed it is highly debatable whether America would ever want to have a central bank so self-absorbedly independent as, say, Germany's Bundesbank. But the character and timing of the intervention ring alarm bells.

Those alarms will prove to be all the more valid if it turns out that the White House was pressuring the Fed chairman to pursue policies that were fundamentally ill-conceived. The issue here is not only of process (shouldn't the Fed have a healthy measure of breathing room?) but of substance (are monetary policies the answer?). The sad truth is that the Bush Administration has not provided an adequate sense that such issues have been properly and thoroughly considered.



ANNALS
OF THE
AMERICAN
ECONOMY

■ One in an
occasional series

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

Alexander: Fairfax erred on merit pay

Education secretary decries retreat

By Carol Innerst and Patrick Boyle
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Education Secretary Lamar Alexander rebuked the money-strapped Fairfax County School Board yesterday for abandoning a merit-pay plan for teachers and said he was sorry to see the board "back down" on the issue.

"It's relatively inexpensive to pay teachers more for teaching well, which is what you've tried to do in Fairfax County, and you could save a lot of money by doing that, and you could attract a lot more taxpayer support by continuing your program," the secretary said during a forum at The Washington Times on

the subject "Can Our Public Schools Be Saved?"

Panelists and about 100 invited guests debated school choice, moral education, privatization, curriculum, unions, funding and other issues that have had an impact on schools.

Jane K. Strauss, an at-large member of the Fairfax School Board, told panelists that her county "willingly joined the leader's of this nation in education reform" but has been forced to make massive budget cuts.

"We abandoned [merit pay] last year in order to keep other teachers in the classroom," she said.

see **SCHOOLS**, page A10



Photo by Sharon Natoli The Washington Times

A demerit: Education Secretary Lamar Alexander says Fairfax should have stuck with merit pay.

SCHOOLS

From page A1

"Why would you do that?" Mr. Alexander asked.

"You know, that is the last ... excuse me for saying that. I went through that for five years," he said heatedly, referring to his successful battle as governor of Tennessee to bring a career ladder and merit-pay plan to the state over the objections of teacher unions.

"It is relatively inexpensive to pay teachers more for teaching well, and you can pay Fairfax teachers, D.C. teachers \$80,000 to \$100,000 a year, keep the best people in the classroom, and it doesn't cost much money," he said. "It ought to be the first thing we do. If you'll excuse me, I just feel so very strongly about that."

Fairfax Schools Superintendent Robert Spillane, who battled the School Board and teacher unions to try to retain merit pay, said, "What it really came down to, while we don't have a union contract, we have some very strong unions that have all the political clout with the supervisors, with the politicians and therefore with the School Board."

Mr. Spillane praised American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker for "saying all the things that need to be said about the future of education."

"But the reality is who's back in those 15,000 school districts running the teachers unions," he said. "They're not saying the same things the national leadership is saying. And the biggest problem with public education is the quality of the work force."

Former Education Secretary William J. Bennett said public schools can be saved but only if they are to be saved.

"It would be very good for bad schools to go out of business, and it would be very good for very good schools to multiply and replicate," said Mr. Bennett, now a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute.

"If you have a great principal, you have one of the necessary conditions for success," he said.

Also at the forum, a school superintendent and an award-winning principal clashed with national education leaders on school choice, an issue in the presidential campaign.

"Some form of choice within public schools ... gives poor children



Former Education Secretary William Bennett listens while Princess Whitfield, Hine Junior High School's principal, answers a question at yesterday's forum. Photo by Sharon Natoli The Washington Times

some of the same rights we've always given rich children," said Drew Kates, executive director of the Thomas Kean, the former governor of New Jersey.

He said he believes that public-school choice must be shown to work before private schools are included in a voucher plan, as envisioned by the Bush administration.

Edward Felegy, Prince George's County school superintendent, and Princess Whitfield, principal of Hine Junior High School in the District, said that with the right funding and reforms, public schools can educate children as well as private schools.

"The burden of educating the masses must remain a public one," Mrs. Whitfield said.

"I'm at a bit of a loss to understand why we have to privatize," Mr. Felegy said. Education reform, he said, "can be done within the context of a publicly funded and publicly operated school system."

Mrs. Whitfield said private schools are good at educating a small number of the nation's students but "leaders in private institutions have admitted that they cannot educate the masses."

Mr. Bennett said parents of all incomes should be able to use government money to send their children to private schools if their local public schools are not working well. He favored giving vouchers to parents to choose the school they want.

"Get rid of [teacher] certification

as it now exists," said Mr. Kean, who is chairman of the Bush administration's Schools Development Corp., an entity set up by the Bush administration to raise private money to develop model "break the mold" schools that can be copied nationwide.

Besides choice, Mr. Bennett's recipe for saving public schools included setting "real standards," establishing better systems of accountability to help "get rid of people who aren't pulling their weight" and getting the "curriculum nonsense" out.

"It's a mistake to talk to young people in this society — let's say black children in this society — as if they were citizens of Africa more than

citizens of the United States," Mr. Bennett said on the subject of Afrocentricism in the curriculum. "Most parts of the curriculum should be exactly the same for all of our children."

"We've been shortchanging American students with a Western European curriculum," Mr. Felegy said. "It's a question of exposing all students to all cultures."

When two-thirds of the students can't date the Civil War, it's more important to emphasize American history than to teach them about a "thousand-year-old university in Timbuktu," Mr. Bennett said.

It's more important to concentrate on teaching language and then democracy, Mr. Kean said.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

Bush: Debates likely

'Chicken' signs greet him again

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

STATE COLLEGE, Pa. — President Bush yesterday continued to reject the debate format proposed by the bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates but said he still expects to debate Gov. Bill Clinton.

"I don't know about next week, but I think there'll be debates," Mr. Bush told reporters yesterday as he arrived at Pennsylvania State University to address a rally of more than 10,000 students where he was introduced by football coach Joe Paterno.

The commission said yesterday that it scrapped plans for a faceoff next week in Louisville, Ky.

For the second day, signs appeared accusing Mr. Bush of being "chicken" for not accepting initial debate proposals. Students wore homemade chicken beaks, and one man showed up here dressed in a chicken costume.

The day before, another chicken man was escorted by police out of a Bush rally in Greenville, Miss.

Meanwhile, the Clinton campaign did not respond to direct debate overtures from the Bush-Quayle committee as of noon yesterday, which was a deadline set by campaign chairman Robert Teeter, according to White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater.

The Clinton campaign has said the Democratic candidate would not accept debate plans developed outside the commission.

"Teeter made an offer to the Clinton campaign that they refused to accept. Won't even consider it, and the Clinton camp is still refusing to meet with us," Mr. Fitzwater said.

"Why wouldn't they be willing to do such a simple, honest, open kind of democratic thing as that?" Mr. Fitzwater said with a smile.

Bush aides equated the commission's recommendation with debate proposals from television networks and the League of Women Voters, saying the issue is too important to deal with anyone but the Clinton campaign directly.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

Bush blitz pays media dividends

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Presidential campaigns spend tens of millions of dollars on advertising, but President Bush proved again this week that the best things in politics can be free, or nearly so.

In one 16-hour, finger-pointing, flag-waving tour of the states encircling Arkansas, Mr. Bush got the kind of television time and newspaper space that candidates for lower office can only dream of.

In at least portions of six states, Mr. Bush scored a political hat trick — leading yesterday's radio and TV news and dominating the front pages of most newspapers.

"Bush on attack," the Tulsa (Okla.) Tribune announced. "Bush rips Clinton record," the Springfield (Mo.) News-Leader declared. "Bush slams Clinton record during stop in Memphis," the Commercial Appeal of Memphis, Tenn., said.

One television reporter in Shreveport, La., declared that Mr. Bush's visit there was "a historic moment in Shreveport's history."

For both candidates, part of the strategy of this year's campaign has been focusing their efforts on both local and nontraditional news outlets.

So Mr. Clinton plays his sax for Arsenio Hall and aims his bus into the heartland. And Mr. Bush schmoozes with radio personality Rush Limbaugh and stumps in Mr. Clinton's back yard.

There is nothing new about playing to local media. It is what presidential politics is all about.

"I think they've always tried to saturate markets where they feel there's a heavy vote potential," said

Everette Dennis, executive director of the Freedom Forum Media Studies Center in New York. "But I think it's being done more systematically this year."

The president left the White House at 6:40 a.m. and swung through Springfield; Tulsa; Longview, Texas; Greenville, Miss.; Memphis; and Shreveport. He was back home at 11:15 p.m.

At least some of the coverage by local media in the six states Mr. Bush visited simply reported his charges, allowing Mr. Bush to score some of his points unchallenged.

In Greenville, where Mr. Bush's visit was the first by an incumbent president to the Mississippi Delta region since Teddy Roosevelt in 1902, the two television stations carried the entire event live.

In the Missouri Ozarks, KYTV led its 6 p.m. newscast with eight minutes of coverage of the Bush visit — an eternity in television news — and told viewers that Mr. Bush was beginning his counterattack on Mr. Clinton "right here in Springfield."

And so it went. All three Shreveport television stations carried the Bush trip live for 40 minutes and led their evening newscasts with extensive coverage.

Not that it was all gravy for the president. In Tulsa, for instance, KOTV reporter Brent Hardin reported, "For many, the speech seemed to be too generic, a repeat of George Bush's campaign rhetoric."

And Tulsa's ABC affiliate, KTUL, dropped Mr. Bush from the top spot on its news at 10 p.m. The top story: One child attacked another at a local day care center.

Bush cuts back tax-break offer

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

GREENSBORO, N.C. — President Bush blinked yesterday in his crusade to reduce tax rates on all investment profits, proposing an interim capital gains tax break confined to new issues of small-business stock.

"If we want to compete and win, it's time to reward the risk takers who turn their dreams into tomorrow's jobs. It is time to cut the tax on capital gains," Mr. Bush told a business group here with rhetoric that was familiar while the terms changed to meet what one adviser called "real world" objections.

Mr. Bush proposed \$27.4 billion in tax cuts for "small business" — the 2 percent of American companies that have fewer than 500 workers. The cuts include increased deductibility for capital equipment purchases, earlier tax writeoffs for start-up expenses, and changes on pension and inventory accounting.

George Stephanopoulos, communications director for the Clinton core campaign, said Mr. Bush was promising "another big giveaway with no budget to pay for it."

"Today George Bush called for a \$28 billion tax cut for small businesses, even though he doesn't have a clue how to pay for it other than Medicare cuts or ballooning the deficit," he said in a statement.

Mr. Bush's campaign package proposed entirely eliminating capital gains taxes on new small-business investment that is held for 11 years or more. Lesser amounts of profit could be excluded from taxation on investments in "newly issued" stock held for five years to nine years.

Capital gains taxes also would be deferred on proceeds immediately reinvested in other new issues.

"It eliminates capital gains on newly issued small-business stock. That will serve as an incentive to create new businesses," Mr. Bush told a gathering of about 2,000 here at a meeting of the Triad Business Community.

Earlier, in a preview to a campaign-related business group, Mr. Bush said: "They say this is a tax break for the rich. My eye! It stimulates investment and business creation."

Bush administration officials traveling with the president conceded that his revamped capital gains proposal represents limited compromise on a point long demanded by prominent Democrats — including Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, a tax-cut foe — but they termed it an exception to deal with "real world" objections.

"I would not characterize it as a philosophical difference. We still remain committed to our original proposal," said one senior official, a specialist on the subject who spoke on the condition of anonymity. A capital gains tax cut was a centerpiece of Mr. Bush's 1988 campaign.

An aide to Mr. Mitchell, Maine Democrat, said the exception to Bush policy appears on target with Mr. Mitchell's longtime insistence that a capital gains cut be aimed at small business and create jobs.

"That would seem to fit one of the criteria," said the aide, who pointed out that Mr. Mitchell's position taken in 1986 requires that such a tax cut not increase the deficit.

A Senate aide said a similar but less ambitious measure — excluding



President Bush offers small-business leaders a revised investment tax cut. AP

SMALL BUSINESS PLAN

Highlights of President Bush's \$27.4-billion plan to stimulate small businesses, with five-year cost.

- Increase first-year deductibility for capital equipment from \$10,000 to \$25,000. Cost: \$8.4 billion.
- Eliminate capital gains tax on newly issued small business stock. Cost: \$700 million.
- Defer capital gains tax on stock if proceeds reinvested in another eligible new issue.
- Cut base income tax rate from 15 percent to 10 percent for small business.* Cost: \$5.5 billion.
- Permit immediate tax write-off of first \$2,500 of business start-up costs. Cost: \$500 million.
- Change inventory accounting rules to allow first in/first out. Cost: \$2.6 billion.
- Permit "pension simplifications" and a model pension plan similar to 401-K plans. Cost: \$900 million.
- Allow self-employed to deduct all health insurance premiums, instead of current 25 percent.* Cost: \$5 billion.
- Tax credit as incentive to provide 12 weeks of family leave for illness or new child.* Cost: \$3.1 billion.
- Change alternative minimum tax for oil companies.* Cost: \$1.7 billion.

* Proposal has been made before.

The Washington Times

from taxes half the profit from new investment in companies with assets less than \$100 million — was in the economic and tax bill that Congress passed March 20, which was vetoed the same day because of its poison-pill tax provisions.

Because Mr. Bush's proposed tax break would not take effect until after a five-year holding period, the near-term cost of the proposal would be relatively slight — about \$700 million over five years. That amount is estimated to be taxes that would

be lost when taxable investments were switched to exempt issues.

The Congressional Budget Office consistently has "scored" capital gains tax cut proposals higher than administration estimates, and those numbers were considered in determining whether a measure exceeded budget caps.

Administration officials hastened to defend the original concept and said cutting taxes only on new issues will not be enough.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

Moment of truth

One of Bill Clinton's earliest political jobs was directing George McGovern's presidential campaign in Texas. Old hands remember him as the lone horseman who rode in to represent the front office in Washington.

As a result, some Republicans have been contemplating the following passage from David Broder's 1980 book "Changing of the Guard," which talks about a defining moment for longtime Clinton aide Betsey Wright.

"The culmination came in '72, with the person that McGovern had sent in to manage the Texas campaign," Miss Wright told Mr. Broder in discussing how liberals drove her to feminism.

"I was one of only two Texans on the professional staff of that campaign, but not a day went by with this man, when I tried to talk to him about some of the political factors we had to consider, that he didn't ask me about my hormones or when was the last time I had been laid.

"That crystallized my feminism. I struck back. I was very angry, I was very depressed, and I was very hurt. And when I came out of it, I was a fighting feminist."

Mr. Broder says he has looked at his notes and they do not disclose whom Miss Wright was talking about. Reached in Arkansas, she declined to identify the sexist rat. "But it was not Bill Clinton, if that's your question. Bill and Hillary got me through it," she said.

Short circuit

Rush's fans were ticked to the max. They were two hours through their man's three-hour radio broadcast on WMAL yesterday when suddenly he was off the air and, yuck, Sam Donaldson, David Brinkley and Cokie Roberts were on.

It was an ABC feature on the election and many members of the Limbaugh legions did not take kindly to this intrusion. As they know how to do, they hit the phones, and the radio station got "lots" of protests.



Sam Donaldson and pals were unfit fill-ins for Rush Limbaugh junkies.

Jim Gallant, WMAL operations director, assured all that this won't happen again soon. "It was a one-time-only thing," he said. "We are committed to running Rush three hours a day." He sounded like he meant it.

Miller time

After George Bush circled Arkansas and then stumped North Carolina and Pennsylvania, the White House surprised reporters yesterday by announcing the president was going to take a break.

Mr. Bush was tired and would go

directly to Camp David after yesterday's final campaign stop, the press was informed. But don't stand down for long. The president will be back in action tomorrow.

He will leave then for a weekend of train "whistle-stopping" a la Truman through Ohio and Michigan after a flying visit to Chicago. Mid-week breaks and working weekends will be the pattern until Election Day, officials say.

Meanwhile, the dispute over whether to debate or not to debate goes on. Ed Rollins, late of the Perot campaign and now Republican analyst without portfolio, had some reservations about the president's position.

"Bush needs to make people take a second look at him," the Political Hotline quoted Mr. Rollins as saying. "If you freeze-frame this election right today, he loses and loses overwhelmingly."

The Perot factor

As Ross Perot hints he will re-enter the campaign and his state coordinators prepare to meet this weekend, GOP analyst Kevin Phillips speculated on what's driving the man.

The reasons for getting in? "One of them is the negative publicity [from quitting]," he said. "I think he wants to recover his pride and his macho . . . to lay out his views on the economy and force the other two to try to move more in his direction.

"He carries a few chips on his shoulder as far as the way the White House, the [Republican National Committee] and Bush went after him in June, and I think he means to repay that."

Kissinger spots dirt

Former Secretary of State

Henry Kissinger yesterday returned to the issue of POWs held in Indochina, charging that ancient enemies of the Nixon administration have turned the question into "a mudslinging campaign."

"It was painful for me to see what should have been a serious search for truth turn into that," he told a Freedom Forum meeting in response to a question about his Hill testimony of the previous day.

Mr. Kissinger repeated that, at least partly due to the pressure exerted by anti-war critics, the Nixon administration had no option but to exit from Vietnam in 1973 as it did.

Sociological flash

There is good news ahead in our unending struggle to define who we are and what we are becoming.

TDK tape and Spy magazine have promised to release their national political poll today, revealing college students' attitudes toward the upcoming election and the great public issues that confront their generation.

The TDK-Spy Get Serious Poll features a wide range of questions that will probe the most deeply felt concerns of our young voters. For instance, one query asks: Would you choose Barbara or Hillary to be your mother?

Revealing data is also anticipated on these issues: What contemporary performer should rewrite the national anthem? Would Bush or Clinton make the better lover? Which candidate is more full of crap?

A mayor's lament

En route via elevator to the District Building's fourth-floor conference room to discuss crime with anxious citizens, Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly and others were misdirected instead to the fifth floor, on which Her Honor's offices are located.

Discovering they had arrived one floor too high, Mrs. Kelly said with a sigh that could be heard round the District, "The further up things go, the less things work."

— Alan McConaha

Defining the role of the United Nations

This week, President Bush addressed the U.N. General Assembly, and if the assembled representatives in the audience found their thoughts somehow wandering to the Scarlet Pimpernel, that was no coincidence.

No, Mr. Bush was not there in disguise to snatch innocent victims from the jaws of the French. But he did bring to mind Baroness Orczy's lines: "They seek him here, they seek him there." In his speech, Mr. Bush was everywhere. Nuclear proliferation, peacekeeping, communism, democracy, capitalism, arms control, U.S. foreign aid — Mr. Bush gave them all a whirl, presumably more for the benefit of American voters than that of the slightly stunned diplomats in his audience. On the United Nations itself, Mr. Bush had some pretty interesting and largely sensible things to say, particularly on extended U.S. support and involvement in the U.N. peacekeeping forces.

As a tool for international conflict resolution, the United Nations is being asked to assume an ever growing role in the post-Cold War world. Blue-helmeted U.N. peacekeepers are currently deployed in 12 places around the world, the largest forces being the 19,500 soldiers in Cambodia and the 16,000 in the former Yugoslavia. The oldest goes as far back as the U.N. forces monitoring the Arab-Israeli armistice agreement in place since 1948. On Sunday, U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali spoke eloquently of the danger of fragmentation and tribalization splintering the world map. He believes the solution lies in finding a way to protect the rights of ethnic minorities within existing borders, not an unreasonable idea by any means. For this purpose he has advocated the creation of a standing U.N. army, funded by imposing a levy on international air travel and arms sales.

Mr. Bush went a long way to pledge more U.S. support for peacekeeping missions. "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, en-

gineering 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." While Mr. Bush did not pledge U.S. soldiers for U.N. peacekeeping missions from which they have traditionally been withheld, his hint of greater emphasis on peacekeeping in U.S. military academies did seem to point in that direction. It may be that this is a change in policy whose time has come. (Somewhat transparent perhaps was Mr. Bush's suggestion that Fort Dix in New Jersey be used for training exercises. Ahem. Fort Dix happens to be on the list of base closings. Even in Mr. Bush's current mood of election-year largesse, that might be going just a little too far.)

But Mr. Bush pointedly stopped short of endorsing Mr. Ghali's proposal for a standing U.N. army. And he was right to do so. While the need around the world is great, and while the organization shows more promise today than ever before of living up to the hopes of its founders, the United Nations remains but a very faulty vessel into which to pour our hopes. Its vast worldwide bureaucracy, with more than 50,000 employees (civil servants actually) and an annual budget of \$7 billion to \$8 billion, one-quarter of which is paid by the United States, remains riddled with corruption, fiefdoms, bureaucratic make-work, waste, duplication and sheer ineptitude. And those are just the practical problems facing the institution. Even though the Cold War's East-West divide is vanishing, the conflict between North and South remains entrenched. Finding the political consensus to deploy such an army could be just as daunting.

At present, adding another U.N. agency with a billion-dollar budget (and its hands in the pockets of international business) does not make a whole lot of sense.



A California woman sued her veterinarian for \$1 million in damages for the emotional distress he caused her by breaking the back of her pet iguana.

A jury in Philadelphia awarded \$1 million to a fortune teller who claimed that a CAT scan robbed her of her psychic powers.

Monsanto Co. was ordered to pay \$16 million in punitive damages because it spilled one teaspoon of the chemical dioxin (which is now known to be harmless) in a small Missouri town.

These are but a few examples of the tort claims that have swamped courts throughout the country. The explosion of such suits illustrates why this nation so desperately needs civil justice reform.

Whether impetus for reform will come from the White House depends on which man is elected in November. George Bush has declared war on the plaintiffs' bar. His vice president even went into the belly of the beast — the annual conference of the American Bar Association — and told them what they didn't want to hear.

Bill Clinton, on the other hand, has given trial lawyers who have given us iguana and psychic tort claims. The president of Arkansas' Trial Lawyers Association has even circulated a fund-raising letter on the governor's behalf.

Joseph Perkins is a columnist for The San Diego Union-Tribune.

Torts and the iguana factor

Until Americans begin to appreciate just how much the tort system is really costing them, they will not raise a big enough fuss to get the politicians to take on the trial lawyers and enact civil justice reforms.

... when [Clinton] failed to do the right thing where we trial lawyers were concerned," wrote Little Rock lawyer David Williams. "Dig down deep and give to Bill Clinton."

One thing is for sure, and that is that lawmakers need to do a little less right by the trial lawyers. We have by far the most litigious society in the world. Some 18 million new

civil cases are added to federal and state court dockets every year, which works out to roughly one lawsuit for every 10 adults.

Our native American "sue you" mentality might not be such a horrible thing if it made us a more economically competitive nation. But not even the plaintiffs' bar would make this argument. Not when the national legal bill siphons off as much as \$300 billion from the gross domestic product.

The tort system has become little more than a wheel of fortune. Trial lawyers inundate the courts with personal injury and product liability claims — no matter how frivolous — hoping to eventually hit the jackpot.

The lure of big payouts explains why the number of medical malpractice suits has increased three-hundredfold and product liability suits a mind-boggling twelve-hundredfold over the last two decades.

State courts awarded an average \$1.5 million last year for successful product liability suits. Malpractice awards averaged nearly \$250,000.

The American public thinks, so what? It's just the guys with deep pockets who are taking the hit. The

automakers, the tobacco companies, the asbestos manufacturers, the pharmaceutical firms, the health-care providers.

Wrong. Everyone takes a hit. The costs of the tort crisis are shared by all Americans, just as surely as service on the federal debt is borne by all taxpayers. The increasingly exorbitant tort awards to the few are becoming increasingly costly to the many.

Doctors have to pay higher medical premiums (up to \$250,000 for some specialties), which not only contributes to skyrocketing health-care costs, but also reduces access to care for certain patient populations.

For instance, obstetricians have become increasingly selective about the pregnant women and small children they choose to treat. That is because seven of 10 obstetricians have been sued for malpractice at some point or another.

Similarly, the threat of product liability suits means that manufacturers have to pay five times as much for insurance as they did 10 years ago. The ultimate losers are consumers, who are offered a smaller range of product choices at higher prices.

Until Americans begin to appreciate just how much the tort system is really costing them, they will not raise a big enough fuss to get the politicians in Washington and the state capitals to take on the trial lawyers and enact civil justice reforms.

In the meantime, the national economy will continue to be drained of \$300 billion a year that surely could go to more productive purposes.

Baker, Perot Met Two Times This Month

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—This week's secretive meeting between potential presidential candidate Ross Perot and White House Chief of Staff James Baker was the second private meeting the two men have held this month, White House officials confirmed.

The two men, who met at Mr. Baker's home Tuesday, also conferred privately at Mr. Baker's residence on the afternoon of Sept. 11, an aide to Mr. Baker acknowledged when asked whether there had been a previous meeting. Baker aides refused to disclose what was discussed at either session, but they say that both were arranged at Mr. Perot's request.

The disclosure of the second Baker-Perot discussion comes amid mounting speculation that Mr. Perot may be about to re-enter the presidential race as an independent candidate, and increasing uncertainty about what his goals and tactics might be. As a result, both the Republican and Democratic presidential campaigns are filled with apprehension over what the impact of a re-entry by the Texas billionaire might be.

Each camp argues that a re-entry would hurt the other more, but aides on both sides admit that they aren't confident in any of their predictions. One immediate effect, however, is that a Perot re-entry almost certainly will suspend any political movement as voters study the new dynamics of the race. That could hurt President Bush more, since he's trying to overcome a sizable lead by Democratic candidate Bill Clinton.

At the same time, though, Bush aides argue that a Perot candidacy could help their cause by throwing the race back open in virtually every state, including the crucial state of California, where Mr. Bush needs to reverse current trends. They maintain previous polls have shown the overall impact of a Perot candidacy would be to close the gap between Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton in many states, potentially making them all more competitive.

The Clinton camp maintains, though, that the Arkansas governor's lead in California is so large that it is safe. It also maintains that Mr. Perot could attract enough votes to cost Mr. Bush the race in their home state of Texas, which is crucial to the president's effort, and hurt Mr. Bush in other Southern states.

Caution Rules in Clinton's Campaign, And So Far, It Hasn't Hurt His Lead

By JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
ALBANY, Ga. — How does Bill Clinton become the next president?

Very carefully.

With double-digit leads in the public-opinion polls over his opponent, President Bush, Mr. Clinton may not be coasting. But his campaign isn't exactly the political equivalent of football's run-and-shoot offense.

What worries Clinton strategists more than anything else is the possibility of a serious blunder, and so they limit their candidate's schedule to one or two events a day most of the time, isolate him from the press and keep running the same basic plays that have worked from the start.

Low-Key Schedule

This week, for example, highlights have included:

On Monday, he introduced business leaders, most of them Democrats, who are supporting his candidacy, then he went to a football game.

On Tuesday, he spoke at a campus rally and then answered soft questions on a televised town-hall meeting.

And yesterday, for the fifth time, he was back on the bus, rolling across south Georgia in a replay of his most successful campaign ploy. And it worked again. He was trailed by six buses filled with reporters and TV cameras. The ABC News contingent alone numbered 11.

Today, he's scheduled to visit a chemical plant in New Jersey and a park in New York City, and then to retire to the comforts of the Palace Hotel.

Clinton strategists worry that if Ross Perot jumps into the race—and that seems more and more likely—the result will be confusion and uncertainty, precisely what they're trying to avoid.

That's all the more reason to proceed with caution, they say. "We've got to be about change, the economy and the middle-class, the things that got us here in the first place," says Paul Begala, a senior Clinton strategist. "We are not going to change our message."

Strategy Against Perot

Mr. Clinton's strategists will argue that they have a better economic plan than Mr. Perot but will refrain from anything smacking of a personal attack on him, figuring Mr. Perot's obsessive distaste for Mr. Bush will mean he spends most of his time lambasting the president. The general consensus is that Mr. Perot will help Mr. Clinton in Texas but hurt him in the West. But Mr. Clinton is so far ahead in California that he probably doesn't need the

Clinton strategists say they aren't sure how it will work out in the rest of the country.

CAMPAIGN
★ 92

Cautious strategies often don't work. But this one may be different, simply because it is being carried out so smartly.

The Clinton strategists can barely repress their glee at the way things are going, even though they insist the race will tighten up. "Mississippi!" says Mr. Begala. "Can you believe Bush is back in Mississippi?" Mr. Bush campaigned in Mississippi, among other places, on Tuesday, where he began his post-nomination campaign. It's a state he should carry easily. "He's still trying to pin down his base," says Mr. Begala.

"We're ahead in so many states, we don't know which ones to target," says Frank Greer, the campaign's senior media consultant.

This is heady stuff for Democrats, who last won a presidential election in 1976 with Jimmy Carter. But because it has been so long since they looked this good, and because so many disasters have overcome their presidential contenders, they worry.

One result is that reporters traveling with Mr. Clinton don't see a whole lot of him. The other day, a TV-network producer ran him down and asked him about his views on family-leave legislation. A Clinton handler intervened. "You can't ask about family leave," he shouted. "Today, we're talking about welfare."

Mr. Clinton becomes especially elusive when his draft record during the Vietnam War is a prime topic.

Playing the Debate Controversy

Perhaps the best example of the cautious Clinton strategy in action is the way that the campaign has handled the debate about having debates. The Clinton camp, it's suspected, may not be especially keen about having debates at all, simply because they're ahead and debates often produce unpleasant surprises. The Clinton people insist that Mr. Bush in a controlled, formal setting is a better debater than most people recognize.

But the president plainly has been hurt by ducking debates. It turns up in campaign focus groups; people voluntarily complain that Mr. Bush is refusing to participate, Clinton advisers say.

The tactic is a simple one: Mr. Clinton continues to accept a debate format proposed by the presidential debate commission that Mr. Bush's handlers object to. The Clinton operatives say they will deal

with the bipartisan commission, but they won't sit down and seek a compromise with Mr. Bush's advisers.

If debates are held, the Clinton advisers expect that it will be on their terms—an open-ended discussion of the issues with a single moderator. Mr. Bush's people want the debates to be filtered through a panel of journalists.

"The Bush people are making a lot of mistakes," says Mr. Greer.

So far, Mr. Bush has spent millions for TV commercials on network TV, with little impact on his standing in the polls. Mr. Clinton's more cost-effective ads have run in regional markets, in targeted states. The Clinton campaign is loaded with cash for more ads.

And Mr. Clinton continues to get impressive chunks of free time on local TV stations. The town meeting Tues-



Bill Clinton

day night, for example, was sponsored by WXYZ-TV in Detroit, and carried on several other TV stations in Michigan, a key battleground state. The questions came from voters, not journalists, and no one was allowed to follow up on a question. Mr. Clinton is very impressive in this format.

The bus tour works just as well, and hardly anything can go wrong on it either. As the caravan snakes across Georgia, reporters who normally vie to report Mr. Clinton's latest explanation of his draft record during the Vietnam War are reduced to struggling to identify the wildflowers growing along the highway.

Bush Proposes Break on Taxes For Small Firms

President, in Campaign Stop, Fails to Specify Funding For \$20 Billion Program

By MICHEL MCQUEEN
And DAVID WESSEL

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
GREENSBORO, N.C.—President Bush, continuing to dole out goodies on the campaign trail, offered small businesses tax breaks worth \$20 billion over the next five years if he is re-elected.

But Mr. Bush didn't specify how he would pay for the tax cuts, which follow promises to spend more than \$100 billion on personal tax cuts and new spending initiatives.

And some economists questioned whether trimming taxes for small businesses, which Mr. Bush described as "the very engine . . . that pulls the economy forward," would do as much for the economy as either Mr. Bush or his opponent, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, suggest.

Small business owners, meantime, said they liked the sound of the changes proposed by the president, but wondered why it took so long to unveil them. (See article on page B2.)

Capital-Gains Tax Changes

At a campaign rally, Mr. Bush promised to eliminate capital-gains taxes on long-term profits from stock issued by small companies, reduce corporate taxes on small firms and new start-ups, cut personal-income taxes for certain upper-income owners of small businesses and simplify tax laws so that most small firms can file returns on one or two pages.

The president, as he has before, contrasted his plans for tax and regulatory relief with Gov. Clinton's health-care and worker-training proposals, which could increase small-business taxes. But Mr. Bush lifted a page directly out of Mr. Clinton's book: He proposed to cut the capital-gains tax in half for profits from the sale of stock in small businesses — those with assets or receipts of less than \$10 million — if investors hold the shares for five years. He would cut the tax further as shares are held longer, and eliminate it altogether for shares held 10 or more years.

Mr. Clinton, adopting a concept pushed by Arkansas Sen. Dale Bumpers, has said he would halve the capital-gains tax for investments in young, small companies; he hasn't been more specific. Mr. Bush vetoed a tax bill earlier this year that, among other things, would have raised the capital gains tax for profits from stock issued by companies with assets under \$100 million.

Tapping the Kitty

Mr. Bush has said he would offset the cost of his tax cuts with proposals he has made that would save \$132 billion over the next five years. But Mr. Bush already has proposed tapping that kitty for his proposals to cut personal income tax rates and to increase the personal exemption for families with children; those two proposals alone would cost \$146 billion. What's more, about \$38 billion of the proposed \$132 billion in savings would come from accounting changes.

"I would certainly vote for him for head magician," said Gene Sperling, one of Mr. Clinton's economic advisers. "I wish I could take the same money and spend it over and over and over again."

The political logic of offering tax breaks to small-business owners is unassailable because there are so many of them. In 1990, the Small Business Administration counted 6.2 million businesses that employ fewer than 500 people. And even though small-business owners tend to be richer than the average American, tax breaks for small firms don't provoke the same argument over fairness that arises when Mr. Bush pushes his broader capital-gains tax cut.

The economic logic of the proposed tax breaks is fuzzier, though. Both Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton laud small business as key to prosperity. Small businesses are clearly important — and fast-growing entrepreneurial businesses are crucial — but they tend to pay lower wages and are far less likely to offer health or pension benefits than big businesses.

"It makes a whole lot of sense from a political point of view," said James Medoff, a Harvard University economist. "It makes no sense from an economic point of view. You should be favoring the creation of good jobs, not favoring small business."

Impact of Small Companies

About 57% of all private-sector employees worked for firms that employ fewer than 500 people in 1990, the SBA says. Mr. Bush said small business creates two-thirds of all new jobs. The job-creation figure has fluctuated substantially over the past decade. With big companies laying off workers, small businesses created all of the new jobs between 1988 and 1990. But they accounted for only 45% of the new jobs in the two prior years, according to the SBA.

"That tells us that lots of jobs are created by new businesses," says Charles Brown, a University of Michigan economist. "But that's not a particularly good argument for subsidizing your local dry cleaner who has two employees."

The tax code shouldn't favor either big or small firms, argues John Jackson, another Michigan professor. Likening the economy to a forest, he says, "The entrepreneurs are the potential new seedlings. A small percentage will become large trees 40 years from now. . . . We need to be a healthy forest without the middle-aged trees to provide shade and nutrients."

Mr. Jackson, however, said the president's capital-gains proposal is more likely to help the economy than his other small-business tax breaks.

Mr. Bush proposals included:

—Reducing the corporate tax rate for

the first \$50,000 of corporate profits to 10% from 15%, a tax cut of up to \$2,500 per business. The cost: \$8.4 billion over five years.

—Allowing small companies to deduct up to \$25,000 of equipment expenses in the year of purchase, up from the current \$10,000. The cost: \$5.5 billion.

—Altering the alternative minimum tax, which is designed to make sure that individuals pay some tax no matter how many tax breaks they claim, so that small-business owners aren't subjected to it just because they have large deductions for depreciation or oil and gas drilling costs. The cost: \$1.7 billion.

The capital-gains proposal would cost \$700 million over five years. But most of the revenue loss would come in later years.

A Vietnam Vet's Advice to Clinton

By PAT C. HOY II

As a retired army officer and fellow Arkansawyer, I want to add some friendly advice to what Bill Clinton is getting from those young people on his staff who can't seem to get the right perspective on the war thing.

We need to get to the truth about his war record . . . and ours.

Vietnam seemed unreasonable to many of us from the outset. But long before that war, something had already begun to unsettle the male psyche. Frederick Henry in Hemingway's "A Farewell to Arms" finds "abstract words such as glory, honor, courage . . . obscene beside the concrete names of villages, the numbers of roads, the names of rivers, the numbers of regiments and the dates." In the midst of war, the abstract words didn't sound "sacred" to Lt. Henry.



Bill Clinton

They didn't sound sacred to me in Vietnam either. "Obedience" troubled me when I thought about why I was actually there. I wondered why I had gone. But there on the ground, when I was trying to keep American soldiers alive, "obedience" seemed more sacred to me than a "peace with honor." War, you see, plays havoc with ideals and creates ironies. Ideals can lead easily to self-righteousness and self-deception—and to fanaticism about the glory of service.

Don't get me wrong, I'm in favor of ideals, and I'm in favor of service. That's why I went to Vietnam even though I opposed the war. I had been raised on obedience over in a little hamlet in South Arkansas — raised just as Bill Clinton was, on the same set of shared community values.

But I also went to Vietnam because years before I had entered into a contract that bound me to the nation. I believed the very fabric of society depended on my honoring the oath I took as an officer to "preserve and defend the Constitution against all enemies foreign and domestic."

Under that contract, soldiers do not get to choose the enemy. Congress does.

Somebody sent close to three million men and women to Vietnam. At least 57,000 human beings died on the spot, not counting the enemy, and thousands more have committed suicide back home. I suspect most of those folks died of a purple heart.

We came back from Vietnam to a nation that had sent us out to die and then abandoned us when we came home. In that war, the nation did not honor its part of the unwritten contract: Never send men and women out to die unless a war is necessary for the nation's survival. Never abandon those who answer the call to serve, no matter what.

Bill Clinton and thousands of his generation didn't go to Vietnam. And for many of them, it took far more courage not to go than it did to answer the call from the draft board. They were called to fight in a war so unjust and so confusing that we still do not know exactly how we got there.

We do know that America lost. We cannot tell whether we did any good, but we know without a shadow of a doubt that we did long-lasting damage. So Gov. Clinton should stop trying to figure out exactly what he said to whom on what day, and in what sequence, almost 30 years ago as he struggled toward maturity in a world that was losing its hold on the redeeming facts of life. He should tell us exactly what it felt like to be caught in a bout of conscience.

Don't let anyone suggest that manhood and character express themselves only in war. Most of us find out in other ways whether we will stand our ground or turn tail and run. Those who depend on war to tell them never quit talking about it. They trade inner peace for a notion of glory.

I lived in silence over Vietnam until the national hysteria about the Gulf War salted an old psychic wound. I am glad that my former students from West Point came back from war to a grateful nation, but I still wonder about the war itself. I wonder if we have become so technologically sophisticated that we have lost touch with a restraining morality that might save us.

Has war become the last refuge of the scoundrel?

If Gov. Clinton owns up to what he did

during the Vietnam War, some folks will probably call him un-American, immoral, or down-right cowardly. Never mind. He must begin to speak about the deeper issues. We need to know more about his tough moral fiber.

Those who romance war leave behind them a trail of destruction. They replace grim reality with an illusion, and if we're not careful we'll all be seduced again by their fanatic appeals to glory. That seduction might well lead to our undoing.

Mr. Hoy, a retired colonel, teaches writing at Harvard. His most recent book is "Instinct for Survival" (University of Georgia Press, 1992).

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

Clinton's Strength With Business Leaders Is Rare for a Democrat

Frustration With Economy Causes GOP Defections, But Most Still Back Bush

Will Donald Trump Switch?

By RICK WARTZMAN
And DANA MILBANK

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Workers at Ceridian Corp.'s Minneapolis headquarters had to look twice this summer when their chief executive, Lawrence Perlman, showed up sporting a Bill Clinton button on the lapel of his pin-striped suit.

"It's the first campaign button I've worn in a long time," admits Mr. Perlman, who backed President Bush in 1988. But times have changed. "Business has become much more pragmatic about the need for active programs," he says, "and we're not seeing it in the Republicans."

The chief of the data-processing concern isn't alone in deciding that the Demo-

On the Campaign Trail

President Bush continues to dole out campaign largess with his offer of small-business tax breaks totaling \$20 billion. See article on page A18. Meanwhile:

- Small-business owners question why the president took so long, B2.
- A second private meeting between Perot and Baker is disclosed, A18.
- Clinton, preserving his lead, carefully tries to run out the clock, A18.

crats — and their vision of a more activist government — aren't necessarily bad for business. The 210-member National Coalition for Advanced Manufacturing, which includes such household names as Johnson & Johnson and International Business Machines Corp., recently wrote to Mr. Clinton to praise him for his stand on a number of issues. Leo Reddy, president of the non-partisan group, gives higher marks to the Arkansas governor than to Mr. Bush on three of its four priorities—government aid for small companies, use of federal research to aid manufacturing processes and incentives for industrial modernization. In a fourth area, worker training, he rates the two candidates equally.

Part of the Democrat's unusual success with business leaders stems from the fact that many of them are frustrated with the way President Bush has handled the economy, which has grown more slowly during his nearly four years in office than during any other administration since World War II. Donald Trump, the shaken real-estate magnate, complains that Mr. Bush "has done nothing to save" his industry from its present slump. A registered Republican who built his empire in the Reagan years and raised \$1.2 million for Mr. Bush at a 1988 gala, Mr. Trump won't say whom he plans to vote for, but when asked if Mr. Clinton would do better with the economy than Mr. Bush, he responds, "He couldn't do any worse."

Notwithstanding such expressions of disappointment, surveys have shown that a substantial majority of chief executives support President Bush's re-election. And they are backing their choice with cash contributions: Of the chief executives of the nation's 100 largest corporations, 39 had given a total of \$45,000 to the president through June, according to an analysis done for The Wall Street Journal by the National Library on Money & Politics in Washington. By comparison, Mr. Clinton had received only two contributions, adding up to \$1,500.

Courting Industry

Business executives historically associate the GOP with lower taxes and friendlier attitudes toward industry. "Most business people feel that under a Republican administration, we're more likely to increase growth, job creation and productivity," says W.L. Lyons Brown Jr., the chairman of whiskey maker Brown-Forman Corp. Many executives also take comfort in President Bush's extensive international experience. Moreover, some fear that Gov. Clinton would expand the budget deficit and burden business with more regulations, particularly in the area of health-care reform and worker training. "I think it would be disastrous if Clinton were elected," says Robert J. Siewert, president of Monarch Machine Tool Co.

Still, not since Lyndon Johnson in 1964 has a Democratic presidential candidate so determinedly courted the captains of industry, and won over so many.

Intent on earning a reputation as a new kind of Democrat, Mr. Clinton has met with small groups of executives around the country for the past year, listening to their ideas and exchanging position papers with some.

Steady Dialogue

Indeed, Mr. Clinton began seeking converts in the business community even before the primaries. Last year, Western Digital Corp. Chairman Roger Johnson, a staunch Republican since he first cast a vote for President Eisenhower in the 1950s, announced that he thought President Bush lacked a coherent plan to turn the economy around. He said he would thus consider pulling for a Democrat.

Mr. Clinton quickly followed up with a phone call, and soon the two were engaged in a steady dialogue. "I told him I really wasn't interested in the redistribution of wealth, or to tax and tax," Mr. Johnson says. By stressing balance — that industry had to remain the No. 1 engine of economic

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Continued From First Page

growth but that government had a role to play as well — Mr. Clinton "convinced me that I wasn't talking to a traditional Democrat," he adds. Mr. Johnson now supports Mr. Clinton.

The contrast is equally evident inside the Clinton campaign. Ellis Mottur, Gov. Clinton's point-man on winning business support, remembers the frustration he felt in 1988 when he was dispatched to the West Coast to win industry backing for Michael Dukakis. In that race, the Democratic nominee "never understood" the business world and came across as "very aloof and off in the clouds on this kind of thing," Mr. Mottur says.

The Clinton campaign's attention to the business community's concerns is paying off. Last week, Mr. Clinton barnstormed through California's Silicon Valley, where he sat at a table shaped like a computer chip with a band of executives from some of the country's leading high-tech companies. Among those who formally gave the candidate their backing were the chief executives of Hewlett-Packard Co. and Apple Computer Inc., John Young and John Sculley respectively, who heretofore had been in the Republican fold.

Earlier this week, over the clink of silver on china, 100 executives gathered in the French Room of Chicago's Drake Hotel to chat for more than an hour with Mr. Clinton about the federal budget deficit, education, tort reform, product liability and tax incentives. Afterward, at a news conference, some of the businessmen heaped praise upon Mr. Clinton.

And it isn't just at well-orchestrated campaign stops that executives are lining up for him. In Cleveland, developer Patrick Park, who has never voted for a Democratic presidential candidate, now drives around with a Clinton bumper sticker on his Mercedes-Benz. And in Philadelphia, a meeting earlier this month of generally conservative retired executives became a recruitment drive for Clinton backers when lifelong Republican Max Kraus announced his intention to break ranks.

Even some GOP stalwarts concede that business colleagues are defecting and that others are either closet Clinton fans or reluctant Bush supporters. "Many businessmen are concerned about the ostrich position Bush has taken on many issues," says Thomas Tyrrell, chief executive of American Steel & Wire Corp., who nonetheless plans to stick with the president.

Tending Toward Collaboration

And while talk of government planning still scares plenty of businessmen, heightened global economic competition has convinced others that the laissez-faire approaches of the Reagan and Bush presidencies should give way to a more collaborative model.

The idea of government working with industry is particularly appealing to high-tech companies, many of which would like to undertake more joint ventures with government laboratories. "To be success-

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THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

Crossing Over: Clinton Has Strength With Business Rare for a Democrat Running for the White House

ful as a nation, we have to forge a private sector-public sector partnership," says Hewlett-Packard's Mr. Young, who led a commission on industrial competitiveness for President Reagan in 1983, but still fumes that the Republicans never really listened to the group's recommendations.

Mr. Clinton has gone out of his way to listen. Late last spring, he asked Larry Ellison, chairman of Oracle Systems Corp., for some of his ideas on what government should do to help foster technology development. For months thereafter, Mr. Clinton's aides traded drafts and conference calls with Messrs. Ellison, Young and Sculley and their staffs. "We had a tremendous amount of communication," says Mr. Mottur.

The end result was that the Clinton campaign earlier this month issued an 18-page policy paper asserting that while most of the responsibility for "restoring America's competitiveness . . . rests with the private sector," government "can and must support these efforts."

Cutting-Edge Image

Wooing high-tech firms is especially important to Clinton campaign officials because they believe it enhances the governor's image as the candidate on the cutting edge, the one most able to lead the next generation. This week at a computer conference in Southern California, where hundreds of industry executives assembled, a mock election was held. The results, tabulated instantaneously, gave Mr. Clinton the victory, 57% to 43%.

"There's something simpatico between these entrepreneurs and a younger candidate who has a strong vision," contends Sandy Robertson, a San Francisco investment banker who, though a registered Republican, plans to vote for Mr. Clinton. After the meeting in Silicon Valley, he held a fund-raising affair at his home that brought in \$300,000 for Mr. Clinton.

Looking around the room that night at the 130 or so business people in attendance, Mr. Robertson says he figured that their companies represented about \$22 billion in sales and 95,000 jobs. He also estimated that 70% of them were Republicans.

Mr. Clinton's activist philosophy has found some supporters in other places as well — for instance, among military contractors. "I've heard from people in the defense industry that this guy Clinton wouldn't be so bad," says an executive at one of the nation's defense giants. Although Mr. Clinton has vowed to make deeper cuts in the Pentagon budget than President Bush has, this executive says the Democrat is more willing to have the government step in and help arms makers find new markets.

Defense Industry Defector

"I like the program Clinton has," says Malcolm W. Gambill, chief executive of Harsco Corp., in Camp Hill, Pa., which manufactures armored vehicles for the Army. Voting for Mr. Clinton will be a switch for him; he voted twice for Ronald

Reagan and once for Mr. Bush, he says.

Mr. Clinton's business ties didn't materialize overnight. (Indeed, back home in Arkansas, he has been criticized for appearing to be too cozy with industry.) And many of his advisers work for financial concerns. Such people, including longtime Democrats like Blackstone Group's Roger Altman and Goldman Sachs's Robert Rubin, have been able to make introductions for Mr. Clinton in the current campaign. So, too, have business consultant Ira Magaziner and venture capitalist Alan Patricof.

Nevertheless, many business executives see Mr. Clinton as the inheritor of a Democratic Party anti-business bias, which was stated baldly when President Kennedy did battle with the steel industry in 1962: "My father always told me that all businessmen were sons of bitches," he said, "but I never believed it until now." President Johnson, who relied heavily on support from the Texas oil industry, sought to soften such antagonism, but Democratic candidates have had trouble dispelling the party's tax-and-spend image.

Listed in Error

At times, the Clinton campaign has overstated its level of business support. F. Kenneth Iverson, the maverick chairman of rising steelmaker Nucor Corp., was erroneously listed among chief executives strongly backing Mr. Clinton. In fact, Mr. Iverson plans to vote for President Bush. Other executives have complained that they too have been misidentified as Clinton backers by people in the campaign.

Even those who talk with Mr. Clinton often challenge his promises to increase spending on the nation's infrastructure while simultaneously cutting the federal deficit. For instance, at an August meeting at the New York Hilton with about two dozen executives, Mr. Clinton was peppered with questions about how the numbers add up. Hewlett-Packard's Mr. Young, who had yet to endorse Mr. Clinton, voiced doubts about the Democrat's arithmetic. After the session, however, Mr. Magaziner talked him through the candidate's budget calculations and apparently allayed his concerns.

"I don't think Bill expects complete agreement," says Thomas McLarty, chairman of Arkla Inc., a Louisiana energy company, and a friend of Mr. Clinton since their days together in Miss Mary's kindergarten class in Hope, Ark.

Benjamin M. Rosen, chairman of Houston's Compaq Computer Corp., says he is backing Mr. Clinton for the same reasons he would recommend a management change in a struggling corporation, much like the one he engineered at Compaq last year. "It's not so much what [Mr. Clinton] is saying, but given the state of the economy, I really think we need some fresh thinking," he says. Mr. Rosen has voted Republican for the past 20 years.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Herbert S. Hoffman
Hoffman Apparel International Corp.
160 North Washington Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02114



CAMP DAVID

9-24-92

Dear Herb,

I'm getting some
'info' so I can write
Dennis Shapiro.

Thanks for your
letter. Sincerely,
Jan

Jan Burmeister



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