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daily
cc:
Roger Porter
(for Action)
JABIII (FYI)
Nick Calio (FYI)

The Honorable Delbert L. Latta
516 Hillcrest Drive
Bowling Green, Ohio 43402

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

September 29, 1992

Dear Del,

It was great seeing you in Ohio. The whistle stop tour was a big success and I loved the enthusiastic crowds. Thanks for being at my side.

This has been a tough race with only five weeks to go, but I remain confident. Thanks so much for your letter and your steadfast support. I'll take a good look at the Job Sharing program. Now, I'm back on the road — determined to win!

Barbara joins in sending best wishes to you and Rose Marie.

Sincerely,





Delbert L. Latta

Member of Congress

1959 - 1989

516 Hillcrest Drive
Bowling Green, Ohio 43402

September 26, 1992

R2
Have reply prepared
Great. say you no
Ohio - I have
for big at my
side"

(419) 352-0527

President George Bush
Whitehouse
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I want to see you re-elected for America's future!!! I was one of the early "birds" for Bush and was one of the twenty one members of Congress who braved the snows of New Hampshire and campaigned for you in that crucial primary. My credentials are sound and I'm doing whatever I can for you in this election.

It goes without saying that peoples' confidence in the future must be revitalized. I'm enclosing a brief of a budget-neutral, Job Sharing program which we have discussed with the Labor Department (Lynn Martin & Bob Jones) and various Republican Leaders in the Congress. It's worth a HARD look so that something might be announced during this campaign. It would work similar to crop insurance and would give workers FULL pay when added to their unemployment benefits. Sound attractive? It certainly would to the worker who thinks about his or her future.

One further thought. Keep reminding the people of what they had under Carter and the benefits we gave them in inheritance taxes, etc.

Sincerely


Del Latta

JOB SHARING

It is no secret that the economy plays a leading role in any Presidential Campaign but the economy has been made THE issue in the '92 Campaign by Clinton-Gore. It is, therefore, critical to the outcome of this election that the President give the American working men and women new hope and incentives for supporting him if he is to be re-elected.

People have voted their pocketbooks in Presidential elections even though they had not lost their jobs and were still employed at election time. The mere thought that they might be adversely affected during a period of economic downturn causes many of them to turn against the administration in power in the hope that a new President could somehow invigorate the economy and make their jobs secure. This points up the need for a NEW program which will be budget neutral and give these workers additional protection from the much-feared pinkslip or layoff. I believe the Job Sharing program I am proposing can do this as well as give them further proof that this administration cares about their future.

I propose that a Job Sharing pool fund be established from relatively small deposits by all worker participants to insure them against loss of income during an economic downturn or elimination of their jobs. Deposits to the fund would be the percentage difference between a stable national unemployment base rate of 5.25% and the latest available unemployment figure when applied to their own wages. To offset the cost of these deposits by employed workers, they can elect to take time off of equal value at full pay by their employer.

The *Wall Street Journal* published a chart in its January 13, 1992 issue which showed that the present precipitous rise in unemployment began in July, 1990. After a period of "full" employment during which unemployment was stable at 5.25%, the unemployment rate had climbed to 7.1% in December, 1991. Taking this period, for example, there was only a 1.85% increase in unemployment as a result of the recession. Under my proposal, workers in the above example pay 1.85% of their base pay into the job sharing pool fund in order to be guaranteed FULL pay during any layoffs which might occur. Unemployment benefits from other sources, however, would be deducted from their Job Sharing checks. These deductions would help guarantee the solvency of the fund. A person making \$300 per week would make a deposit of only \$5.55 for such a guarantee against loss of income. Persons receiving monthly benefits under the plan would be entitled to one-twelfth of their earnings as shown on their 1989 W-2 forms less the 1.85% deposited back into the pool fund.

Job openings created by the above time off would be offered to the unemployed in multiples of 40 hours at wages paid from the fund at not less than a person's W-2 base rate in 1989. Fund managers would strive to match job opening rates with the person's wages in 1989. Refusal of such offer

would result in loss of benefits for the same period and loss of W-2 credit for the current year. Openings would be filled from the employer's own seniority list whenever possible, and then from lists of persons with similar skills maintained by State Employment Offices.

If this job sharing program were now in being, all participants could count on receiving at least 98.15% (based on the aforementioned time period) of their average pay in 1989 into the foreseeable future. These people would be maintaining their customary standard of living and would be purchasing the goods and services necessary to keep our economy going.

Some may ask why a person with high seniority, and therefore high job security, should be required to pay into the fund. Seniority was established during the Great Depression as a means of job security against being fired at the whim of the boss. Seniority has become somewhat sacred to those who have it, but even at General Motors some 65,000 people are being slated for layoff. The Job Sharing Plan would give every participant income security even if their company went out of business. Job sharing will not be fully effective unless nearly everyone participates and then everyone would have job security regardless of seniority. Seniority would still determine pay rates, promotions, vacations, etc.

Since persons permanently on welfare have no W-2 base, they would not qualify for the job sharing plan. Dealing with the unemployables is a burden which must be borne by our entire society. Other unemployment compensation and welfare grants not requiring work would not increase a person's base. Those who fail to accept work would have a progressively lower base and would eventually be dropped from the plan.

The use of the W-2 base of 1989 will not always be the proper reference time period due to changing unemployment patterns. Persons entering the workforce after 1989 would need to have a later wage base established. A "full" employment pattern would bring the percentage to zero and the plan would go on hold. Deposits would begin again only if there were an increase in unemployment. Reserves would not be needed as this is a self-sustaining plan. Federal and State Labor Departments already have the offices in place to service this plan and the creation of a huge, new bureaucracy would be unnecessary.

The wealth of our nation depends on the production and equitable sharing of useful goods and services (including government services) created by those who are willing to work for a fair share of what they produce. It is for the protection of the incomes of these hard working people during economic stress that this Job Sharing Program was designed.

The basic concepts of the Job Sharing Plan are set forth above in a manner that can be grasped quickly by the voters.

The public is skeptical as to the effectiveness of make work "jobs" created at taxpayers' expense being proposed by both candidates. This Job Sharing Plan is a new, creative and understandable concept which could be made effective in 90 days. It would give an immediate boost to

consumer confidence which is badly needed.

If further information is required, please contact the following:

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995 Fourth Street
Perrysburg, Ohio 43552
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OR

Delbert L. Latta
304 North Main Street
P.O. Box 484
Bowling Green, Ohio 43402
Phone: 419-352-8627

Daily



Tennessee

Aboard Air Force One

9-29-92

Dear Charles & Dee,

Some enchanted evening !!

The fund raiser's success
thanks to the Wyllys' touch
was enough; but then when
you add in the warmth of
this evening - the genuine sense
of friendship and caring in
your lovely home -- well, that
was extra special !!

I am very grateful
for your longtime, steadfast
loyal support --

What in the world, in
this tough sometimes nasty

Mr. and Mrs. Charles J. Wily, Jr.
5906 De Loache
Dallas, Texas 75225

THE WH
WASH

would, would we ever do
without friends, true
genuine friends. That's
when you come in.
We must regard from
this genuinely grateful friend

CJL

PHONE CALL FROM SONNY MONTGOMERY = 9/29/92

POLL TAKEN IN THIRD DISTRICT OF MISSISSIPPI 4 days
after Labor Day --

BUSH 64% favorable
33% unfavorable

CLINTON - 45% Favorable
45% unfavorable

401 people polled -- just got results back. DO NOT
FEEL IT NECESSARY TO CALL SONNY - he just wanted to
share this encouraging word with you.

RZ

- 2) Gerry Bemiss called. You've been on his mind.
Hasn't bothered you because he realizes your
schedule. However, if you needed an old pal
to stop by and cheer you up, just give him a
call.

- 3) Cardinal Law would like you to call him today.
(would not say what it's about, but it may be
about the Al Smith dinner in NYC on October 15.

- 4) Chief Prescott has decided to wait until November
to take the job at Justice.

we can't do it yet. ~~we~~
Have not told them
it is the same night
as a selected debate
date)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Clarksville, Tennessee)

For Immediate Release

September 29, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT CLARKSVILLE COMMUNITY WELCOME

Austin Peay State University
Clarksville, Tennessee

4:04 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Naomi. And may I welcome just a few people -- first, our Secretary of Education, a great Tennessean, Lamar Alexander. What a job he's doing for education. (Applause.) And Senator Howard Baker -- great American leader. (Applause.) Congressman Sundquist, your great Congressman, is here with us today. (Applause.) And Congressman Duncan.

And may I salute the president, President Oscar Page, and thank him for this hospitality; and Coach Ray Gregory. (Applause.) Coach Gregory, congratulations on being named Tennessee Football Coach of the Year. A great honor. (Applause.)

And may I also salute my introducer, Naomi. I'm very, very proud that she's been with us today. (Applause.) And thank Ricky -- Ricky Skaggs, who you heard from, who's a wonderful entertainer and a good friend to Barbara and me. And my special appreciation to a great friend and a great entertainer, the legendary, one and only Crystal Gayle. Crystal, thank you so much. (Applause.)

Four years ago -- and Crystal's sister, Peggy Sue, is here -- and four years ago we went on a bus trip across Illinois. And we won the state. So this is a good omen -- we are going to win Tennessee. (Applause.)

Before I make a few campaign remarks I have a few things to say about a topic that's been on a lot of minds recently. And I hope you'll bear with me because I want to talk to you and to the rest of the nation from this wonderful campus about presidential debates. (Applause.)

Two weeks ago, I proposed to Governor Clinton that we debate. And I proposed that we do so on the same terms and conditions that have been used in prior presidential debates, and that the vice presidential candidates do so as well. And Governor Clinton has failed to respond to this proposal. But, in fact, it is reported that he is afraid for his campaign to sit down with out campaign to negotiate arrangements for the debate.

And I have debated in all of my prior campaigns for President. And I continue to think that it's important that debates be held. You see, I believe strongly that it is not up to any self-appointed body to determine the basis on which debates will be held, but rather up to the candidates themselves. And this basic principle was expressly recognized by both national political parties when the resolution establishing the Commission on Debates was first adopted.

And because of the importance of this election, the strength of my convictions about what is right for this country, and my belief that a Clinton presidency would be wrong for America -- (applause) -- I think it is important that voters have

MORE

an opportunity to see and hear from the candidates themselves in publicly-televised debates. And I also believe that the candidates should not be afraid to accept and respond to questions from the press during the course of presidential debates. (Applause.)

Americans will go to the polls five weeks from today. And I regret that Governor Clinton has not accepted the traditional approach to presidential debates, the approach that's been in effect for many, many years. But nevertheless, in order to move this process forward, I hereby challenge my opponent to a debate on every Sunday evening between October 11th and November 1st. (Applause.)

And this would mean that there would be four televised presidential debates, more than ever held in any presidential election. And if Ross Perot decides to enter the race, I'd be pleased to see him included in these debates. (Applause.)

Now, furthermore, to allow these arrangements to move forward quickly, I would be willing to see two of the debates proceed under the format which has been used in all these previous presidential elections, and two proceed under this single moderator format. In addition, I think that during the five-week period, there should be at least two vice presidential debates with one based on each format.

And I feel quite confident that Governor Clinton will accept this proposal, since his campaign chairman has indicated in the past that Governor Clinton would debate -- and now I quote -- "with moderators, without moderators, in a studio, out of a studio, three questioners, one questioner." So I have no doubt that there will be organizations willing to sponsor these debates. And if Governor Clinton is serious about debating he will accept this challenge and he will instruct his campaign officials to meet promptly with my campaign officials to work out the details directly between the parties. Let's get it on. (Applause.)

And what are we going to be talking about in these debates? What are we going to be talking about in them? Well, this campaign, like every campaign, is about a simple question: What kind of America do we want for the graduates of this great school, for all the young people here today? And my opponent will tell you that America is in decline. And I would remind him of what anyone would tell you on the streets of Europe or Asia -- America is still the most respected, the most admired, the most dynamic -- (applause) -- the most dynamic nation in the entire world. And I'm tired of hearing Clinton drag down the United States of America. (Applause.)

And I'm proud, I am proud of our leadership; proud that we led the way in reducing nuclear weapons so that our kids can sleep free from the nightmares of nuclear war. (Applause.) And it's a fitting place to say this, right near Fort Campbell -- and I am proud of how we stood up to Saddam Hussein, kicking him -- (applause) -- proud of the Screaming Eagles from Fort Campbell's 101st Airborne. (Applause.)

And in the sands of Saudi Arabia, they showed that no other nation can match the courage of the men and women of America. And now our challenge is to put our talents to work to win the new global economic competition, to create a high-tech, high-growth economy with good jobs for you and all your classmates. And I have laid out my agenda, detailed Agenda for American Renewal -- a specific, comprehensive, integrated agenda to create in American the world's very first \$10-trillion economy. (Applause.)

And I want to use this international experience, international leadership, to open up new markets for American

MORE

products, because that is how we will create good jobs for American workers.

Small business will create two-thirds of the new jobs in the new economy. And Governor Clinton promises small business higher taxes and more red tape. And I promise relief from taxation, regulation, and litigation. Get the regulations off the back of the small businesspeople in this country. (Applause.)

And with Lamar's -- Lamar Alexander's leadership and assistance, we're proud that today half the students in four-year colleges across Tennessee receive federal grants or loans. And no one told you what college you had to go to. You had the freedom to choose your school. (Applause.) And now we are fighting to reinvent America's elementary and high schools by giving every parent the right to choose their children's schools -- public, private or religious. (Applause.)

And we have a good plan to give government vouchers to soldiers and others caught in the transition of the economy so that they may learn new skills and find the dignity work.

And here's something else I want: to limit the terms of members of the United States Congress. (Applause.) Governor Clinton says he's the candidate of change, but he opposed this, the most profound change offered this year. Presidents serve limited terms. The same rule ought to apply to the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. (Applause.) So let's approve term limits and give Congress back to the American people. (Applause.)

And I might add this -- that if we had more congressmen like Don Sundquist up there, everybody wouldn't be yelling at me "clean House." (Applause.) But while we're at it, let's have that little chant: "Clean House." We've got to get rid of that old 38-year-old governance that has controlled Congress for 38 years. Let's change it. You want to make real change in America? Help me change the Congress and move this country forward. (Applause.)

These are just some of my ideas and some of what I'm fighting for. And I'm proud of my record, and I'll stand by it in November. But if candidate Clinton wants to talk about the past, I say okay, let's look at what's going on in Arkansas. (Applause.)

The people there -- and I know them; I've been there many, many times; lived next door -- they are decent and hard-working people. But the more you know about their Governor, the more you know that he's wrong for America. (Applause.) Governor Clinton says he's for civil rights. But Arkansas doesn't even have a basic civil rights law. He says he's for high-tech, but under Bill Clinton, Arkansas has been falling behind in high school. Three out of every four Arkansas graduates spend their first year in college relearning what they were supposed to learn in high school. And that is not fair to the people of Arkansas. (Applause.)

Bill Clinton says he wants to get tough on crime. But his crime rate rises faster than the nation's. And I support the law enforcement officers all across the country. (Applause.) And I am very proud that the police in Little Rock, Arkansas, endorse me for President of the United States of America. (Applause.) America deserves better than that sorry Arkansas record of Governor Clinton. (Applause.)

Look at the economy, the major issue in this campaign. I know America's endured some tough economic times. Families are hurting. But understand, we are being affected -- and all students know this -- by a global economic slowdown. Our competitors in Europe would trade places with us in a minute.

MORE

And yet Governor Clinton offers America the European social welfare state policies -- more government, more special interest spending, and more taxes on the middle class. And that is not good for America.

AUDIENCE: Boo --

THE PRESIDENT: As Governor -- I know I hate to ruin a beautiful afternoon like this, but listen to this one -- as Governor, Bill Clinton raised and extended the sales tax, including a tax on baby formula, vegetables and other groceries. He raised the gas tax. He taxed mobile homes and cable TV. And, oh, yes, he slapped a tax on beer.

AUDIENCE: Boo --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I had a feeling that would not very popular here. (Applause.) And now the Governor says he's seen the light. In this campaign he's proposing at least \$150 billion in new taxes, plus at least \$220 billion in new spending. But don't worry, he says, "I'll get it all from the rich" -- people who make it over \$200,000, the top two percent.

But here's the truth and problem: To get the money he needs for his plan, the \$150 billion he's promised in new taxes, Governor Clinton would have to get his money from every individual with taxable income over \$36,600. And that's just the start of his tax campaign against the middle class. Governor Clinton will need hundreds of billions of dollars more to pay for all the programs that he's promised.

And the newspaper in his own backyard, the Pine Bluff Commercial, says that if Congress follows Bill Clinton's example, it would pass a tax program that would hit the middle class the hardest. These are not people, Governor Clinton, on "Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous." These are your parents -- your parents, my friends. (Applause.) These are the people that work hard and pay the bills and sweat it out at tax time. And they deserve a break, not a new tax. (Applause.)

And let me give you one example. Let's say after you graduate, you get your first job with about, say, \$22,000 in taxable income. Governor Clinton could have you fork over another 430 bucks a year to the tax man. And I say you ought to be able to use that money to pay the rent or spend a week at the lake on vacation or send it -- not have to send it back to the IRS in Washington, D.C. (Applause.)

And so, at this time in the great history of the United States, I don't think we can take the risk on a tax-and-spend candidate with no experience. And, you see, I've been in the Oval Office, and I have faced some very tough decisions. And, of course, I've made mistakes. And when I make a mistake I admit it. But I believe I've been a good leader, willing to make the tough calls -- (applause) -- and I'm a leader whose ideas are right for America.

And I stand before you today, asking for your support so that we can get to work with a new Congress to fix the problems that stand in the way of this country; so that we can reform our health care system; that we can literally reinvent our schools; so that we can retrain workers from one generation and create jobs for the next; so that we can cut government spending and taxes and get this economy moving again. (Applause.)

This is the agenda that I have to offer. And if you are looking for a leader of experience, a leader of ideas, a leader who shares your values, and a leader who understands that America's real strength is not in government, but in places like Clarksville -- then I know I can count on your support on November 3rd. (Applause.)

I have only one regret today -- and that is that the greatest First Lady this country -- well, I'd better be careful, but our great First Lady is not with me. I'm very proud of Barbara Bush. And I see a sign over here that's talking about the family. I think that my wife has done an awful lot when she holds an AIDS baby in her arms, or when she sits and reads with kids in the lobby there at the Diplomatic Entrance to the White House, to show what we mean as a family when we say, let's strengthen the American family. Read to the kids. Teach them discipline. Help them. (Applause.)

I've been privileged to be your President. We did it through some very, very tough times. And one of the things that shaped my life is that I served my country in uniform. And I'm very, very proud of that. (Applause.) And I salute those here from Fort Campbell and elsewhere who are also serving their great country. (Applause.)

And don't listen, don't listen to the other side that is tearing down this country. We are the greatest, strongest, fairest, freest country on the face of the Earth. Let's keep it that way.

May God bless you all. And may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.) What a great rally -- thank you all. (Applause.)

END

4:25 P.M. CDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Alcoa, Tennessee)

For Immediate Release

September 29, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT KNOXVILLE AIRPORT WELCOME

McGhee-Tyson Airport
Alcoa, Tennessee

12:11 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. What a great Tennessee welcome.

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: This is fantastic. Thank you, Knoxville. Thank you very, very much. Thank you, Knoxville, Tennessee. This is fantastic.

And let me thank Naomi Judd for being with us. I'm the guy who's honored. What a wonderful entertainer and a great personality and a wonderfully strong character we have standing here today in Naomi Judd. (Applause.)

And may I salute your former -- some of you all's former president of the great university here -- our marvelous Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander. (Applause.) And another Tennessean known nationally as a true leader, a true, honest, decent, strong leader in a Congress that was crying out for it -- and still is -- I'm talking about Howard Baker. (Applause.)

And, you know, you hear a lot of calls -- everywhere I go, people have brooms and they're yelling, "Clean House, clean House. Change the Congress" And if we had more congressmen like Jimmy Duncan -- (applause) -- and more like Don Sundquist and Jimmy Quillen with us here today, we wouldn't have to clean House. But since we do, help us clean House and get this country moving again.

May I salute another old friend, longtime friend for Barbara and me -- Victor Ashe, the Mayor of this city. (Applause.) And also I understand our County Executive Dwight Kessel is here. And that brings me also to another special friend who's taking it out on the trail for me -- Ricky Skaggs. I'm just delighted to be with him. (Applause.)

And standing over here, another good one, another great one -- T.G. Sheppard. Thank you very much for being with us. (Applause.)

Now, first let me start with a word about the polls and the talking heads. (Laughter.) Every one of them said that Tennessee would lose to Georgia, and every one of them said that Tennessee would lose to Florida. (Applause.) So much for the polls, and so much for the talking heads. Enough of it. We're going to win this election. (Applause.)

This campaign, like every campaign, is about a simple question: What kind of America do you want for the young people that are here today? And I'll tell you what kind of an America I want and am working for -- an America that is not just a military superpower, but the greatest economic superpower in the entire world. And that means more jobs for the American people. (Applause.)

MORE

And I have laid out a comprehensive Agenda for American Renewal -- a specific, integrated agenda to create first \$10-trillion economy. And we can get that happening by moving to change the Congress and moving forward with my program. (Applause.)

The Democrats don't like my evening talking about it, but I am very proud of our record in ending and winning the Cold War, proud of the way the sons and daughters of Tennessee performed in the sands of Saudi Arabia. (Applause.) It was a proud moment, not a moment to be forgotten. (Applause.)

And the Clinton ticket feels that they ought not to -- I ought not to talk about foreign policy. I want to use my experience to lead the way to new markets for American products because that is how we are going to create good American jobs -- the same leadership that changed the world. Now let's make America better and renewed. (Applause.)

But, look, we all know that if we're going to compete abroad and do this --- what I talking about -- with markets, we've got to make changes at home. It's small business that creates two-thirds of the new jobs in the new economy. And Governor Clinton promises small business higher taxes and more red tape --

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: -- and I promise relief from regulation and taxation and, yes, relief from these crazy lawsuits that are killing us in this country. (Applause.)

And if we're going to compete in this new world, in this new economy, we must reform our schools. And I am very proud of our great Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander. (Applause.) I am proud of our national America 2000 program; proud that we're raising standards; proud that we're freeing up the teachers -- and God bless them all -- freeing them up from regulation and red tape; and proud that we are designing totally new schools for a new century. And I thank our Secretary. And I thank these communities in Tennessee that are working to rebuild American education. (Applause.)

Lamar and I want to go further. The parents of today's volunteers have the power to choose the best college for their kids. And I want that same choice for elementary and high school. And my G.I. Bill for Kids will give parents and fundamental resources they need and the right to choose the best schools for their kids -- whether they're public, private or religious. (Applause.)

Now, these are some of my ideas and what we're fighting for and what this election is about. And I'm proud of our record, and I'll stand by it in November. But if candidate Clinton wants to talk about the past, then I say I'm ready. And let's take a look at what's been going on in Arkansas. (Applause.) Sorry to ruin your day, but we've got to look at the record. (Applause.)

There's a lot you don't know about this man, and the more you find out, the more you know is that he's wrong for America. (Applause.) We cannot take a risk with this great country of ours. And take a look at the issue of education. As long as I'm standing here with some greats on education, let me put it this way: Governor Clinton was part of the national summit which set our education goals. And I've given him credit for being -- participating in that, and so has Lamar Alexander.

But in Arkansas, his rhetoric does not match his record. He talks about a high-tech economy that Arkansas is 48th in the percent of students that high school diplomas. And three

MORE

out of every four Arkansas high school graduates spend his first year in college relearning what they were supposed to learn in high school. And I think America must do must do a lot better than that. (Applause.)

I think of Tennessee as a fair-play state when it comes to race. And it's the same thing on every issue with him. Governor Clinton says he's for civil rights. But Arkansas doesn't even have a basic civil rights law. He says he's for a clean environment. But the Institute of Southern Studies ranks Arkansas 50th -- 50th in environmental policies. It's the only place where mother fish teach baby fish to jog instead of to swim. (Laughter.) It's so polluted in that river over there. (Applause.)

Governor Clinton says he's been tough on crime. But in the '80s Arkansas's crime increases far outstripped the nation. And the Little Rock police say it all because they have endorsed me for President of the United States of America. (Applause.)

And now let's take a look at the economy. I know America has had some tough times. I know families are concerned, worried about the next job. Those out of work worried about how they're going to get back to work. But understand, we are being affected by a global economic slowdown. It isn't just the United States. Look at Europe. Look at Canada. Look at other countries around the world. And our competitors in Europe would trade places with us in a minute. And, yes, Governor Clinton offers America the European social welfare state policies --

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: -- more government, more special interest spending, more regulation, and more taxes on the middle class. And we cannot let him do that to the taxpayers in this country. (Applause.)

This is not simply campaign rhetoric. As Governor, he raised and extended the sales tax, including a tax on baby formula, vegetables and other groceries. He raised the gas tax. He taxed mobile homes. And for those of you ESPN watchers, he even taxed cable TV. And then he put a tax on beer just for an add-on.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: I knew the college crowd wouldn't like that too much. (Laughter.)

Governor Clinton now says, well, he's seen the light. And in this campaign he's proposing at least -- and look at the record -- \$150 billion in new taxes, plus at least a \$220 billion in new federal spending. But don't worry, he says, I'll get it all from the rich, from the top two percent.

But the problem is -- here's the truth -- to get the money that he needs for this plan -- everybody's that's analyzed it says this: the \$150 billion that he's promised -- billion dollars that he's promised in new taxes, Governor Clinton would have to get his money from every taxpayer and every individual with taxable income over \$36,000. And these are not people that you see out there on "The Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous." They deserve a break, not a tax increase. (Applause.)

And the problem is, this is just for openers. He'll need hundreds of billions of dollars more to pay for every one of these programs that he's proposed. And there's an old saying: When you go hunting for ducks, hunt where the ducks are. Well, he's hunting for ways to pay for all of his promises, and he's going to go right smack to the middle class, because that's where the bucks are. So watch your wallets. Watch your pocketbooks.

MORE

He's coming right after you. And don't let him say anything different. (Applause.)

And on this one -- on this one don't have to take my word for it. Go right to his neighborhood. Go to Pine Bluff and listen to the Pine Bluff Commercial. And here's what it says. "If Congress followed the example that Bill Clinton set as Governor of Arkansas, it would pass a program that hit the middle class the hardest." And he's going to treat the middle class the way Johnny Majors' team treated Cincinnati last Saturday. (Applause.) Exactly. The Volunteers pounced on the Bearcats, and he's going to pounce on your wallet. Look at the record. We cannot let this happen to America. (Applause.)

I'll give you a factual example. Let's say you're a nurse just starting out with about \$22,000 a year in taxable income. Governor Clinton would have you fork over another \$430 a year to the tax man. And I say that you ought to be able to use that to help your kids' education, or pay the mortgage on the house -- and not send it to the IRS in Washington, D.C. (Applause.)

But he says, hey, forget about this, forget my record, forget the facts, don't talk about Arkansas and my record there. I am a different kind of Democrat. But what is different about him? George McGovern -- Bill Clinton ran Texas for him in 1972. He learned his liberalism from George McGovern. And in that campaign he was out there for George McGovern. Then Jimmy Carter -- Bill Clinton wore the same moderate costume, but at least Carter meant it, even though he brought us the highest Misery Index in recent -- modern times.

And then Michael Dukakis -- Clinton nominated him in an endless nomination speech, I might say. (Laughter.) And then he praised the Massachusetts Miracle right before it went south and the economy collapsed. America does not need this kind of different Democrat. There are some wonderful Democrats out there, but we don't need this kind -- this McGovern, Carter, Dukakis Democrat. (Applause.)

Now, Governor Clinton wants you to trust that America's economy is going to improve if you turn full control of your paycheck over to the crew that already runs the United States Congress. And he wants to tax and spend government planners, those kind of planners to have total control over the Executive Branch, too.

And they tried this 12 years ago. And we ended up with double-digit inflation; we had interest rates sometimes as high as 18 percent; and we had a Misery Index over 21 percent -- unemployment and inflation added together. And it took years to ring inflation and high interest rates out of the American economy. And I want to strengthen our economy and protect your paycheck from the ravages of inflation. We cannot go the tax-and-spend route anymore. (Applause.)

And it all boils down to this. At this time in our history we simply cannot take the risk of Governor Clinton in the White House. (Applause.)

You know, I've been in the Oval Office and I've faced some tough decisions. It's not easy; you cannot be on all sides of every question when you're a President of the United States. And I stand before you today admitting mistakes, but saying I called them as I saw them. I hope I brought the character and integrity to this high office that you can respect and appreciate. (Applause.)

And so I came here to ask for your support so that we can get to work with the new members of Congress -- Democrat and Republican alike -- to fix the problems that stand in the way of this country; so that we can reform our health care system and

we can literally reinvent our schools; and so that we can retrain the workers from one generation and create jobs for the next; so that we can cut government spending and taxes and get this economy moving again; and that we can pass an amendment to limit the terms of members of the United States Congress and give the government back to the people. (Applause.)

Now, if you want a guy that has a statistic for every problem, your man is the Governor of Arkansas. He's got more statistics that there are problems -- 38 percent of this, 28 percent of that. But he's got to face up to the fact that as President you can't have it always, you've got to make the tough calls.

And if you're looking for a leader of experience, a leader ideas, a leader who shares your values, and a leader who understands that America's real strength is not in government, but in places like Alcoa; a leader you can trust, then I know that I can count on your support. And I need it to be President of the United States for four more years. (Applause.)

Let me say this: I am very proud of the sons and daughters of Tennessee that have worn the uniform of the United States of America. You are a great and proud Volunteer State. (Applause.)

Governor Clinton wants us to forget that we have changed the world. And I am not going to let him forget that the young men and women that fought in Desert Storm helped us change the world and make it much more peaceful for every young person here today. (Applause.)

I ask for your trust. I ask for your trust, and I will not betray it. I ask for your vote. And I hope I have earned it.

He can talk about the United States being lower than Germany and someplace above Sri Lanka. And I'll end this way: We are the most decent, fairest, strongest country on the face of the Earth. (Applause.) Let's not tear it down, let's build it up. (Applause.) We are Americans. (Applause.)

And may God bless you all. And thank you very, very much. (Applause.) Thank you so much. (Applause.)

END

12:30 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

(Clarkesville, Tennessee)

For Immediate Release

September 29, 1992

The President today recognized the volunteers of Holy Angels of Belmont, North Carolina, as the 907th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. Volunteers provide companionship, encouragement, and a sense of well-being to children and adults with disabilities.

Founded in 1956, Holy Angels is a residential development center for children and adults with profound mental and physical disabilities. Holy Angels integrates educational, physical, linguistic, and recreational therapy in a family atmosphere.

Over 85 volunteers, including teens and senior citizens, facilitate eight different programs contributing between 5 and 30 hours per week. This year the volunteers have served over 7,500 hours, assisting the residents with feeding, bathing, lifting, transporting, and reading. The volunteers take an active role in the residents' lives, often establishing significant relationships and encouraging them to achieve personal goals.

Special Volunteers are residents with mild disabilities who give back to Holy Angels by helping with the young children in day care, making beds, and serving food. The Special Volunteer program teaches residents job skills which enable them to lead productive, self-sufficient lives. Holy Angels' "Volunteer Program" allows teens to interact on a personal basis with residents who are disabled. Over 19 teens volunteered this summer contributing over 600 hours.

Another program, "Partners in Education," encourages elementary school children to visit with Holy Angel's children. The children interact three times a month, playing and sharing experiences. In turn, ambulatory residents may visit with their new friends and participate in drama or music classes. Teachers from local schools volunteer at Holy Angels, and Holy Angels staff reciprocate by volunteering at the elementary school. This weekly exchange increases awareness and breaks down the barriers between children with disabilities and elementary school children.

The President salutes the volunteers of Holy Angels 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
(Blountsville, Tennessee)

For Immediate Release

September 29, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT TRI-CITIES AIRPORT WELCOME

Tri-Cities Airport
Blountsville, Tennessee

10:23 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Naomi. Hey, listen -- (applause) -- thank you all very, very much. Thank you so very, very much. You know, Naomi says this is the first time that she's introduced a President. But look at it this way -- this it he first time I've ever been introduced by such a wonderful person, Naomi Judd. (Applause.) And I'm just pleased to have her with us on Air Force One.

You know, lest you didn't know it, we have a great Secretary of Education in Secretary Lamar Alexander, a former Governor of this state. We're very proud to be with him. And, of course, my old friend, Howard Baker is still beloved not only in Tennessee, but all across this country as a great leader. (Applause.)

And may I salute another old friend. If we had more like these two -- these three that I'm about to introduce, everybody would not be yelling at me "Clean House." Because you've got three great, in Jimmy Quillen, in Don Sundquist, and Jimmy Duncan right here with us today. (Applause.)

Send us more like these three and let's get this country moving again. (Applause.) And about these --

AUDIENCE: Clean the House! Clean the House!

THE PRESIDENT: That's it. We've got to clean it. And about these three characters over here. Barbara Bush and I -- they are friends, and we are very proud of that. They don't know how to throw horseshoes. We had them at Camp David and they came in second, third and fourth. (Laughter.) But in life they're coming in first, because of their talent and because of Larry's fighting back. And I'll tell you -- we are very proud to have the Gatlin Brothers at our side. (Applause.)

And, of course, may I salute Sarah Sellars, our National Committeewoman, and our great Chairman in this state, Tom Harper. They tell me we're going to win Tennessee, and they are absolutely right. (Applause.)

And I also want to salute the Volunteer High School Marching Band. (Applause.) Thank you all for being with us. This campaign, like every campaign for the presidency, is about a simple question: What kind of America do we want for the young people here today. And I want an America that remains a military superpower, but is the greatest economic superpower on the Earth, and we're going to make it even better. (Applause.)

You know, I've spelled out a specific agenda for America's renewal. A specific, comprehensive plan, an integrated agenda to create in America the world's first \$10-trillion economy,

MORE

and I am proud of America's leadership role in ending the Cold War, proud of the sons and daughters who wowed the world in the sands of Saudi Arabia. The Democrats wanted to forget it, but we are not. (Applause.) I will continue to thank the sons and daughters of Tennessee who served with honor in Desert storm, and we're not going to let Bill Clinton forget that this was a proud moment in the history of the United States. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Where was Bill? Where was Bill?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know where was. I'll tell you where he was on the war. Do you want me to answer the question? On Desert Storm he was on both sides. He was for the people that opposed it, but he was for those that supported me. That's a great thing, but you can't do that as President of the United States of America. You've got to make the tough calls. (Applause.)

But now what we've got to do is work with these great members of Congress, using our experience to lead the way to new markets for American products. Because that is how we're going to create more good jobs for people all across the United States of America. You see, small business will create two-thirds of the new jobs in the new economy, and, Governor Clinton -- well, he promises small business higher taxes and more red tape, and I promise small business relief from taxation, regulation and litigation. (Applause.)

You know, we spend almost \$200 billion a year on direct cost to lawyers. Japan doesn't pay that and neither do the European countries. And my opponent doesn't think this is a problem. He's in cahoots with the trial lawyers. And they spend so much time in court that their favorite song is "A Boy Named Sue." (Laughter.) Now, as a nation -- but here is my view: We've got to take the pressure off doctors who are scared to practice or Little League coaches who are afraid to coach. (Applause.) And we've got to sue each other less in this country and care for each other more. (Applause.)

And I am proud of my record. All the Governor of Arkansas does is go around tearing me down, tearing our country down, saying we're less than Germany and a little more than Sri Lanka. He ought to open his eyes. We are the most respected country on the face of the Earth. (Applause.) But if you'll bear with me for just a minute -- if he wants to talk about the past, fine; but let's take a look at what's going on in Arkansas. The people there are decent, they are hard-working, they are sound, grassroots people. But there's a lot they don't know about their Governor's record. And a lot you don't know about it. And the more you find out about it, the more you know that Governor Clinton is wrong for the President of the United States. (Applause.) He is wrong for America.

Look at the issue of crime. We simply have got to take back our streets from the crackheads and the criminals. And Candidate Clinton, oh, he talks a tough game. But in Arkansas, the average criminal serves just one-fifth of his sentence, and then he's let back on the street. And compare that to the federal prisons for which I am responsible. The average inmate there serves 85 percent of his sentence. And when it comes to crime, I am not much for letting these prisoners out of jail early. (Applause.) If you steal a car or you beat up some elderly woman, you ought to go to jail. And I say this: You should not be let out until you're eligible for a birthday salute from Willard Scott. (Applause.)

Don't take it from me, though. Listen to those in Arkansas. Ask the police over there in Little Rock. The cops who know Bill Clinton best have endorsed me as the best candidate for President of the United States. (Applause.)

It's the same thing on every issue. I think of Howard Baker and the others standing here as leaders in fair play on civil rights matters. But Governor Clinton says he's for civil rights, but Arkansas doesn't even have a basic civil rights law. He says he's for a clean environment, but the Institute of Southern Studies ranked Arkansas 50th in environmental politics. It's the only place where fish teach the young fish to jog instead of to swim. That's how polluted the rivers are over there. (Applause.)

I love fishing. I'm a bass fisherman. The fish in Arkansas light up at night because of -- chickens are doing to the river. (Applause.) Governor Clinton says he's for high tech. But, under Clinton, Arkansas has been falling behind in high school. Three out of every four Arkansas graduates spend their first year in college relearning what they were supposed to learn in high school. And that is not fair to those young people over across the way. (Applause.)

Let's take a look at the economy. All we hear from him is how bad things are. And I know we've been through some tough economic times. But we are affected, of course, by the global economic situation. And our competitors in Europe would trade places with us in a minute. And, yet, Governor Clinton offers America that European social welfare state politics -- more government, more special interest spending and more taxes on the middle class, and that is wrong for America. (Applause.)

If you can take another horror story this early in the morning, let me tell you this: He has raised and extended the sales tax, including a tax on baby formula, vegetables and other groceries. He raised the gas tax, he raised mobile home tax, and for those of you ESPN watchers, he even taxed cable TV and slapped a tax on beer. How do you like that?

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: Now he says he's seen the light. In this campaign, he's proposing at least \$150 billion -- direct proposal in new taxes, plus at least \$220 billion in new spending. And, don't worry, he says, I'll get it all from the rich people who make it -- over \$200,000 a year, the top two percent. But here's the problem, and here's the proof. To get the money that he needs for his plan, the \$150 billion that he's already promised in new taxes, he would have to get his money not from those with over \$200,000, but from every individual with taxable income over \$36,600, and that is not good for America.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: These people aren't out there on the Lifestyles of the Rich and the Famous; they work hard, and they deserve a break. And that's just the start of his tax campaign against the middle class. He will need hundreds of billions of dollars more to pay for all these programs he's promised. And there's an old saying: When you hunt ducks, you go where the ducks are. Well, he's hunting for ways to pay for all his promises, and he's going back to tax the middle class because that's where the bucks are.

And, listen to the news -- don't take my word for it. You listen to the newspaper from his own back yard, the Pine Bluff Commercial. And here's what they say: If Congress followed the example that Bill Clinton's set as Governor of Arkansas, it would pass a program that hit the middle class the hardest. And I say the middle class has been hit hard enough already. (Applause.)

The Pine Bluff paper is not bluffing. And let me give you one example -- just an example. Say you're a third grade teacher

with about \$22,000 in taxable income. Governor Clinton could have you fork over another \$430 a year to the tax man, and I say you ought to be able to use that money to pay for your kids' education, pay the mortgage on the house, not send it up to the IRS in Washington, D.C. (Applause.)

Governor Clinton will say, oh, I am on the side of the middle class, but he says, then, well -- yes, I'm going to have it both ways. Consider his principles -- on both sides of the Gulf War -- I mentioned that -- when he said, and here's an exact quote, an exact quote: "I guess I would have voted with the majority of it was a close vote, but I agree with the arguments the minority made. Now, how would that be for a Commander-In-Chief when you've got to stand up against aggression halfway around the world? (Applause.)

And, one day, Governor Clinton says, well, I'll never run for president, and the next year he announces he's running for president. And one day he says he's for the North American Free Trade Agreement, and then he says, well, I haven't made up my mind yet. And one day he's for raising fuel efficiency standards on cars, and the next day he says, well, I'm flexible on that one. And one day he says the middle class deserves a tax break, and the next day he's plotting new ways to hit the middle class to pay for all his programs.

And if he ever became the President of the United States -- and he won't -- (applause) -- we'd have to replace the American Eagle with a chameleon. And that is not the way it works in the Oval Office. And you cannot come down on both sides of every issue. You have to take your lumps and you have to take a stand. And I don't think that we can take a risk on Governor Bill Clinton to be President of the United States of America. (Applause.)

You know, I've made mistakes as President, and, different than him, I've admitted when I'm wrong. But I believe I've been a good leader, willing to make the tough calls. (Applause.) And I'm a leader whose ideas are right for America. And I stand before you here today asking for your support, so that we can go to work with a new Congress to fix the problems that stand in the way of this country, so that we can reform our health care system -- and reinvent, as Lamar so eloquently stated -- reinvent our American schools, so we can retrain our workers from one generation and create jobs for the next, so we cut government spending and cut taxes and get this economy moving again. (Applause.)

And, also, so that we can limit terms for the members of the United States Congress and give government back to the people. (Applause.) Now, this is our agenda. And if you want one who has a statistic for every problem, go ahead and cast your vote for the other guy. But if you're looking for a leader of experience, a leader of ideas, a leader who shares your values, a leader who understands that America's real strength is not in government, but in places like this marvelous town right here today in your great state of Tennessee, then I know I can count on your support on November 3rd. (Applause.)

Governor Clinton says that we are a nation in decline -- somewhere less than Germany and a little better than Sri Lanka. And I say we are the greatest, freest country on the face of the Earth. (Applause.) And now let's make life better for everybody at home by using the same courage and leadership we have to change the world.

Thank you, and may God bless the people of Tennessee and the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much. What a wonderful rally. (Applause.)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Clarkesville, Tennessee)

For Immediate Release

September 29, 1992

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In accordance with the requirements of section 809 of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, as amended (12 U.S.C. 1701j-2(j)), I transmit herewith the 15th annual report of the National Institute of Building Sciences for fiscal year 1991.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
September 29, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Chattanooga, Tennessee)

For Immediate Release

September 29, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT CHATTANOOGA AIRPORT WELCOME

Chattanooga Airport
Chattanooga, Tennessee

2:20 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much.

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: Four more. That's who we need! What a great Tennessee welcome. Thank you all. Thank you so much. Thanks for that Chattanooga welcome.

Let me thank two special guests with us today. Of course, an old friend of mine and Barbara's -- Ricky Skaggs, one of the great entertainers -- great American. (Applause.) And also, I'm the one that's honored to be introduced by Naomi Judd, also a great American talent. (Applause.) And I love country music. (Applause.) Because country music loves America. And today we get to hear it all across Tennessee.

And may I also welcome those others here standing with me -- Senator Howard Baker, one of the great leaders of this country. (Applause.) All across the country we hear words of "Clean House. Clean House." People are tired of the Democrats that have controlled Congress for 38 years. And if we had more like Don Sundquist here, and Jimmy Duncan we wouldn't be yelling that. But we need more.

Where's Jack? Here's a way to help clean. Get Jack up there. (Applause.)

And may I pay my special respects to the Forrester Sisters -- Forrester Sisters who are here. I'm told that they have a popular song called "I'd Choose You Again." Well, I take that personally. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years!
(Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: This campaign, like every campaign, is about a very simple question: What kind of America do we want for the young people here today? And I'll tell you the kind of America that I want: An America that is not just a military superpower, but the greatest economic superpower in the world, and an export superpower. And I have laid out a detailed Agenda for America's Renewal -- a specific, comprehensive, integrated agenda to create in America the world's very first \$10-trillion economy. And we can do it if you give us the support in Congress and reelect me for four years. (Applause.)

The other side acts like foreign affairs and national security means absolutely nothing. But I am very proud of our leadership in winning the Cold War and proud of the way the sons and -- (applause) -- proud of the way the sons and daughters of Tennessee stood fast and proud in the sands of Saudi Arabia, standing up against aggression. (Applause.)

MORE

And now I want to use that leadership and that experience in international affairs to lead the new market for American products; because that is how we will create more good jobs for the greatest workers on the face of the earth, the American worker. (Applause.) And if we're going to compete in the global economy -- and I'm confident we will -- we've got to reduce that budget deficit and remove the burden from the backs of these kids that are here with us today. (Applause.)

You know, Governor Clinton has gone through the entire federal budget --

AUDIENCE: Boooo!

THE PRESIDENT: -- and he has spelled out exactly one federal program he would cut out -- and that is the \$11-million federal honeybee subsidy. Believe me -- nobody will be stung by that courageous decision on the part of the Governor of Arkansas. And I have put specific programs forward to eliminate 4,000 projects, 246 programs, and to control the growth of the spending that's out of control -- the mandatory spending program, saving almost \$300 billion over the next five years.

But I want to go further. I want that line-item veto to discipline the Congress -- (applause) -- and I want a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution to discipline that spendthrift Congress. And I want to give you, the taxpayer, the right to make a check on your income tax return, earmarking up to 10 percent of your tax return to go to reduce the federal deficit. (Applause.) And if the Congress doesn't have the guts to take a whack at the budget deficit, let the taxpayers have the axe and give it a try. (Applause.)

You know, I'm proud -- this guy's fired up over here -- (applause) -- I am proud of my record, and I'll stand by it in November. But if Governor Clinton, Candidate Clinton wants to talk about the past, let's look at what's been going on over in the great state of Arkansas -- and they're wonderful people there. But let's look at the record. There's a lot you don't know about my opponent. And the more you find out, the more you know that he is wrong for America. (Applause.)

Look at health care reform. Take a look at health care reform. We need it desperately. But he says, no more pressing problem faces America. And, yet, after five terms in office, 40 percent of Arkansas residents don't have health insurance with their job -- it's one of the highest rates in the entire nation. And we can do better than that. (Applause.)

It's the same on every issue. Tennessee is a fair play state. Governor Clinton says he's for civil rights, but Arkansas doesn't even have a basic civil rights law. And he says he's for a clean environment, but the Institute for Southern Studies ranked Arkansas fifth in environmental policies.

And I'm told that there's a new aquarium in town. (Applause.) And maybe they'll have a live fish from the polluted White River in Arkansas. (Applause.) No, really -- that would be a "rare species" exhibit. I love to fish. Sometimes I fish at night. In the river over there you can fish at night because the fish light up at night from the pollution in that river. (Applause.)

You talk about a polluted river, you talk about cheap chicken -- I've got to be careful -- chicken fecal chloroform* bacteria -- that's what dumps into the river, and it's the only place where the mother fish don't teach their fish to swim, they teach them

to jog -- it is so polluted in that Arkansas river. A lousy record. We don't need that for the United States.

You know, Bill Clinton says -- here's another issue -- one of real concern. Because when I see the police officers here, members from the Sheriff's Department, I think of our bill hung up in the Congress to back these law enforcement officers, to support them. Because they're supporting our families. But Bill Clinton says he's tough on crime? Listen to this: Arkansas prisoners get let out of jail after serving one-fifth of their sentence. And his hometown police force endorsed me for President of the United States of America. (Applause.)

And I am proud --

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: And I am -- you guys are too much.

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: And I will continue to battle in the Congress --

AUDIENCE: Kick 'em again. Kick 'em again. Harder! Harder!

THE PRESIDENT: And I will continue to battle in the Congress with the help of these congressmen to get a crime bill that gives a little more sensitivity and support for the victims of crime and a little less for the criminals themselves. (Applause.)

You know, I know that many families are worried, and I know we've had some really tough economic times. But understand -- we are being affected not just by what's at home, but by a global economic slowdown. And our competitors in Europe would trade places with us in a minute. And, yet, Governor Clinton offers America the European social welfare state policies -- more government, more regulation, more special interest spending, and spending more tax bills or putting more taxes on the middle class, and we simply cannot let that happen to our great country. (Applause.)

He's been going after me for 11 months, but how about this one: Governor Clinton raised and extended the sales tax, including: A tax on baby formula, vegetables and other groceries. He raised the gas tax, he raised the tax on mobile homes, and for those of you ESPN watchers, he even taxed cable TV, and then for good measure he put a tax on beer. Try that one on.

AUDIENCE: Boooo!

THE PRESIDENT: But now, here's good tidings of great joy. Governor Clinton says he's seen the light. And in this campaign he is proposing at least \$150 billion in new taxes, plus at least -- that's not the worst of the news -- a \$220-billion new spending bill. And don't worry -- he's going to take it all out of the very rich, those that make -- the top two percent.

But here is the problem, and here is the truth: To get the money, he needs for this plan of his -- the \$150 billion he's promised in new taxes -- he would have to get his money from every individual with a tax income of over \$36,000. That is not the Lifestyles of the Rich and the Famous, that is going after your pocketbook.

AUDIENCE: Boooo!

THE PRESIDENT: We're going after him, don't you worry about it. Just the start of his tax campaign -- wait a minute, you haven't heard the worst of it. I'm sorry. That's just the start of his tax campaign against the middle class. He will need hundreds of billions of dollars more to pay for all the spending programs he's promised. And he's going after the nurses, the teachers, the hardware store owners. And I say you can spend your money better yourself on your home or educating your kids. (Applause.)

And you ask him about it, and he'll take both sides. He'll say on the one hand I'm for you, and on the other I'm for you over here. And when you're President of the United States, you've got to make the tough decisions. You can't waffle. You can't go around like a chameleon all the time. You've got to say what you're for and vote that way. (Applause.)

I'll give you an example. I think of the sons and daughters of Tennessee that served in Desert Storm as among the most patriotic people in the entire world. (Applause.) And consider Governor Clinton's principled stand on both sides of the Gulf War when he said -- and here is an exact quotation -- remember now, this man wants to be Commander-in-Chief. And here is the exact quotation -- remember now, this man wants to be commander-in-chief. And here is the exact quotation. I quote: "I guess I would have voted with the majority if it was a close vote, but I agree with the arguments the minority made." What kind of leadership position is that?

AUDIENCE. Booooo!

THE PRESIDENT: He's like that on a lot of issues. He turns up in more places than Elvis Presley. (Applause.) You know, I saw a tape on this the other day, looking right into the camera saying I will not run for President. I will finish my four years if the people of Arkansas elect me. And the very next year he says I'm running for President. And one day he says he's for the North American Free Trade Agreement, and then he says "Well, I've got to study it. I haven't made up my mind yet."

And one day he says the middle class deserves a tax break, and the next day he's finding new ways to hit the middle class for all his programs. One day he's for an automobile fuel efficiency standard, CAFE standard of 45 miles per gallon -- and that would throw a lot of Tennessee auto workers out of their jobs -- and the next day he says, well, I'm studying it. When you're President of the United States, privileged to sit in that Oval Office, you've got to make a decision. You cannot sit there being all things to all people. (Applause.)

We do not expect the man to win, but don't expect him to level with the American people. And if he ever got to be President we'd have to turn the -- take off the American Eagle as our symbol and put on a chameleon. And we don't need that for the head of the United States of America.

So it boils down to this -- I'm having fun, because for 11 months I've wanted to go after this guy and his record, and now we're doing it. (Applause.) It is great. It simply boils down to this: We cannot take a risk on Governor Clinton to become President Clinton. (Applause.)

You know, I've been in that Oval Office and I've faced some tough decisions, made some mistakes, hopefully called a lot of them right. But, believe me, I've tried hard to be a good and principled leader, willing to make the tough calls. And I am a leader whose ideas are right for the United States of America. (Applause.)

And so I came here to this great part of Tennessee today asking for your support so you can get -- so I can go to work with a new Congress to fix the problems that stand in our way. We've got to

reform our health care system, reinvent our public schools. And let me salute Lamar Alexander, our great Secretary of Education. (Applause.) What a job he has done.

For Lamar and for me, it's not enough to change things, we want to reinvent them and back up our teachers and the people -- the local people that know what's best for Tennessee education. (Applause.) We're going to reform or reinvent the schools, and then we want to retain the workers from one generation and create jobs for the next, so that we can cut government spending, cut these taxes to get this economy moving again. And pass term limits for Members of Congress and give the government back to the people. (Applause.)

Let me tell you something: I am very proud that I served our country in the uniform of the United States of America. (Applause.) And that helped me make a tough decision when Saddam Hussein moved out and tried to take over another country. And, again, I salute every person in the United States that was willing to stand up and fight against aggression and for the United States of America and for freedom. And as a result of what happened, you have ancient enemies talking to each other in the Middle East, you have democracy on the move in Russia. Who would have thought that possible? You have far less fear of nuclear war today than when I became President of the United States. (Applause.)

And now what we've got to do -- and what I can do with your help -- is to take that same principle leadership and lift up and renew America. I ask for your support for four more years as President of the United States. (Applause.) And may God bless our great country. May God bless the United States of America.

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. (Applause.) Thank you all.

END

2:40 P.M. EDT

daily
9/29

From the desk of
George Bush

9-29-92

Doro

Robert sends
his love to
cousin Bobby,
Wot! He asked about
y'all!

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Dorothy Koch
10 Bay Tree Lane
Bethesda, Maryland 20816

IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO TALK WITH YOUR
CANDIDATE, PLEASE CALL MY HOME
AND LEAVE A MESSAGE, YOUR NAME
AND PHONE NUMBER (if I am not at home)
AND I'LL RETURN YOUR CALL

647-7160

Do you want to be represented on a full time
basis, in Nashville? If your answer is YES
then I am your person. Mr. Head has a full
time contracting business to operate during
the year while trying to be a Legislator. Even
though I am working, at the present time, I
have already given notice that I will leave my
employment upon winning the election, to
become a FULL TIME REPRESENTATIVE.

I AM ASKING
FOR YOUR VOTE
ON NOVEMBER 3RD
PLEASE VOTE!

**VOTE FOR
THE CANDIDATE
WHO WILL MAKE
THE CHANGE.**

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

IN REPRESENTING THE CITIZENS
OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, I WILL
NOT ACCEPT ANY MONIES FOR MY
VOTE OR PRODUCE LEGISLATION
RELATED TO POLITICAL
CONTRIBUTIONS

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

*"Representative of the Tax Payers for
Responsible Legislation"*

**VOTE FOR THE
MAN WHO
WILL VOTE
YOUR DESIRES**



**ROBERT
KOCH**

(PRONOUNCED COOK)

**68TH DISTRICT
STATE REPRESENTATIVE**

BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCE:

I am employed by Clarksville Memorial Hospital as the Lead Security Officer. Prior to this time I was employed by the federal government as Data Processing Manager, Transportation Manager, and Facilities Engineering Manager. Before my retirement I was responsible for the facilities at the Long Beach Naval Shipyard, Long Beach Naval Station and the Long Beach Naval Hospital. I took an early retirement in 1988 and moved to Clarksville and have been active in community affairs.

In 1973, I was given the "Man of the Year" Award from the Salvation Army in Washington, D.C. for my disaster work in Mann, W. Va. and Fairfax, Va. I was also a former sergeant major of the Salvation Army.

I attended University of Pennsylvania Wharton School for a BS degree in accounting. A graduate of the Department of Defense Computer Institute, the Civil Service Commission Equal Employment Opportunity School, the Naval School for Civil Engineering Corps Officers, the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, the Naval Investigative Service School and other government schools.

I am a member and Sunday School teacher at Antioch United Methodist Church. A member of the Free and Accepted Masons of Palmyra Chapter No. 747, the order of Eastern Star Palmyra Chapter No. 473, Scottish Rite Bodies of Freemasonry Nashville, the Al Menah Temple Nashville, Loyal Order of Moose Clarksville No. 1027 and the Society of American Military Engineers.

I live at 1213 Debra Drive, Clarksville with my wife Debra and our 9 year old son Donald. We have six grown children living in Maryland, Delaware, and California, and have 11 grandchildren.

Issues which are expected during the next Legislative session and how I'll vote related to the choice of Montgomery County Citizens. Included is Mr. Head's Legislative Vote or how he stands on the issues, which were not in the best interest of Montgomery County Citizens.

★ ELECTRONIC POKER MACHINES- I'll vote against any legalization of electronic gambling machines.

Mr. Head has supported and voted for all bills to legalize electronic gambling machines.

★ TAX REFORM - REDUCED SPENDING - BALANCED BUDGET. I'll vote against any added on State Income Tax. I'll vote for tax reform which doesn't increase taxes above the present status. I'll vote for a Balanced Budget with Line Item Veto power. I'll vote against any spending which requires use of Reserve Funds while voting for Spending Reform.

While Mr. Head has stated that he is in favor of tax reform, he has voted for increased spending and appropriation bills, even when passage means the use of Reserve Funds. He has shown by his vote that he isn't concerned with the budget.

★ STATE LOTTERY - I will vote for legislation which would allow the citizens of Tennessee to decide on a State Lottery with the proceeds going to our school systems.

The incumbent has proposed a State Lottery as a means of Finance. But, he hasn't earmarked the funds for schools.

★ PAY AND RETIREMENT RAISES FOR LEGISLATORS - I'll vote against all pay raises for Legislators.

Mr. Head has been in favor of pay and retirement benefits for Legislators.

★ SALES TAX INCREASES - I'll vote against all Sales Tax Increases or the extension of the half percent which was added on this year.

Mr. Head submitted HB 5032 which would repeal local sales taxes and increase the rate of the State Sales Tax from 5 1/2 percent to 7 3/4 percent. This reduction in the local sales tax would increase our property taxes \$2.00 per \$100 assessment or cause other local taxes to be passed to make up the shortage.

★ ABORTION - I'll vote against any abortion bill except that which would save a Mother's life or in cases of Rape or Incest.

Mr. head doesn't want to change the present state laws.

★ PROVIDE A CHANNEL TO TALK WITH YOUR REPRESENTATIVE - I'll set up a phone line for all Montgomery County Citizens to talk with their Representative.

Mr. Head has shown that he isn't concerned with your comments and doesn't find time to return calls. His voting record shows how he feels about the concerns of the citizens which he represents.

★ FAIR AND EQUABLE HEALTH REFORM - I'll vote for any bill and support legislation which will provide fair and equable programs for all citizens.

Daily 9/29



Aboard Air Force One

9-29-92

Tenn to D.C

Dear Ray.

That editorial was really great. May thanks my friend. I am truly grateful.

We are going to win. Things are moving. The press is extra ugly and pro Clinton; but I believe I'll win on Trust & Character and on having a better economic plan.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Ray Scott, Jr.
Bass Publications
5845 Carmichael
Montgomery, Alabama 36117

From the desk of
George Bush

RZ

send editorial
to Martin, to
campaign
send his "offer" to
proper person.
GB

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

I'll pass along your great
offer to help to the campaign
You're a good friend and I
sure appreciate that.
Warm Regards,



9/30 Phil:

Per the President, please
do the following:

- Send cc of the editorial
to Marlin and to Campaign.
- Send Ray Scott's "offer"
to the proper person
for handling.

(You may want to cc Baker.
The President will want to
be kept informed of its
status.) Rose

From the desk of
George Bush

RZ

send editorial
to Marlin, to
campaign
send his "offer" to
proper person.
GB

RAY SCOTT



September 22, 1992

PERSONAL

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear George,

Enclosed is an outline of the way we could get the bass fishermen involved with your "stops." My earlier idea of a "B.A.S.S. Boys for Bush Seminar Trail" didn't work out.

I can't offer any advice that you aren't sick of hearing. We are going to win this election, but it's gonna be tough as hell. He's ahead, even by our most favorable polls. The debates can be helpful.

Please have someone let me hear if my idea sounds okay.

Enclosed is a copy of my editorial in BASSMASTER.

If there is anything else I can do for you, please let me hear from you. When this thing is over, we'll go on one heck of a fishing trip.

Susan and I send our love to you and Barbara.

With warmest regards,

A handwritten signature of Ray Scott, written in dark ink, located below the text 'With warmest regards,'.

Ray Scott

George Bush: Still The Best For The Job

Pick-up
photo
from
LAST
ISSUE

To me the choice of who will best serve our nation as president is so very clear. When George Bush first ran for president in 1979 he was even then the most qualified candidate. He offered himself with a pedigree of experience that had never been equaled by any presidential candidate. His was a record of dedicated service to our nation that remains unparalleled.

He served two terms as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives. The youngest congressman to be appointed to the powerful Ways and Means Committee, George Bush was later to serve as the very first envoy to Communist China. He provided exemplary leadership as director of the Central Intelligence Agency, then served a tour as the United States' Ambassador to the United Nations — at a time when the Cold War was at its peak.

Qualifications and experience are almost everything when it comes to applying for a job. George Bush had those qualifications in 1979:

He was a patriot as well. In 1942 he walked in and volunteered to serve in World War II. He served honorably and with distinction. George Bush was commissioned as the youngest-ever U.S. Navy pilot. He was decorated for valor. He wasn't just shot at; he was shot down while on a dive-bombing mission over a Japanese island.

When it came to serving his country, there were no second thoughts. He could have chosen to dodge the draft by staying in college or by other means, but he felt it was his duty to offer himself for service. That's just the way he is.

Add to that list of credentials two terms as the most active vice president in our nation's history and four years as our president. What is more, he was president of these United States during a time that has seen the world honestly become a much safer place to live. That awful cold, stone wall that for so long separated the free people of Berlin from the enslaved folks on the communist side of that wall is no more. They are breathing the same free air you and I have always taken for granted. The world is a safer place for you, me and our loved ones.

Let's remember that the freedoms we enjoy are bought. There is a price paid for freedom that includes the supreme price for many — the sacrifice of life by men who willingly and faithfully served — that we might be free.

If you're just about to suspect that I'm endorsing the re-election of George Bush, you are correct.

Just as you and I aren't perfect, George Bush isn't, either. But I guarantee you this — he's had more practice trying to become perfect than Bill Clinton or anyone else who might seek the office.

George Bush is a fisherman. Like most of us Bassmasters, fishing offers him those moments for the brain to relax and cleanse itself of the "muddle" it collects. George Bush told me once that bass fishing "sort of freshens my mind." You and I know what he is talking about.

I had the good fortune of first meeting and getting to know George Bush in 1979, before he was a candidate for president. The thing I remember about our first meeting was that I did most of the talking.

I was knee-deep at the time in a frustrated effort to get Congress to pass some very important legislation to benefit America's fisheries, B.A.S.S. and several other fishing groups were struggling to get more money for the states' suffering fishery programs. We had worked hard for some time, but to no avail.

Jimmy Carter was president then. Congress and the country were in a glorified mess. Inflation was at 15.8 percent that year, and interest rates were bumping 20 percent. And we were getting nowhere with our efforts to get an increase in a self-imposed excise tax on fishing tackle and marine products.

*The only thing
worse than not
voting for
George Bush
for president
is not voting.*

George Bush promised me that day that he would support such a tax since it was a "user-pays tax." Our battle for passage of the Wallop-Breaux amendment to the Sport Fish Restoration Act continued as we had to fight our way through the maze of Congress. After he was elected vice president, George Bush lived up to his word. As legislative roadblocks would appear and our campaign became dead in the water, I could call on him. Not once did he fail to take my call, and every time, the stumbling blocks disappeared.

In August 1984, the legislation passed the House and Senate, and President Reagan signed it into law. Since then, an additional \$1 billion has flowed directly into the 50 states to help improve fishing for everyone.

I can tell you one thing for certain: Without George Bush's faithful support, it would not be law today, and fishing quality would not be nearly as good.

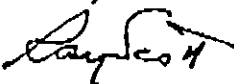
By the way, those gosh-awful inflation and interest rates of 13 years ago — they are lower now than they've been in most of our lifetimes.

Four years ago, George Bush was campaigning for his first term as president. In an interview with *The New York Times*, he was asked about his reading habits and such. The last question was, "Mr. Bush, what is your favorite magazine?" Without a blink, George Bush said, "BASSMASTER." That word, "BASSMASTER," ended the interview.

It is important, yes it's imperative, that you and I vote on Tuesday, Nov. 3. I hope you'll vote for George Bush. You and I can't take a chance.

Choosing a president is a lot like picking a fishing lure. You pick the lure that has proved to you that it has worked well in the past. Let's use the same good judgment when we cast our vote on Nov. 3.

Sincerely,



Ray Scott, President
Bass Anglers Sportsman Society

RAY SCOTT



FACSIMILE COMMUNICATION TO GEORGE BUSH, JR.

September 22, 1992

Mr. George Bush, Jr.
6029 Northwood Road
Dallas, Texas 75225

Dear George,

How about this suggestion?

I have about 550,000 members of B.A.S.S. nationwide in my computer.

When recently your dad was through Birmingham for a shopping mall speech, the chairman of the event, Emory Folmar, asked if I would try to drum up some folks to attend the rally.

We pushed the computer button and out it spat 4,249 personal letters from Ray Scott to those B.A.S.S. members who lived in Jefferson County (Birmingham) and each of the four surrounding counties.

I was there with Emory to keep the fans from leaving. We had the usual high school bands, state GOP politicians, etc. The crowd was estimated at 20,000. I'd guess a few less, but a darn packed parking lot! I asked for a show of hands of those who were B.A.S.S. members. I'd estimate 250 to 300 hands went up. That show of hands did not include any friends or family who might have traveled with the member.

My proposal is as follows:

I would like to offer to attend any whirlwind schedules with your dad (put me in the baggage compartment!) With as little as one week notice, I can have our members who live within one or two counties of the target rally town to receive "a personal letter from Ray Scott." We can make the letter similar to the one enclosed or change it in any way the experts wish.

My personal letter would serve three purposes:

1. It personally says, "Let's vote for George Bush for the following reasons ...1,2,3, etc."
2. It specifically and personally invites him and his family to join me at the rally and welcome the President.
3. It again reminds him to "go vote on Tuesday."

George, I think it would be imperative that I attend the event just in advance of your dad showing up. I could show up about the time the Lee Greenwoods, or whomever, is singing or dancing. I could welcome the outdoorsmen, help rev up the crowd at the podium, especially the B.A.S.S. boys and their buddies.

The net-net minimum cost would be whatever the law requires for the mailing.

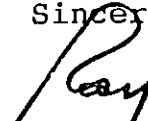
I'm sorry the other idea of my "Traveling Fishing Seminar" didn't work, but I can do this if the experts think it will help.

I'm enclosing a copy of my editorial "Scott on the Line" which will appear in your November 1992 BASSMASTER Magazine. That issue will reach the mailboxes of our 550,000 members on or about October 15.

I will be available to travel the weeks of October 4-10 and October 19 - November 2.

This is a small offering when we look at the giant job we must do. Let me hear.

Sincerely,


Ray Scott

P.S.

Try not to get me dropped off into the hands of some "busy body."

C.C. President Bush w/ personal note -

RAY SCOTT

August 18, 1992

Letter mailed to 4249 members
of B.A.S.S.

Mr. James Doe
1825 Heathermore Est. #96
Moody, AL 35004-2913

Dear James,

This is a personal invitation for you to join me in a special greeting to President and Mrs. George Bush this coming SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, at 1:30 PM. I want this to be a very special rally that will demonstrate a true Southern welcome from all the B.A.S.S. fishermen and outdoorsmen of Alabama.

I'd like to see the kind of welcome B.A.S.S. received several weeks ago in Birmingham at our BASS Masters Classic. The response was incredible. I think it was our most exciting and well-attended Classic ever held. Fishermen, sponsors and guests said they were overwhelmed with the hospitality from Alabama and especially Birmingham. Let's show the President and his wonderful wife the same kind of hospitality!

The President and Mrs. Bush will join us in the parking lot of the Galleria Shopping Center which is just off I-459 in South Birmingham. When you get to the Galleria Shopping Center, just drive around to the side where you'll hear the music and see the bandstand.

James, I know this is Saturday and you may be thinking of doing other things. But I'm asking you to share that time with me and other B.A.S.S. folks in showing our support and our thanks for George Bush's devotion to fishermen's interests during the last 12 years. He has truly been our friend.

George Bush is a life member of B.A.S.S., has attended two BASS Masters Classics and has joined me on three occasions to fish at my lake in Pintlala. He loves bass fishing and he loves the people of Alabama!

Bring your family, fishing buddies, and friends ... they are all invited. It will be fun and a memorable experience. Refreshments will be available.

Please join me as we give President and Mrs. Bush a real ALABAMA WELCOME!

Bass wishes,



Ray Scott

Austin Peay State University to
Opryland USA, Nashville

September 29, 1992

After President Bush completed the speech at Austin Peay, Marlin Fitzwater answered several questions pertaining to both the debate proposal and his chances in Tennessee:

Q: "How do you assess the President's chances in Tennessee?"

Marlin: "We're only a few points behind. We've always had good strong support in Tennessee. As this audience shows there's a lot of very enthusiastic and super support here so I think we have a very good chance of winning Al Gore's home state."

Q: "Why debates? What was the decision to go for four?"

Marlin: "The president wanted a bold proposal that made it very clear to the American people that he wants to debate, that he believes in them, and that he's felt that way from the very beginning. And this is the most extensive debate proposal ever made by a president, or any candidate for president. I think it'll be clear now to everyone that George Bush wants to debate, that he's eager to the challenge, eager to take him on, and we're going to see some pretty healthy discussions of the issues."

Q: "Why wait until now? Why wait this long?"

Marlin: "We thought Mr. Clinton would accept our earlier proposals. And frankly we were baffled that he was not willing to sit down with us, not willing to even talk about debates. So we wanted to give him enough time to make sure that everybody understood his position. And it's clear now that he simply didn't want to debate. But I think now he'll want to get involved here because the American people deserve to hear from their presidential candidates."

Q: "Does he (Clinton) have any choice but to accept this offer?"

Marlin: "Well, you'll have to ask him that. I thought he would've accepted our last proposal but he didn't, so we'll have to wait and see."

Q: "Why the change of heart, now you're going to the single moderator?"

Marlin: "Well, as I said, we had our proposal on the table before. It was a good one. We thought it would be accepted. And so now we want to make it very clear that the president wants to debate and we'll do it under these formats. We'll take 2 of ours and 2 of his, and 2 more for the vice-presidential for a six debate package. And the American people will get to see their candidates in these various forms. They're gonna hear press questions--you'll ask questions on a variety of subjects. I never was clear on why Mr. Clinton was afraid to answer press questions. But in any case I think these debates will go very well."

Q: "Did the president need this also to shake this campaign up?"

Marlin: "Well, our campaign is going very well. We had a poll this morning show we picked up 12 points last week. So that's a very encouraging development and we think we're doing very well."

Q: "Was that one point among 12 polls?"

(Laughter)

Marlin: "On to Nashville! Let's Go!"

After arriving at the airport in Nashville, President Bush was asked if he thought Clinton would take him up on his challenge. Bush answered, "I don't know, it's a good offer, though, isn't it?... (You've?) been yelling at me about debate for months."

Mary Matalin also had a few comments on Bush's proposal. She said "We always wanted to debate... This was the only way to get those chickens to the table." And later, "They're too chicken to come talk with us." Also, "Let's see them put their mouth where their macho is."

Finally, another campaign spokesperson said, on background, that the debate proposal had been under consideration for several days, but the decision to make the announcement today was not made until this afternoon. As to why the announcement was made at Austin Peay, the spokesperson said simply, "We just decided it was a good time."

David Bowermaster
U.S. News and World Report

Paul Bedard
Washington Times

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Master Aaron Jay Olson
6644 Elliot Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55423



THE PRESIDENT

September 29, 1992

Dear Aaron,

Thanks for your vote. It makes me very happy to know you are on my side. I'm glad to see that your class is learning about the election.

Hope you enjoy being in the third grade. Good luck!
Say hello to your Mom.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", written in a cursive style.

✓ cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (1 cc)

HOUSE

D.C.

Master Aaron Jay Olson
6644 Elliot Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55423



please sign
photo too

The President

*To Aaron Olson
With best wishes, Cap Bond*

From the desk of
George Bush

Draft
reply
-
nice
please

55423
'A Supper' 1970

Minneapolis, MN

6644 Elliot Ave S

Mem of Aaron Jay Olson

Sincerely,
Clancy Morgan Olson

I have enclosed his vote on the
Scholarship News so that you could
have one young boy vote of confidence
in your hands.

That evening I told my family
that I had been asked to attend a meeting
in Chicago where the President
would be speaking. My school as
never, I guess well explained to us
that in his 3rd grade class that day
they voted for the next President, &
that he voted for me. He was
very excited that his men were going
to see the President the next day.

Dear President Bush

September 25, 1970

NEWS AND VOCABULARY REVIEW

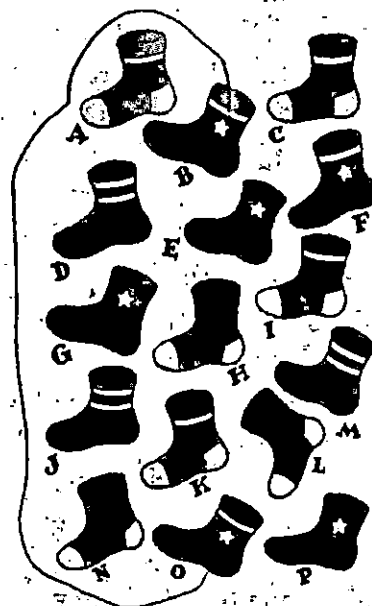
Write the number of the beginning of each sentence next to the ending that goes with it.

1. Bosnia-Herzegovina used to be part of
2. Many countries are sending food and
3. Yugoslavia used to be
4. Today, only the republics of Serbia
5. Many relief workers
6. A caucus is a group of people who talk about how leaders should
7. Kids Caucus members said the U.S. government should help

- 2 medicine to help people in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- 1 solve important problems.
- 3 the country of Yugoslavia.
- 2 all Americans pay their medical bills.
- 4 are helping the refugees.
- 5 and Montenegro make up Yugoslavia.
- 3 one country with six republics.

BRAIN TEASER

How sharp are your eyes? Look at the 16 socks below. Although there are enough to make 8 pairs, only two socks match exactly. See if you can find the real pair in the group.



Art: Dixon Scott

PICK THE NEXT PRESIDENT

Put an X next to the person you want to be President. Give your vote to your teacher. Your teacher will tell Scholastic News who you picked.

George Bush



Bill Clinton



Note to teacher: Send in your class tally by October 1, 1992.



THUNDERBIRD AVIATION Inc.
YOUR FULL SERVICE AVIATION CENTER

Nancy Grazzini-Olson
Vice President

Corporate Office
5100 Eden Ave.
Minneapolis, MN 55436
612-926-1671

Airport Facility
14091 Pioneer Trail
Flying Cloud Airport
Eden Prairie, MN 55347
612-941-1212



CHICAGO HILTON
and Towers

President Bush

*from an 8 year
old boy.*

720 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605
312/922-4400

PAT RYAN
+ SHIRLEY

Bob Stewart
Balcar

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Clarkesville, Tennessee)

For Immediate Release

September 29, 1992

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

It is my pleasure to submit my third annual report on the state of small business. America's small business owners are individuals with countless new ideas, employers and workers who produce a vast array of goods and services, taxpayers who pay many of the bills, and economic pioneers who help decide the future direction of our economy. In their endless variety, small firms help create a flexible, diverse, and lively marketplace.

For generations, entrepreneurial business owners have been in the forefront of the dynamic economic changes that continually revitalize our democracy. In the early days of our Republic, small business innovators led the way in developing more productive farming technologies. Greater agricultural productivity eventually freed other entrepreneurs to develop and commercialize new manufacturing processes. These processes and manufactured products set a new standard for America -- and for the world. But America's small business innovators did not stop there. They started another revolution by anticipating and responding quickly to the demands that grew out of the new, higher standard of living -- demands for services and sophisticated new information technologies.

Small businesses have made important contributions to the economy, not only by introducing new products and processes and creating jobs, but also by making the economy more adaptive and flexible -- by retaining workers longer during recessions and hiring workers earlier as expansions begin.

There is no doubt that 1991 was not an easy year for the American economy or for small business. The recession that began in the third quarter of 1990 carried over into 1991. Business formation rates were down, and business closings were up. The flow of financing slowed as banks and businesses grew more cautious about business expansions.

Yet in this recession, as in other economic downturns, small businesses continued to function as a source of jobs, creating many of the new jobs in the economy. Rather than lay off workers, many small firms tightened their belts in other areas. And they continued to innovate, introduce new products, and contribute to their communities.

Our economy has begun to grow again. Still, small firms face difficult challenges in the months and years ahead. The truth is that health care costs are too high and the unmet need for health coverage is great in small businesses. And of all employers, small businesses are least able to afford the expensive mandates that have been advocated by some. The proposal I presented to the Congress would not resort to mandates, but would build on the strengths of our private health care system to make health insurance affordable for America's workers and their families.

more

(OVER)

Adjustments occurring in our financial institutions have made it difficult for many worthy small businesses to find the capital they need to start up or expand. Therefore, my Administration is taking steps to encourage investment in business ventures in a number of ways. I have proposed that the Congress cut the capital gains tax so that investors will have an incentive to buy into new ventures. Another proposal I have made is to create an investment tax allowance that would assist in starting new firms.

And we can encourage some new investment by adapting programs that are already underway. For example, the Small Business Administration is working with banks to implement innovative loan programs that are channeling funds to smaller firms in some of the most economically depressed areas.

Another obstacle that can stand in the way of small firm growth is too much regulation. My Administration this year instituted a moratorium on new Federal regulations to give Federal agencies a chance to review and revise their rules. And we are looking at ways to improve our regulatory process over the long term so that regulations will accomplish their original purpose without unduly hindering economic growth.

We also need to encourage innovation -- such as that exhibited by thousands of small high technology firms -- by making the research and experimentation tax credit permanent. My Administration is committed to exploring the promise of new technologies.

This report documents the increasing, healthy diversity of our small business community, as minority- and women-owned businesses enter the marketplace in record numbers. I want to keep encouraging that diversity through our Federal procurement programs.

I also want to see more of the Nation's economically depressed communities reap the benefits of business growth. To that end, I have asked the Congress to pass my enterprise zone legislation, which will provide incentives to businesses that start up in specially designated areas, particularly in inner cities.

Looking to the future, it is clear that we need to improve our educational system so that America's workers, particularly in small firms, will be in a better position to compete in a more and more sophisticated global marketplace. My America 2000 education strategy is designed to give parents, teachers, and communities more freedom and flexibility in designing education programs to meet their needs -- and to make America the world's leader in education.

Many of these proposals for economic recovery and growth are being enacted now; others will require action by the Congress. I am committed to working with the Members of the Congress to develop and enact a broad economic plan we can all live with. These combined actions will help small businesses to move ahead to create the economic revolutions that will lead us into the 21st century.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
September 29, 1992.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Clarksville, Tennessee)

For Immediate Release

September 29, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT CLARKSVILLE COMMUNITY WELCOME

Austin Peay State University
Clarksville, Tennessee

4:04 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Naomi. And may I welcome just a few people -- first, our Secretary of Education, a great Tennessean, Lamar Alexander. What a job he's doing for education. (Applause.) And Senator Howard Baker -- great American leader. (Applause.) Congressman Sundquist, your great Congressman, is here with us today. (Applause.) And Congressman Duncan.

And may I salute the president, President Oscar Page, and thank him for this hospitality; and Coach Ray Gregory. (Applause.) Coach Gregory, congratulations on being named Tennessee Football Coach of the Year. A great honor. (Applause.)

And may I also salute my introducer, Naomi. I'm very, very proud that she's been with us today. (Applause.) And thank Ricky -- Ricky Skaggs, who you heard from, who's a wonderful entertainer and a good friend to Barbara and me. And my special appreciation to a great friend and a great entertainer, the legendary, one and only Crystal Gayle. Crystal, thank you so much. (Applause.)

Four years ago -- and Crystal's sister, Peggy Sue, is here -- and four years ago we went on a bus trip across Illinois. And we won the state. So this is a good omen -- we are going to win Tennessee. (Applause.)

Before I make a few campaign remarks I have a few things to say about a topic that's been on a lot of minds recently. And I hope you'll bear with me because I want to talk to you and to the rest of the nation from this wonderful campus about presidential debates. (Applause.)

Two weeks ago, I proposed to Governor Clinton that we debate. And I proposed that we do so on the same terms and conditions that have been used in prior presidential debates, and that the vice presidential candidates do so as well. And Governor Clinton has failed to respond to this proposal. But, in fact, it is reported that he is afraid for his campaign to sit down with out campaign to negotiate arrangements for the debate.

And I have debated in all of my prior campaigns for President. And I continue to think that it's important that debates be held. You see, I believe strongly that it is not up to any self-appointed body to determine the basis on which debates will be held, but rather up to the candidates themselves. And this basic principle was expressly recognized by both national political parties when the resolution establishing the Commission on Debates was first adopted.

And because of the importance of this election, the strength of my convictions about what is right for this country, and my belief that a Clinton presidency would be wrong for America -- (applause) -- I think it is important that voters have

MORE

an opportunity to see and hear from the candidates themselves in publicly-televised debates. And I also believe that the candidates should not be afraid to accept and respond to questions from the press during the course of presidential debates. (Applause.)

Americans will go to the polls five weeks from today. And I regret that Governor Clinton has not accepted the traditional approach to presidential debates, the approach that's been in effect for many, many years. But nevertheless, in order to move this process forward, I hereby challenge my opponent to a debate on every Sunday evening between October 11th and November 1st. (Applause.)

And this would mean that there would be four televised presidential debates, more than ever held in any presidential election. And if Ross Perot decides to enter the race, I'd be pleased to see him included in these debates. (Applause.)

Now, furthermore, to allow these arrangements to move forward quickly, I would be willing to see two of the debates proceed under the format which has been used in all these previous presidential elections, and two proceed under this single moderator format. In addition, I think that during the five-week period, there should be at least two vice presidential debates with one based on each format.

And I feel quite confident that Governor Clinton will accept this proposal, since his campaign chairman has indicated in the past that Governor Clinton would debate -- and now I quote -- "with moderators, without moderators, in a studio, out of a studio, three questioners, one questioner." So I have no doubt that there will be organizations willing to sponsor these debates. And if Governor Clinton is serious about debating he will accept this challenge and he will instruct his campaign officials to meet promptly with my campaign officials to work out the details directly between the parties. Let's get it on. (Applause.)

And what are we going to be talking about in these debates? What are we going to be talking about in them? Well, this campaign, like every campaign, is about a simple question: What kind of America do we want for the graduates of this great school, for all the young people here today? And my opponent will tell you that America is in decline. And I would remind him of what anyone would tell you on the streets of Europe or Asia -- America is still the most respected, the most admired, the most dynamic -- (applause) -- the most dynamic nation in the entire world. And I'm tired of hearing Clinton drag down the United States of America. (Applause.)

And I'm proud, I am proud of our leadership; proud that we led the way in reducing nuclear weapons so that our kids can sleep free from the nightmares of nuclear war. (Applause.) And it's a fitting place to say this, right near Fort Campbell -- and I am proud of how we stood up to Saddam Hussein, kicking him -- (applause) -- proud of the Screaming Eagles from Fort Campbell's 101st Airborne. (Applause.)

And in the sands of Saudi Arabia, they showed that no other nation can match the courage of the men and women of America. And now our challenge is to put our talents to work to win the new global economic competition, to create a high-tech, high-growth economy with good jobs for you and all your classmates. And I have laid out my agenda, detailed Agenda for American Renewal -- a specific, comprehensive, integrated agenda to create in American the world's very first \$10-trillion economy. (Applause.)

And I want to use this international experience, international leadership, to open up new markets for American

MORE

products, because that is how we will create good jobs for American workers.

Small business will create two-thirds of the new jobs in the new economy. And Governor Clinton promises small business higher taxes and more red tape. And I promise relief from taxation, regulation, and litigation. Get the regulations off the back of the small businesspeople in this country. (Applause.)

And with Lamar's -- Lamar Alexander's leadership and assistance, we're proud that today half the students in four-year colleges across Tennessee receive federal grants or loans. And no one told you what college you had to go to. You had the freedom to choose your school. (Applause.) And now we are fighting to reinvent America's elementary and high schools by giving every parent the right to choose their children's schools -- public, private or religious. (Applause.)

And we have a good plan to give government vouchers to soldiers and others caught in the transition of the economy so that they may learn new skills and find the dignity work.

And here's something else I want: to limit the terms of members of the United States Congress. (Applause.) Governor Clinton says he's the candidate of change, but he opposed this, the most profound change offered this year. Presidents serve limited terms. The same rule ought to apply to the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. (Applause.) So let's approve term limits and give Congress back to the American people. (Applause.)

And I might add this -- that if we had more congressmen like Don Sundquist up there, everybody wouldn't be yelling at me "clean House." (Applause.) But while we're at it, let's have that little chant: "Clean House." We've got to get rid of that old 38-year-old governance that has controlled Congress for 38 years. Let's change it. You want to make real change in America? Help me change the Congress and move this country forward. (Applause.)

These are just some of my ideas and some of what I'm fighting for. And I'm proud of my record, and I'll stand by it in November. But if candidate Clinton wants to talk about the past, I say okay, let's look at what's going on in Arkansas. (Applause.)

The people there -- and I know them; I've been there many, many times; lived next door -- they are decent and hard-working people. But the more you know about their Governor, the more you know that he's wrong for America. (Applause.) Governor Clinton says he's for civil rights. But Arkansas doesn't even have a basic civil rights law. He says he's for high-tech, but under Bill Clinton, Arkansas has been falling behind in high school. Three out of every four Arkansas graduates spend their first year in college relearning what they were supposed to learn in high school. And that is not fair to the people of Arkansas. (Applause.)

Bill Clinton says he wants to get tough on crime. But his crime rate rises faster than the nation's. And I support the law enforcement officers all across the country. (Applause.) And I am very proud that the police in Little Rock, Arkansas, endorse me for President of the United States of America. (Applause.) America deserves better than that sorry Arkansas record of Governor Clinton. (Applause.)

Look at the economy, the major issue in this campaign. I know America's endured some tough economic times. Families are hurting. But understand, we are being affected -- and all students know this -- by a global economic slowdown. Our competitors in Europe would trade places with us in a minute.

MORE

And yet Governor Clinton offers America the European social welfare state policies -- more government, more special interest spending, and more taxes on the middle class. And that is not good for America.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: As Governor -- I know I hate to ruin a beautiful afternoon like this, but listen to this one -- as Governor, Bill Clinton raised and extended the sales tax, including a tax on baby formula, vegetables and other groceries. He raised the gas tax. He taxed mobile homes and cable TV. And, oh, yes, he slapped a tax on beer.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I had a feeling that would not very popular here. (Applause.) And now the Governor says he's seen the light. In this campaign he's proposing at least \$150 billion in new taxes, plus at least \$220 billion in new spending. But don't worry, he says, "I'll get it all from the rich" -- people who make it over \$200,000, the top two percent.

But here's the truth and problem: To get the money he needs for his plan, the \$150 billion he's promised in new taxes, Governor Clinton would have to get his money from every individual with taxable income over \$36,600. And that's just the start of his tax campaign against the middle class. Governor Clinton will need hundreds of billions of dollars more to pay for all the programs that he's promised.

And the newspaper in his own backyard, the Pine Bluff Commercial, says that if Congress follows Bill Clinton's example, it would pass a tax program that would hit the middle class the hardest. These are not people, Governor Clinton, on "Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous." These are your parents -- your parents, my friends. (Applause.) These are the people that work hard and pay the bills and sweat it out at tax time. And they deserve a break, not a new tax. (Applause.)

And let me give you one example. Let's say after you graduate, you get your first job with about, say, \$22,000 in taxable income. Governor Clinton could have you fork over another 430 bucks a year to the tax man. And I say you ought to be able to use that money to pay the rent or spend a week at the lake on vacation or send it -- not have to send it back to the IRS in Washington, D.C. (Applause.)

And so, at this time in the great history of the United States, I don't think we can take the risk on a tax-and-spend candidate with no experience. And, you see, I've been in the Oval Office, and I have faced some very tough decisions. And, of course, I've made mistakes. And when I make a mistake I admit it. But I believe I've been a good leader, willing to make the tough calls -- (applause) -- and I'm a leader whose ideas are right for America.

And I stand before you today, asking for your support so that we can get to work with a new Congress to fix the problems that stand in the way of this country; so that we can reform our health care system; that we can literally reinvent our schools; so that we can retrain workers from one generation and create jobs for the next; so that we can cut government spending and taxes and get this economy moving again. (Applause.)

This is the agenda that I have to offer. And if you are looking for a leader of experience, a leader of ideas, a leader who shares your values, and a leader who understands that America's real strength is not in government, but in places like Clarksville -- then I know I can count on your support on November 3rd. (Applause.)

I have only one regret today -- and that is that the greatest First Lady this country -- well, I'd better be careful, but our great First Lady is not with me. I'm very proud of Barbara Bush. And I see a sign over here that's talking about the family. I think that my wife has done an awful lot when she holds an AIDS baby in her arms, or when she sits and reads with kids in the lobby there at the Diplomatic Entrance to the White House, to show what we mean as a family when we say, let's strengthen the American family. Read to the kids. Teach them discipline. Help them. (Applause.)

I've been privileged to be your President. We did it through some very, very tough times. And one of the things that shaped my life is that I served my country in uniform. And I'm very, very proud of that. (Applause.) And I salute those here from Fort Campbell and elsewhere who are also serving their great country. (Applause.)

And don't listen, don't listen to the other side that is tearing down this country. We are the greatest, strongest, fairest, freest country on the face of the Earth. Let's keep it that way.

May God bless you all. And may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.) What a great rally -- thank you all. (Applause.)

END

4:25 P.M. CDT

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Trey Miller
3636 Greenbrier
Dallas, Texas 75225



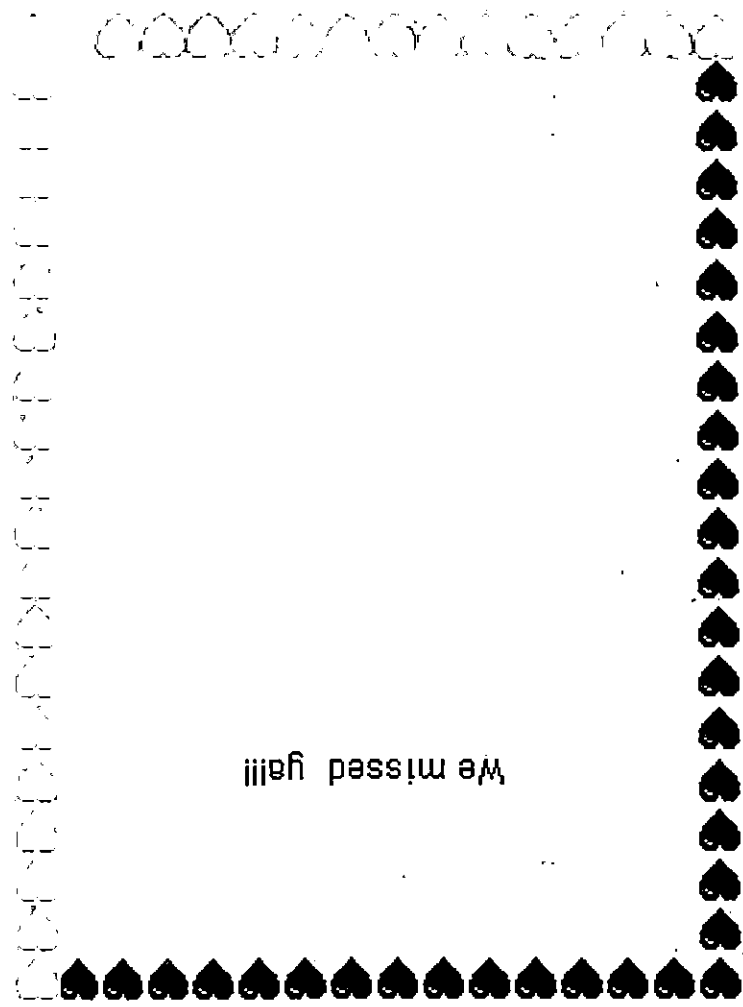
THE PRESIDENT

9-29-92

Dear Trey,

Now I've read your
computer letter. Thanks for
"rootin'" for me. I loved
meeting you. Good Luck
Ag Bush

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)



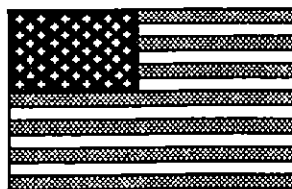
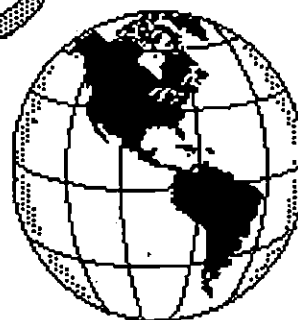
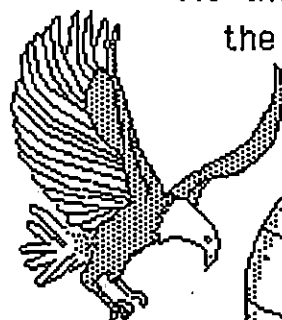
We missed ya!!!

Greene & Brown
Dallas TX.
TAY
75225
Miller

3636

Tom Miller

At the dallas dinner
the miller kids.





Christopher
Dulaney
Carla
Trey

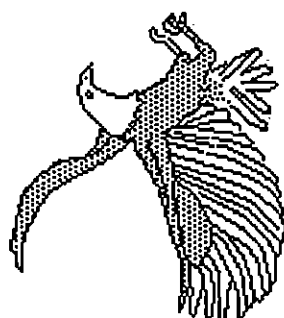
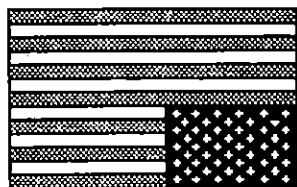
(grandchildren)

(we are Charles Wylly's

rootin' for ya!!!

are

the Miller Kids



Good luck

Mr. President

9/29/92

file

Mr. President:

Presidential Personnel passed on the word that Chief Prescott of KBP is going to wait until November to see about taking the job at JUSTICE.

RZ
What does this mean?
election? but why
not do it now^{RZ}?

Mr. President:

This means that the Chief did not want to move down here until he was sure his appointment would go beyond January.

He now is saying that he will work with law enforcement people in Maine during the campaign.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FILE 01
DATE: 9/29/92

TO: *Barbara Bush*

FROM: ROSE ZAMARIA
Deputy Assistant to the President

FYI

Rose

*Pop - I wrote them
a loving letter BUT
this was a bitter release.*

CONGRESSMAN LAGOMARSINO

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

September 28, 1992

LAGOMARSINO TO FOREGO WRITE-IN CAMPAIGN AT THIS TIME

SHELL BEACH, CA--Congressman Bob Lagomarsino said today (Monday) that under the present circumstances, he will not file as a write-in candidate for the 22nd Congressional district. The Congressman's statement follows:

"Having met with my supporters, many of whom have been urging me to run, and considered all the relevant factors, I believe that if I ran I would have a good chance of winning. While it would be a very competitive race, I am encouraged that the basic public support necessary for a credible chance at victory is there. However, in weighing all the factors associated with the unconventional nature of a write-in campaign, I have decided to forego this option under the present circumstances."

"There are strong indicators that I should run. Compared to Huffington and Ochoa, I have the highest 'favorability' rating. It amazes me that despite his spending an all-time record \$3.5 million, the voter's perception of Huffington is not better than it is. Ochoa does not fare well either. As in the past, my support comes from all sectors--Republicans, Democrats and Independents, many of whom could not vote in the primary--significantly minimizing the claim that my candidacy would throw the election to Ochoa or any other candidate on the ballot."

"While these factors are very encouraging, they do not offset the inherent obstacles of conducting a successful write-in campaign; namely money and write-in ballot technicalities."

"I have always relied on contributions from local individuals. During these tight economic times along the Central Coast, I cannot realistically envision raising in the next few weeks before the election the amount of money needed for voter education and waging a successful campaign."

"Mr. Huffington pledged he would spend whatever it takes to buy a seat in Congress. His outrageous primary spending and rejection of all reasonable voluntary spending limits then and now prove he means it. I fully expect Huffington to again spend millions in another negative campaign. The public, the Republican Party and my family do not need or deserve this. I cannot win a battle of campaign bank accounts and cannot ask my supporters to bear the burden of this daunting financial challenge."

"Realistically, the technicalities of actually voting for a write-in candidate are biased against such an alternative. The mechanics of how to vote for a write-in differ in each County making voter education very expensive and difficult. These complications also increase the chances of write-in ballots being improperly cast and thereby being judged invalid."

"While these factors have shaped my decision not to run at this time, the increasing public concern about the suitability for office of the two principal congressional candidates precludes me from ruling out standing as a write-in candidate under any and all circumstances."

"I am proud of the thousands of encouraging letters and calls I've received over the past few months urging me to run. Norma and I thank all our supporters for their faith, friendship, loyalty and commitment to us and quality government. Over the past 31 years, we have been a very successful team accomplishing much for the Central Coast and the nation. One regret is that I will be unable to complete all the projects I've undertaken for my constituents. Serving the public as their U.S. Representative has fulfilled a dream of a lifetime. I thank God for giving me this memorable opportunity to repay my country for the many blessings we have all received."

"My decision has not been easy, but under the present circumstances, I believe it is the correct one. Of course, regardless of my decision, local citizens have the constitutional right to vote for whomever they choose."

"Between now and November 3rd, I intend to make the re-election of President Bush my top priority. I am very worried that others have focused too long and narrowly on the 'tree' of the 22nd district at the great expense of the 'forest' of other more significant and needy races like those for President and California's two senators. In reality, who wins the 22nd district congressional race is much less consequential. If President Bush is not re-elected, we all lose."

-END-

File Daily
9/29

Proposed
Greeting List for President George Bush
September 29, 1992

1. Charles E. Peavyhouse: Regional Director
2. Lill Coker, 3rd District Co-Chairman
Harold Coker, County Commissioner
3. Valerie Copeland Rutledge, 3rd District Co-Chairman
David Copeland, State Representative 30th District
4. Harry Ray, Hamilton Co. Chairman, Bush-Quayle Campaign
5. Mayor Gene Roberts, State Co-Chairman
6. Zack Wamp
7. O.D. McKee
8. Dorothy Pattee
9. Jack McDonald
10. Scottie Probasco
11. Rody Davenport
12. Bob Corker
13. George Pettway
14. Todd Gardenhire



Harold

P.O. BOX 23671
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE 37422
(615) 892-4004

AT ISSUE IN '92: FOREIGN POLICY

On Global Matters, Two Candidates' Positions Are Mostly in Sync

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

The United States is likely to pursue an activist U.S. foreign policy in keeping with the alliances and global responsibilities of recent decades whether President Bush or Gov. Bill Clinton is elected in November. But Clinton, as the outsider, promises a number of mid-course corrections to deal with problems of post-Cold War world.

Foreign policy has played a relatively minor role in a campaign dominated by economic and social issues. Bush has said little about it in his campaign speeches except to claim credit for Operation Desert Storm and for ending the threat of nuclear war, and to contrast his experience as commander in chief with Clinton's experience as "leader of the Arkansas National Guard."

Clinton, while also saying little in his campaign appearances, has sought to establish his foreign policy credentials by making three major speeches on the subject and issuing more than 20 statements on a variety of overseas questions since June.

To prepare himself for potential debates with Bush as well as to prepare for the presidency, Clinton has participated recently in at least a dozen unpublicized briefings by experts. He also is given daily summaries of foreign policy news and regular updates by campaign aides and experts on overseas topics. Early this month, Clinton received a foreign policy briefing from CIA Director Robert M. Gates.

The replacement of Bush by Clinton would bring a generational change in the presidency, from a leader whose view of the world was shaped in World War II and its immediate aftermath to one who came

to maturity during the trauma of the Vietnam War and thereafter. Even so, their positions on many current issues are surprisingly similar.

In a number of areas, including aid to the former Soviet Union, the "no-fly zone" in southern Iraq, the continuing Middle East peace process and recent warplane sales to Taiwan and Saudi Arabia, Clinton has announced positions nearly identical to Bush's, sometimes ahead of administration announcements.

This has given protective cover for the administration, while projecting an image of bipartisanship for Clinton and shielding him from charges of interfering with U.S. initiatives. It also suggests a great degree of continuity in at least the early phases of a Clinton administration.

At the same time, Clinton has echoed congressional Democrats in sharply criticizing Bush for "coddling" China and other human rights violators, for initially withholding housing loan guarantees from Israel as a pressure tactic in an earlier stage of Mideast maneuvering and for stopping the war against Iraq before destroying more of President Saddam Hussein's military forces.

Clinton's central criticism of Bush's foreign policy is that it has failed to adjust to a world that has changed with astonishing speed as the Cold War ended and new problems arose. Rather than define a new role for the United States, Clinton charged last month, Bush's policy has been "rudderless, reactive and erratic."

The key to U.S. diplomatic and military engagement in the 1990s, Clinton has declared repeatedly, is strengthening the domestic economy—a campaign theme that resonates well in a time of economic trauma. Instead of giving this point

an "America first" or isolationist tinge, Clinton has wrapped it in internationalism, saying that "America must regain its economic strength to play a proper role as leader of the world. And we must have a president who attends to prosperity at home if our people are to sustain their support for engagement at abroad."

Clinton has promised to give greater emphasis to economic aspects of foreign affairs by creating an Economic Security Council in the White House similar to the National Security Council. While promising to champion open markets and defend U.S. interests, he has avoided protectionist rhetoric. On the politically sensitive issue of the administration's North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico and Canada, Clinton has expressed support of the general principle but so far withheld approval of the recently concluded pact on grounds it requires detailed study.

Bush, since being jolted by polls showing the public thinks he has neglected the economy, also has placed heavy emphasis on economics, frequently describing his overseas activities as a drive to expand or protect American jobs.

In his latest economic program, outlined in Detroit earlier this month, Bush emphasized competition abroad as "the defining challenge of the 1990s" and said he would seek "to turn our strength as a world power to our advantage as an economic power."

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1992

In the same address he announced as a future goal the establishment of additional free trade agreements binding the U.S. market to the countries of Latin America, Eastern Europe and Asia.

Aided by the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union, Clinton has wooed back many of the Democratic "neo-conservative" foreign policy thinkers who had failed to support earlier Democratic nominees or joined Republican administrations since the Vietnam War. The reestablishment of Democratic unity on foreign policy may have significant future impact, whether Clinton wins or loses.

Clinton appears comfortable with the use of U.S. force abroad. He supported Operation Desert Storm to drive Iraq from Kuwait, although his statements were tepid and tentative at first, when many Democrats in Congress opposed military action, and became increasingly emphatic later.

In one of the few nondomestic statements in his acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention in July, Clinton extolled an America "with the world's strongest defense, ready and willing to use force, when necessary."

In a series of statements this summer on Yugoslavia, Clinton took positions slightly ahead of administration policy regarding the use of force, including U.N.-authorized air strikes, to open the Sarajevo airport to relief supplies, to enforce the U.N. embargo against Serbia and to end atrocities in Serbian detention camps. After attacking an early statement as "reckless," the White House abruptly ended its criticism because Clinton's statements were very close to the administration's evolving policies.

Like the administration, Clinton advocated the use of U.S. force in Bosnia only as part of a multilateral effort worked out through the United Nations. "I think under almost all conceivable circumstances, not all but almost all, we ought to be working with and through the United Nations and with other nations" when considering the use of U.S. military forces overseas, Clinton said in July.

Bush and Clinton have recently endorsed the idea of providing small numbers of troops that could be called upon on short notice as part of a multinational effort by the United Nations in emergency situations.

In several speeches, Clinton has grappled with the question of how and when to engage U.S. diplomacy and military power abroad in the post-Cold War era. Contrasting his views with the expansive vista of President John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address in 1961, Clinton said in April that "America's challenge in this era is not to bear every burden, but to tip the balance" in global af-

fairs. This suggests a selective and strategic use of U.S. influence in close relationship to that of other nations.

Clinton has said repeatedly that, despite all difficulties, only the United States retains the ability to lead other nations on many key issues. Criticizing Bush for failures of leadership, Clinton has said he would give higher priority to advancement of democracy and human rights abroad, improvement in the global environment and the checking of weapons proliferation.

Bush is far ahead of Clinton in

terms of foreign policy experience. Even before becoming president, Bush had been to 72 countries in every part of the world and amassed a lengthy diplomatic résumé. He is on personal terms with the leaders of most major nations.

Clinton studied international affairs at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service as an undergraduate, and obtained a further introduction to the subject as a Rhodes scholar in Britain in the 1968-70. As governor he made three trips to Japan and other East Asian countries, two to Western

Europe and one to the Soviet Union, mostly to solicit international business for Arkansas. While out of office in 1981, he traveled to Israel.

Since last spring, Clinton has participated in a series of private briefings, typically several hours each with three or four experts selected by his foreign policy aides. These included two briefings on the situation in the former Soviet Union, one before Clinton's active advocacy of a major U.S. aid program in April and another before meeting Russian President Boris Yeltsin in June; a briefing on South Africa prior to meeting African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela in July; briefings on Yugoslavia and Iraq in late July in New Orleans; on military issues in Philadelphia and New York in early August; on Middle East issues in mid-August in Miami prior to meeting Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin; on Europe and arms control issues in Little Rock in late August; and on China and Japan in Washington earlier this month.

Former U.S. ambassador to Israel Samuel W. Lewis, who participated in the Mideast briefing and who, like a number of the other experts, is taking no position in the presidential race, said Clinton displayed "a general knowledge of the Middle East picture" and seemed to be "an excellent listener who asked some good questions."

Former Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman Adm. William J. Crowe Jr., who briefed Clinton on military issues in Philadelphia and subsequently endorsed him, said he was impressed with Clinton's interest in decisions he would face as president and his lack of interest in the political vulnerabilities of Bush's positions.

Crowe, who earlier had briefed Ross Perot, found Clinton's attention span and capacity for engagement to his liking. "Perot does not listen," he said.

Who's Who in Clinton's Foreign Policy Contingent

A Bill Clinton administration would bring to office new faces—and many familiar faces—in the operation of U.S. foreign policy, according to officials close to the Clinton campaign.

Despite much speculation, there is no solid information about the probable identity of such top officials as secretary of state, secretary of defense and national security adviser in a Clinton government. A half-dozen people who have worked closely with Clinton on foreign policy said they had never heard Clinton discuss his possible personnel selections, and several said they doubt he has done any serious thinking on the subject.

The foreign policy formulation side of the campaign has been managed by: Anthony Lake, who was State Department director of policy planning and a close aide to Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance in the Carter administration, and Samuel R. Berger, who was Lake's deputy. Lake is a professor at Mount Holyoke College, and Berger, a Washington lawyer who is on leave from his firm.

Working closely with them since the Democratic National Convention has been Leon Fuerth, foreign policy assistant to vice presidential nominee Sen. Albert Gore Jr. Lake, Berger and Fuerth confer by conference call each morning with campaign officials in Little Rock.

Three campaign-paid foreign policy officials

are at Little Rock headquarters coordinating information for Clinton and Gore. They are: Nancy Soderberg, who was foreign policy aide to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.); Michael E. Chapman, who was foreign policy aide to Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-Okla.), chairman of the House intelligence committee; and Daniel G. Sakura, who was on the staff of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

According to Berger, the campaign decided early not to organize formal advisory groups or task forces so as not to exclude people or ideas. Instead, campaign officials have sought to tap informally the advice of a large number of experts. More than 100 people have been engaged in supplying foreign policy ideas, advice or briefings, according to Lake.

Some of the most active contributors, according to campaign aides, have been: Madeleine Albright, foreign policy assistant to Vice President Walter F. Mondale and now a professor at Georgetown University; John Holum, a Washington lawyer who met Clinton in the 1972 McGovern presidential campaign and subsequently served on the State Department policy planning staff under Lake; Michael Mandelbaum, a Russian studies expert at the Council on Foreign Relations and the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies who met Clinton during studies in England in the late 1960s; Will Marshall, who worked closely with Clinton on the Dem-

ocratic Leadership Council and is director of the council's Progressive Policy Institute; and Richard Schifter, assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs in the Reagan and Bush administrations.

Also listed by campaign aides as very active are David Aaron, deputy national security adviser in the Carter administration; Richard Gardner, formerly U.S. ambassador to Italy and now a New York investment banker; Richard C. Holbrooke, assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs in the Carter administration and now a New York investment banker; Robert E. Hunter, a National Security Council staff member in the Carter administration and now at the Center for Strategic and International Studies; and Penn Kemble, a senior associate at Freedom House, a human rights organization.

Clinton also has turned to senior Democrats in Congress for policy advice. Among the most often consulted, according to campaign aides, have been McCurdy, Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn (Ga.), House Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin (Wis.), Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (Ind.), ranking Democratic member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and Rep. Stephen J. Solarz (N.Y.), chairman of the Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Asian and Pacific affairs.

—Don Oberdorfer

Nickles, 3 GOP Senate Nominees Caught in Middle of Clinton Draft Controversy

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

Republican criticism of Democrat Bill Clinton's draft record has had unintended consequences for at least one GOP senator and three senatorial nominees, who now find themselves defending their military service records.

Prompted by the controversy over Clinton's draft record, journalists and Democratic officials have raised questions about the service résumés of Sen. Don Nickles (R-Okla.) and GOP nominees Terry Considine (Colo.), Judd Gregg (N.H.) and Tom Hartnett (S.C.).

But aides to some of their Democratic opponents said the Clinton campaign is not enthusiastic about highlighting military service controversies, and, as a result, most of the Democratic senatorial cam-

paigns have exploited the issue gingerly, if at all.

President Bush and Vice President Quayle have criticized the nature of Clinton's response to questions about his efforts to avoid being drafted during the Vietnam War. Questions of candor also have arisen in the senatorial campaigns, according to accounts in local newspapers and a report yesterday in Roll Call, an independent newspaper on Capitol Hill.

The draft issue has proven most contentious in New Hampshire, where Democrat John Rauh is calling on Gregg, the state's outgoing governor, to explain more fully the circumstances surrounding his Vietnam-era deferments and ultimate exclusion from military service.

In response to press reports, Gregg said last week he suffered from bad knees, sleepwalking and severe acne, resulting in a

1-Y classification by the Nashua, N.H., draft board, which would have disqualified him from combat. Before that, he received four student deferments.

His father, former governor Hugh Gregg, denied a report that he had pulled political strings to keep his son out of the military, but he was reported by local newspapers as saying it was possible that his son and the family's doctor might have "exaggerated" any physical problems.

Judd Gregg said his father was misquoted.

Calling attention to his own four-year Army record in the late 1950s, Rauh said the "experiences that each of us bring to the U.S. Senate are . . . pertinent to this campaign."

In Colorado, the Rocky Mountain News reported that Considine, who has long said

he wanted to fight in Vietnam but was rejected by the military because of a bad back, sought a student deferment 3½ years before he was rejected for medical reasons. Considine has "downplayed or ignored" the deferment in accounts of his past, the newspaper said.

The controversy arose just as Considine's father-in-law, former secretary of the Army Howard H. "Bo" Callaway, was attacking Clinton and his draft record.

Considine is in an uphill race for an open Senate seat against Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (D-Colo.), a veteran of Korean War combat.

In Oklahoma, Mike Turpen, state Democratic chairman, accused Nickles of hypocrisy in attacking Clinton on the draft issue when Nickles himself did "everything possible" to keep from going to Vietnam. Nickles joined a Kansas National Guard

unit that had just returned from Vietnam; he has denied receiving any preferential treatment.

Nickles has a solid lead over Democrat Steve Lewis in his bid for a third term.

In South Carolina, the issue was not Vietnam but Hartnett's acknowledged use of his official position as a member of the House and its Armed Services Committee to enter the Air National Guard as an officer in 1983.

Hartnett is trailing in his challenge to Sen. Ernest F. Hollings (D-S.C.), a decorated World War II veteran.

Hollings has not made an issue of Hartnett's efforts to get into the National Guard as a member of Congress, but former lieutenant governor Mike Daniel (D), a major in the South Carolina National Guard, said Hartnett should apologize.

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Bush Rhetoric Subdued On Arkansas Crime

Gore Slams President on Cable TV Bill

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

ST. LOUIS, Sept. 28—President Bush returned to what had been one of his most potent issues in 1988: crime. But Bush's rhetoric today was notably subdued for a Republican in an election year.

Unlike 1988, when Bush repeatedly attacked Democrat Michael S. Dukakis as soft on crime and a threat to the country, today the president mentioned Gov. Bill Clinton only to reel off crime statistics in Arkansas, saying that crime has been increasing there and that state inmates serve less than a fifth of their sentences, compared to federal inmates who serve on average 85 percent of their sentences.

"This kind of record is not right for Arkansas and it is not right for America," Bush said. He added that the Little Rock Fraternal Order of Police was supporting him, not Clinton. "They know Governor Clinton's record best and they are endorsing me," Bush said.

In terms of policy, the president's address offered little that was new beyond calling for increased penalties against carjackers. Using the Sept. 8 carjacking death of Savage, Md., woman Pam Basu, 34, as an example of "animal behavior" that must cease, Bush said, "These people have no place in a decent society. And as far as this president is concerned, they can go to jail; and they can stay in jail and they can rot in jail."

The Bush administration backs a move in the Senate to make carjacking a federal crime punishable by up to life in prison

if a death occurs. The White House fact sheet distributed here said he would go beyond that to support the death penalty for carjackers whose crime results in a death and life imprisonment if the carjacking involves serious injury to victims.

"I want thugs who take cars at gunpoint to stay in a cell so long that when they get out, they're too old to drive," Bush said.

Outside the hall, protesters holding Clinton-Gore signs held one of their noisiest demonstrations, shouting, "No More Years" and playing on a loudspeaker over and over Bush's "read my lips" pledge, from the 1988 GOP convention, against tax increases.

In addition to the carjacking legislation, Bush called for increased penalties for fathers who fail to support their children, strengthening legal procedures to thwart domestic and sexual violence and laws to deal

with gang violence. He also called for stronger efforts to stop crime against the elderly and repeated his call for overhaul of court procedures that protect defendants but which he said drag out the legal process.

Much of this is part of the anti-crime agenda Bush has pushed since taking office. As usual, he blamed Democrats in Congress for stalling on his program.

But Democratic vice presidential nominee Albert Gore Jr. said today that it is Bush who is the obstacle, not Congress, at least in the case of the cable television re-regulation bill.

The Tennessee senator traveled to Morganton, N.C., site of a bitter fight over a cable TV franchise, to depict Bush as anti-consumer because of his opposition to a cable re-regulation bill passed this month by Congress.

"It's up to President Bush whether he's going to side with the people or side with the wealthy and powerful monopoly, that is trying to rip off the people of this country," Gore told 200 supporters jamming the 155-year-old Burke County Courthouse.

The House and Senate passed the cable bill, which would allow federal agencies to regulate price increases in many cable operations, by margins sufficient to override a veto, and Gore predicted that lawmakers would hand Bush his first override if the president carries out his veto threat. Even Republicans will resist siding with Bush against a bill that is popular with consumers, Gore said.

"The winds of change, blowing through this country, are blowing through that Capitol building also," he said. "They're not quite as worried about President Bush being upset with them as they are about the American people being upset with them."

Meanwhile, Vice President Quayle traveled to what have been GOP strongholds, criticizing Clinton's health care plan in Colorado Springs, saying it would lead to "rationing" and "micromanagement" by bureaucrats. And in Clovis, N.M., he told high school students that while times are "difficult," they are "not as bad as we're being told."

Surrounding Curry County voted 2 to 1 for Bush in 1988, but a recent statewide poll had Bush trailing Clinton, 44 percent to 33 percent.

Clinton Slide in Survey Shows Perils of Polling

By Richard Morin
Washington Post Staff Writer

Poll-watchers might be forgiven if they felt whiplashed after reading the results of the latest two Washington Post-ABC News presidential preference polls.

Last week, the poll was the toast of Little Rock after it found Democrat Bill Clinton with a 21-percentage point lead over President Bush.

The latest survey might bring cheers at the White House, as it found the Arkansas governor with a nine-point advantage.

A Clinton collapse? A Bush surge? Screwups by poll-takers? Perhaps, but probably not. Any short list of explanations would include the continuing volatility in the electorate—voting preferences remain lightly held and easily changed for about a third of all voters—sampling error, and the tendency to overemphasize the size of Clinton's lead rather than each candidate's relative share of the vote.

Sampling error is the statistical "penalty" that is paid for interviewing a carefully selected random sample of the population, rather than everyone.

It is a mathematical fact of life that remarkably small random samplings of a population can produce accurate survey results. The sampling error on a survey of 1,000 randomly selected people is plus or minus 3 percentage points; the smaller the sample, the greater the margin of sampling error. The key, however, is obtaining a true random sample of the population, and getting too many or too few of some kinds of people—blacks and younger people are two frequently und-

ersampled groups—is a problem poll-takers constantly confront.

In the recent Post-ABC News horse-race polls, the sample size is 616 likely voters, with a sampling error of plus or minus 4 percentage points.

The latest poll found Clinton leading Bush by a 51 percent to 42 percent margin.

Those numbers are the mathematical "best guess" of each candidate's share of the vote if the election were held during the polling period. Statistically, the chances of the results being exactly right would be quite small, though it can be said with reasonable confidence they probably would be close.

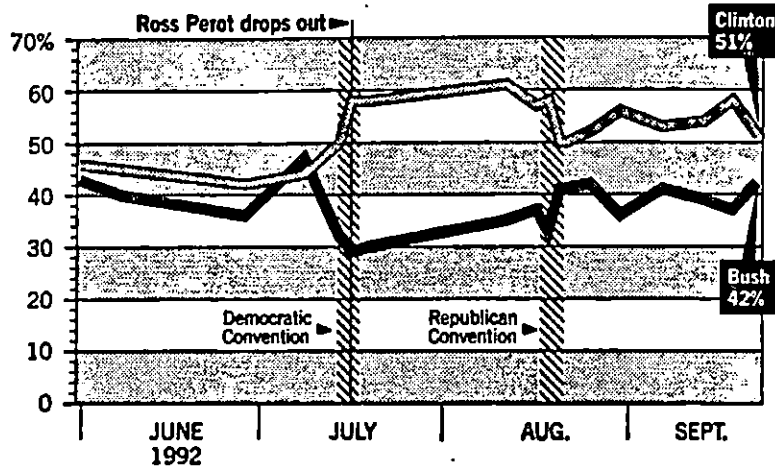
For a more reliable—but usually less satisfying—picture of the race, the margin of sampling error should be added and subtracted from each of those numbers. When that is done, it can be said with great confidence that each candidate's share of the vote lies somewhere in that range—and that the overwhelming majority of polls done at the same time using identical methodology would, in fact, produce results that are within those ranges.

Unhappily for those who expect simple answers from polling, those ranges are quite large. With Clinton at 51 percent, this survey suggests that his share of the vote could be as great as 55 percent or as small as 47 percent—and Bush's could be as great as 46 percent or as small as 38 percent.

Given the survey's margin of sampling error, there is a small chance that the margin could be as large as 17 percentage points—the difference between 55 percent and 38 percent—or as small as 1 percentage point.

THE HORSE RACE

Q The candidates in November's presidential election are George Bush and Dan Quayle, the Republicans, and Bill Clinton and Al Gore, the Democrats. Suppose the election were being held today. For whom would you vote?
(Asked of likely voters.)



Q I'm going to read you a list of names, for each please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of that person, or perhaps you don't know enough to say? (Registered voters)

George Bush	July 19	Aug. 23	Sept. 27
Favorable	41%	53%	50%
Unfavorable	53	42	44
Don't know	6	5	6
Bill Clinton			
Favorable	58	54	54
Unfavorable	23	36	35
Don't know	19	10	11
Ross Perot			
Favorable	40	-	24
Unfavorable	33	-	48
Don't know	27	-	28
Dan Quayle			
Favorable	26	40	36
Unfavorable	63	50	52
Don't know	11	10	12
Al Gore			
Favorable	55	49	48
Unfavorable	12	21	21
Don't know	33	30	31

Most recent figures are from a Washington Post-ABC News national telephone poll of 732 registered and 616 likely voters (registered voters who say they are absolutely certain to vote) conducted Sept. 23-27, by ICR Survey Research of Media, Pa. Other data show registered voter samples of comparable size. Margin of sampling error is plus or minus 4 percentage points for all data. Sampling error is, however, only one of many potential sources of error in this or any public opinion poll.

—Compiled by Sharon Warden

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Debate Panel Seeks End to Impasse

Candidates May Be Pushed Toward Direct Negotiations if Necessary

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Hoping to break the impasse over debates between President Bush and Bill Clinton, the bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates is expected to call on the two candidates to resolve their differences over the format, with direct negotiations if necessary.

Facing the possibility of having to cancel Sunday's debate in San Diego, the third of four proposed encounters, the commission is expected to urge the two campaigns to reach an agreement on format, with or without the commission's involvement in the talks, by sometime on Wednesday, sources said last night.

The commission also is prepared to shift the debate from San Diego to another city if necessary to assure that it does not have to cancel the scheduled debate.

Bush said in an interview with USA Today that he would not budge from his opposition to the commission's proposal for debates with a single moderator. Bush said he prefers a panel of reporters.

Clinton has accepted all commission proposals for timing and format, but has resisted direct negotiations with the president's campaign.

So far Clinton has been winning the debate over debates, but the commission's new recommendation could increase pressure on the Democrat's campaign to deal directly with Bush's campaign. "We're going to make every effort to see if we can come to an agreement over the format impasse," one commission official said.

To the extent that the commission has become an obstacle to an agreement between the two campaigns, the official said, "We'd like to remove ourselves."

NBC News reported last night that the new offer will come in a letter from the commission to the campaigns.

With neither side budging from its adopted strategy, the prospects for two presidential debates and one vice presidential debate are fading. The commission originally proposed three presidential de-

bates and one vice presidential debate. The last debate is scheduled for Oct. 15.

If Sunday's debate is canceled, the commission could recommend other dates to keep alive the debate option, but aides from both campaigns say they believe there is a growing possibility that there will be only one debate, or perhaps no debates for the first time since they were revived in 1976.

"There are all the elements of an impasse," said Bob Neuman, spokesman for the debates commission. He added, "We're trying to buy as much time as possible."

The possible reentry into the race by Ross Perot adds a new wrinkle to the controversy. Under commission rules, Perot likely would qualify for the debates. Clinton advisers said yesterday they were not certain they would agree to a two-person, commission-sponsored debate with Perot if Bush refuses to participate.

Asked over the weekend by USA Today whether he would compromise on format, Bush said, "Nope."

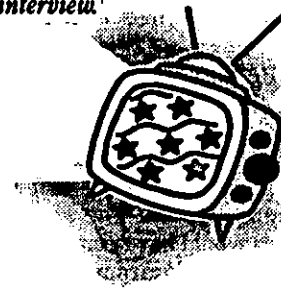
ON TV

SEN. ALBERT GORE JR.

■ PBS, 7 p.m.

"MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour"

Live interview



THE WASHINGTON POST

He said that after four presidential campaigns with debates featuring panels of reporters, he was not going to "be the guy to change the formula."

The commission came up with the proposal for a single moderator after wide consultation with politicians, academics and journalists following the 1988 campaign.

Clinton, on NBC's "Today Show," accepted no blame for the impasse. "I have accepted the debate commission [proposal]," Clinton said. "I have played by the rules. This is not both parties' faults. This is his [Bush's] fault."

Staff writer Edward Walsh in Little Rock, Ark., contributed to this report.

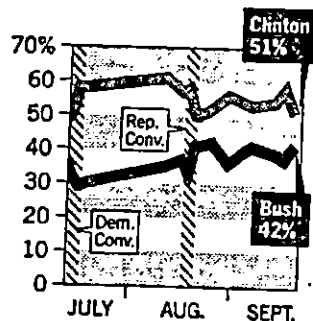
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Ross Perot listens to a whispering Sen. David L. Boren, one of the Clinton envoys sent to dissuade the Texan from running. ASSOCIATED PRESS

Perot on Verge of Reentering Race

Bush, Clinton Envoys Apparently Fail to Convert Texan's Supporters



The Horse Race

■ The latest Washington Post-ABC News poll shows Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's lead over President Bush dropping. The poll shows Ross Perot's ratings falling. **NATION. Page A6**

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

DALLAS, Sept. 28—Top-level representatives of George Bush and Bill Clinton apparently failed today to convince Ross Perot's supporters that it would be a mistake for the independent candidate to get back into the presidential race.

Perot said he would decide by Thursday whether to resume an "all-out" effort in the final month of the campaign and would "be bound" by the decision of his volunteer backers, who say they are eager to see him run.

The latest Washington Post-ABC News Poll shows that Perot has the potential to cut into Clinton's current lead over Bush, but not come close to winning.

The emissaries from the president and his challenger stressed their areas of agreement with the billionaire businessman's economic and deficit-cutting plan. But both sides conceded there were clear policy differences, and the Perot coordinators who attended the extraordinary, closed-door meetings with the Bush and Clinton representatives expressed strong skepticism that any other candidate could match Perot's commitment to change.

"I am certain Mr. Perot would stick to his guns," said Dallas financial consultant Jim Serur, the Texas volunteer director. "I'm not that certain about" the major party nominees.

The Post-ABC News poll taken last Wednesday through Sunday

See PEROT, A8, Col. 1

Perot Awaits Supporters' Go-Ahead to Run

PEROT, From A1

showed Clinton leading Bush by 51 to 42 percent, a sharp narrowing from last week's Post poll but consistent with polls by other organizations taken this month. With Perot—who is on the ballot in all 50 states and the District of Columbia—added to the options, the poll showed Clinton with 44 percent, Bush with 39 percent and Perot at 14 percent.

The same survey showed Perot was viewed unfavorably by 48 percent of voters and favorably by only 24 percent, with 28 percent having no opinion. When Perot abruptly left the race in July—saying he did not want to be “disruptive” by interfering with Bush or Clinton winning an electoral college majority—his favorable rating exceeded his unfavorable, by 40 to 33 percent.

While political strategists in both parties said those numbers virtually preclude a Perot victory, the Dallas maverick told reporters this morning that if he came back into the contest, he would run to win. “If these people want me to run,” he said, “we will go all out.”

“We’re bound by their decision,” he said tonight. “If they think it’s appropriate for me to run, I’ll honor their request. I will give it everything.” As a largely self-financed candidate, Perot is not subject to spending limits and he has a catalogue of television ads ready for broadcast.

Appearing tonight on CNN’s “Larry King Live,” Perot took two more steps toward a candidacy. He repeatedly announced an “800” number that people could call if they want him to run and said he would be ready to participate in presidential debates immediately if the decision is made to run. “Let’s get it on,” he said.

Perot said at the end of the day what he

had said at the beginning: The decision about a full-scale campaign was not his but his supporters’. The coordinators were asked to report on today’s meeting to backers in each state, canvass their opinions and tell Perot what the grass-roots volunteers want him to do.

From the state directors’ comments, there was virtually no doubt they would ask Perot to make the effort. “I think I’ll know Thursday night . . . sometime Thursday” what to do, Perot said.

But his comments seemed to acknowledge that he could not again disappoint his supporters, as he had crushed their hopes by withdrawing in mid-July, when they were halfway through the task of qualifying him for the ballot in all jurisdictions. Earlier in the year, Perot had promised them “a world-class campaign” if he were placed on the ballot.

“The volunteers are really concerned neither party will face the issues that must be faced if the American dream is to be kept alive for the next generation,” he said this morning.

Perot told reporters tonight that if he runs, he will keep retired Rear Adm. James Stockdale, the Vietnam prisoner-of-war hero who was originally a provisional choice for vice president, as his running mate. Perot, Stockdale and their wives posed today for the cameras in the classic political ticket fashion.

Although officials in both the parties privately expressed skepticism about Perot’s motives, their high-level delegations, led by the Bush and Clinton campaign chairmen and prominent members of Congress, did their best to convince the Perot coordinators—mainly business people, students and retirees with little political experience—that Bush and Clinton were what they were seeking.

Democrats had two hours in the morning,

Republicans a similar slot in the afternoon. According to participants, the questioning focused on issues and the candidates’ readiness to pledge action.

Perot was even-handed in his comments on the presentations, finding “a lot of commonality” with Clinton’s economic plan and “a great deal of overlap” with Bush’s agenda.

But Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) and New York financier Felix Rohatyn, who carried the bulk of the argument for Clinton, and Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), who shared the Bush presentation with Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, all conceded they had significant differences with Perot.

The Democrats pointed to Clinton’s belief that the economy is so weak that \$80 billion of direct government investment and more billions in business tax breaks are needed to create jobs, while Perot would give top priority to deficit-cutting measures. Calling it a matter “of shading and sequencing,” Rohatyn said, “It’s a question of how hard you want to step on the brake.” Clinton and Perot also disagree on taxes, Bentsen said.

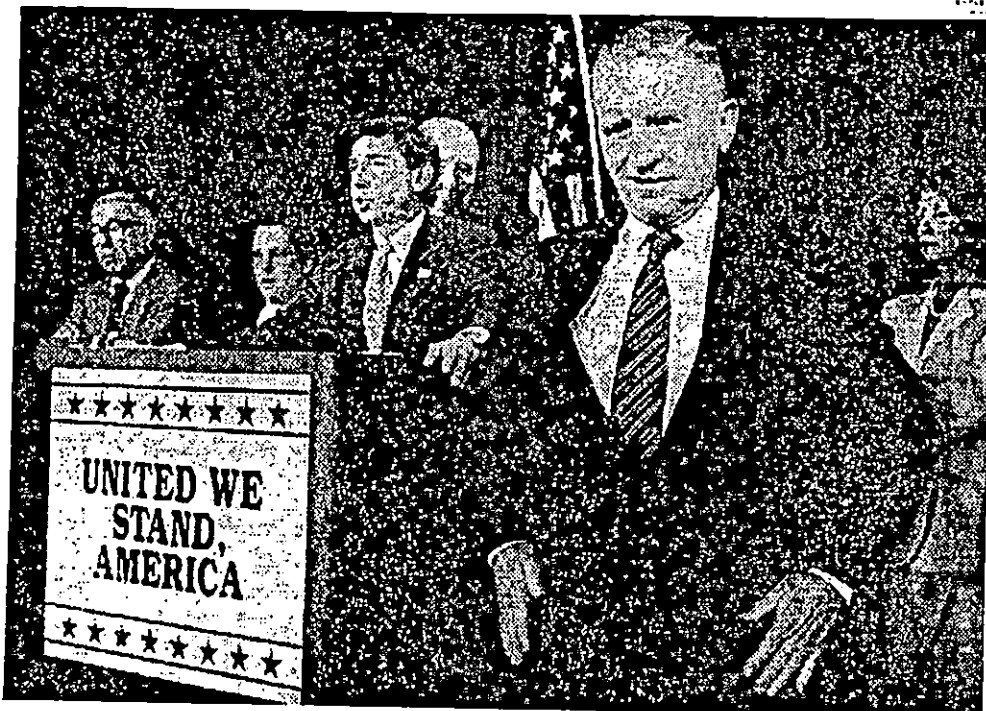
Clinton says he would limit tax increases to those with incomes above \$200,000, while Perot favors a much broader menu of revenue-raisers.

But Bentsen argued that “one thing every supporter of Bill Clinton and Ross Perot shares is the fundamental commitment to change. We both want to end gridlock in Washington. We both want to take government away from the special interests and all the lobbyists. Every Perot and Clinton supporter knows we’re not going to have fundamental change by returning to office a president who offers nothing more than four more years of the same.”

Gramm said Bush differed with Perot because “we’re against massive gas tax increases and Social Security benefit cuts,” a

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Ross Perot steps aside as Clinton campaign chairman Mickey Kantor speaks to reporters.

statement that brought Perot to the microphone to explain that he was proposing only a one-third cut in Social Security cost-of-living increases.

Gramm argued that Bush's program was closer to Perot's because both favor the balanced-budget amendment and an immediate spending freeze. Bush campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter said it was "incredulous [sic] to say Clinton's programs are closer to Perot's than ours are."

Teeter brushed off questions about highly critical comments he had made about Perot last spring, when the Dallas billionaire seemed to be siphoning off millions of votes from Bush, and insisted there has never been "hostility" between the two camps. In June and July, Perot had accused the Republicans of orchestrating a smear campaign against him and his family, and sources close to him have predicted that he would never endorse Bush.

After today's meeting, however, the prospect of a Clinton endorsement appeared equally remote. "The thing I know that they [Republicans and Democrats] don't know is that the American people are ready for fair, shared sacrifice," Perot said.

In an opinion article in today's New York Times, Edward J. Rollins, the veteran Republican operative who resigned from the Perot campaign a day before Perot stopped the effort last July, said, "As his former campaign manager, I hope he won't get back in the race. The country has just five weeks to decide who our next president should be, and since it is certain it will not be Mr. Perot, he should leave the country to its serious business without distraction."

Perot on the television show tonight dismissed Rollins as a man with whom he spent no more than "two hours" during the entire time he was in Perot's employ.

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Bush Plans To Ink Pact Next Week

NAFTA Ceremony Set For Oct. 7 in Texas

By Stuart Auerbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

Under the rules, President Bush cannot sign the North American Free Trade Agreement until December, many weeks after Election Day. But, apparently betting that NAFTA will win him votes in Texas, Bush has set up a substitute ceremony for next week in San Antonio.

Bush will gather Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney Oct. 7 to initial the trade pact. "It's a good event, good policy and good politics," Bush campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke said.

Bush has been using NAFTA as a cornerstone of his reelection campaign, citing it as a happy blend of foreign and domestic policy that will create more jobs for American workers. And he has attacked Democratic nominee Bill Clinton for failing to take a position on the pact.

Congressional Democrats and organized labor argue that the trade pact will accelerate the movement of manufacturing jobs from the United States to Mexico, where wages are far lower. Clinton has said he supports the concept but has refused to endorse NAFTA. Clinton is studying the 2,000-page agreement and will state his position on it shortly, aides said. Clinton has raised the same concerns as the congressional Democrats, including questions about its environmental impact.

It remains unclear, however, how supporting NAFTA plays politically. The few polls taken on the trade pact showed surprising opposition in the Southern California area around San Diego and lukewarm support in Texas.

Under the "fast track" process that Congress uses to approve trade agreements, the president cannot formally sign NAFTA until Dec. 17 at the earliest. Congress will not get a chance to vote on NAFTA until next spring or summer.

Bush Vetoes China Trade Conditions

By Guy Gugliotta
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush last night vetoed another congressional attempt to attach conditions to renewal of trade privileges for China.

Shortly before 7 p.m., the administration announced the veto of a most-favored-nation trade bill passed by voice vote in both houses of Congress and sent to the White House Sept. 22. Bush's veto was the 33rd of his administration and marked the second time this year he has vetoed a conditional MFN bill for China. Congressional sources said the veto would likely be sustained.

Last Friday Bush waited even later in the day to veto a bill that would have allowed nurses and other personnel at federally funded family planning clinics to give patients information about abortion. Last Tuesday he vetoed a family leave bill after the network news shows were completed. Critics of the administration have charged that Bush seeks to minimize news coverage of vetoes of controversial measures.

Putting conditions on MFN status for China has acquired increasing bipartisan support over the past two years, with lawmakers of both parties charging the Beijing government with systematic human rights abuses, weapons proliferation in less developed countries and restrictive trade practices directed against the United States.

A country with most-favored-nation status, which China first received in 1980, receives the lowest tariffs authorized by the United States. Beginning with the June 1989 Tiananmen Square riots, however, Congress has grown increasingly dissatisfied with Chinese behavior and has sought to condition renewal of MFN status to Chinese reforms.

Bush's no-conditions policy has won support in the past from lawmakers whose constituents either trade with China or who believe that pressuring Beijing is unlikely to improve Chinese behavior.

This argument, however, has failed to convince the House, which has several times passed conditional MFN bills by resounding veto-proof margins in the last two years. And in the Senate, where the override battle traditionally takes place, China has recently angered Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) and other farm-state senators by threatening to stop buying U.S. wheat in retaliation for the administration's announced sale of F-16 fighter jets to Taiwan.

Still, said one knowledgeable Democratic source, Republican disgruntlement probably will not be enough to win a two-thirds Senate majority to override the veto.

As an Issue, the Deficit Doesn't Play in Peoria, Political Pros Warn

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

There is a very good reason President Bush and Bill Clinton have not made deficit reduction the central issue of their campaigns: To do so, say poll takers and political strategists, would be something close to political suicide.

It's not that voters dismiss the deficit as unimportant. It's that they see deficit reduction as being far less vital to them personally than getting the economy to grow and to create more jobs. For many voters, the link between deficit reduction and job growth is obscure or nonexistent.

Voters, the public opinion specialists say, also are wary of candidates who call for "sacrifice," since they strongly suspect the sacrifice will be asked of them, but not of everybody else. And after a long recession, many voters—especially those of modest means—think they have already been asked to sacrifice too much.

Finally, the electorate is so skeptical about the workings of government that many in its ranks think that much of what the government does is wasteful. In five Washington

Post/ABC News polls conducted in 1990 and 1991, voters said that an average of 46 cents of every dollar the federal government collects in taxes is wasted.

Therefore, a great many voters do not believe politicians who say that deficit reduction would require either cutting popular programs or raising taxes.

The result, said Karlyn Keene, a resident fellow and public opinion specialist at the American Enterprise Institute, is that the Republicans before 1980 and the Democrats since then have always failed when they made the deficit a central theme of their campaigns.

"The Republicans beat the Democrats over the head with it for years and it didn't work," she said. "The Democrats then beat the Republicans over the head with it, and that didn't work either."

It should therefore not be surprising, she said, that neither former Massachusetts senator Paul Tsongas in the Democratic primaries nor Ross Perot, at least in the first phase of his campaign, had much success with the deficit issue.

"People can't relate to it," Keene said of the deficit. "It's too big. It doesn't touch

their lives personally. It's one of those big numbers and it's hard to wrap your arms around it. And nobody knows how to deal with it."

Linda DiVall, a Republican poll taker, said she regularly advises the candidates she works for to stay away from talking about

"People can't relate to it. It's too big. It doesn't touch their lives personally."

Karlyn Keene, public opinion specialist
at American Enterprise Institute

entitlement cuts to balance the budget. "I say to Republican candidates: 'As a challenger, you cannot afford to deal with the whole question of entitlements. . . . the Democrat will eat your lunch if you try that early on.'"

Mark Mellman, a Democratic poll taker said that if a candidate told him that he wanted to call for big tax increases to cut the defi-

cit, he would reply: "You ought to do what you believe is important, but you're going to lose."

"There's a fundamental 'dissensus' in this country on how to achieve deficit reduction, and no politician, whether running for president, senator or Congress, wants to walk into the middle of that kind of dissensus," Mellman said. "Given a choice between running on an 80-20 issue or a 50-50 issue, people will campaign on an 80-20 issue every time."

Both DiVall and Mellman believe it is possible to create a consensus for deficit reduc-

tion, but only after a politician is elected and develops the trust of the electorate. "Until somebody forges a consensus on this—and it takes presidential leadership to forge a consensus on deficit reduction—it's not going to happen," Mellman said.

Robert Shapiro, an economic adviser to Clinton, believes deficit reduction should be an important presidential goal, but argues that candidates are quite rational not to make the deficit the highlight of their economic message.

"A candidate who just says, 'I'll raise your taxes and cut your benefits,' is saying, 'You may be in tough shape but that's not the

most important thing to me, something else is the most important thing to me,'" Shapiro said. "You have to make clear to people that what you're worried about is that they're in tough shape."

The polls suggest that this analysis is correct. A New York Times-CBS New Poll published last week, for example, asked voters: "What one issue do you wish the candidates would talk about most?" The survey found that 46 percent named the economy or unemployment, 8 percent listed health care, and 7 percent listed education. The deficit came next at just 6 percent.

Still, the deficit is an important issue to political elites—the people who appear on television shows and write op-ed columns—and also to Ross Perot. So candidates cannot deal with it lightly.

Thus, Gene Sperling, a Clinton economic adviser, may have come up with the most politically savvy approach yesterday after meeting with Perot and his supporters in Dallas.

"We showed them how committed we are," Sperling said, "to getting the deficit down without hurting economic growth." Just about nobody disagrees with that.

Politicians Wavering On Debt Crisis Issue

Candidates Fall Far Short on Solutions

Last of three articles

By Steven Mufson
Washington Post Staff Writer

Of all the federal government's commitments, none is more sacred than its promise to assist the country's elderly citizens with payments from the Social Security retirement fund.

Not even this pledge, however, can escape the twin realities of a federal budget far out of balance and a growing population of retirees whose claims on scarce tax dollars will collide with the government's other spending priorities.

Michael J. Boskin, chairman of



"A confrontation between workers and retirees will arise [involving trillions of dollars] that will create the greatest polarization along economic lines in our society since the Civil War."

— MICHAEL J. BOSKIN,
adviser to President Bush

President Bush's Council of Economic Advisers, warned in 1986 that "a confrontation between workers and retirees will arise [involving trillions of dollars] that will create the greatest polarization along economic lines in our society since the Civil War."

Six years later, the costs of a decade of escalating budget deficits and federal debt are even more clear. The deep spending cuts and new taxes needed to close the budget gap threaten to pit the old against the young, the healthy against the sick, cities against suburbs and rich against poor.

In the heat of the election campaign, neither President Bush nor Gov. Bill Clinton has gone very far in talking about the choices that loom ahead.

In Ross Perot's words, the national debt "is like a crazy aunt we keep down in the basement. All the neighbors know she's there, but nobody wants to talk about her."

While tax increases may be "unavoidable" as remedies to the nation's debt and deficit problems, according to the International Monetary Fund, Bush has dangled the prospect of new tax reduction, including an across-the-board cut and tax breaks for small businesses, real estate developers, first-time home buyers, savers and investors.

And while "entitlement" programs—Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, veterans payments, student loans and farm price supports—make up the lion's share of government spending, Clinton has mentioned practically no cuts in those programs.

See DEBT, A12, Col. 1

Bush has talked about a target to limit growth of those programs, but he has not spelled out how he plans to hit that target.

At the other extreme stands Perot, who proposes to slash government spending or increase taxes by \$754 billion over the next five years, a staggering sum that could throw the already weak economy into a much deeper crisis, according to economists.

"I think it would be bad policy to do austerity in full force without paying attention to the rest of the economy," said James Tobin, a Nobel Prize-winning economist at Yale University. "There are times for austerity and this is not one of them."

A time for budget austerity will come, however, said Tobin. Once the economy recovers, Tobin would favor a budget deficit of about \$150 billion (excluding Social Security funding), less than half current deficit levels.

Clear Choices

While the choices for making these cuts may be politically explosive, they are not mysterious. Every year, the Congressional Budget Office publishes a widely ignored book of options about how to reduce the deficit. This year it ran to 350 pages.

The biggest deficit reduction options on lists such as the CBO's include:

■ A higher gasoline tax.

Americans pay less than a third as much as Europeans do for gasoline. Every penny increase in the gasoline tax would raise \$1 billion. A 50-cent increase would raise \$50 billion a year and cut down on energy consumption, while still leaving the United States with the cheapest gasoline in the world. Low-income commuters would suffer the most. The average motorist would pay about \$300 a year more in gasoline taxes.

Perot would increase the tax by 10 cents in each of the next five years. Neither Bush nor Clinton favor future gasoline tax increases.

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■ Slow down the rapid increase in "entitlement spending."

These programs do not require any new annual appropriation by Congress, and they grow automatically as more people qualify for benefits by meeting the requirements of age or income levels.

The combination of retirement payments, unemployment insurance, food stamps, Medicare and Medicaid—plus interest payments on the national debt, which also grow automatically—will account for 58 percent of all federal spending next year.

When Bush and others talk about cutting entitlements, though, most often they are using a euphemism for reductions in health care spending for the elderly and the poor.

These are the fastest-growing parts of the budget. Medicare and Medicaid spending are projected to grow from \$198 billion this year to \$349 billion in 1997 as the populations of the elderly and needy expand. Squeezing payments to doctors and hospitals won't be enough. Most proposals for cutting government spending mean requiring that poor and elderly recipients pay more for their own health care.

Keeping Growth Down

Bush says he wants to keep the growth of Medicare spending down to the rate of increase in population plus inflation. That would require \$145.8 billion in spending cuts over five years. But in his 1993 budget, Bush proposed cuts totaling only one-tenth that much. Clinton said he plans unspecified cost controls. Perot would make the elderly pay 35 percent of the cost of their benefits and extend the existing 1.45 percent tax to all income. Currently the tax only applies to the first \$130,200 in income.

■ Tax a bigger portion of Social Security benefits.

Senior citizens who make more than \$25,000 a year as individuals or \$32,000 a year as couples pay taxes on half of their Social Security bene-

fits. Raising that portion to 85 percent of benefits would affect 18 percent of retirees and raise about \$30 billion over five years. Such treatment would be similar to the taxation of private pensions.

■ Impose a value-added tax, or VAT.

This is a form of sales tax used in more than 50 countries that taxes the total value of sales of all businesses. It allows firms to claim a credit for taxes paid on their purchases of goods so that they are not taxed twice. If it excluded food, housing and medical care, a 5 percent VAT would raise about \$70 billion a year. It would discourage consumption and boost investment, which economists say would help the economy. But it is a regressive tax that places a heavy burden on the poor.

■ Eliminate waste and political "pork barrel" spending.

This is the most talked-about and most elusive of the measures to reduce the budget.

It is elusive because the entire domestic discretionary spending budget—including the more than a dozen government departments and agencies usually accused of wasteful pork barrel spending—make up just 15 percent of all government spending.

A 10 percent across-the-board cut would save \$22.6 billion a year, but it would hurt programs ranging from space exploration to Head Start, from federal law enforcement to tax collection, from the National Park Service to aid to the District of Columbia.

■ Cut military spending.

Bush plans a gradual decrease in military spending. Clinton would cut an additional 5 percent. Perot would fall close to Clinton's target. He wants \$40 billion less military spending than Bush does over the next five years.

So far, the numbers offered by the main candidates don't add up.

Bush's promise of new tax cuts would be costly: Even a 1 percent-

age point cut in personal income tax rates would reduce government revenue by about \$25 billion a year. In addition, Bush's proposal to permit people to earmark part of their tax dollars to slow the growth of the national debt could cost as much as \$50 billion a year. And he would need more than \$30 billion a year to pay for his health plan, according to administration estimates.

To do these things while keeping the deficit from growing would take \$400 billion to \$770 billion in spending cuts over the next five years. But Bush has proposed setting a target that would require no more than \$290 billion in spending cuts over five years to cap the growth of Medicare, Medicaid and other entitlement programs.

To protect Social Security, honor interest due on the national debt and protect his military spending proposals, Bush would have to trim nearly 25 percent of all other federal spending to cover his new tax cuts and reduce the deficit, according to Office of Management and Budget figures.

Clinton promises ambitious new federal spending programs with a cost of \$219 billion over four years—not including the unspecified tab for his universal health insurance plan. While he describes in detail how he would pay for the programs other than health, he does not do much else to trim the federal budget deficit beyond where it would be without any change in government policy.

Clinton's Blueprint

Clinton says that the government could save billions by operating more efficiently and collect much more in taxes by a more aggressive enforcement policy toward foreign corporations. But many experts say he exaggerates the potential revenue gains.

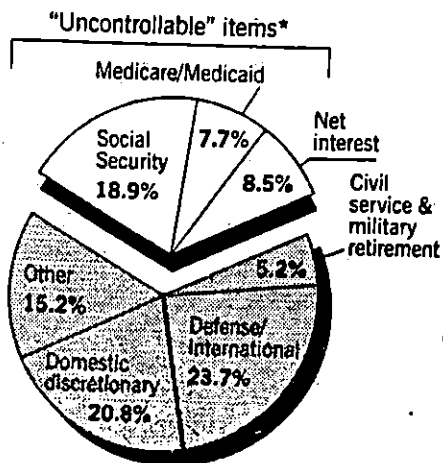
Harvard University economics professor Martin Feldstein, a former

The Washington Post

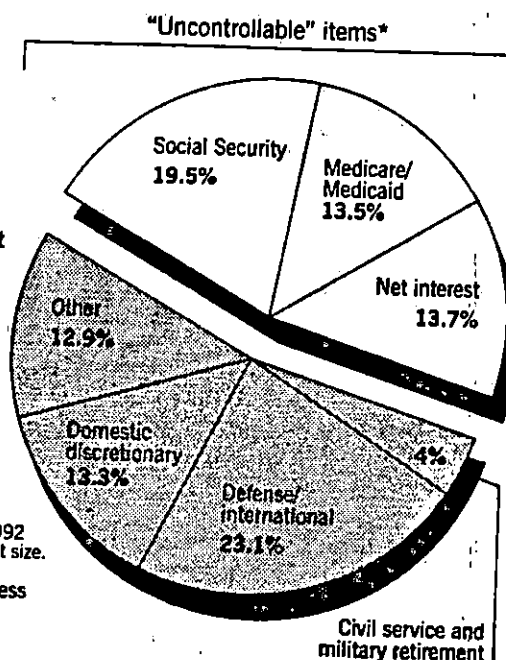
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BUDGET PRESSURES

1980: \$620.5 BILLION



1992: \$1.471 TRILLION



COMPARING BUDGETS
IN 1992 DOLLARS



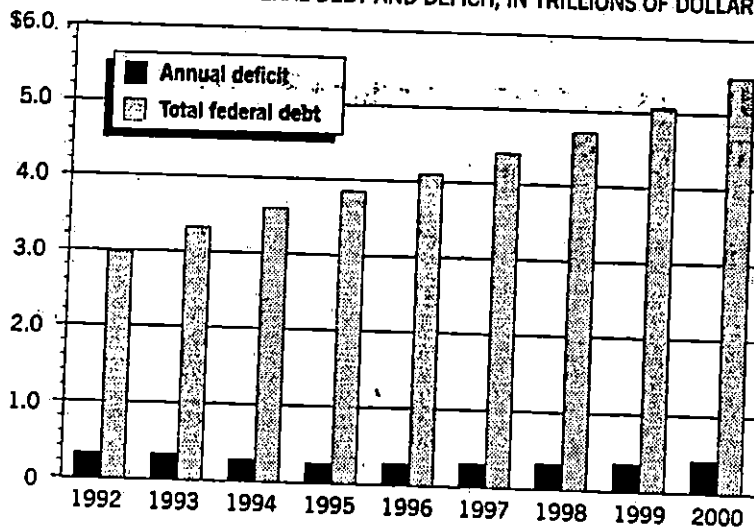
NOTE: Bar chart data on right is adjusted to constant 1992 dollars while pie charts are in proportion to actual budget size.

*Items for which spending rises automatically unless Congress changes programs.

SOURCE: Congressional Budget Office

A GLOOMY OUTLOOK

GROWTH OF THE FEDERAL DEBT AND DEFICIT, IN TRILLIONS OF DOLLARS



NOTE: Figures assume no changes in current policies and do not include the Social Security fund.
SOURCE: Congressional Budget Office

THE WASHINGTON POST

Reagan administration economic adviser, said Clinton's plans would make the budget deficit \$26 billion bigger than it would be otherwise by 1996.

The problem for the candidates—and the electorate—boils down to choices. The failure to make those choices is a choice by default. And that could lead to other, still tougher issues involving deficits and debt.

One strategy for easing the debt burden is for policy makers to tolerate higher levels of inflation. That would cause the purchasing power of the dollar to shrink and that would make it cheaper for future governments to repay old debts.

But inflation would damage the economy in many ways, straining the banking system, hurting workers whose wages can not keep up with rising prices and punishing people who had been thrifty and had saved money in the past.

A second issue is whether to bite into the Social Security trust fund, a huge government account that takes in payroll taxes from employers and

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employees and pays out benefits to Social Security recipients. Right now, the fund shows a surplus—it has more money than it currently needs. That surplus will be needed when the baby-boom generation hits retirement age in about 20 years.

But the surplus is being spent to help the government handle today's debts.

Money Being 'Lent'

To keep up the appearance that Social Security is an insurance fund, the bookkeepers at the Office of Management and Budget say that the money paid into the fund is being "lent" to the federal government. And about \$1 trillion of the federal government's \$4 trillion accumulated debt is owned to Social Security and other trust funds. But there are no assets—no stock or bond certificates—in the Social Security trust fund; only the government's commitment to make good on the benefits it has promised future retirees.

Though defaulting on national debt owed to the public would cause economic chaos worldwide, the federal government can essentially "default" on part of the debt owed to the Social Security trust fund by cutting back on benefits paid to future retirees. It can raise the retirement age, as it did under the 1983 agreement, or it can slow down the cost-of-living adjustments to benefits.

One senior Bush administration official views this as inevitable. Without such changes, Social Security payments will grow from \$275 billion this year to \$500 billion by the turn of the century.

"When the baby-boom generation retires . . . hard-pressed workers will certainly resist tax increases of 5, 10 or 15 percentage points" that will be needed to pay for previously promised retirement benefits, Boskin, Bush's economic adviser, wrote in 1986. "The larger elderly population, meanwhile, will push for these tax increases to finance not only existing benefits, but also new ones."

The way the trust fund is being managed dramatizes critics' accusations that it is no trust fund at all but a

spending program in which working people support the elderly now—and count on receiving similar support when they retire. Reducing future benefits would undermine support for the Social Security tax.

A third issue is the relentless pressure of rising health care costs. So far the candidates talk mostly of expanding health programs to cover the 40 million or so Americans who do not have insurance. But if debt and deficit control were the top priority, government would have to be reducing coverage, not expanding it.

Many political leaders doubt that the country can swallow the measures needed to cure the budget imbalance, especially when political leaders continue to offer magic fixes such as exaggerated promises of growth or the illusion of eliminating waste, as Perot initially put it, "without breaking a sweat."

"Many complain about wasteful projects and foreign aid," said Sen. Warren B. Rudman (R-N.H.). "But if we eliminate all domestic discretionary spending—not the wasteful parts, but all of it—and all foreign aid in this fiscal year, we would still be left with a deficit of over \$150 billion, an amount considered inconceivable a short 10 years ago when I came to the Senate."

Two Contrary Notions

The difficulty of coming to grips with the nation's deficits force Americans to confront two contrary notions of government: government as the problem and as the problem-solver.

According to the broad vision of President Reagan, government was the problem. Tax reduction and limiting the role of government would invigorate the private sector and a growing economy would help all, he said. Bush during his campaign has echoed that theme, though neither he nor Reagan always lived up to it. Now Clinton is putting forward a vision of a more activist government.

No matter which one takes the country forward, their agenda will be shaped by the constraints of the nation's annual deficits and a legacy of debt.

Jim Hoagland

An October Surprise? Not in This Election Year

European officials who met with Defense Secretary Dick Cheney in Paris and London this month have concluded that there will be no "October surprise" in this election year: The Bush administration has decided to avoid any military action in Yugoslavia or Iraq before the Nov. 3 U.S. elections.

While welcoming American prudence abroad in the midst of a bitter presidential election campaign, some Europeans are nonetheless concerned that the United States is embarking on a four-month vacation from world leadership at a crucial moment in the post-Cold War era.

That concern rises as the polls show President Bush losing an increasingly desperate reelection bid. Foreign governments fear that campaign paralysis will be followed by an uncertain interregnum in Washington, as a new and untested Democratic administration gets organized.

Gone in this campaign and in the potential transition from Bush to Gov. Bill Clinton is the immediate focus and continuity imparted by the Cold War threat of a massive, quick Soviet strike. For the first time in half a century, it is not clear what urgent

foreign priorities America will set for itself after a presidential election.

In Iraq, only a major provocation by Saddam Hussein that would embarrass Washington would bring U.S., British and French military strikes before Nov. 3, French military sources told me in Paris. They added that Saddam shows every sign of trying to avoid confrontation now. U.S. and British officials echo this assessment.

The situation in the former Yugoslav republics is less stable. But American policy there is even more static than it is in Iraq, despite a spreading sense in Europe that the Yugoslav crisis is reaching a defining moment.

French officials hoped Cheney would provide support for a more activist Western role, backed up by

Some Europeans are concerned that the United States is on a four-month vacation from world leadership at a crucial moment in the post-Cold War era.

symbolic U.S. military involvement, to contain the conflict in the Balkans.

But they were disappointed by Cheney's vague, noncommittal responses in Paris. The defense secretary waved off even the modest proposal that U.S. AWACs surveillance aircraft, which would not be vulnerable to attack, participate in an essentially French-run operation to provide air cover for aid flights and convoys in Bosnia.

In public, the administration continues to send deliberately murky signals about U.S. willingness to use force if necessary to provide help for the besieged cities of Bosnia. Administration officials suggest at times that Washington may get involved and then back away from those statements when the time for action arrives.

The public ambiguity is intended both to calm American public opinion

and to add pressure on Serbian nationalists to contain the conflict. In private, there is no ambiguity. Cheney reflected in London and Paris the overriding determination by the administration to do nothing that would get U.S. forces involved in a Balkan quagmire, especially in this electoral period.

"What is striking is that the Americans are not saying that the cost is too high or the cause is not worth it," said one European official. "What we hear more and more from Americans is that they don't know what to do about Yugoslavia. There is simply no policy the Americans can figure out to follow now."

As the United States pulls farther away from any action in the Balkans, France is going in the opposite direction. While nominally under the Unit-

ed Nations flag and command, the ground operations in Croatia and Bosnia are increasingly a French affair, as the French force expands to 4,000 men on the ground.

New French units accompanied by light tanks will arrive in Bosnia in October with clearer authorization to hit back against attacks from Serbian irregulars and military units. Eight

French soldiers have already been killed in ex-Yugoslavia.

French self-interest plays a role in the willingness to take on more of the burden. Paris sees the absence of U.S. leadership in helping Europe contain a dangerous war both as an opportunity and a demand for a French-organized security arrangement in Europe. Yugoslavia underscores the inability and/or unwillingness of the U.S.-led North Atlantic Treaty Organization to act in the Balkans.

"Canada, which is withdrawing its troops from NATO because the Cold War is over, has put almost 1,500 troops into Yugoslavia. The United States, which insists that it has to keep the command of European defense, will not get involved in this real threat to European security," noted one French official. "The contrast is remarkable."

The bloodletting in Yugoslavia will not take a holiday because of the American elections. Neither will the political, diplomatic and military efforts of other nations to establish new balances of power and influence in the new Europe. The absence of American ground troops in the Balkans is understandable and right. The absence of American policies that influence the outcome there is not.

Leon E. Panetta and
Thomas J. Downey

For Children— Not the Cutting- Room Floor

Congress, in its final days before adjournment, is working on emergency legislation to address the problems in our cities that were laid bare by the Los Angeles riots. Near the top of any list of those problems are the alarming increases in the incidence of broken families, child abuse and hunger. These increases reflect the shocking data on poverty released earlier this month by the Census Bureau. Nearly a million more children slipped into poverty just last year, and nearly one in four children under 6 in this country now lives in poverty.

One would think that measures to address the issues of broken families and hunger would be a top priority for inclusion in any urban aid package. And indeed, the House has adopted a measure called the Children's Initiative, a unique effort to direct critical resources to helping needy families and children. Unfortunately, there is some danger that when the urban aid bill is completed, the Children's Initiative will be left on the cutting-room floor.

That would be tragic—particularly in view of the several provisions benefiting corporations and wealthy taxpayers that probably *will* make the final cut. It's essential that the Senate, as well as the House, makes room for the Children's Initiative.

It's hard for many to believe that in this still prosperous nation, hunger could be a serious problem. But during any given month, some 5 million children in the United States under the age of 12 experience real hunger.

These children do not have enough food to maintain their health, to grow properly, to be productive students. In a society that will be depending on the productivity of these children in the years to come, this situation is not only indecent but also just plain stupid.

The fact is that the federal programs meant to provide food and nutrition to poor families are not, in too many instances, adequate to the job. The anti-hunger provisions of the Children's Initiative are adapted from the Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act, probably the most important bill of its kind in 15 years. They provide modest food stamp benefits that would help meet the needs of hungry children.

Most of the benefits are targeted to families that face high shelter costs—high rents and/or high utility payments. These are families that sometimes must decide between paying the rent or utilities and having enough money left over to buy food. Often they are close to joining the ranks of the homeless.

The bill also encourages absent fathers to live up to their family responsibilities by reducing certain disincentives in the food stamp program for payment of child support. Moreover, it removes disincentives that discourage families from living together to save on shelter expenses.

The other half of the Children's Initiative, known as the Family Preservation Act, is directed toward problems that our society has neglected far too long—the pressures that force families apart and the horror of child abuse.

Oprah Winfrey's recent television special "Scared Silent" highlighted the problem of child abuse. It alerted millions of viewers to the terrible facts: 2.7 million children reported abused or neglected in 1991; 1,383 who died, most before they reached their first birthday; some 107,000 children, most abused or neglected, who have entered foster care in the past five years—a 50 percent increase that has placed serious strains on the foster care system.

The Family Preservation Act is a creative set of measures that would help troubled families stay together and would ameliorate the conditions that often lead to child abuse. The bill would encourage the development of innovative state and local programs to keep families intact and to prevent

expensive and unnecessary foster care placements. It would increase resources for overburdened foster care and adoption assistance programs, as well as state and local child welfare agencies. And it would target the needs of abandoned children—"high risk" children—and those exposed to drugs.

There is a lot of talk about family values in this election year, but it doesn't mean much if we continue to allow the national shame of hunger among our children to exist. And it doesn't mean much if we are not willing to provide the resources to help our families stay together and provide for their children.

The Children's Initiative is an investment in our nation's future. It targets genuine emergencies in our nation's cities, and it belongs in the urban aid legislation.

*Leon E. Panetta is a Democratic representative from California.
Thomas J. Downey is a Democratic representative from New York.*

Mario M. Cuomo

The Agony of the States

ALBANY, N.Y.—If you believe the reporters, California's budget crisis has been one more case of governmental gridlock—another opportunity to write the Fed-Up-With-Politics story. But from here in New York, it's clear that politics isn't the heart of the problem: The suffering in California is just a spasm in the mounting fiscal agony of states around the nation.

Indeed, at least 35 states—home to 85 percent of the American people—have wrestled with serious budget gaps this year. Bond ratings for the states are the worst in three decades. Unless we believe that the leaders of three dozen separate states—both Democrats and Republicans—suddenly surrendered to profligate spending, feeble management or political hallucinations, we can fairly conclude that this problem is as big as the country.

Its causes are national, too: In state after state, the tenacious grip of national recession has choked off the flow of public revenues. At the same time, more people than ever are now forced to seek state assistance through welfare and Medicaid. Most states also face an explosion of costly social problems—AIDS, crack, homelessness, violent crime—each in turn made more severe by the country's listless economy.

Perhaps worst of all, every state in the union is battling the grave effects of the decade-long withdrawal of federal support for cities and states. From 1982 and 1991, federal aid to state and local governments declined 15.4 percent.

In New York, where recession struck hard and early, we understood as far back as 1989 that this array of fiscal pressure represented more than a passing challenge.

Since Fiscal Year 1990-1991, we have been battling the state's most serious fiscal challenge since the Great Depression.

In the last two years, the same national recession has contorted state budgets from coast to coast. Here in the East, Massachusetts had to cut its state work force by nearly 18 percent, while Connecticut had to adopt a new income tax. New Jersey was forced to hike its top tax rate on personal income from 3.5 percent to 7 percent. Pennsylvania added a full percentage point to its income tax rate, but recently had to make deep cuts in state aid to private higher education. In the Midwest, Illinois and Michigan felt compelled to wipe out general assistance for all single adults deemed "employable"—even for people who have exhausted their unemployment benefits and still

can't find a job. And on our Pacific shore, California boosted its top income tax rate, added 1.25 percent to its sales tax rate—and still had to cut back on welfare relief.

To balance New York's last three budgets, we were also obliged to cut hard and broadly. We had to reduce our work force by 20,500, freeze pay raises for public employees for

two years and enact unprecedented spending cuts. However, we have been fortunate in being able to hold the state sales tax steady since I took office in 1983 and in never having to raise the rate of income tax—still at its lowest level in 30 years because of cuts we enacted early in my administration.

Mercifully, we were able to steer

the state through this difficult fiscal passage without dismantling the services people count on government for: quality public education, preventive health care for children, aid for poor families and the homeless, vital research in the fight against AIDS.

Today, in state after state, some of the most basic government programs have started to look like luxuries. Yet if government cannot provide these essential functions, it loses its reason for being. Anything can be overdone—even such strong-sounding virtues as austerity. In pursuing financial health through self-denial, we must be careful not to lapse into fiscal anorexia. When state and local governments are starved for funds, the people they serve feel the hunger the most.

Caught in the headlights of the national media, California's budget crisis momentarily captured the country's attention. But we need to remember that though the books may be balanced in Sacramento for the moment, we have not closed the book on the larger question of America's fiscal fitness—and what we should really demand from the government of these United States.

The writer is governor of New York.

Richard Cohen

Golden State for Democrats

SAN FRANCISCO—If, as it is sometimes claimed, things happen first in California, then the Republican Party is about to go into epic decline. The state party is in the hands of political and religious zealots, George Bush is running more than 20 points behind Bill Clinton, and the GOP looks like it will lose both U.S. Senate seats this year. Only for the Democrats is California still the Golden State.

Last week, one of the Republican Senate candidates, Bruce Herschensohn of Los Angeles, met his Democratic opponent in debate here. The Democrat in question is Rep. Barbara Boxer from nearly mythical Marin County, one vast hot tub, to hear some people tell it. Once she would have been seen as a political feast for the Republicans: female, Jewish, unabashedly liberal, pro-choice, opposed to the gulf war, an environmentalist and ranked 33rd among current members of Congress for House bank overdrafts (143 latex checks). In the most recent Los Angeles Times poll,

though, she leads Herschensohn by 19 points.

The Boxer-Herschensohn race provides voters with the sort of contest political scientists are wont to say America needs more of: a clear ideological choice. Herschensohn worked in Richard Nixon's White House, and his conservative credentials are unimpeachable. But he has his feet planted firmly in the cement of ideology, and he seems not to care that he is soon going to be sending up bubbles as a result.

In the debate here, for instance, he was all poise but, really, almost otherworldly. He pushes a flat tax, which Boxer has found just delightful. It would, she says, favor the rich at the expense of the middle class. In a state where the unemployment rate is two points above the national average, there is nary a governmental program of which Herschensohn approves. Over and over, he said he wants the federal government to do no more than absolutely necessary. The voters

seem ready to repay his minimalism with some of their own.

When the dust settles in November, California is likely to have two female senators, doubling by itself the number of women in the Senate. Dianne Feinstein, the former mayor of this city, also enjoys a nearly 20-point margin over her Republican opponent, incumbent John Seymour. The Clinton-Gore ticket has such a commanding lead that the Bush-Quayle forces have all-but conceded the state, one-fifth of the electoral votes needed for victory. California, Republican for seven of the past eight presidential races, is starting to look for Democrats the way the South used to. The "San Francisco Democrats" of Jeane Kirkpatrick's memorable phrase are coming back with a vengeance.

To understand why, it's useful to recall when Kirkpatrick coined that phrase and the context in which she used it. She spoke to the Republican National Convention on Aug. 21, 1984, and the speech was about for-

eign policy—a subject, she said, the Democrats had hardly mentioned in their convention here. For that reason, Kirkpatrick asked seven questions—all of them relating to the Soviet threat. Here is an example: "What would become of Israel if surrounded by Soviet client states?"

Kirkpatrick might as well have mentioned iceboxes, Victrolas and Studebakers. The Soviet Union is no more. It has no client states. The former ones, such as Syria, are now looking to the United States for aid and approval. The *raison d'être* of the contemporary Republican Party vanished when the Berlin Wall went kerplop. Shorn of its foreign policy, it has to rely solely on an unforgiving and ideologically extreme domestic policy: opposition to abortion, an affiliation with the Christian right, an abhorrence for many government programs and a seeming incompetence in the face of a protracted recession. Without the Red Threat, there is little reason to put up with such nonsense. Primitive tribes, when faced with

such a loss of purpose (the banning of head-hunting, for instance), have simply become extinct.

California, a little deeper into the recession than most states (defense cutbacks have hurt it badly), is not yet typical. But the chaos of the Republican Party, its Yugoslavian-like enmities (Gov. Pete Wilson, a moderate, refused to attend the recent GOP state convention, and Seymour was attacked there for being "pro-choice"), is a portent of some things to come and some that have already arrived.

Without the umbrella of anticommunism, without a unifying foreign policy, the Republican Party is becoming defined by its marginal constituencies. The same thing happened to the Democratic Party after it enacted its New Deal, Fair Deal and Great Society programs. The dilemma for the GOP is as old as the proverb about answered prayers. In politics, the rewards of success can be failure.

Michael D. Bromberg

Health Care: Let the People Spend

Imagine the public outcry if Congress passed a "global entertainment budget" limiting the amount of money citizens may spend on movies, fast food and family vacations. That is what the Democratic leaders in Congress and their presidential nominee, Bill Clinton, are advocating for health care expenditures.

Frustrated by their inability to control federal health costs, these liberal lawmakers are suggesting an annual "global health budget" for the private sector. This mechanism would set an arbitrary ceiling on aggregate public and private health care spending. The cap would be enforced by controlling prices, which inevitably would limit health care purchases and lower the quality of care.

Whether applied to entertainment or health care, the concept of a global budget would require a constitutional amendment; our forebears did not grant government the authority to apportion our personal incomes. Con-

gress does have limited authority to ration private consumption of scarce resources such as food and gasoline during national emergencies. Even during peacetime, Congress has invoked its authority to protect the public safety by requiring cars to be equipped with seat belts and by setting a national speed limit.

But the United States is not at war, and health care is hardly a scarce resource. In fact, capping individuals' health care purchasing would have a detrimental impact on public health. The use of a global budget even exceeds the health policies established by countries that embrace socialized medicine. In Great Britain, for example, citizens retain the freedom to purchase supplemental private coverage. Canada, which lacks our constitutional protections, does limit all health spending as well as such individual choices. Fortunately, most Canadians live near the U.S. border,

and we provide the state-of-the-art health care they covet.

Our government does have the authority to balance individual rights against the overall welfare of the public, but it must do so cautiously—any restriction on our fundamental rights must stem from an overriding public interest. The Supreme Court has vigorously defended this principle by overruling laws that do not meet this "strict scrutiny" test. In doing so, the high court has cited our Constitution, its amendments and the Declaration of Independence as authority.

For instance, in *Buckley v. Valeo*, a cap on campaign expenditures by private citizens running for office was struck down as a violation of the First Amendment right to freedom of expression. Government-set limits on individual liberties, such as the right to personal privacy, were rejected under the due process clause of the 14th Amendment in *Griswold v. Connecticut* (which voided a state statute prohibiting the use of contraceptives).

No overriding public interest would be served by forfeiting to government individuals' freedom to choose what they buy and how much they spend on health care service.

It would be constitutional for Congress to cap federal health spending because that involves the allocation of tax dollars. That would be unwise public policy, however, because a federal health cap would only compound the dilemma of the millions of poor Americans who do not qualify for Medicaid. It also would be legal for Congress to limit tax subsidies for private health expenditures, such as the tax deductions and exclusions for employer-paid insurance.

Reforming our health system to increase access and control costs is essential, and there are many pending proposals to achieve it without raising serious constitutional questions. The examples include:

- Changing our tax laws to encourage cost-effective health plans;

- Accelerating efforts to measure quality and eliminate unnecessary care;

- Reforming malpractice laws to reduce the cost of defensive medicine; and

- Establishing purchasing groups to lower the cost of insurance for small business.

But prohibiting private health spending above some magic number—regardless of need—flies in the face of our constitutional guarantees. It is ironic that those who want government to limit our personal decisions on health spending are the first to proclaim their belief that "health care is a right, not a privilege." They ought to realize that under the Constitution, rights belong to the people—not the government.

The writer is executive director of the Federation of American Health Systems, a lobbying organization for the health care industry.

Executive Fiat: How a New President Could Make a Big Difference

By Al Kamen
Washington Post Staff Writer

In the opening days of this year's election campaign, President Bush wrapped much of his rhetoric around the theme of running against a gridlocked Congress.

But many of the most hotly contested political issues in recent years—fetal tissue research or the abortion pill; environmental, consumer or health regulations; civil rights enforcement and affirmative action; trade relations with China, Vietnam or Cuba; asylum for Haitians—have not been the result of congressional action, or inaction.

Those battles were sparked by the president's vast power to control the federal bureaucracy and to issue executive orders, regulations and policy directives.

Some of the most controversial Reagan and Bush administration policies—especially those affecting abortion, environmental regulations or trade—went into effect simply by executive fiat, implemented over the objections of substantial majorities in one or both houses of Congress, which has rarely been able to muster enough votes to override a veto.

Since the New Deal, Congress has delegated increasing authority to the executive branch to implement the law in whatever way the president or his aides think reasonable. "Most people don't realize how much of what the government does now" is through executive order, policy statements and especially rules and regulations, said Bruce Fein, a former Reagan administration official.

Should the White House change hands and Bill Clinton move to carry out his pledge to "change America," executive actions that have been taken without congressional support are especially vulnerable.

That is why activists on both sides of the issues are anxiously awaiting Election Day.

For business groups, timber and mining interests and antiabortion advocates, much that they have been able to achieve by executive orders, appointments, policies and vetoes could be quickly overturned.

They are hoping for a second Bush presidency to solidify the conservative majority on the Supreme Court and maintain conservative positions on abortion, religion and property rights, for four more years of limited regulatory activity and for a continuation of Bush's ban on new regulations.

On the other side, environmental, labor, abortion rights and consumer activists, in a regulatory wilderness for the last 12 years, are drawing up wish lists in the event Clinton wins.

"There will be a real, radical change if Bush leaves the White House," said Gary Bass, director of OMB Watch, a liberal watchdog group. "There will be a fun-

damental shift in the way government is perceived and the way government operates. The philosophy of Reagan and Bush is to promote inaction on the part of the federal government," Bass said.

Bush, and especially Ronald Reagan, "used the regulatory apparatus to circumvent judicial decisions and undermine congressional initiatives," Bass said. "That is what Reagan did so expertly. He grabbed every lever that the executive power could give to exert control" and shift power from Congress to the executive.

The traditional configuration of three separate and equal branches of government is "gone," added Fein. The executive is able to effect great changes as long as he can command one-third of Congress to block a veto override.

Ron Arnold, executive vice president of the Center for

the Defense of Free Enterprise, a strong opponent of environmental activists, said he was not sure what Clinton would do if elected, but he agreed that "Congress can write one thing and the administration can write something very different." Arnold added, "It's unbelievable the amount of power the president has just by himself," not counting the combined weight of his appointees.

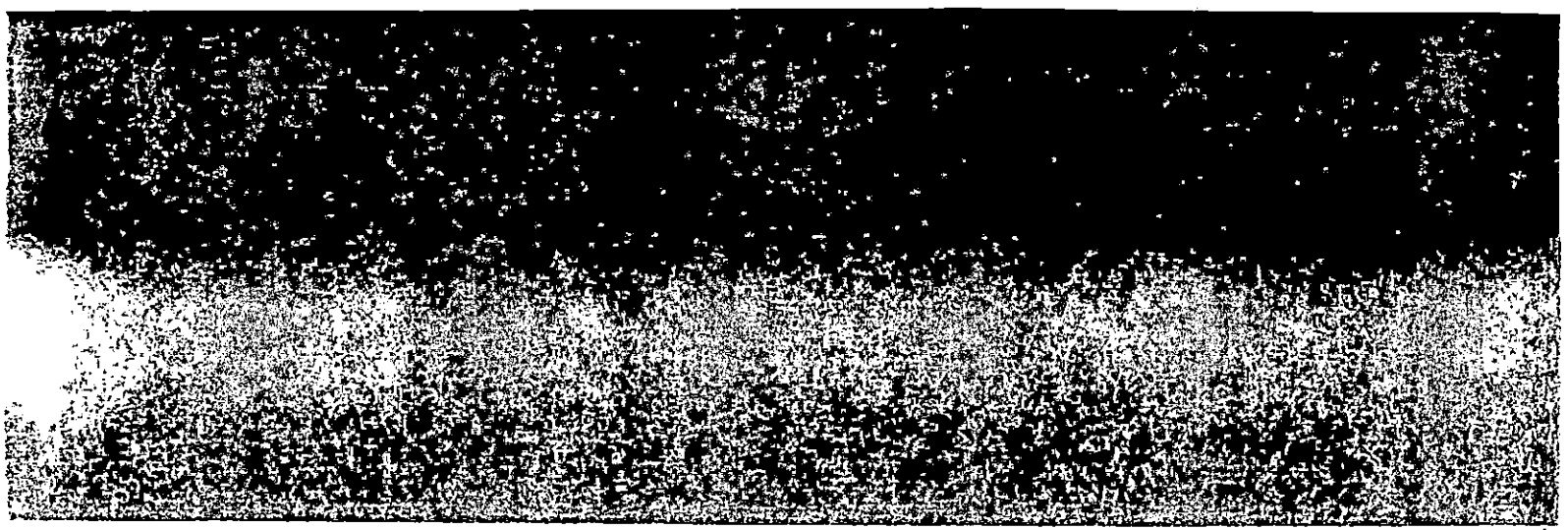
"It will cause a dramatic change," said Kevin Kirchner, an attorney with the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, if Clinton simply were "to bring in people who will implement the laws that have been ignored for the past 10 or 12 years. There [has been] a lot of power in inaction," he said.

Both sides in the abortion battle agree on what might happen if the White House changes hands.

The "gag rule," which prohibits abortion counseling at federally funded family planning clinics except by doctors, would likely be the first to go soon after—if not immediately upon—a Clinton swearing-in, experts said.

The ban on federally funded fetal tissue research and a cutoff of funds to a U.N. family planning agency—ac-

tions sustained by Bush's veto power—also would likely be overturned, both sides agree, as would the ban on allowing privately funded abortions at military hospitals. The Food and Drug Administration ban on the abortion pill RU-486, which was just challenged unsuccessfully in the courts, is also on the abortion rights movement's hit list.



The Washington Post

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1992

The National Right to Life Committee, in a recent newsletter, urged supporters to work for the Bush campaign for fear those policies and rules would be undone. "All of these pro-life policies, and others, will be at stake in the presidential election of November 3, 1992," the newsletter said, warning of a "horror story" if Clinton were to win.

Environmental activists and industry advocates are less precise in their assessments—in part because the contrast between the Bush and Clinton records in that area is not as sharp.

Ed Green, general counsel of the American Mining Congress, said that "generally speaking, our experience is that Democratic control of the White House means

that there is a lot more regulation writing but not that much difference" in practice. "Bush would be less likely to write regulations," Green said, "but Republicans are often tougher in enforcement than Democrats."

Environmental activists had not seen Clinton as an ally. His record as governor indicated he was at best "indifferent" to environmental concerns, one activist said. It was not until he picked Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.) as his running mate that environmental groups warmed to him—and industry groups began to worry, if not panic.

Arnold, criticizing Bush for allowing too much environmental and land use regulation, said the situation would have been much worse were it not for the Council on Competitiveness, chaired by Vice President Quayle.

"The council has become a bottleneck for regulations," he said, "where they can be sliced, diced and chopped into hamburger. You can hold up regulations for a long time, pile this stuff behind the Council on Competitiveness for years. . . . It has the power to unplug any regulation . . . indefinitely."

That is why nearly every consumer, health and environmental activist interviewed had one wish above all should Clinton win: Abolish the Competitiveness Council. Next, they said, they hope Clinton would lift the presiden-

tial orders that gave the Office of Management and Budget its broad-based authority to veto proposed regulations. The council, OMB and a series of executive orders have paralyzed regulatory agencies, activists contend.

But Clinton, even with Gore on the ticket, may not grant those two wishes. "Most modern presidents view the regulatory agencies as potentially loose cannons," said David Vladeck, an attorney with Public Citizen Litigation Group. "He'll put in competent regulators but may leave some of the executive orders in place to give him control. Ever since Nixon, presidents, including Carter, have had some mechanism to review at least the more controversial initiatives undertaken by regulatory agencies."

Still, industry groups, generally pleased with 12 years in which they got some relief from regulations, say that even if Clinton did not abolish the council, there would be a major shift toward regulatory activity.

Activists say that even if Clinton did not abolish the council or put Gore in charge, Bush put on the books a string of ideologically inspired executive orders they would like overturned.

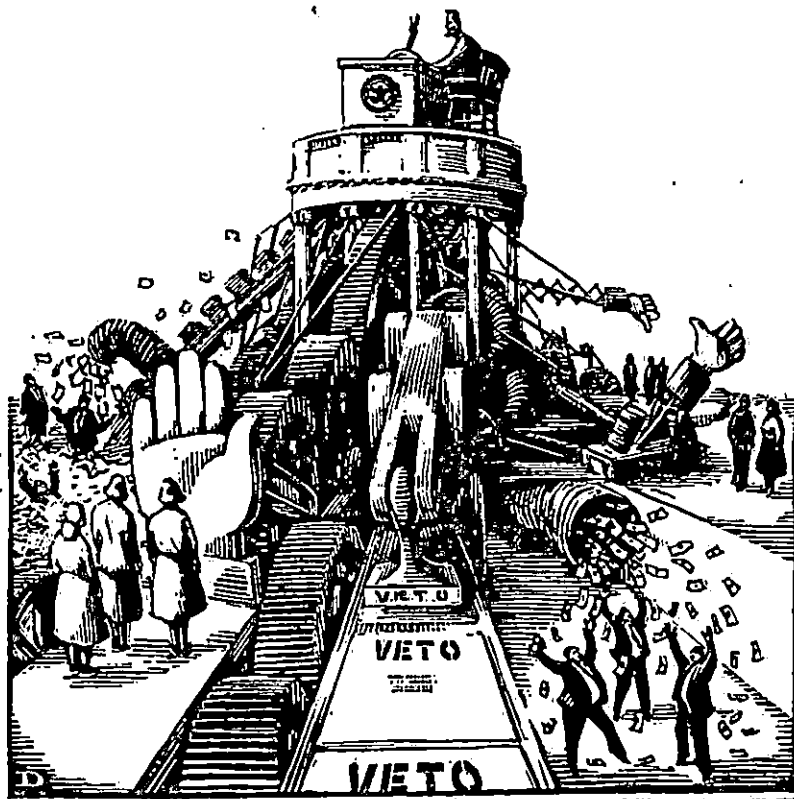
Eliminating those orders, activists say, would remove layers of bureaucracy built up, ironically, by Reagan and Bush to render ineffective the bureaucracy they asserted was inefficient and wasteful.

Lifting those layers and putting in new administrators, activists say, would revitalize agencies such as the Consumer Product Safety Commission and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, which they argue have been largely dormant during the last 12 years.

But industry representatives said it is likely that either candidate, shortly after taking office, will want to take a broad look at the state of government regulation and overhaul it. The problem, as Green put it, is that "the process is broken and someone needs to fix it. People don't think they have been treated fairly."

Several activists, citing Clinton's record in Arkansas, also cautioned against expecting too much should he win.

Health, environmental and other groups "are deluding themselves," said Bass, if they think "suddenly they are going to have a field day" under Clinton. "The Clinton team will balance the interests of the business sector" against calls for tighter regulation, he said.



ART BUCHWALD

The Siege of Hill 92

There is a simple solution to the controversy over the war records of Bill Clinton and Dan Quayle. The two are accused of having used political influence to stay out of the hostilities in Indochina.

The way to solve it is instead of debating the issue over and over again in some clammy network studio, both Clinton and Quayle should go to Vietnam, in full uniform, and show the American public if they really have the right stuff.

The plan would be to take the two men into the mountains around Khe Sanh and assign each one a hill to capture. They would do this alone without aid from the Green Berets or the 82nd Airborne.

To make sure the public witnessed the action CNN would cover it live.

Before going into battle each man would have a half-hour on "The Larry King Show" to profess his patriotism for the United States and his love of the military.

I know some people are saying, "Isn't it a little late to go to Vietnam?" The answer is obvious to anyone running for public office: "Better late than never."

To make sure that the idea was viable I made some telephone calls.

The first one was to Hanoi asking if they had any objection to Clinton and Quayle coming over and taking a few hills to help them in the presidential campaign.

The official wanted to know if I was out of my blinkin' mind. He said, "If they were chicken then, we don't want them now."

I told him, "Our election depends on it. You must allow them in."

"Why?"

"Because you owe us. You have a lot of hills. All we're asking is that you let Quayle and Clinton take two of them."

"Okay, but we don't want you to start making a habit of this every time you hold an election."

I then called Gov. Clinton's top aide. "Good news. I've fixed it so that the governor can still go to Vietnam."

"Governor Clinton doesn't believe in the war."

"Nobody does, but it has become a campaign issue and the only way you can deal with it is to have him go over and hang a coonskin on the wall."

"Has Quayle agreed to this?" Clinton's man asked.

"I've got a call in to him right now. Anyone who won his battle stars in Indianapolis should be dying to visit Saigon."

"If he goes, then our man will go."

I called the Quayle brain trust. "Is Quayle willing to go to Vietnam and take a hill to prove that he's not a coward?"

"That's a hypothetical question."

"It's not hypothetical. It's all laid on. The Vietnamese say that it's okay with them, providing that Clinton and Quayle leave the hills the way they found them."

"Will there be any Vietnamese opposition?"

"Not much. Just enough to prove that both candidates are willing to fight for their country."

The Quayle staffer said, "You know, the vice president was in public relations in the National Guard. He doesn't know too much about taking hills."

I responded, "America will match one National Guard PR man against 10 Viet Cong any day of the week."

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PEROT WATCH

When it comes to this presidential deal, Citizen Perot likes to say his philosophy is "like that of the carpenter": He wants to measure twice and cut once. Better yet, measure three times and cut half-way. Or measure four times and don't cut at all. Best of all, take some fine-grade sandpaper—you can buy it at any hardware store—smooth out that 2-by-4 real nice, rub in some linseed oil with a shammy cloth, and then maybe the volunteers can use it as a doorstep. Not that they have to, of course, it's up to them, whatever they want, just say the word, they

can toss the dadgum thing into Lake Dallas, see if it floats, no problem...

Yesterday's findings:

More telephonic difficulties, alas, in our repeated attempts to reach the Citizen's spokeswoman and discover the latest nuance in the Citizen's thinking.

Last time we tried, there was a constant busy signal. This time, no answer.

Just ring, ring, ring.

Anybody home? The evidence suggests not.

Conclusion:

It's just that simple. —Lloyd Grove

Tips for the Texas Teaser

By Joel Garreau and Martha Sherrill
Washington Post Staff Writers

Did he blow it?

Did he blow the tease?

"You have to know when to deliver," says Johnny O., who performs for Express Male and Female Strip-O-Grams of Fairfax. "I think he missed that."

Johnny O. was talking about Ross Perot, the man who keeps tiptoeing around, getting our attention, making promises of promises, but never quite delivering—or even officially getting into the race. All winter and

spring, the big-ego billionaire was saying *maybe*. On July 15, he said *maybe not*.

Now, we're all watching the Texas tease again—he ended up not announcing his candidacy for president on "Larry King Live" last night; now he's saying he won't make a decision till Thursday.

"The art of the tease is not to tease too long," says Johnny O.—who once supported Perot. (He liked his business sense.) "I've been doing it for seven or eight years. Some-

See TEASE, B8, Col. 3

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Gov. Bill Clinton will be interviewed on "Good Morning America" during most of the 7:30 half-hour on Thursday. Charlie Gibson will conduct the interview sometime after tomorrow's show, "somewhere in Northern Virginia" . . .

Clinton is appearing on the "Today" show three times this week, Monday, Wednesday and Friday, matching President Bush's appearances on GMA those three days to discuss taxes, crime and health care. . . .

All three Clinton interviews were taped by Katie Couric on Sunday . . .

And of course H. Ross Perot is on "Today" again this morning . . .

Also this morning, early readers of the Daily Miracle, you might want to catch Clinton on "CBS This Morning" during the first half-hour and H. Ross during the second . . .

Rumour du jour: Former "Today" executive producer Tom Capra is due to meet with NBC executives regarding that job on "The Tonight Show With Jay Leno" that's been open since executive producer Helen Kushnick was fired so noisily . . .

A triumvirate of Leno and producers Debbie Vickers and Bill Royce has been running the show since Kushnick's departure . . .

Since he left "Today," Capra, who gets at least an assist for the felicitous arrival of Katie Couric aboard the morning show, has been with NBC Productions . . .

Speaking of the "Today" show, as we were, on Friday that program will include Al Pacino's first TV interview in 11 years!!! . . .

ABC News's "Nightline" has postponed until Monday, Oct. 12, plans to devote the remaining Monday-night broadcasts before the Nov. 3 election to the presidential race. The broadcasts were to have started last night, but then Mr. Perot came along. When the Monday Night Idea kicks in, Jeff Greenfield will anchor. A similar series aired in 1988 . . .

Now This

"60 Minutes" correspondent Lesley Stahl, in a speech in San Antonio last week, finally put into words what most everybody in network TV suspects these days—that President Bush has a short list of big-name correspondents and anchors by whom he refuses to be interviewed . . .

Speaking before the Radio and Television News Directors Association convention last Thursday, Stahl named Dan Rather of CBS, Peter Jennings of ABC, Tim Russert of NBC, Bryant Gumbel of NBC and George Will of ABC. A boycott of those five alone would leave the president off two evening news shows, two Sunday morning shows and one of the weekday morning shows . . .

The White House denies there's any "list" . . .

Stahl yesterday wouldn't identify a source for the alleged "blacklist" but said that "60 Minutes" staffers had been informed of Bush's refusal to talk to some reporters . . .

"60 Minutes" has offered Clinton and Bush a full hour during which they would be interviewed by the program regulars. The Democrat has said yes; the White House has so far declined the offer) . . .

Dorrance Smith, presidential assistant for media affairs, said yesterday that "it's not true," as Stahl told the RTNDA, that a presidential "blacklist" exists for reporters or their programs . . .

Granted the president has been sparing with his network TV appearances, Smith said: "We consider everything on a case-by-case basis. I believe the 'Today' show has a request in for a live interview, we talk to CBS News almost every day—and the president spoke to [CBS's] Randall Pinkston on Sunday" . . .

But inside the business the stories have been around for some time. The Rather-Bush dust-up in early 1988, of course, still rankles both sides, although Rather and his "CBS Evening News" staff repeatedly have requested interviews this fall (Bush pointedly turned Rather down in Houston during the convention) . . .

Although the president was interviewed by Jennings in Houston, the two clashed when Bush complained that he was being asked "non-issue" questions that had been spared rival candidate Bill Clinton at the Democratic convention . . .

That exchange was not seen on ABC that night but Bush, unlike Clinton, subsequently has declined to be interviewed regarding his stand on the issues for the "American Agenda" segment of "ABC World News Tonight With Peter Jennings" . . .

Still, "World News Tonight" executive producer Paul Friedman said yesterday, "we've had no evidence" of a Bush "blacklist" . . .

NBC's Russert, on behalf of his "Meet the Press," has had a request in for an hour with the president since May but the bureau chief/moderator thinks the White House may have "reservations about aggressive questioning" . . .

Jeff Zucker, executive producer of the "Today" show, said yesterday he was puzzled by Gumbel's inclusion on the list. "From everything I know both men hold each other in high esteem, and we've had interviews with the president before; I'd be very surprised if that were true. And we'd still like to have Mr. Bush on the show" . . .

But other "Today" insiders suggest that a close listen to Gumbel would reveal the anchor's impatience with the administration's handling of some issues . . .

Will, a regular on "This Week With David Brinkley," has been outside the pale for years—at least since he referred to the president as a "lap dog" . . .

In August, the president did a one-on-one with David Brinkley, but there were rumors at the time that the White House had insisted that neither Will nor Sam Donaldson be included in the interview . . .

Meanwhile, President Bush will be interviewed live tonight at 9 on the Nashville Network's "Nashville Now," which is hosted by Ralph Emery. Clinton, Sen. Al Gore and their wives were interviewed on the show Aug. 26 . . .

Ratingzzz Roundup

The overworked Nielsen computer went blooie again last week with the arrival of all those new series and the return of the rest, so here's a brief rundown of some of the highlights:

On Thursday, in the national Nielsens, NBC's "Rhythm & Blues" averaged a 12.1 rating and a 20 percent audience share to help NBC win the night, just like in the old days. "Cheers" did a 19.6/32 . . .

"Delta" on ABC did a 9.5/16, while "PrimeTime Live" scored a 15.3/27 . . .

And on CBS, "Middle Ages" did a 6.4/11 . . .

Locally on Thursday night, "Martin" did a 15.1/24 on WTTG, "Rhythm and Blues" did a 13.5/22 on WRC, and "PrimeTime Live" a 10.5/19 on WILA . . .

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1992

In the national ratings on Friday, the appearance of Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf on "20/20" gave that show a 14.9/28 as ABC won the night, despite "Camp Wilder," which did a 9.2/17...

"I'll Fly Away" returned to NBC with a 7.0/13...

Locally, CBS's "Bob" was a big hit, averaging a 17.7/29 on WUSA. "I'll Fly Away" did a 6.5/11 on WRC. But then "The Round Table," ostensibly about Washington yuppies, did a 7.2/12...

The appearance of Dan Quayle and Al Gore on "... Talking With David Frost" Friday night drew a 2.2/4 in 18 major Nielsen markets. That included a 3.6/6 on Channel 26 here...

By comparison, a PBS repeat of the "American Experience" documentary "Nixon" on Thursday night drew a 3.9/7 in 24 Nielsen cities, including a 4.4/7 on Channel 26...

Saturday night in Washington, two new ABC series did poorly on WJLA. "Covington Cross" scored a 4.5/9, "Crossroads" a 3.2/6. On the other hand, "Frannie's Turn" on WUSA also did a 4.5/9...

Nickelodeon has booted the creator of its hit cartoon series "The Ren & Stimpy Show" and yesterday announced it had reached an agreement with him to reorganize production responsibilities for the show...

John Kricfalusi, who has been jousting with the cable channel over deadlines, money and the content of the animated show, will serve as a consultant, turning over the reins to co-developer Bob Camp...

"I felt confined by the rigors of this particular animated series and wanted to pursue projects with more artistic freedom," said Kricfalusi in a statement yesterday...

Fox Broadcasting has decided to delay starting its seventh night on the air until mid-December or even early January. The Tuesday night lineup was supposed to have debuted Oct. 27 with two dramas, "Class of '96" and "Key West," both of which apparently need more promotion time...

King World has announced it will syndicate an hour-long talk show next fall featuring motivational speaker Les Brown...

HIGHLIGHTS

- The two-hour season premiere of "Reasonable Doubts" on WRC.
- "Child of Rage" on WUSA.
- And "Haiti: Killing the Dream" on WETA.

Public Broadcasting

Evening Exchange. The D.C. Department of Finance and Revenue will assess home and property valuation procedures (Channel 32 at 7).

Nova: The Genius Behind the Bomb (CC). A profile of scientist Leo Szilard (Channel 26 at 8).

Haiti: Killing the Dream (Channel 26 at 9) is previewed by David Mills on Page B2.

Primetime Movies

Back to School (1986). Millionaire Rodney Dangerfield thinks it would be fun to enroll in college with his son (Channel 5 at 8).

Peggy Sue Got Married (1986). Time-traveling Kathleen Turner goes back to her high school days. Two hours (Channel 20 at 8).

Anastasia: The Mystery of Anna (1986). In the conclusion, Anna travels to New York after being rebuffed by surviving members of Russia's royal family. Two hours (Channel 50 at 8).

Child of Rage (1992) (CC). A true story about a 7-year-old girl abused as a baby by her father. Two hours (Channel 9 at 9).

Series Return

Reasonable Doubts (CC). Kay is seriously wounded by a convicted felon, compelling Dicky to seek revenge (Channel 4 at 9).

Series

Quantum Leap (CC). Sam is a Greek sailor shipwrecked on a deserted island with guest star Brooke Shields (Channel 4 at 8).

Full House (CC). Danny's long-distance relationship is not working out, and Michelle's best friend moves away (Channel 7 at 8).

Rescue 911 (CC). A game of hide-and-seek turns dangerous, and a 30-ton whale beaches itself on an Australian shore (Channel 9 at 8).

Hangin' With Mr. Cooper (CC). A class of mischievous first-graders leaves Mark with a broken tailbone (Channel 7, 8:30).

Roseanne (CC). An unpaid power bill leaves the Connor house in the dark (Channel 7 at 9).

Coach (CC) "hires" a daughter to attend a banquet at which he is named Father of the Year (Channel 7, 9:30).

Going to Extremes (CC). Dr. Croft performs surgery with carpenter's tools, while Alex has a chilly encounter with Dr. Davis (Channel 7 at 10).

Star Trek: The Next Generation (CC) (R). Picard is kidnapped (Channel 20 at 10).

Late Night

The Arsenio Hall Show (CC). With Jackie Collins, Elle Macpherson and Celine Dion (Channel 9, 11:30).

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With Faye Dunaway, Kadeem Hardison and Ed Koch (Channel 4, 11:35).

Late Night With David Letterman. With Tim Allen, Glenn Frey and model Claudia Schiffer (Channel 4, 12:35 a.m.).

Wednesday Morning

Today (CC). Interviews with actors Andy Garcia and Ed Harris (Channel 4 at 7).

Good Morning America (CC). President Bush fields questions about crime (Channel 7 at 7).

CBS This Morning (CC). With a preview of the Country Music Awards (Channel 9 at 7).

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1992

Bush Again Vetoes Trade Curbs On China; Override Is Unlikely

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 28 — Juggling yet another delicate issue handed him by Congress at peak election season, President Bush vetoed legislation tonight that would restrict China's trade with the United States unless the Chinese improved their records on human rights, free trade and arms proliferation.

It appeared that there would not be enough votes in Congress to override the veto, meaning that Beijing's favorable trade status would continue for a year.

A Bad Bet, Bush Argues

In a statement issued in Dallas, where he was campaigning, Mr. Bush said he completely shares the objectives of the legislation. But he argued that punishing China by restricting its American trade would only hurt ordinary Chinese citizens and American companies that sell goods there.

"It is easy to be discouraged by the pace of progress in this area," he said, "but it would be a serious mistake to let our frustration lead us to gamble with policies that would undermine our goals."

The veto sets Mr. Bush on the same

sort of collision course with Congress that he chose in March and in 1991, when he vetoed similar bills over protests that he was refusing to punish Beijing for its violent crackdown on the democracy movement at Tiananmen Square in June 1989.

Republicans in the Senate predicted tonight that the President's veto would be sustained there. The current bill was passed in both houses by voice votes earlier in the month. In March, an attempt to override Mr. Bush's China veto drew a vote of 60 to 38, well short of the two-thirds needed to override the veto.

The political calculus of the current legislation is more complex. While the President is likely to be criticized for his action by human rights advocates, he may win praise from farmers, who have come under threat that the Chinese might end purchases of American wheat in retaliation for Mr. Bush's decision, earlier this month, to sell American-made jet fighters to Taiwan.

The President's Democratic opponent, Gov. Bill Clinton, had no immedi-

Continued on Page A8, Column 1

BUSH AGAIN VETOES CHINA TRADE CURBS

Continued From Page A1

ate comment on the veto tonight. But last December he savaged Mr. Bush's position on this issue, asserting that he had "let his friendships in China obscure what those kids did in Tiananmen Square."

Mr. Bush was head of the American liaison office in Beijing in 1974 and 1975 under President Ford, and developed a personal interest in Chinese affairs that has continued to this day.

This evening, the Democratic majority whip in the House, Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, again accused Mr. Bush of being insensitive to repeated rights violations by Chinese authorities.

In a written statement telephoned to reporters, Mr. Gephardt said: "Democrats and Republicans in the Congress believe a country like China that violates the human rights of its people and traffics in weapons of mass destruction should not receive special trade benefits from the United States. Unfortunately, George Bush does."

Congressional Democrats worked overtime to send this bill to Mr. Bush's desk in time to force a visible veto, rather than letting the President allow it to die without his signature after Congress adjourns next month.

Family-Leave Bill Vetoed

It is the second piece of contentious legislation that Mr. Bush has rejected in the last few days. Last week, he vetoed the family-leave bill, a politically popular Democratic-sponsored measure that would have required many large employers to give their workers up to 12 weeks' unpaid leave each year to tend to newborn babies and ill relatives.

In both the family-leave and China-trade cases, the White House issued the veto message late in the day, and they were not reported on most of the main network newscasts.

One House Democratic political strategist said Mr. Bush's foes hope to use the China veto to tarnish his foreign policy reputation by depicting him as taking a craven position on a moral issue. But in an election that is being fought over issues like jobs and the economy, he said, the impact on Mr. Bush is probably marginal.

The legislation vetoed tonight would end in 1993 the most-favored-nation status now given for exports of goods made by China's state-owned industries unless the White House certifies in writing that China has made progress in human rights and other areas of concern.

Many Are 'Most Favored'

Despite the exclusive-sounding name, most-favored-nation status is routinely granted to most countries. It means that they will not be subject to artificially high tariffs on goods sold here. The Congressional restrictions would not apply to items made by privately owned Chinese businesses.

The decision to restrict trade curbs to state-owned industries, and to leave intact the low tariffs for Chinese private businesses, represents a new tack for opponents of normal trade relations with China. They maintain that their legislation targets those responsible for Beijing's record on arms sales and human rights, while promoting increased trade with China's emerging capitalists.

Mr. Bush argued otherwise tonight, saying small businesses in China are "interlinked in the manufacturing process with state-owned factories," and would be equally damaged by higher tariffs on exports to the United States.

Trade sanctions, he also said, "would cost us this growing market and thousands of American jobs."

"We would cede this market to our foreign competitors, who impose no restrictions on their trade with China, at a time when China is taking market-opening measures that our trade negotiators fought to obtain," the President declared.

Would Use Existing Channels

He said that Beijing's stance on human rights is "inadequate," and that "business as usual is not possible until they take steps to resolve our differences" on that and other issues. But he maintained that existing trade laws and continuing negotiations between the two Governments on other issues are adequate for the present to address American objections.

The legislation would establish trade barriers against Chinese state-owned firms next year unless Mr. Bush certifies that Beijing has accounted for and released protesters rounded up during the massacre of protesters in 1989.

It would also require the White House to state that China had started to follow international human rights standards, had begun lowering prohibitive tariffs against American exports, and had stopped exporting goods to the United States that were assembled by prison laborers.

Angry Veterans Groups Say They Made Bush Oust Agency's Head

By ERIC SCHMITT
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 28 — American veterans groups said today that they pushed for the ouster of Veterans Affairs Secretary Edward J. Derwinski, who resigned last week, because they were angry over a series of perceived political slights and steadily eroding health care benefits.

Fearful of further alienating America's 27 million war veterans, a core constituency of the Republican Party, the Bush Administration said on Saturday that Mr. Derwinski would resign immediately to join the Bush Presidential campaign as an adviser on ethnic issues, particularly those involving Eastern European nationalities.

"There's no doubt in my mind that his leaving the post of Secretary was due to his unhappy relationship with the veterans community," said John F. Heilman, national legislative director for the Disabled American Veterans, which has 1.2 million members.

Mr. Derwinski has angered veterans groups since he agreed in 1989 to a proposal from Administration officials investigating missing Americans in Southeast Asia to send \$250,000 in surplus medical equipment to Vietnam. Many veterans expressed concern that the equipment would benefit former North Vietnamese soldiers.

Veterans also expressed concern at a department proposal to create a Con-

gressionally appointed commission to study the future of the 171-hospital veterans health-care system, which treats 2.6 million veterans.

A burly, plain-spoken man who wears a crew cut, Mr. Derwinski also got into trouble by calling women on his staff nicknames like Little Miss Muffet and Zsa Zsa. (His office nickname was the Big Cheese.) Campaigning for a Republican Congressional candidate in 1990, he referred to illegal Hispanic immigrants as wetbacks. He later apologized for the incidents.

But relations with veterans groups hit their nadir last summer when Mr. Derwinski proposed a pilot program with the Health and Human Services

Department to open two veterans hospitals to non-veterans.

The Secretary maintained that care for veterans would not diminish at the two sites, an 810-bed hospital in Salem, Va., and a 660-bed hospital in Tuskegee, Ala., and that poor rural neighbors could also be served.

"He didn't ask for our opinion," Mr. Rivers said. "When we tried to talk to him, he said, in essence, 'You can talk to me until you're blue in the face, but that's what I'm doing.'"

In February, less than five hours after the Senate voted 91 to 3 to block the pilot program, Mr. Derwinski announced he was withdrawing the plan because of veterans' opposition.

Relations between Mr. Derwinski, a World War II Army veteran, and the three major veterans groups — the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars and Disabled American Veterans — have been stormy since the former Republican Congressman from Chicago assumed the newly created Cabinet job in 1988. At the time of his nomination, however, veterans groups believed that with his experience in Congress Mr. Derwinski would be an effective Secretary.

Although Mr. Derwinski increased the Veterans Affairs budget by \$2 billion over the last two years, to \$34 billion this year, he infuriated veterans earlier this year by proposing to open two veterans hospitals to non-veterans at a time when veterans officials have complained about declining health-care benefits because of budget cuts at veterans hospitals.

Booted at Legion Convention

In August, Mr. Derwinski was booed at the American Legion's national convention in Chicago. At the same time, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, one of the first groups to endorse Mr. Bush in 1988, called for Mr. Derwinski's resig-



United Press International

Edward J. Derwinski, who resigned last week as Secretary for Veterans Affairs.

nation, and earlier this month withheld an endorsement for Mr. Bush in this year's election.

"Derwinski seemed to almost set out to break the backs of veterans groups," said Larry W. Rivers, executive director of the Veterans of Foreign Wars office in Washington. The V.F.W. has 2.2 million members.

"Derwinski's resignation didn't insure our support, but keeping him there guaranteed no endorsement," said one senior V.F.W. official who, speaking on the condition of anonymity, added that the organization may not endorse either Mr. Bush or Gov. Bill Clinton, the Democratic nominee, this year. It would be the first time no endorsement had been made since the group's political action committee was formed in 1979.

Veterans Affairs officials denied today that Mr. Derwinski was forced out because of his differences with veterans groups, saying instead that it would be a conflict of interest for him to campaign for Mr. Bush while serving as Secretary. They quoted Mr. Derwinski's statement on Saturday when his resignation was announced: "While Secretary I have gone to great lengths to keep politics out of the V.A. and I do not feel it would be proper to change that longstanding tradition."

Mr. Derwinski's deputy, Anthony J. Principi, who is well liked by veterans groups, was named on Saturday as Acting Secretary.

Republican officials said today that Frederic V. Malek, the Bush campaign chairman, had suggested several weeks ago to Mr. Derwinski, who is 66 years old, that he resign and take a campaign job.

"Anybody who has talked to any of those veterans groups knows we're dead meat as long as Ed Derwinski is in there," said one White House official. "He's always prided himself on a sort of 'in your face' approach, and while his policies may have been right in the fiscal sense, they clearly were wrong in a political sense."

Liability Into an Asset

With Mr. Bush trailing Mr. Clinton in public opinion polls with only six weeks until Election Day, Republican officials said the White House opted to try to turn a political liability into a campaign asset. Mr. Derwinski, the son of Polish-born parents, had been active in foreign issues, first as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and then as a troubleshooter for Secretary of State George P. Shultz during the Reagan Administration.

In the 1980's voters of East European Catholic backgrounds swung over in large part to Reagan and Bush, and they are now crucial to Mr. Bush's chances of winning such vote-rich states as Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin.

Campaign Trail

At Bush Camp, a Debate On Whether to Debate

Now there seems to be a debate about debates within the Bush campaign itself.

When President Bush's aides first announced that he would not debate Gov. Bill Clinton unless the format was changed, the dispute seemed to be mainly with the commission that set up the debates. But to hear Mr. Bush's backers talk lately, there is no agreement within the Bush campaign about what kind of format there should be and, for that matter, no agreement about whether Mr. Bush should debate at all.

Some aides close to James A. Baker 3d, Mr. Bush's top political adviser, say Mr. Baker is increasingly leaning to the view that the President stands to lose more than he could gain from debating. Mr. Baker is said to worry that time-consuming debate preparations would make it even more difficult for Mr. Bush to gain campaign momentum. Further, he is said to believe that Mr. Clinton would gain political stature simply by being permitted to argue face-to-face with the President of the United States.

Other aides argue that debates may be Mr. Bush's last, best chance to reverse the flow of the campaign. They say he must take the risk because risk is about all he has left.

Still other aides contend that any and all debates would be to Mr. Bush's detriment, unless Ross Perot jumped into the race. Then, they say, Mr. Bush should agree to debate because, they are confident, he could dominate a three-way contest.

Making a Scene At Bush Event

It was billed as a by-invitation-only event. But 18-year-old Tony Rothert, president of the Young Democrats of St. Louis University, somehow managed yesterday to infiltrate St. Francis de Sales Church in St. Louis for an appearance by President Bush.

After sitting quietly for a few minutes, he slowly but determinedly lofted a Clinton-Gore sign.

News cameras swung toward him. But before they could focus, half a dozen Bush supporters crowded around Mr. Rothert, blocking the good shots, smugly smiling.

Then the police moved in and what had begun as a bit of political guerrilla theater instantly became a scene. There was no stopping the cameras and reporters after that. They had an

action story to compete with the one about another Bush speech.

Now it was Mr. Rothert who wore the smug smile.

Shaking with frustration, Dan Hogan, the Bush supporter who led the effort to screen off and oust Mr. Rothert, lamented that his counter-guerrilla tactic had backfired. "My intention," he tried to explain, "was to ask a guest to leave when he was no longer welcome but..."

Trail Mix

About those placards advertising back-to-back "Bush" and "Quail" events the past few days at the Stouffer Concourse Hotel in St. Louis: No joke. The spelling was correct. The "Quail" event was for hunters.

What are the odds? Bookmakers cannot legally take bets on a Presidential race in the United States. But London bookies can. Recently, some have shortened their odds to 1 to 3 on Mr. Clinton and lengthened them 2 to 1 on Mr. Bush, meaning a bettor has to put up \$3 in hopes of winning \$1 with the Governor, and \$1 in hopes of winning \$2 with the President. Las Vegas bookies say that if they were betting people when it comes to politics, those odds would have the right look — unless Ross Perot jumps in, in which case all bets are off.

By the numbers: After issuing their economic manifestoes for America earlier in the campaign, President Bush and Governor Clinton both posted telephone numbers and urged voters to call in for free copies. So what's the score? The Bush campaign (202-336-7080) says it has received "somewhere around" 225,000 requests for the President's "Agenda for American Renewal." The Clinton campaign (1-800-For-Bill) says it has received "at least" 100,000 requests for the Governor's "Putting People First." What all that adds up to is anybody's guess.

The real straw poll: Moviegoers at the 300 or so General Cinema theaters around the country can ask for either a Bush straw or a Clinton straw when they buy their movie drinks. So far, more than 670,000 "votes" have been cast. And the winner is: Bill Clinton, by a margin of 55 percent to 45 percent.

B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.

The Republicans

Pushing Anti-Crime Issues, Bush Cites Arkansas Crime

By GWEN IFILL

Special to The New York Times

DALLAS, Sept. 28 — President Bush made a new bid for support today on an issue that had served him well in the past, saying he would reduce crime in a second term by compelling Congress to pass a stalled anti-crime bill.

Declaring that the nation must now "win the peace," having won the cold war, the President listed an array of increased penalties and crimes that he said he would bring under Federal jurisdiction. He contrasted these proposals, most of which he has offered before, to the record that Gov. Bill Clinton has compiled on crime in Arkansas.

On the stages where he spoke today, Mr. Bush pitched his appeal to a beleaguered working class. In Dallas, he spoke from a platform constructed on the front steps of a former crack house. In St. Louis, Mr. Bush told an invited audience of supporters in the basement of a Catholic Church, "Americans want to take crime out of their neighborhoods and put the neighbors back."

Hits Arkansas Crime Rate

He attacked Mr. Clinton as a leader who had failed to control a rising crime rate in Arkansas, and he suggested that the Democratic nominee would be unable to control it nationally.

Mr. Bush said that Arkansas had spent too little on police protection and prisons and that its rate of violent crime had climbed faster than the national rate.

"This kind of record is not right for Arkansas," he said, "and it is not right for America."

George Stephanopoulos, the communications director for the Clinton cam-

why he would not debate Mr. Clinton, the President broke away from his prepared text to steer attention to questions about Mr. Clinton's draft record and the pollution in Arkansas rivers caused by poultry waste.

"May I say a word about the chicken question?" Mr. Bush asked. "You're talking about the draft-record chicken? Or are you talking about the chicken in the Arkansas River? Which one are you talking about? Which one? Get out of here. Maybe it's the draft. Is that what's bothering you?"

No No-Tax Pledge

This morning Mr. Bush said in an appearance on the ABC News program "Good Morning America" that he did not intend to raise taxes but that he would not make a pledge to that effect.

"'Pledge' has gotten to have a little political connotation of its own," Mr. Bush said. "I am going to hold the line on the taxes. I'm going to get them down." Asked if that meant there would be no new taxes, he said: "That's exactly what it means."

Mr. Clinton has had some success this year on the crime issue, and the National Police Officers' Association endorsed him last month. Although Mr. Bush's aides issued a list of endorsements from small police groups, no national law enforcement groups have yet endorsed Mr. Bush this year.

Assails Carjacking

The President reserved his toughest language today to condemn the crime of carjacking, recently much-publicized incidents in which motorists were injured or killed when their vehicles were commandeered. The President described the "animal behavior" of criminals in some such cases and said the act should be a Federal offense.

"These people have no place in a decent society," he said. "And as far as this President's concerned, they can go to jail, and they can stay in jail, and they can rot in jail for crimes like that."

Copies of a position paper distributed by the campaign today stated that carjacking should be punishable by death.

In his anti-crime speeches today, the President did not mention handgun control, nor did he address any of Mr. Clinton's anti-crime proposals, which include a waiting period for the purchase of handguns and hiring 100,000 police officers.

But he called for mandatory AIDS tests for people arrested for sex offenses, making failure to pay child support a Federal crime, minimum sentences of 15 to 20 years for gang leaders who commit crimes, and increased penalties for the criminal use of a firearm.

Much of what Mr. Bush proposed today is in the anti-crime legislation he has sent to Capitol Hill. But in repackaging it at a crucial time in the campaign, he is seeking to signal once again that he can be trusted to make the nation safe while Mr. Clinton cannot.

"In too many places, our grandparents and grandchildren lock themselves behind the bars on their windows, afraid to come out from a jail called home," he said. "This simply must end."

Words aimed at a working class weary of crime and criminals.

paign, did not deny the accuracy of the statistics cited by Mr. Bush, but instead went on the offensive, charging that Arkansas's increasing crime rate was part of a national surge in violent crime during the Republican administrations of the last 12 years.

"George Bush going to St. Louis to talk about his record on crime is like Saddam Hussein going to Kuwait to talk about his record in fire fighting," Mr. Stephanopoulos told reporters in Little Rock, Ark.

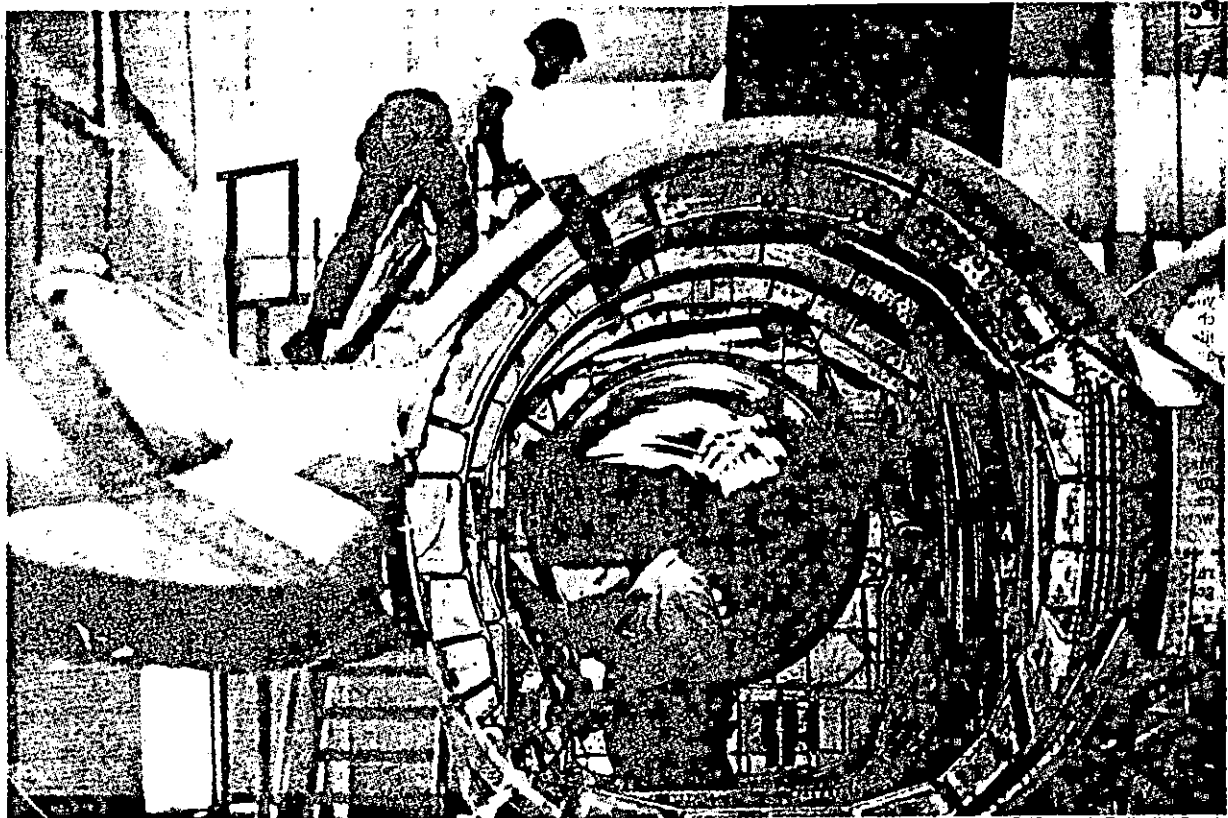
Trades Barbs With Heckler

While acknowledging that Mr. Clinton must bear some responsibility for the crime rate during his five terms as Governor, Mr. Stephanopoulos pointed to a 6.2 percent drop in the per-capita crime rate in Arkansas during the first six months of 1992 as evidence that steps taken by the Clinton Administration were beginning to work.

Mr. Bush's attacks on Mr. Clinton have grown more strident in recent days, and organizers at his events have gone to great lengths to block Clinton supporters from disrupting speeches.

Today, when a heckler called Mr. Bush "Chicken George" and asked

"The Republicans down the ticket are running away from Bush." **THOMAS F. EAGLETON**



In St. Louis, President Bush's announcement earlier this month of the sale of McDonnell Douglas F-15 jet fighters to Saudi Arabia preserved 7,000 jobs, according to the company's estimate. Employees constructed jets yesterday on the F-15 flight line.

Missouri's Word of Advice to Bush: Jobs, Jobs Jobs

By R. W. APPLE JR.
Special to The New York Times

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Sept. 26 — In November 1976, Christopher S. Bond, then the Governor of Missouri, gathered family and friends for a party to celebrate what he confidently expected to be his re-election. But he lost, unable to overcome the drag of a losing Republican Presidential candidate, Gerald R. Ford.

Now seeking a second term in the Senate, Mr. Bond is haunted by the prospect of a repeat performance. President Bush is doing badly in Missouri, trailing Bill Clinton by more than 20 percentage points in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch poll and running behind in private surveys for the two parties as well.

"I told these guys a year ago that they ought to be talking about jobs, jobs, jobs," said Senator Bond, a moderate Republican. "How about giving some answers to people who ask me, 'Will my kid ever get as good a job as I have?' But instead they talk jobs for a day, then they drift off again."

Like his colleague, Senator John C. Danforth, also a Republican, Mr. Bond thinks his party has suffered grievously in Missouri from the strident oratory at the Republican National Convention, in particular its attacks on homosexuals and, in the view of many, on working women. Mr. Danforth called the convention "a total disaster that in no way stood for what George Bush or this party believes in."

'I'm Not Driving That Bus'

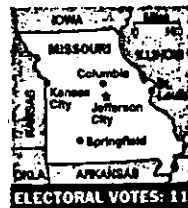
"They've put a real hammerlock on the far right wing, maybe 10 per cent of the vote," said Mr. Bond in a sarcastic tone of voice, continuing his indictment of the Bush campaign. "That's not worth much in a two-way contest — leaves a lot out there for the other guy. Well, I'm not driving that bus. I'll go my own way on my own little bicycle, and see if I can survive."

Unfortunately for the President, many voters here appear to identify him not with his own Houston speech, which was much less abrasive, but with those of Patrick J. Buchanan and the Rev. Pat Robertson and Marilyn Quayle. Partly as a result, many do not take him seriously when he tries to indict Bill Clinton as untrustworthy, extreme, not ready for Presidential responsibility.

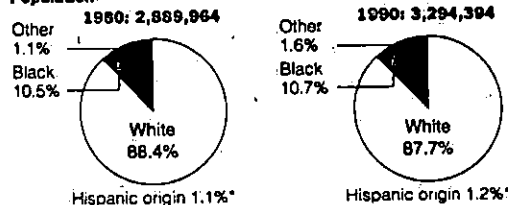
So Mr. Bond, facing a serious challenge from Geri Rothman-Serot, and some other Republican candidates here (and still others in adjacent states where the situation is similar) have decided to go their own way. Former Senator Thomas F. Eagleton of Missouri, who was briefly the running mate of George S. McGovern on the

Missouri at a Glance

One of Missouri's Republican senators, Christopher S. Bond, is being challenged by Geri Rothman-Serot, one of the six Democratic women nationally seen as having a chance to win a Senate seat. Two Representatives are in jeopardy: Tom Coleman, Republican, and Joan Kelly Horn, Democrat.



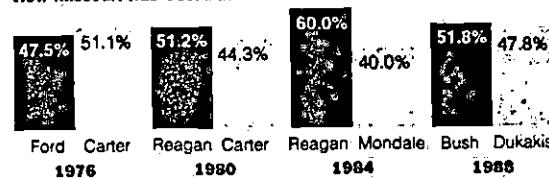
Population



Registered Voters

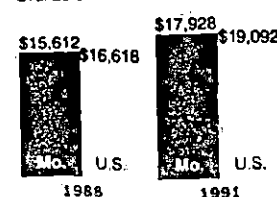
1988: 2,747,325 As of October
1992: 2,769,150 As of August

How Missouri Has Voted in Presidential Elections

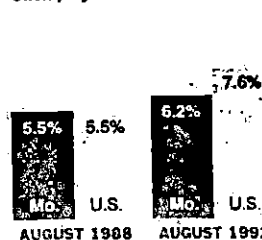


Per Capita Income

1990 figures are the most recent available.



Unemployment



Sources: Census Bureau; America Votes; Missouri Secretary of State, Elections Division, Commerce Dept.; Bureau of Economic Analysis; Bureau of Labor Statistics

Political Pulse

Missouri



Early polls showed him trailing; now the race there appears to be even. To carry the state, the President must win big, especially since Mr. Clinton, with his small-town, tousle-haired appeal, is doing unusually well for a present-day Democrat in rural Missouri.

Jets, Aerospace Jobs, Votes

St. Louis County is home to many of the workers at McDonnell-Douglas, the state's biggest employer. By announcing there this month the sale of McDonnell-Douglas F-15 jet fighters to Saudi Arabia, thereby preserving 7,000 jobs at the company's estimate, Mr. Bush spoke directly to the jobs issue and demonstrated Presidential clout.

But such tactics reach limited numbers of voters, and Mr. Bush is still not doing nearly well enough among Reagan Democrats, who accuse him of failing to extend the prosperity of the 1980's. The Missouri economy is hardly falling apart, with unemployment at about 6.2 percent, well below the national average of 7.6 percent, and the recession here is shallower than those of 1974 and 1982.

In those years, however, there was no Presidential race. Recessions seldom coincide directly with Presidential re-election campaigns, because most Presidents, whatever the longer-term consequences, contrive to massage the economy well enough to have recessions clearly on the wane by Election Day.

Mr. Bush, as Professor Leuthold commented, neither managed that nor seemed to realize until very late that failing to do so would hurt him badly.

Stress Money, Not Values

Furthermore, the suburbs are full of women, many of them Republicans and Independents, who are deeply roiled by Mr. Bush's tough stand on abortion and his party's even tougher position. Harrison Hickman, a poll-taker working for Democratic candidates in Missouri, said that Mr. Bush's figures among white, independent, suburban, blue-collar women were "astoundingly poor."

Mr. Danforth said that if Mr. Bush could "get off the family values, get off all the other clutter, emphasize that we have to cut this deficit, we can't just write checks to everyone, call for sacrifice without putting the country in the dentist's chair and doing a root canal on every tooth," he could pull within hailing distance here.

"Then, obviously, they would have"

playing the 'country music and horse-shoes' side of his personality.

Missouri, which has 11 electoral votes, has always been considered one of the most typical states, with ele-

grown, in this state and elsewhere, the Republicans have prospered. But now property values are falling, jobs are scarce, and crime, drugs and traffic have migrated from the central cities.

The New York Times

2/2/2

here (and still others in adjacent states where the situation is similar) have decided to go their own way. Former Senator Thomas F. Eagleton of Missouri, who was briefly the running mate of George S. McGovern on the Democratic ticket in 1972, has seen the phenomenon before, in his own party. "The Republicans down the ticket are running away from Bush the way Democrats used to run away from McGovern and later from Mondale," he said. "It's a sure sign the national platform is out of touch with local ideas."

Bush Blamed for Economy

David Leuthold, emeritus professor of political science at the University of Missouri, said: "People are upset about the economy. They blame it on Bush, so he is behind. He tries to shift the subject, first to family values, then to trust, then to Clinton's record as 'the failed Governor of a small state,' but none of it has really taken hold in this state so far."

"I think there are three reasons for that. Houston damaged his credibility, his support was never deep enough to stand up to trouble, and he was very late to prosecute his campaign with sufficient vitality."

Obviously concerned, the President has been pounding away lately with repeated campaign visits to the two parts of the state essential to Republican victory: the southwest, close to the Arkansas line, and St. Louis County, the belt of suburbs to the west of the city that now contains twice as many people as St. Louis itself. Right after the convention, in fact, Mr. Bush was in the Ozark resort town of Branson, dis-

playing the 'country music and horse-shoes' side of his personality.

Missouri, which has 11 electoral votes, has always been considered one of the most typical states, with elements of the North and the South, of the East and the West. Very roughly speaking, it is slightly more than half urban and suburban — big concentrations around Kansas City in the west and St. Louis in the east — and slightly less than half small-town and rural. And in every Presidential election this century except 1956, when it somewhat inexplicably went for Adlai E. Stevenson, Missouri has voted for the national winner.

Seeking a Real Smoking Gun

Can Mr. Bush pull it out here? "Not," answered a Kansas City businessman with close ties to the White House, "unless we can prove that Clinton shot his mother or something."

But others, including Gov. John Ashcroft, a Republican whom many consider the state's most popular politician, say a victory for the President is still possible. On the basis of telephone calls to a quarter of a million homes by party election workers, he argued that "a lot of people, perhaps as many as 30 percent, haven't really focused on this yet." Having failed to push through a modest state tax increase for education last fall, the Governor said, he thinks Missourians will eventually turn against Mr. Clinton because he has urged some higher taxes.

The key, here as elsewhere, appears to be the suburbs, and within the suburbs, the independent voters. As these white- and blue-collar enclaves have

grown, in this state and elsewhere, the Republicans have prospered. But now property values are falling, jobs are scarce, and crime, drugs and traffic have migrated from the central cities, as if chasing the fleeing voters.

Mr. Bush appears to be gaining a bit in St. Louis County, which he carried by 10 percentage points four years ago.

write checks to everyone, call for sacrifice without putting the country in the dentist's chair and doing a root canal on every tooth," he could pull within hailing distance here.

"Then, obviously, they would have to go very negative on Clinton," the Senator added. "It saddens me to say I detest it, but without it, Bush has no hope in Missouri."

In Their Own Words

GOV. BILL CLINTON

On the NBC news program "Today" in response to a question yesterday about the lack of Presidential debates.

"I have not played any games. There is a recognized, bipartisan debate commission. The co-chairman of it is Gerald Ford, a Republican former President. Frank Fahrenkopf is on it. He worked in three of George Bush's national campaigns. They have been the recognized sponsor of this. They made a recommendation. There was just as much Republican input as Democratic. And I accepted it."

It is not true that both of us are equally at fault. George Bush was like a kid on a play yard. He said, 'I don't want to play that way. I don't like them. We will do it my way or no way. You get in a room with Jim Baker, and let us work you around in private when the press is not there. We liked the debate commission four years ago, but now they want to hold me more accountable, they want me to have follow-up questions. They don't want me to be able to dump on Bill Clinton with no accountability, because then — with the panel — I get to go to the next news person and be clever and engaging and ignore the fact that nobody got to follow up my answer.'

Now, I have accepted the debate commissions. I have played by the rules. This is not both party's fault. It is his fault."

The New York Times

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1992

Bush Uses Veto Power To Thwart People's Will

To the Editor:

The members of Congress, trying to represent the interests of the majority of Americans who elected them, pass legislation that is so often rejected by Presidential veto. The political diversification of the Congress makes it extremely difficult to muster the necessary two-thirds majority to override these vetoes.

In a sense President Bush is using his veto power to thwart the will of the people. Yet he has thechutzpah to point a long accusing finger at the Democrats in Congress for failing to pass his legislative proposals. Isn't it somewhat presumptuous of him to imply that his programs are unerringly right for the country and that Congressional solutions are so bad they deserve swift decapitation by a Presidential swing of the sword?

Based on the kinds of bills that are consistently rejected by Mr. Bush, it has become apparent that Congressional legislation favoring the people at large, but costly to business and the rich, is readily done in by the President.

It is equally obvious that the President's veto is exercised at will, and perhaps in some instances capriciously. This is an awesome power when one considers the difficulty of the two-thirds majority override requirement.

MANUEL HAUPTMAN

Flushing, Queens, Sept. 18, 1992

Mr. Bush Sells Out Arms Control

One happy consequence of the end of the cold war is that defense budgets around the world are shrinking. One unhappy consequence is that nations are scrambling to peddle arms abroad in order to keep their arms makers in business.

The U.S. is not alone in this ruinous practice. Russia, China and France, among others, are eager sellers. But America's arms sales dwarf anyone else's. So, too, does its capacity to insure a more stable world by restraining sales.

It has failed, however, to exercise such leadership. The most recent example was President Bush's pledge to sell F-15 fighter planes to Saudi Arabia and F-16's to Taiwan. These potentially destabilizing moves mock Mr. Bush's professed desire to curb proliferation — all in the name of winning a few votes in Missouri and Texas.

Until recently, Mr. Bush had been trying to talk the four other permanent members of the United Nations Security Council into providing advance notice of their arms sales to the Middle East. That would have provided time to talk them out of destabilizing sales.

He has now made that policy unworkable. How can he expect to dissuade Moscow from selling submarines to Iran? Or tell China not to market missiles in the Middle East?

It's up to Congress to halt this mindless trafficking in arms. It can hold up the F-15 and F-16 sales until January, when election pressures have eased. And it can try to induce other countries to curb their sales by imposing dollar limits on next year's U.S. sales.

By deciding to sell F-15's to the Saudis without a serious attempt to negotiate multilateral restraints, Mr. Bush threw open the doors of the Middle East arms bazaar. The deal would raise

total U.S. sales to the region since the Persian Gulf war to \$19.3 billion, far greater than the combined sales of the rest of the permanent Security Council members. Mr. Bush bought Israel's acquiescence by giving it surplus American arms.

The agreement on the F-16's, meanwhile, betrays a pledge the U.S. made in 1982 not to increase the quantity or quality of arms it sold to Taiwan. It also gives China a reason to boycott the arms control talks among the permanent five in the Security Council.

Had Mr. Bush sent a message that the F-16 sale was intended to deter Beijing's rising assertiveness in the region, the sale might at least have reassured China's neighbors. Instead Mr. Bush let his medium be his message. By announcing the sale in Fort Worth, he made it clear to everyone that he was motivated by jobs, not deterrence. To China's nervous neighbors, Mr. Bush seemed to be baiting Beijing for purely political purposes. And that did not please them at all.

At the same time, the Administration had the gall to denounce France's proposed sale of Mirage fighters to Taiwan — persuading Paris that Washington was out to monopolize the market. As a result, it will now be easier to get a Parisian maître d' to take back an opened bottle of Bordeaux than to get France to restrain itself in the international arms bazaar.

A moratorium on all sales to the Middle East may be asking too much. But Congress could impose a 50 percent cut in the dollar volume of deliveries for the coming year and try to induce other sellers to follow suit. A cogent case for such ceilings has been made in a report just issued by the Congressional Budget Office.

By taking its advice, Congress could stop Mr. Bush's costly and dangerous abandonment of his earlier pledge to curb proliferation.

Tax. Blame. Regret. Elect.

By Mickey Kantor

Let's just shoot straight. George Bush has repeatedly told the American people that by his standard for judging what taxes or fees are, he raised them only once, and Bill Clinton raised them 128 times. If that is not a lie, then it is its identical twin.

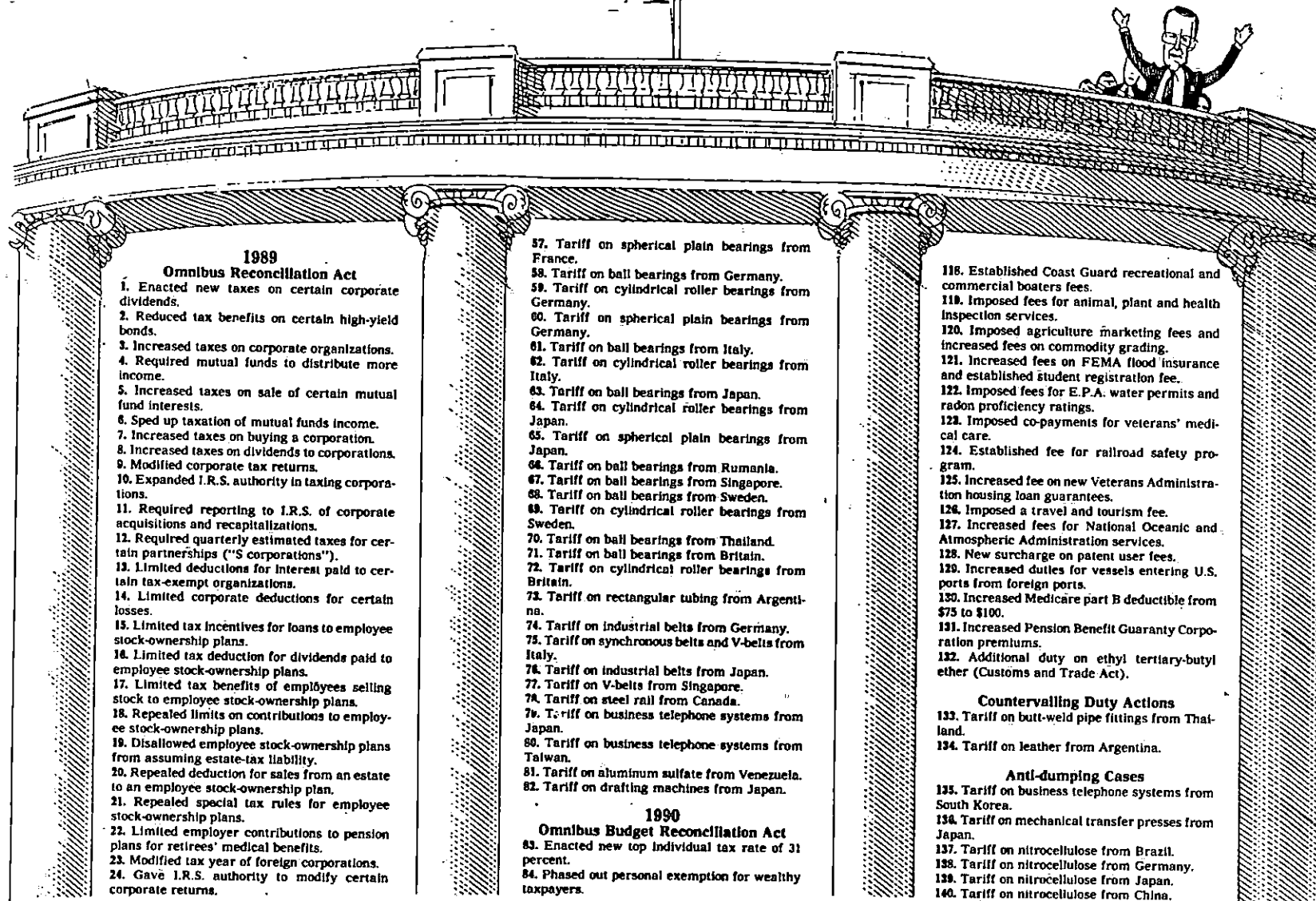
The truth is that by George Bush's own standard, he raised taxes and fees 178 times in only three and a half years. That means by George

Bush's own standard, he raised taxes and fees 51 times a year — almost five times more per year than what he claims Bill Clinton did.

Yet, George Bush says he raised taxes and fees only once and his opponent raised them 128 times. Maybe that's not a lie. Maybe it's just one of 178 variations between a lie and a gross distortion.

Now, read the list.

Mickey Kantor is chairman of the Clinton-Gore campaign.



25. Increased reporting by U.S. subsidiaries of foreign corporations.
26. Repealed special tax treatment of interest income from loans to certain countries.
27. Stopped scheduled reduction in taxes on airline passenger tickets.
28. Increased tax on international plane tickets.
29. Taxed tickets for foreign trips by ship.
30. Increased tax on oil for oil spill liability trust fund.
31. Taxed ozone-depleting chemicals.
32. Sped up collection of gasoline tax.
33. Increased taxes on exchanges of "like-kind" property.
34. Taxed exchanges of foreign and American "like-kind" property.
35. Repealed tax deferral on long-term contracts that are not completed.
36. Changed tax write-offs for purchases of franchises, trademarks and trade names.
37. Withheld taxes from wages of certain agriculture workers.
38. Sped up employers' deposits of payroll taxes.
39. Taxed certain legal awards for personal injuries.
40. Taxed certain distributions by partnerships.
41. Restricted deductions for business cellular telephones.
42. Limited work incentive tax credit for employers of disadvantaged workers.
43. Denied tax deduction for purchase of certain property.
44. Imposed restrictions on tax-exempt bonds issued by local governments.
45. Repealed tax benefits for certain financial institutions.

Countervailing Duty Actions

46. Tariff on malleable pipe fittings from Thailand.
47. Tariff on antifriction bearings from Singapore.
48. Tariff on ball bearings from Thailand.
49. Tariff on steel rail from Canada.
50. Tariff on aluminum sulfate from Venezuela.

Anti-dumping Cases

51. Tariff on rectangular tubing from Taiwan.
52. Tariff on microdisks from Japan.
53. Tariff on electrolytic manganese dioxide from Greece.
54. Tariff on electrolytic manganese dioxide from Japan.
55. Tariff on ball bearings from France.
56. Tariff on cylindrical roller bearings from France.

66. Limited itemized deductions for wealthy taxpayers.
67. Eliminated medical deduction for cosmetic surgery.
68. Slowed down tax write-off for spending to improve access for the disabled.
69. Reduced certain tax credits for ethanol production.
70. Increased gasoline tax by five cents a gallon.
71. Doubled excise tax on certain cars.
72. Increased tax on tobacco by 25 percent.
73. Increased tax on beer, wine and distilled spirits.
74. Imposed luxury tax on certain cars, furs, boats and airplanes.
75. Expanded ozone-depleting chemical excise tax.
76. Extended leaking-underground-storage tax on gasoline and aviation fuel for five years.
77. Increased and extended airport trust-fund aviation excise taxes for five years.
78. Increased excise tax for maintenance of harbors.
79. Made permanent the tax on long-distance and local telephone service.
80. Reduced deductions for certain losses by insurance companies.
81. Slowed insurance company deductions for certain expenses.
82. Adopted new tax compliance provisions.
83. Increased taxes on pension fund transfers to employers.
84. Increased interest rate on tax underpayments by corporations.
85. Expanded reporting by corporations.
86. Modified tax treatment of certain preferred stock.
87. Limited corporate tax losses in buying subsidiaries.
88. Required taxing corporations when they dissolve.
89. Imposed taxes of certain bond exchanges by corporations.
90. Extended I.R.S. user fees for tax rulings for five years.
91. Extended Social Security tax to state and local employees.
92. Extended unemployment tax on employers for five years.
93. Sped up payroll tax deposits by employers.
94. Increased employee wages subject to Medicare tax.
95. Gave the I.R.S. more time to collect taxes.
96. Imposed taxes on certain trusts.
97. Extended customs merchandise and passenger-processing fees.
98. Increased Nuclear Regulatory Commission fees.

141. Tariff on nitrocellulose from South Korea.
142. Tariff on nitrocellulose from Britain.
143. Tariff on cement from Mexico.
144. Tariff on sweaters from Hong Kong.
145. Tariff on sweaters from South Korea.
146. Tariff on sweaters from Taiwan.
147. Tariff on nitrocellulose from Yugoslavia.
148. Tariff on laser light-scattering instruments from Japan.

1991

149. Extended taxes to finance Highway Trust Fund (Intermodal Surface Transportation Act).
150. Expanded co-payments for veterans' medical care (V.A.-H.U.D. Appropriations).

Countervailing Duty Actions

151. Tariff on Atlantic salmon from Norway.
152. Tariff on steel wire rope from Thailand.

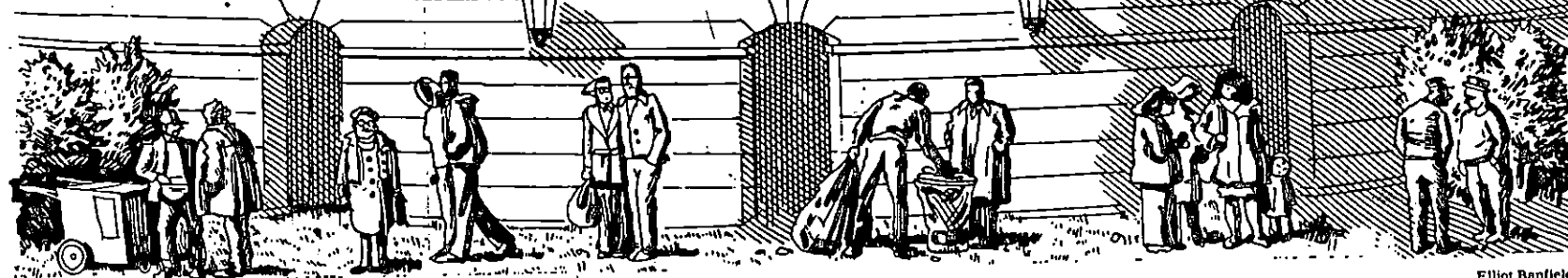
Anti-dumping Cases

153. Tariff on benzyl paraben from Japan.
154. Tariff on sodium thiosulfate from Germany.
155. Tariff on axes and adzes from China.
156. Tariff on bars and wedges from China.
157. Tariff on hammers and sledges from China.
158. Tariff on picks and mattocks from China.
159. Tariff on sodium thiosulfate from China.
160. Tariff on sodium thiosulfate from Britain.
161. Tariff on salmon from Norway.
162. Tariff on cement from Japan.
163. Tariff on polyethyleneterephthalate film from Japan.
164. Tariff on polyethyleneterephthalate film from South Korea.
165. Tariff on silicon metal from China.
166. Tariff on sparklers from China.
167. Tariff on silicon metal from Brazil.
168. Tariff on personal word processors from Japan.
169. Tariff on active matrix flat panel displays from Japan.
170. Tariff on electroluminescent flat-panel displays from Japan.
171. Tariff on lug nuts from China.
172. Tariff on lug nuts from Taiwan.
173. Tariff on silicon metal from Argentina.
174. Tariff on tungsten ore concentrates from China.
175. Tariff on ceiling fans from China.
176. Tariff on oscillating fans from China.

1992

Anti-dumping Cases

177. Tariff on shop towels from Bangladesh.
178. Tariff on lenses from Japan.



Elliot Banfield

Bush: Death penalty for carjacking

President says Clinton is lax on criminals

By Paul Bedard
HUP WASHINGTON TIMES

ST. LOUIS — An angry President Bush joined the national outcry against carjackers yesterday and unveiled an anti-crime package that includes a federal death penalty for those convicted for crimes like the killing of Howard County's Pam Bass.

"We cannot put up with this anti-social behavior," Mr. Bush said in his first comments on the sensational Baltimore-Washington corridor crime. "These people have no place in a decent society, and as far as this president is concerned, they can go to jail and they can stay in jail and they can rot in jail for crimes like that."

Mr. Bush said the Basu carjacking and murder prompted him to order Attorney General William Barr to demand that Congress make similar crimes punishable by death and to convene a task force to push development of anti-car-theft devices.

Speaking in a poor, crime-ridden neighborhood here and in front of a former crack house in Dallas, Mr.

Spilling out the new eight-point anti-crime package in campaign stops here and in Dallas, Mr. Bushbourn turned to the Basu *slaying* as an example of "what we're up against." "We need tough laws that don't

“Thugh luck, buddy.”

To a law enforcement crowd gathered at this city’s St. Francis de Sales Catholic Church, he said, “I want things you take cars at gunpoint to stay in a cell so long that when they get out they’re too old to drive.”

In Dallas, Mr. Bush said Americans “can’t stand by when innocent people are terrorized... We need to draw the line against criminals.”

Mr. Bush’s visit to Dallas coincided with efforts by his campaign and White House staff to woo supporters of one-time independent presidential candidate Ross Perot. But Mr. Bush did not meet with Perot, who is considering rejoining

The White House officials distributed details of Mr. Bush's new anti-crime plan, which said in part: "The president proposed making carjacking the forcible theft of a motor vehicle — a federal crime. Carjackers would face sentences of up to 20 years. If the offense involves kidnapping, attempted murder or attempted kidnapping, or results in serious bodily injury, the carjacker could face life imprisonment. Thacker convicted of a carjacking in which a death results could be sentenced to death."

Mr. Bush also is seeking a federal death penalty for assassinations murder for hire, terrorism and gang

see BUSH, page A6.

Catchy! Pam Basu is slaying led President Bush to propose tough new penalties for carjacking.

BUSH

From page A1

BUSH

The Senate passed an amendment to a tax bill Saturday that would make carjacking punishable by up to life in prison if a death occurs. While House lobbyists are expected to push House-Senate conferees to boost the maximum penalty to death, Bush aides said.

Mrs. Bush's new anti-crime package, which includes many of his earlier provisions that have sailed on the Hill, also demands for the first time that those accused of sex crimes be tested for AIDS and the results disclosed to the victim. It would provide for HIV testing of victims at taxpayer expense.

Other initiatives mostly call for new and tougher penalties on dead-beat dads, criminals targeting the elderly, gangs, those involved in sex and domestic violence crimes, and criminal use of firearms.

Mr. Bush called for habeas corpus reform to speed criminal prosecutions. "Criminal lawyers use it to postpone justice," he said. "A guilty verdict can mean seemingly endless delay justice."

D.C. residents Rodney Eugene Solomon, 26, and Bernard Eric Miller, 16, with first-degree murder in the Bush killing. They could face the state death penalty if convicted, but Maryland has not carried out such a sentence in years.

Police said Mrs. Basu, 34, was approached by Mr. Solomon and Mr. Miller as she was driving her 22-month-old daughter, Sarma, to her first day of preschool.

Mrs. Basu was pulled out of the driver's seat of her BMW and police caught in the seat belt, police say. She was dragged more than a mile

Mr. Bush made his anti-crime speeches in two states critical to his re-election.

"Let's look for a minute at the Arkansas record and see where Governor Clinton stands," he said here.

"The average inmate in Arkansas served less than one-fifth of his sentence last year. Most federal inmates serve at least 85 percent of their full sentence.

"Violent crimes in that state, in Arkansas, went up almost 60 percent in the '80s, over twice the national average, and Arkansas had the nation's biggest increase in overall crime and the third biggest in violent crime," Mr. Bush said.

But Mr. Stephanopoulos argued that "Arkansas is moving in the right direction," noting "state crime statistics that show a decline in crime, on a per capita basis, during the first half of 1992.

Mr. Bush, by contrast, "has cut funding for law enforcement across the country," he said. "He has allowed the crime bill to sit up in Congress simply because he won't sign the Brady bill."

Clinton's record of enacting tougher drug laws, drunken driving penalties and his signing of execution orders for 70 convicted murderers.

He dismissed the endorsement of Mr. Bush by the association of Arkansas police officers as election-year politics, reflecting long-standing in-state political conflicts.

Bush campaign officials, meanwhile, worried that the president's focus on crime would derail their effort to keep the spotlight on the tax issue, which polls indicate Mr. Bush is winning.

Mr. Clinton spent yesterday on

Clinton falls 12 points in ABC poll



TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1992

Clinton's eyeing your wallet, Bush tells upper middle class

Says tax increase isn't just for rich

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Bush administration yesterday continued its assault on Bill Clinton's tax proposals, contending that his plan to tax the nation's richest taxpayers will cut deeply into upper-middle-

NEWS ANALYSIS

class incomes.

Senior Treasury officials, pressing an attack begun by President Bush over the weekend, said Mr.

Clinton has been "dishonest" in saying that his tax increases would be limited to people earning \$200,000 a year or more.

George Stephanopoulos, the Clinton campaign's communications director, called Mr. Bush's charges "a lie," insisting that Mr. Clinton's plan would affect only the wealthiest Americans.

Referring to the Clinton claim that he would raise taxes only on the top 2 percent of taxpayers, administration tax experts contended that Mr. Clinton's taxes would actually hit much lower income earners, including:

- Single taxpayers with \$64,800 and up in annual taxable income.
- Heads of households who make

\$91,800 and over.

- Couples filing jointly who make \$108,000 and over.

The officials also argued that the Clinton tax plan would not produce the \$150 billion he claims and that to achieve that level of revenue he would have to raise taxes on people earning from \$36,600 up.

On Page 22 of Mr. Clinton's economic plan, "Putting People First," the candidate says he would raise income taxes only on the top 2 percent of income earners.

Mr. Clinton has said throughout his campaign that this would mean taxing only those who make more than \$200,000 a year in adjusted

see TAXES, page A10

TAXES

From page A1

gross income, which is the total income declared by each taxpayer.

But Treasury officials, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said Mr. Clinton's advisers were either being intentionally deceptive or did not understand that the top 2 percent includes people making less than \$200,000.

Moreover, they pointed out that federal income taxes were not figured on adjusted gross incomes but on "taxable income," after the allowable tax deductions are subtracted.

The officials also disputed that Mr. Clinton's higher 36 percent income tax rate, plus other tax increases on wealthy taxpayers, would produce the \$82.9 billion that Clinton advisers said they would.

"He's got a significant shortfall," said a Treasury official, who added that Treasury's own analysis of Mr. Clinton's tax proposals showed them bringing in only \$59 billion.

"These numbers speak for themselves," said Alixe Glen, a spokeswoman for the Bush campaign. "Clinton knows these numbers don't add up. It plays into the whole honesty issue."

But Mr. Stephanopoulos, Clinton campaign spokesman, insisted that Mr. Clinton's economic plan "specifically lays out plans that only affect the wealthiest Americans and corporations that avoid taxes."

He said Mr. Clinton's proposed 36 percent new top tax rate would apply only "on households earning more than \$200,000, adjusted gross income." Currently, the top income tax rate is 31 percent.

But Mr. Stephanopoulos did not address the questions raised about the Internal Revenue Service data showing that the top 2 percent Mr. Clinton wants to tax includes incomes far below the \$200,000 levels contained in his plan.

In fact, a news release issued by the Clinton campaign over the weekend pointedly excluded any mention of the top 2 percent threshold that has been repeatedly mentioned by Mr. Clinton in the past.

Economic advisers in Mr. Clinton's campaign were not available yesterday to answer further questions about the Treasury Department's charges.

In Dallas yesterday, Mr. Bush warned: "The big difference in this election is going to be over taxes. My opponent has already said he wants to slap a tax on the American people — it's going to be right on the middle class — and I don't."

Earlier yesterday, Mr. Bush revived his 1988 "no new taxes" pledge during an interview on ABC's "Good Morning America." He was asked if his recent promise not to raise taxes "ever, never" amounted to a new anti-tax promise.

"As far as I'm concerned it will be ... I'm going to hold the line on taxes," Mr. Bush said. When pressed again if it was a new pledge, he said, "That's exactly what it means."

• Paul Bedard in Dallas contributed to this report.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1992

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

Clinton ducks

Bill Clinton over the weekend was greeted in a celebrated Boston Irish bar once visited by President Reagan with chants of "We want Bill" and "We want jobs."

Escorted by Mayor Raymond L. Flynn, Mr. Clinton said: "When I came here, one of the young men behind me said, 'You can take the bar back! I want to give you your country back.'"

Applause. Cheers. Mr. Clinton and Mr. Flynn then barhopped, shook hands, posed for photographs until thirsty patrons started chanting, "Bill, buy a round. Bill, buy a round."

Mr. Clinton just laughed, waved and ducked out. One astute political observer later said the Democrat probably declined to set 'em up because he didn't want to encourage welfare dependency.

You know

We are a little tired of . . . you know, politics.

Oops! Democratic Sen. Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia would like us to reword that remark, according to Congressional Quarterly.

The senator fired a broadside at the nation's schools yesterday for failing to correct students who continually pepper their speech with "you know."

Universities are "guilty of fraud," he said, if they confer degrees on graduates without first ensuring they have overcome the habit.

In a short speech on the floor of the Senate, Mr. Byrd called the phrase "grating, superfluous and irritating."

He did not add what he is widely thought to believe: If there must be more federal funds for universities in the "fraudulent" you-know tradition, they should go to West Virginia.

Road to Baghdad

Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf was interviewed on CBS yesterday about one of the most persistent questions of the past 18 months. "So many people have said, 'Gee, why didn't we go into Baghdad?'" the general acknowledged.

"And we could have, because, you know, we only ended up 150 miles away and there was absolutely no one in the way of military force between us and Baghdad. We could have been there in, you know, about



Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, you know, explains the Gulf war strategy.

two or three hours if we'd wanted to.

"But that was never the plan. No one, absolutely no one in the international diplomatic community, world leaders, anywhere, no one ever envisioned us going to Baghdad. The objective of the whole thing was, you know, what the U.N. resolutions said: Kick the Iraqis out of Kuwait. And that's what our plan called for.

"As a matter of fact, we never planned to enter a single city. We weren't even going to go into Basra because the civilian population was there and it's very, very difficult when you get inside a city to sort who's the bad guys and the good guys."

CBS' Paula Zahn: "What difference do you think it would have made to continue the ground war another 24 hours, another 36 hours?"

Gen. Schwarzkopf: "I've thought about that a lot. The answer is none whatsoever."

Haiglography

Alexander Haig's new book, "Inner Circle," is larded with insider criticisms, including the accusation that James A. Baker III was among those who engineered a media assault on Mr. Haig's character.

A hint of these feelings was on display yesterday on "Fox Morning News" when Ronald Reagan's first secretary of state indicated he is

nothing but moderate in his praise of George Bush's first secretary of state.

"Well, I think Jim Baker is a political operator and one of the best. I don't think he was a good secretary of the Treasury," said Mr. Haig, listing the deficit, the S&L scandal and other setbacks on the Baker "watch."

Sadly, Mr. Baker also had only "limited qualification" for secretary of state, Mr. Haig added without elaboration. He said, however, that Mr. Baker is the right man for the campaign: "He's a politician above all."

Good Idea

CBS News' Lesley Stahl contends President Bush keeps an unofficial blacklist of top network reporters and programs he refuses to talk with during his re-election bid.

Miss Stahl said the list includes Dan Rather of CBS, Peter Jennings of ABC, Tim Russert of NBC, Bryant Gumbel of NBC, George Will of ABC, two evening news shows, two Sunday-morning shows and one weekday-morning show.

Speaking last week to the 47th annual Radio-Television News Directors' Association in San Antonio, the former White House correspondent did not reveal her sources.

Judy Smith, deputy White House press secretary, said Mr. Bush is not avoiding any news people. "There's not a list of reporters that the president will not accept questions from," she said. "The president talks to all reporters."

Beatles lose

Americans seem to agree with Thomas Hobbes that life is solitary, poor, nasty, etc. A Time magazine poll shows that respondents expect more poverty and environmental disaster as well as no relief from the common cold in the next century.

On a more positive side, however, they look forward to the second coming of Jesus Christ in the next 1,000 years, a cure for AIDS and cancer. They also anticipate a black president and a female president.

In the magazine's survey, published yesterday, respondents chose Christopher Columbus over Neil Armstrong, Thomas Edison over Albert Einstein and Beethoven over the Beatles as having the greater impact on history.

— Alan McConagha

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1992

Gore says lobbies have Bush in tow

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. — Democratic vice presidential nominee Al Gore yesterday accused President Bush of being a captive of special interests.

At a town meeting in Morganton, N.C., Mr. Gore challenged the president to sign a bill to regulate the cable television industry, which he said owns Mr. Bush "lock, stock and barrel."

Later, at a news conference in Winston-Salem, he said Mr. Bush had spent \$1 billion in tax dollars to ship jobs out of the United States.

"George Bush is hunkered down there in the White House in a state of political panic. He knows that on this issue the big cable monopolies own him lock, stock and barrel, but we also know that the American people are overwhelmingly on the other side of the issue," Mr. Gore said.

"Well, it's not that complicated, Mr. President. . . . If you veto the cable bill, you will have sided with the monopolists and against the American people, and the American people may just veto your desire for another four years," Mr. Gore said.

With yesterday's double-barreled attacks against Mr. Bush, Mr. Gore continued his role as chief agitator for the Clinton-Gore ticket. Today he will use a "major foreign policy address" in Washington to berate Mr. Bush for his policies toward Iraq before the Persian Gulf war.

The Tennessee senator picked Morganton for his comments about



Sen. Al Gore challenges President Bush to sign the cable television bill. AP

the cable TV bill because of the city's fight with TCI, the country's largest cable company, over what the city said was poor service and high rates. TCI lost both a lawsuit and a referendum over creating a city-managed cable service.

Both the House and Senate recently passed with veto-proof margins a bill that would allow government to regulate cable rates for basic service and allow them to operate their own cable systems. Supporters contend it would stop the escalating costs of cable — a 61 percent increase nationwide from 1986 to 1991, 136 percent in Morganton.

Opponents maintain the bill would lead to further rate increases because it would allow local governments to squeeze out cable companies.

At the Winston-Salem news conference, Mr. Gore focused on a CBS "60 Minutes" report Sunday that disclosed that a program started during the Reagan administration encour-

ages companies to relocate in Central America. The U.S. Agency for International Development is giving manufacturers that relocate low-interest loans, free worker training and protection from U.S. tariffs.

"The very idea that President Bush would force the U.S. taxpayers to finance an operation to shut down factories here in the United States, throw the employees out of work and then subsidize the moving of those factories to foreign countries is an absolute outrage," Mr. Gore said.

"The president of the United States ought to be ashamed of presiding over a program like this. It is government abuse at its absolute worst and it's a perfect example of what happens when a president doesn't care a whit about the working men and women of the country and responds only to the powerful and wealthy."

In response to a question, Mr. Gore acknowledged that the program was approved by Congress but said he voted against it.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1992

Quayle: Times not as bad as we're told

CLOVIS, N.M. (AP) — Vice President Dan Quayle said yesterday times are difficult but "not as bad as we're being told" and cautioned voters against putting Democrats back in control in both the White House and Congress.

Mr. Quayle attacked Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale as well as Bill Clinton in a speech to a young, enthusiastic crowd of more than 2,000 at Clovis High School in this small town near the Texas border.

Mr. Quayle was starting a three-day trip.

New Mexico hasn't voted for a Democrat since 1964, but Mr. Clinton led President Bush 44 percent to 33 percent in a Sept. 8-11 statewide poll by the Albuquerque Journal.

"Yes, times are difficult, times are challenging, but it's not as bad as we're being told. America is still the greatest country in the world," Mr. Quayle said.

"On a per capita basis we are the richest country," he said. "We are 36 percent richer than everyone in Germany, 26 percent richer than everybody in Japan."

Clovis is a town of 30,000, 225 miles east of Albuquerque, in farm country. Curry County voted 2-1 for Mr. Bush in 1988.

Mr. Quayle, before a private \$100-a-head fund-raiser, stopped at Zeke's Restaurant to chat with several ranchers and farmers.

Paul Barnes, 49, a Curry County commissioner and a Democrat, said afterward he was undecided about his vote but added, "I think our problem in Washington is more with our Congress than our administration.

That's where we'd like to see some changes."

Cody West, 18, a Portales High School senior who attended the rally at his rival school, said, "We're kind of between [Ross] Perot and Bush. No Clinton. He just doesn't seem honest."

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1992

Part of Magic response disappears

ASSOCIATED PRESS

The White House toned down the official response to the resignation of Earvin "Magic" Johnson from the AIDS commission to avoid a conflict with the basketball star, sources say.

Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan's original statement said: "Clearly, I feel that Mr. Johnson is mistaken in his conclusions about the government's and the president's AIDS efforts. More important, I believe that his absence from the commission's work represents a missed opportunity for

himself and for the millions of Americans, especially young people, who know and look up to him."

The White House didn't like the sound of that and ordered Dr. Sullivan to cut those sentences out, said a department source, speaking on condition of anonymity.

"They basically didn't want to pick a fight," the source said.

A shorter version was issued later. The two sentences were gone, leaving behind four paragraphs of praise and farewell.

Dr. Sullivan commended Mr.

Johnson for his work on raising awareness of the disease and its prevention. "I wish him success," Dr. Sullivan said.

Mr. Johnson has campaigned to increase awareness about AIDS since he tested positive for the virus that causes the disease.

He resigned last week from the commission, saying in a letter to President Bush, "I cannot in good conscience continue to serve on a commission whose important work is so utterly ignored by your administration."

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1992

CLYDE WAYNE CREWS JR.

A fight for Competitive's life

The vice president's Council on Competitiveness, a Cabinet-level deregulatory body practically unknown outside the Washington beltway, is embroiled in a fight for its life this year. The fight's outcome could set the terms for U.S. economic progress — or the lack thereof — for years to come.

If you knew that there were 122,000 regulators in Washington issuing 2,000 rules a year and imposing more than \$4,000 per family in annual regulatory costs, and that these regulators were monitored only by the Council's six member staff plus sundry detailees from other government agencies, whom would you say held the advantage?

Yet by its planned Oct. 4 adjournment date, Congress may enact not one, but two measures to wipe out the Council.

One lurking proposal, more symbolic than substantive, could deny the Council a paltry \$86,000 needed to pay staff salaries if it re-emerges in conference deliberations over the Treasury appropriations bill. The other pending measure will require the Council to disclose all proceedings and communications, whether written or oral. The hypocrisy of this alleged appeal to open government is flagrant: Congress doesn't, and has no intentions of, disclosing its own private deliberations between members, staffers, constituents, and interest groups. If passed, the disclosure measure will mire the Council in paperwork and make its real job impossible. The Council represents the only barricade between you and a flood of government regulation.

This matter is serious. The Council is an unsung benefactor to small business, employees, consumers, sick individuals in need of new medications — all those who stand to lose jobs, freedoms, and choices because of America's expanding regulatory burden, and the emerging hostility towards the rights of private property and contract.

Federal agencies estimate that the Council's deregulatory activities, during the first 90 days of this year's regulatory moratorium alone, will save households between \$225

and \$300 per year and make credit more easily available. Those who stand to gain from increased regulation — primarily trial lawyers and the advocacy groups they fund — constitute the Council's most vocal opponents.

The timing of the attacks on the Council is no accident. Its opponents hope to discredit the vice president by invoking the old refrain that the Council benefits "big business," and

pherable regulations, or by those who seek protection from competition.

The idea that regulation by definition means the protection of health and safety is nonsense. Safety has often become a meaningless utterance unrelated to the massive regulatory burdens now overwhelming the U.S. economy. In fact, the Fiscal Year 1993 Budget reveals that only 28 percent of the 57 major rules to be finalized in 1992 quantify benefits in terms of lives saved, yet each major rule will cost the economy \$100 million or more annually. "Benefits" of the rest have to be taken on faith.

Perhaps the single greatest myth about regulation is that the need for most of the rules has been scientifically substantiated. Even the heavy-handed Environmental Protection Agency says in a 1992 report that it lacks safeguards necessary to prevent a regulatory bias from marring its decisions.

Verifying a link between science and regulatory action — ensuring that benefits exceed the costs — is what the Competitiveness Council alone is trying to guarantee. Where risks are present, the Council asks that agencies employ the most cost-effective means of regulation to achieve the specified reduction in danger. Protection of health and safety and economic growth were born together and must grow together because both represent human values. Accordingly, the Council demands better of the agencies than haphazard product bans and technological controls.

The Council is one of the president's only checks against regulators who otherwise hold blank checks over the population and the economy. Regulators routinely substitute their predominantly non-scientific judgement for that of private individuals by dictating how we must run our businesses and live our lives. Government agencies thereby strangle small businesses with incomprehensible demands and destroy job opportunities. This is not a public service for which one would willingly pay.

One thing is certain. Without the Council on Competitiveness around to police needless regulations, the public is going to get all the "service" it can possibly stand. And it will pay.



Dan Quayle

by convincing the public that the Council stands in the way of regulations that protect health and safety. Yet these opponents are often merely exploiting the fears of those who aren't told that another "big business" agenda is being pushed: budgets of environmental groups alone topped \$410 million in 1988, a sum that hardly qualifies them for Mom-and-Pop-hood. These groups are backed either by special interests whose profits depend on the settlement of cases fueled by indeci-

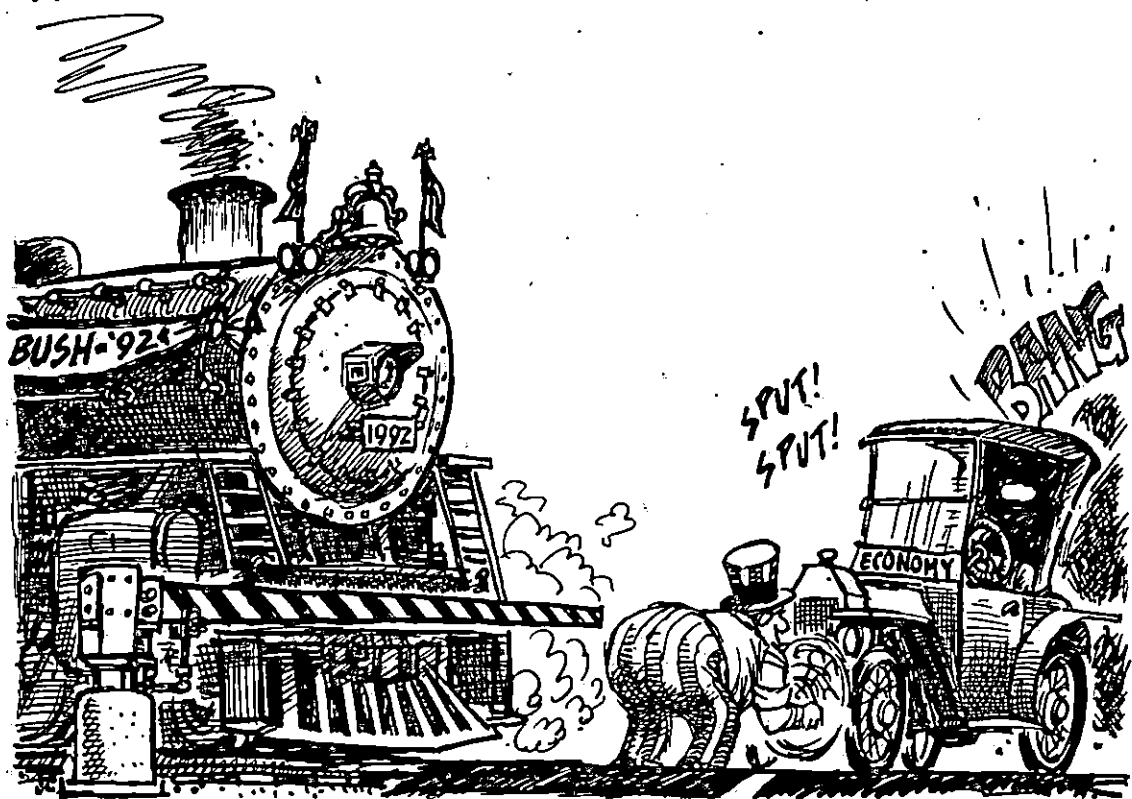
Clyde Wayne Crews Jr. is a regulatory policy analyst at Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1992



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GARNER 1992



TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1992

L. BRENT BOZELL III

The media's double standard in reporting on the first family and the aspiring first family continues. On Sept. 15, "Dateline NBC" aired a hard-hitting investigative segment on Neil Bush's financial dealings. It showed the president's son manipulating for personal gain not only a taxpayer-defrauding savings and loan but government agencies like the Small Business Administration.

There's nothing wrong with a media investigation of Neil Bush. "Dateline NBC" also aired a very tough piece that questioned why Bill Clinton's mother was officially (and suspiciously) exonerated in the operating-room death of a Hot Springs teen-ager. To its credit, "Dateline" is one of the very few to report that story.

But if NBC is going to raise the Bush family's S&L connections, balance demands a look at the Clintons' actions as well. The week before the Neil Bush report, such an opportunity presented itself. "Dateline" anchor Jane Pauley interviewed Hillary Clinton, but there was not one question about her role in represent-

Flip side of S&L issue

have used the word 'demonized,' does it make you hurt or make you mad?" Mrs. Pauley also asked Hillary: "What was the worst thing you've heard said about you?" and "What was the grossest distortion of your record?"

NBC is not the only media outlet to ignore Hillary's record, opting instead to defend her against criticism. When Jerry Brown accused the Clintons of profiting from legal fees for work before the state government, the media rose as one to deny it—but they didn't disprove it.

The Times Mirror Center's half-time evaluation of 1992 campaign coverage suggests that a majority of national reporters have a viscerally

reaction. Interestingly, only 29 percent of local reporters responded negatively.

The reasons for their disapproval were also interesting. Of the national press, 16 percent felt the issue was "exaggerated" or "no big deal." Another 10 percent called it "irrelevant." Keep in mind this story dealt directly with possible financial conflicts of interest in a savings and loan that cost taxpayers \$50 million to bail out. By contrast, only 5 percent thought the misreported Bush grocery store scandal was overblown, and only 1 percent called it unimportant.

As with the draft, the Clinton campaign is conducting a daily dodge on the S&L issue. As with the draft, the campaign promised to re-examine the records itself and then release anything that would clarify matters. As with the draft, the Clinton campaign has released nothing on the Clintons' dealings with Madison S&L. Why are supposedly tough reporters not demanding more details or accusing the campaign of stonewalling? Did they wait for the Bush campaign to release its ac-

ing the eventually failed Madison Savings and Loan.

In March, The New York Times reported that James McDougal, the president of Madison S&L, shared a real estate investment with the Clintons. On March 20, The Washington Times reported that Bill Clinton arranged a deal with Mr. McDougal where Hillary was paid \$2,000 a month (for 15 months) for representing Madison before state S&L regulators who were moving to close his bank down. It was later closed by federal regulators at a cost to taxpayers of \$50 million. A story for "Dateline"? Certainly.

But Mrs. Pauley's interview with Hillary Clinton focused instead on GOP nastiness: "When you hear yourself held up, as you were at the Republican convention, some people

hostile reaction to news of the Clintons' S&L scandal. Reporters were asked their initial journalistic impressions of some stories about the presidential candidates. First, the pollsters explored Andrew Rosenthal's infamous New York Times story about President Bush's encounter with an automated checkout counter at a grocery store. (Mr. Rosenthal wasn't even there, but he misrepresented reports from the traveling press pool.) Forty percent of national reporters said they had a positive journalistic reaction to the story—that it was well-reported and newsworthy—while 34 percent did not.

The pollsters then asked about The New York Times' first reports on the Clintons' dealings with Mr. McDougal. This time, only 17 percent of national reporters had a positive journalistic impression of the story, while a surprising majority—53 percent—had a negative

reaction to the Neil Bush story? And if the story of Hillary's \$2,000-a-month retainer isn't true, where is the proof?

Reporters are attempting to turn the "family values" theme of the Republican convention against the Bush campaign. Weeks after the convention, print reporters are still suggesting how the family values focus is alienating voters. So, newsies, what about that S&L issue? A major part of Mario Cuomo's nominating speech for Mr. Clinton suggested "Americans discovered that wealthy bankers—educated in the most exquisite forms of conservative Republican banking—through their incompetence and thievery and the government's neglect had stolen or squandered everything in sight!" Given the evidence against the Clintons, now doesn't the Democrats' emphasis on S&Ls deserve to haunt them? Answer: Not this year. Maybe next.

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

MEDICAL ADVISE: GETTING A SECOND OPINION BY COMPUTER

U.S. News & World Report

OCTOBER 5, 1992

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HOW TO FIGHT
THE NEXT WAR ON
POVERTY

What made
him great
and how we
can learn
from him

LINCOLN



OUTLOOK

Warning to voters: The worst is yet to be

With the final act of Campaign '92 about to unfold, Americans deserve a warning: *Caveat elector*. Let the voter beware. Despite the signs that America wants honest answers, George Bush and Bill Clinton are sinking into the old rut of attack politics, avoiding tough issues, such as how to cut the deficit, and calling each other scoundrels, wastrels and worse. Ross Perot may be back but, as always, playing by his own rules, which include trying to stonewall any discussion of his sometimes ruthless methods. As foggy as the truth about the candidates' records and intentions has been all year, it is about to get murkier.

ONE WEEK

The coming weeks will bring assaults that make it harder to salvage the last shreds of reality. And in the flurry of October, even the news media—supposed watchdogs of the political process—won't be able to keep track of the distortions. The heat rose last week, as Clinton unveiled his first attack ad, accusing Bush of being two-faced. Clinton also claimed, without evidence, that Bush would cut Social Security in a second term. For his part, Bush attacked Clinton's avoidance of the military draft and ridiculed his record as Arkansas's governor, which more-objective observers see more charitably.

Of course, attack campaigns are nothing new. What is different this time is that the attacks are tailored to fit specific states and regions as never before, multiplying the potential for abuse. Already, the campaigns are buying an unprecedented volume of television ads in local, not national, media markets and on cable stations, not broadcast networks. One Republican strategist estimates that as much as half of the campaigns' TV ad budgets may end up in non-national outlets. In 1980, only 10 percent did.

The president still hasn't developed a positive national message to rival Clinton's somewhat generic call for change. So the GOP is using targeted appeals on key states and regions. This week, for instance, watch for Bush to attack Clinton in Missouri for alleged weakness on crime; in New Jersey, he will attempt to link Clinton to the tax increases of Gov. Jim Florio. In more conservative areas like Texas, the Bush campaign will brand a prospective Clinton administration as a bunch of oddball liberals devoted to social engineering and higher taxes. The GOP will even try to use the lack of a civil-rights law in Arkansas to depress black turnout in Philadelphia, Chicago and other big cities. For its part, the Clinton campaign is proud of its ability to fight it out media market by media market. Last week, for instance, Clinton ran a barrage of state-specific ads. In Texas, one commercial featured a "Read My Lips Alert" and warned that Bush cannot be trusted. The ad concluded: "Can Texas really afford four more years of this?"

Lost in the din of the coming assault could be any sustained emphasis on healing the country or forging a consensus for sacrifice. Voters might take some comfort in knowing that, at long last, this campaign will be over in barely a month. There's only one problem: The corner cutting that may lead to victory in November could seriously damage prospects for governing in January. □ BY KENNETH T. WALSH

▼
'The coming weeks will bring new assaults that make it harder to salvage the last shreds of reality.'
▲

ads, accused the president of being two-faced.

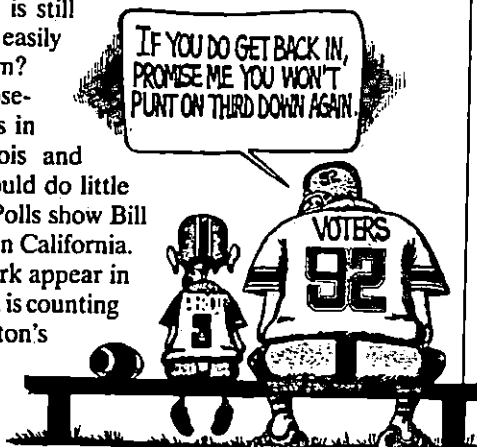
OUTLOOK

U.S. NEWS

ROSS PEROT, SPOILER

Three months ago, Ross Perot led the race for president. Then he started sliding—and made what he now calls a mistake: He quit. What will happen if he returns? The latest polls indicate he would not be ahead in even one state, but he could well be a spoiler. Perhaps a fifth of the electorate is still willing to vote for the Texas billionaire—easily enough to alter the outcome. But for whom?

George Bush might benefit in several closely fought states that he desperately needs in the Midwest, including Michigan, Illinois and Ohio. But a Perot candidacy probably would do little for the president in any other big states. Polls show Bill Clinton far ahead of both Bush and Perot in California. Nor does Clinton's strong lead in New York appear in jeopardy. However, several states that Bush is counting on would clearly be in danger of tilting Clinton's way. The president already finds himself in a virtual tie in Texas and Florida and is either behind or slightly ahead in most other Southern states. Perot, by cutting into Bush's white support, could throw the entire South to Clinton. Roger Ailes, the GOP opinion shaper, sees nothing admirable in a new Perot bid. "He hates George Bush's guts," Ailes said on NBC's "Today" show. "He wants to get him."



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INVESTIGATIONS

ALL IN THE PEROT FAMILY. After millions of Americans fell in love with Ross Perot the no-nonsense billionaire and Ross Perot the take-on-Washington presidential candidate, they discovered Ross Perot the zealous investigator. On the heels of the increasingly negative press coverage, Perot's approval ratings began plummeting, and it wasn't too long before he decided he wouldn't consider a race for the White House after all.

Because of the questions they raise about character, temperament and judgment, Perot's past investigations will likely be a subject of discussion once more should he jump back into the presidential race and stay in. Perot has investigated business competitors, high Defense Department officials and even George Bush himself. Perhaps the most striking example of his sleuthing, however, involves his own daughter, Nancy Perot Mulford.

As a student at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, between 1978 and 1982, the eldest of Perot's three daughters, an English major, had become friends with a young professor of English named Roy Gottfried. Gottfried had joined the Vanderbilt faculty in 1975 after receiving a bachelor's degree and a master's degree from Brown University in 1970. He was awarded a Ph.D. in English by Yale University in 1976.

According to several knowledgeable people at Vanderbilt and in Nashville, Perot decided to keep tabs on his daughter. A spokesperson for Perot says that security personnel were hired after a man tried to force his way into his daughter's car. "There was some security concern," Sharon Holman, Perot's spokesperson, said. In any case, Pe-



Wedding. Parents

WHAT BUSH AND LBJ HAVE IN COMMON

Just when George Bush needs all the help he can get, Congress keeps sending him politically popular bills it knows he doesn't like. When the family-leave bill—the Democrats' favorite in this season of family values—hit his desk, the president vetoed it as promised. But he signed his veto late at night to help keep it off the evening news shows. Last week, the Senate overrode the veto and sent it to the House, where a two-thirds majority for an override seems unlikely. But Congress isn't thorough. Leaders in both houses expect to muster enough votes to override Bush's anticipated veto of the bill allowing regulation of cable television. That would end his string of consecutive successful vetoes at 32—two more than Lyndon Johnson's record.

SPIN OF THE WEEK

The presidential campaign's best efforts last week to control the public's understanding of the news:

"Ross Perot is an agent of change, but Bill Clinton is even more an agent of change. We are very respectful of his supporters and the problems he has diagnosed, which are similar to the ones we have diagnosed."—A Clinton adviser.

"They're stealing our symbols."—A Republican operative complaining that Democrats don't deserve endorsements of business leaders, foreign-policy intellectuals and Tammy Wynette.



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U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, OCTOBER 5, 1992

BY THOMAS TOCH

not asked Frank Correll, a senior partner at the Nashville law firm of Bass, Berry and Sims, to investigate Gottfried. "Check him out," Perot instructed, according to one source. "Put him under surveillance. Monitor his no object."

Correll, a former Democratic lieutenant governor of Tennessee who in the 1970s had helped Perot's computer-services company, Electronic Data Systems, win a major contract with the state, hired a private investigator to watch Gottfried and Nancy Perot. Hank Hillin, a former FBI agent and currently the sheriff of Davidson County, where Nashville is located, was retained. "I am no way confirming anything in this account," Hillin told U.S. News. "I am looking out for my own interests." Correll failed to respond to several requests for comment left at his office.

As part of his inquiry, Hillin had staff investigators stake out Gottfried's residence in Nashville's Green Hills neighborhood, the sources say. To help in the stakeout process, the investigators obtained the use of a nearby house, from which they were able to observe Gottfried's home. In using the house, sources say, Perot may have been pursuing two goals: keeping tabs on his daughter's friendship with the Vanderbilt professor and providing security for his daughter at a time when, because of his wealth and his work for the shah of Iran, Perot considered his four children possible kidnapping targets.

Gottfried, who is currently an associate professor of English at Vanderbilt, declined to discuss his relationship with Nancy Perot. "That's 10-year-old history," his wife, Mary Stevens, said last week. "He's not going to talk about it."



and child

WASHINGTON WHISPERS

BAKER'S takeover of Bush campaign no cure for GOP panic

ISRAEL to get long-sought long-term U.S. commitments

COLD WAR echo: Russians seek Glomar Explorer secrets

■ **Political panic.** Demoralization is again sweeping through Republican ranks, including the Bush re-election campaign. Although the arrival of former Secretary of State James Baker as campaign czar and White House chief of staff temporarily boosted the spirits of Bush loyalists, the president's failure to gain significant ground on Bill Clinton is producing a new round of panic. The immediate problem: Bush's refusal to debate Clinton on terms established by a bipartisan commission. Baker and campaign chairman Robert Teeter are said to be the only senior Bush advisers who still think that it is Clinton—and not the president—who needs a successful debate to win in November. Strangely enough, Clinton's high command, after reviewing videotapes of Bush's performances in presidential and vice presidential debates, has concluded that he does well in such encounters. Mystified by his reluctance to debate, they think it may be a trap designed to lull Clinton into overconfidence about going head-to-head with the president on unfavorable terms.

■ **Pledge and edge.** With an eye on the elections—especially in key states like New York, Florida, Illinois and California—George Bush is about to help Israel achieve one of its most cherished diplomatic goals: a long-range pledge of U.S. military aid that will survive changing administrations. The White House is expected to announce this week that it is offering Israel a long-delayed package of military equipment. There will also be an exchange of letters, in which the United States vows to keep military funding at the current level of \$1.8 billion a year. The president will also commit the United States to maintaining Israel's "qualitative edge" over its Arab neighbors.



Perot and Senators Kerrey and Kerry
Mum's the word.

■ **Mystery guest.** What did Ross Perot really tell a Senate committee last week about American POWs and MIAs who may have been abandoned in Indochina? One report quoted Perot as saying he could produce "30 live bodies," a tale a Republican senator labeled "an outrageous lie." Perot's long-awaited appearance before the panel investigating the sensitive issue was anticlimactic, held behind closed doors at his insistence. Only about 10 senators were present, and it lasted a scant five minutes. And while there is no plan at present to ask him to return for another meeting, the best guess is that Perot did not travel all the way to Capitol Hill to pay a courtesy call.

■ **Sidestep.** When the Supreme Court reconvenes next week, one of the first cases on its docket will be a rehearing of a dispute over whether federal law can be invoked to contain demonstra-

tions at abortion clinics. But except for this relatively limited case, the justices are expected to sidestep the explosive abortion issue in the new term, especially in the wake of the bitter debate that followed their 5-to-4 vote last summer to uphold a Pennsylvania law restricting abortion rights. The court's next major decision on abortion could come a year from now, when the Planned Parenthood Federation is expected to seek a test of the constitutionality of a Mississippi law requiring a 24-hour waiting period before an abortion can be performed.

■ **Fear of flying.** Bill Clinton has drastically revised his scheduling strategy, cutting back on the number of media markets he tries to hit in a day. His experts analyzed his pre-convention schedule and found, to their dismay, that 40 percent of his time was spent on airplanes. Their new approach: staying longer on the ground in each place rather than bouncing from tarmac to tarmac. But to reach more markets, they are using satellite TV as a substitute for personal appearances.

■ **Quid pro quo.** In one of the most bizarre episodes of the cold war, in 1974 a specially built CIA salvage ship called the Glomar Explorer partially raised a Soviet nuclear submarine that had exploded and sunk in the mid-Pacific six years before. The sub broke apart as it was hauled to the surface. But inside the salvaged wreckage, CIA operatives found the remains of 70 sailors. As a U.S. Navy chaplain officiated, the Soviets were formally buried at sea in accordance with naval tradition. Now, nearly two decades later, relatives of the victims are pressing for more information. In a closed meeting in Moscow last week, Russian naval officers asked their U.S. counterparts to open the still-secret Glomar Explorer files. The Russians claimed that the U.S. Navy had monitored the submarine before it exploded and therefore should be able to shed additional light on the case. The Americans were offered a deal: If Washington provides more information about the victims of the sub disaster, then Moscow will be far more willing to open its records about missing U.S. pilots shot down during the cold war.

EDITED BY CHARLES FENYVESI

THE NEXT WAR

An unpublished commandment of presidential campaigns can be stated simply: Thou shalt never say, "I don't have an answer to this crisis." Instead, both candidates and pundits feel obliged to act out their Carnac complex in election years, professing, like Johnny Carson's famous seer, to be all seeing and all knowing. Within hours of the riots in Los Angeles last April, the evening newscasts and editorial pages were literally filled with purported solutions to the inner-city crisis, despite the fact that there is little evidence any government intervention has had a large-scale impact in the ghetto. In the space of just a few weeks, George Bush and Bill Clinton touted urban policy prescriptions that included enterprise zones, "Weed and Seed," more federal aid, more Head Start, more jobs programs, more law enforcement, less welfare—the list is nearly endless.

Such certitude is nothing new in the debate over urban poverty; when Lyndon Johnson inaugurated the War on Poverty in 1964, he claimed that "today for the first time in all the history of the human race, a great nation is able to make and is willing to make a commitment to eradicate poverty." The next war on poverty, though, could benefit from humbler premises.

No adequate answers. The truth is that no one has shown the ability to eradicate poverty among the able-bodied poor, much less eradicate the polarizing and costly social "pathologies" that now seem concentrated among the minority-dominated urban underclass. Since the days of LBJ's declaration, policy makers have learned a great deal about which programs do not work and which are modestly successful. Even more important, they have sketched out a number of reforms that might have more far-reaching impact. The recent riots illustrate all too plainly how important it is to test some of those untried reforms in a series of deliberate, multiyear experiments. By the end of the decade, both elected officials and members of the public then could speak with genuine authority about how to address three chronic scourges among the urban poor: welfare dependency, street crime and dropping out of school.

An extensive series of experiments may in fact be the only plausible alternative to the status quo. Notwithstanding the post-riot rhetoric, the federal government is extremely unlikely to embark on massive new domestic programs to aid the urban poor. The \$300 billion-plus deficit virtually precludes such initiatives: When money talks, campaign promises walk. And there is little chance the voters will support new national programs without some assurance they will work.



In practice, combatting a social malady like welfare dependency has proved to be a very different proposition from, say, combatting polio. Peter H. Rossi, a liberal sociologist at the University of Massachusetts, succinctly summed up the state of social policy in a 1987 essay when he wrote that "few large-scale social programs have been found to be even minimally effective. There have been even fewer programs found to be spectacularly effective." He regretfully concluded that "there are no social-science equivalents of the Salk vaccine." Rossi's understanding, and that of other researchers, also roughly summarizes the current views of the electorate. A *New York Times*/CBS News survey taken after the Los Angeles riots showed most Ameri-



Experiment time. Some radical tests should be tried to see what

ON POVERTY

AN
AGENDA
FOR
CHANGE

cans believe that "a lack of knowledge and understanding about how to solve the problems"—not a lack of money—was the major impediment to helping big cities.

Theoretically, a new round of social-policy experiments could be organized in one of two ways. The first, and by far the most popular, is the Edisonian method of intelligent trial and error. This approach blossomed under Ronald Reagan, who actively encouraged state and local governments to experiment and actively discouraged federally dictated demonstration programs. Bush has continued the tradition of the "new federalism" by seeking to have states and localities assume the lead in reforming welfare and education. Without question, states have responded with many worthwhile innovations. Yet

the trial-and-error approach is inadequate for attacking the colossal, interrelated problems of urban poverty.

Wild exaggeration. The fact is that even many of the best model programs developed by state and local officials are hard to replicate and are poorly evaluated. Studies of pilot initiatives often wildly exaggerate the initiatives' apparent successes since they generally fail to compare the track record of the programs with the routine experiences of the poor. For example, job-training programs for welfare recipients, including an Arkansas program touted by Clinton, inevitably produce hundreds and even thousands of "success stories" of families moving off welfare. But subsequently, it turns out that virtually the same percentage of families naturally left welfare *without* participating in a jobs program.

National problems call for more centralized, classical scientific experiments that would compare the experiences of those in the programs with similarly situated poor persons who are not using the programs. Ideally, federal policy makers would fund a limited number of radical, large-scale experiments, each of which would follow simple rules and share a common goal. To ensure that the programs could be applied on a national scale, each initiative would be tested for several years in more than one urban site. The pages that follow present several leading schemes—some favored by liberals, others by conservatives—for reducing welfare dependency, street crime and high-school dropout rates. While the list of reforms is not all-inclusive, it does provide options for reducing urban woes that are much more far-reaching than those now being tested.

Ultimately, it bears emphasizing that the federal government may prove more adroit at attacking the symptoms of urban impoverishment than its causes. Chronic urban poverty is rooted in forces like illegitimacy, the proliferation of low-wage jobs and labor force dropouts. But lawmakers will probably never be able to reverse the exodus of manufacturing jobs from inner cities; nor are they likely to come up with programs that could undo the spread of casual attitudes toward work and out-of-wedlock childbearing. Both presidential candidates have recognized that parents must assume chief responsibility for improving the lives of poor children. That acknowledgment helps to lower expectations about what the government can and cannot accomplish. In the next war on poverty, the expectations lawmakers and the public bring to the fray will be almost as important as the reform ideas themselves. ■

BY DAVID WHITMAN



could reduce welfare dependency, street crime and dropout rates.

WELFARE

Of the many social ills afflicting the ghetto, the much maligned welfare system seems particularly ripe for experimental reform—and not just because it is universally detested. In fact, the case for experimental reform stems from two ineluctable truths. The first is that no one knows for sure how to slash the welfare rolls, short of simply cutting off benefits. The second is that the problem of dependency has now reached epidemic proportions.

Franklin Roosevelt, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan and George Bush all promised to slash the dole, and all watched in befuddlement as legislation they backed died, fell short or even backfired. The most popular remedy for dependency—putting adults in work or training programs—has been tried repeatedly over the past two decades. Yet evaluations have consistently shown only modest effects on welfare caseloads, with reported reductions in the rolls amounting to 7 percentage points or less. In 1988, Congress managed to overhaul the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, placing more emphasis on education, training and the provision of child support. But since many states are still retooling welfare programs to bring them into compliance with the new law, it is unlikely that Congress will revisit the subject anytime soon. And to date, the post-1988 state job programs seem no more capable than their predecessors of substantially reducing dependency.

Virtually every month for the last three years, welfare rolls have hit record highs; the number, driven by the recession, now stands at a historic 13.7 million Americans. An appalling 1 in 7 children now receives AFDC, and the welfare mess is especially insidious in inner cities, where the large number of aid recipients seems to reduce the stigma of receiving relief.

It may be that the next president and Congress should abandon the goal of welfare reform and press, instead, for a series of demonstration programs that would *replace* welfare. Such a guideline, first articulated by Harvard economist David Ellwood, would have several significant consequences. Most important, it could force policy makers to focus on a clear primary goal: eradicating chronic dependency. Increasing the economic return of work or ameliorating family poverty would be worthy secondary considerations.

Policy analysts have already developed a handful



of promising welfare-replacement schemes, several of which are being toyed with in Congress or in the states. At present, the leading candidates include:

CUTTING THE KNOT

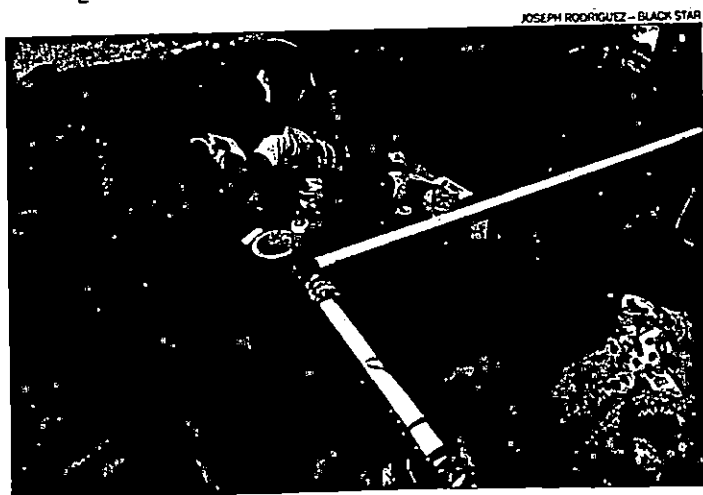
The most controversial scheme is simply to eliminate welfare. Author Charles Murray first proposed that as a "thought experiment" in his much debated 1984 book "Losing Ground." A year later, in a *Washington Monthly* interview, Murray explained that if "you want to cut illegitimate births among poor people... I know how to do that. You just rip away every kind of government support there is." His libertarian scheme horrifies liberal scholars and has little public support. A poll in May by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman for *Time* and CNN found that 93 percent of the public would oppose attempts to "eliminate all welfare programs entirely."

Still, in modified form, the cold-turkey approach might merit pilot testing. The standard objection to Murray's plan is that it would make innocent children suffer for their parents' inadequacies, and that seems doubly unfair, given that 2 out of 3 AFDC beneficiaries are children. But it is also worth recalling that a national system of cash relief is a relatively recent innovation. AFDC did not exist until 1935 and in its early years was essentially a tiny program for widows and divorcees, not unwed mothers. If welfare were wiped out, more families undoubtedly would end up in soup kitchens and shelters. But many others might double up with friends and relatives or rely on neighborhood and fraternal groups for aid, much as the poor did before the New Deal—when their ranks were proportionately far larger. Over time, severe cutbacks in aid might force more low-income males to refrain from fathering children out of wedlock.

Murray's original proposal, scrapping all welfare programs, could also be softened by limiting the rollback to AFDC and other cash assistance for able-bodied adults. Programs with less controversial public purposes (like disability and unemployment insurance, food stamps and Medicaid) could be retained. In a few cases—say, in the last trimester of a pregnancy or the first three months of an infant's life—cash aid might be continued, too.

GUARANTEED JOBS

An alternative would have the government offer any able-bodied adult a job at subminimum or minimum



Some 13.7 million Americans now receive welfare, a historic high that is driven in part by the recession.

■ U.S. NEWS

wages—and then do away with public assistance. While AFDC, food stamps, housing subsidies and state general-assistance programs would be eliminated, the availability of day-care subsidies, Medicaid and generous tax relief for workers would raise many if not most families up to the poverty line. Guaranteed-jobs plans, which evoke wistful memories of FDR's Works Progress Administration, are also the most popular welfare-substitution scheme; in the recent Yankelovich poll, 70 percent of the public favored replacing "welfare with a system of guaranteed jobs."

Undue burden. By guaranteeing jobs for absent fathers, policy makers might also reduce the unfair burden on welfare mothers to be the sole breadwinners in their households. Numerous lawmakers are already promoting variants of the idea. Journalist Mickey Kaus, a neoliberal, reintroduced the guaranteed-jobs plan into public debate in a controversial 1986 article in the *New Republic* and has amplified it in his new book, "The End of Equality." Since Kaus's 1986 article, some conservatives have embraced much or all of his scheme.

Former Reagan administration official Charles Hobbs, for instance, helped to design the Oregon Full Employment Program, which would pool the funding for AFDC, food stamps and unemployment compensation in six counties to provide paychecks for some 10,000 adults in private- and public-sector jobs. Voters approved the initiative in a 1990 referendum, but Democratic Gov. Barbara Roberts has so far refused to apply for federal waivers for the program. Milwaukee Mayor John Norquist, who wants his city to be the nation's first "welfare-free zone," has made more headway with private-sector help. A three-year pilot project in Milwaukee, named New Hope, now involves about 50 adults (it will expand to 650) and provides community-service jobs at the minimum wage—along with child care, medical coverage and a wage subsidy to any client who earns an income below poverty level.

The guaranteed-jobs route, however, could benefit from a large field test. The WPA essentially aided single men with steady work records who were on relief because of the Depression. By contrast, a 1992 WPA program would have to hire several million single mothers with child-rearing responsibilities, many of whom have no work experience and few job skills. Parents with drug problems would be more common, too.

In fact, post-WPA attempts to create public-service slots and small-scale guaranteed-jobs projects have had mixed results. At the very least, administrative costs are daunting; as White House aide Gail Wilensky says, "The government's ability to spend \$40,000 to create a \$10,000 job has been well

documented." Getting employers to hire government-subsidized workers is another obstacle. In the late 1970s, guaranteed-jobs programs in 17 pilot sites for poor youths substantially boosted employment among teenage blacks. However, fewer than 1 in 5 employers who were approached agreed to hire any disadvantaged teens, even though the government was willing to pay all their wages and benefits, do the paperwork and give the employers free rein to fire poor workers.

As political scientist Lawrence Mead points out, "Guaranteed work is a kind of oxymoron. Jobs *aren't* guaranteed—and if they are, they are not true employment because you are not holding the worker accountable to real-world job standards." Inevitably, large public-service jobs programs also create periodic leaf-raking scandals that drain popular support. And even the WPA was far from universally beloved. A 1939 poll that asked members of the public to name the best and worst things done by the Roosevelt administration showed that the WPA topped *both* categories. "Boondoggles will happen," Kaus

explained in recent congressional testimony. But, as he noted, "the taxpayers would at least be getting something for their money."

TIME LIMITS

Bill Clinton, among others, has advocated limiting the time a family can receive welfare. The cutoff date varies from plan to plan but usually ranges from 18 months to four years. Of course, narrowing welfare eligibility to a time-limited, one-shot opportunity doesn't eliminate cash assistance. But it does preclude parents' becoming chronic recipients, and that alone assuages a prime public concern. Divorced mothers who need a few months of aid to get

back on their feet are one thing; unwed mothers who spend a decade on the dole are quite another.

Advocates of AFDC time limits differ along partisan lines about what happens after cash welfare is cut off. Clinton, like Professor Ellwood, thinks the government should cut welfare recipients loose only after providing two years of cash assistance and generous education, training, child-care support and tax credits; at that point, he favors requiring people to work in community service or the private sector. Since many welfare recipients stay on the rolls for less than two years, Clinton's public-service jobs program would be much smaller than a guaranteed-jobs initiative. Nonetheless, conservatives like Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation worry that it would end up as a federal gravy train for massive guaranteed-jobs and child-care programs. Legislation recently introduced by 14 House Republicans would halt cash benefits for most able-bodied adults after four years, but it does not specify that government-created jobs should be available after the cutoff.

Utah is one of the few states that have staged a significant time-limit experiment. In 1981, the Utah Legislature voted to eliminate the state's AFDC program for two-parent families



Replacing welfare could mean creating smaller, modern offices designed to encourage recipients' self-sufficiency, unlike current factorylike facilities.

(known as AFDC-UP). Several years later, it replaced AFDC-UP with a program that limited cash assistance to six months in any 12-month period and required one parent to spend a minimum of 32 hours a week in community work, adult education or job training—and eight hours a week looking for a job. Payment was made only after the family met the requirements. The results, summarized in a recent issue of *Public Welfare*, were dramatic: The time-limited substitute supported an average of only 165 families a month, down from about 1,900 families a month in the old AFDC-UP program—without encouraging families to break up to qualify for the single-parent AFDC grant.

The biggest drawback to cutting off welfare after a specified time is that the “drop-dead” date might create perverse incentives. Teen mothers, for instance, faced with losing AFDC benefits after four years, might try to have two children quickly so they could stay home with the kids during their early years at government expense. The closer families got to the cutoff date, the more the pressure would grow for administrators to grant exemptions to women who had infants, say, or who were studying hard in school. For the past 25 years, work requirements for welfare mothers have been so riddled with similar loopholes that they are virtual shams. Without simple, blunt rules, putting a time limit on AFDC could evolve in much the same fashion.

SUPPORT INSURANCE

A final alternative to welfare is to replace it with an “assured benefit” system that would provide a minimum benefit to any single parent unable to collect child support from the absent parent, typically the father. Advocates liken this system to other universal programs financed by payroll taxes, such as unemployment insurance. Whereas survivor insurance pays for the loss of income arising from widowhood, child-support assurance would pay for the loss of income arising from divorce, separation and unwed parenthood—a radical shift from the current system, where meager child-support awards and delinquent fathers leave millions of children in poverty. In fact, the present collection record is so poor that “many American children would literally be better off if their fathers were dead,” points out West Virginia Sen. Jay Rockefeller. “At least then, they could collect Social Security Survivors Insurance.”

Theoretically, taxpayer-funded child-support assurance would come into play only after officials and custodial parents had done everything possible to wring more money out of the noncustodial parent. Laws enacted during the 1980s tried to accomplish just that by empowering states to index awards for inflation and garnishee the paychecks of delinquent parents. But despite the crackdown, state agencies still fail to collect child support for more than 5 million mothers on AFDC, and local law enforcement agencies consider the tracking of deadbeat dads a low priority. The last-resort as-

sured-benefit scheme would provide single parents without child support an annual benefit of perhaps \$2,000 for one child, \$3,000 for two children and so forth.

Irwin Garfinkel of Columbia University, the originator of the assured-benefit plan, argues that such schemes are superior to welfare on several counts. Unlike AFDC benefits, the assured benefit would maintain work incentives, since payments would not be reduced as single parents started to accrue earnings. (More than 90 percent of AFDC families are headed by single parents.) Garfinkel acknowledges that his plan would not eliminate welfare. But he estimates that it could plausibly reduce AFDC caseloads by 20 percent. If, as Ellwood has suggested, officials combined the assured benefit with a time-limited welfare program and various tax credits for the working poor, the reduction would be greater.

Voter ambivalence. The chief drawback of the assured-benefit program is that it is still a form of welfare. Like public assistance, child-support assurance could create incentives for

the formation of more single-parent families. The public is also ambivalent. In the Yankelovich poll, only 44 percent of respondents favored paying child support out of public funds to AFDC mothers when the government cannot make the fathers pay.

It is hard to say just how much the experimentation strategy would cost. Several Republican members of the House Ways and Means Committee plan to introduce legislation this week to test several variants of the reforms outlined above. Their rough estimate is that it would cost about \$1

billion a year to operate and evaluate large-scale demonstration programs. By contrast, in fiscal 1991, the federal and state bills for AFDC came to roughly \$20 billion.

To avoid fragmentation, such policy experiments would probably need to have both a common goal of reducing dependency and a legislative umbrella. Historically, pilot programs have clouded options and delayed change as often as they have sped it up. Ronald Reagan vowed that bold welfare experiments were needed to break the “spider web of dependency,” but most of the 16 state-sponsored proposals ultimately approved by his administration were less than memorable. (Typically, they involved reforms like substituting cash for food stamp coupons.)

Not surprisingly, politicians often ignore experimental results that conflict with their own predispositions. Knowledge, in short, may not necessarily translate into power some years hence. On the other hand, when shifts in social policy stand to affect millions of needy families, ignorance is less than bliss.

BY DAVID WHITMAN



One estimate is that tests along these lines to replace welfare would cost \$1 billion a year; annual spending in the current system now totals \$20 billion.

STREET CRIME

Each year, the criminal justice merry-go-round in urban America seems to spin faster and faster. While arrests for serious crime are up 18 percent in the past decade, and the number of inmates in state and federal prisons has doubled over the same period, the rate of serious crime per 100,000 has jumped from 5,600 to 5,900. Even hardheaded cops now concede that the nation can't arrest itself out of this nightmare. Instead, reducing street crime may hinge on finding ways to short-circuit criminal behavior.

COMPREHENSIVE DRUG TREATMENT

Government officials might be able to help throw that switch by testing an option that law enforcement personnel have largely ignored: creating an extensive system of drug treatment for arrestees, parolees and inmates. Urinalysis samples show that between 40 and 80 percent of all big-city arrestees test positive for drugs. Inner-city residents, moreover, have good reason for being especially fearful of drug-abusing hoodlums: A California study, for instance, shows that offenders who used hard drugs committed 15 times as many robberies and 20 times as many burglaries as offenders who didn't. Yet, of the roughly 1.1 million people under the supervision of the justice system thought to be in need of drug treatment—about 320,000 of them incarcerated—no more than 1 in 5 is now getting help.

Traditionally, drug treatment programs fail because they provide short stays, have poor-quality staff and lack follow-up or after-care facilities. Many of those shortcomings, though, could be avoided in the criminal-justice system because its clients are a captive audience. Not only can correctional officials help prod criminals into treatment but they can keep them there longer—a strong predictor of success.

To avoid the mistakes of earlier, less comprehensive programs, law enforcement officials in a large state might take every arrestee or inmate through a two-step process. First, nonviolent offenders would be offered treatment instead of jail and face certain sanctions for failing a drug test. Second, all inmates with a known history of drug use would be obliged to participate in, say, a yearlong treatment program that prohibited violent behavior or drug use and was housed separately from the main prison population.



Such in-prison programs, analogous to "therapeutic communities" (TCs), include job training, social services, behavior modification and a strict set of rules regulating day-to-day behavior. The universal provision of TCs in a state could reduce both local criminal activity and costs. Research on structured, long-term prison programs linked to subsequent community supervision—like the Stay'n Out program at New York's Arthur Kill Correctional Facility—shows they can reduce the treated group's rearrest rate by as much as one half. Treatment adds only about \$5,000 to the annual \$25,000 cost of incarcerating a prisoner, so it wouldn't take much reduction in recidivism for treatment to begin to pay for itself. The figures are even more promising for criminal suspects treated before they enter prison. Miami's 3-year-old "drug court" funnels lower-level offenders into treatment rather than jail. So far, studies show only 3 percent of the graduates are rearrested.

EARLY INTERVENTION WITH JUVENILES

The theology of many social welfare advocates has long included a call for earlier and more effective help for youths who are on the verge of trouble. The need to do so may never have been more acute. The arrest rate of juveniles for violent crimes shot up 27 percent during the past decade (pushing the total near 100,000 last year), and the number is likely to rise in the 1990s as the youth population expands. There is little evidence that the typical crackdown remedies favored by politicians—putting more hardened teen criminals into the adult justice system or sending them to military-style boot camps—work.

The studies of sociologist J. David Hawkins of the University of Washington suggest there might be a payoff if special attention were paid to kids showing signs of "risk factors" pointing to future criminal behavior, including poor elementary-school performance and aggressive acts against fellow students. Comprehensive training of parents and teachers in targeted schools could be aimed at helping troubled teens form stronger bonds to schools and families. Some of the schools could experiment with placing these potential delinquent teens in classes with high achievers. The mandate for action is clear: Help them now, or fear them later. ■



In the past decade, arrests rose and the number of people in prison doubled—yet crime still soared.

BY GORDON WITKIN
WITH TED GEST

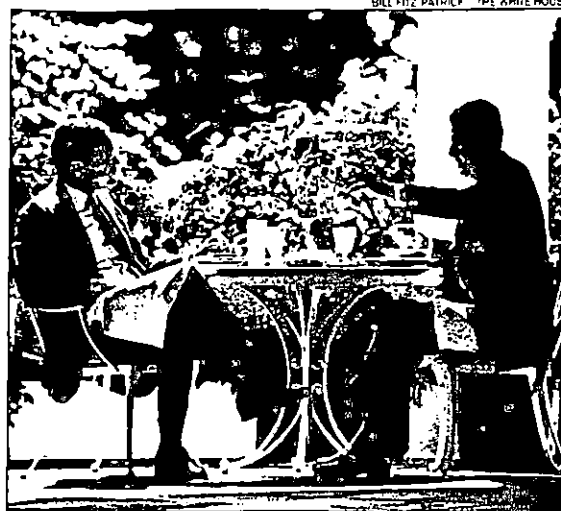
Guess who's in the loop?

New questions about George Bush's Iran-Contra story

George Bush has always said that he was "out of the loop" on decisions made by senior Reagan administration officials to sell arms to Iran in exchange for the release of American hostages in Lebanon. But a large body of existing evidence contradicts that claim—and new information suggests that Bush played a key role in ensuring that the arms shipments to Iran were continued. According to excerpts from a still classified Israeli report obtained by *U.S. News* and verified by two former Reagan administration officials with detailed knowledge of the Iran-Contra scandal, the then vice president was briefed specifically on the anticipated release of three U.S. hostages in Lebanon just one day before President Reagan agreed to ship parts for 240 Hawk missiles to Iran.

The briefing was provided to Bush and his chief of staff, Craig Fuller, by Amiram Nir, a counterterrorism adviser to the Israeli government and a principal ally of Lt. Col. Oliver North's during the negotiations to sell missiles to Iran. Nir is now dead. Bush and Fuller have maintained that Nir provided only a cursory review of the missile sales to Iran and that no mention was made of exchanging the weapons for hostages. The White House repeated those assertions last week. Parts of the 50-page investigative report, which is dated March 11, 1987, state otherwise: ■ Nir told Bush and Fuller "that Israel intercepted communications between the Iranian government and the hostage holders and that Israel knew of the Iranian instruction to the kidnappers to release three hostages."

■ The Bush briefing took place between 7:35 a.m. and 8:05 a.m. on July 29, 1986, in Bush's suite at Jerusalem's King David Hotel. It was arranged by Oliver North at a critical juncture in the Iran-



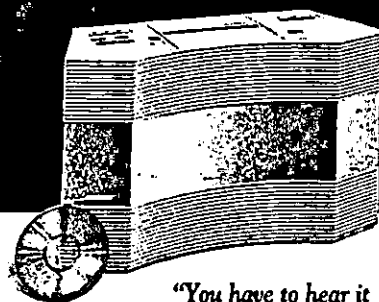
Happier days. One final Iran-Contra twist

Contra affair—when Reagan was being urged to abandon the initiative by senior aides, including Robert McFarlane, former national-security adviser. On July 26, Father Lawrence Jenco was released by his captors after an earlier shipment of \$4 million worth of Hawk missile parts. McFarlane and his successor, John Poindexter, distrusted their Iranian intermediaries, however, and on July 27, North met with Nir and the Iranian

representatives in Frankfurt to discuss another shipment of Hawk parts. North then arranged for Nir to brief Bush. The investigative report does not state whether Bush reported back to the White House on the briefing, but when Nir telephoned North to tell him of the briefing, North replied that the White House already knew of it—and that Bush had approved. One day after the briefing, on July 30, President Reagan approved the shipment of the 240 Hawk parts to Iran.

■ Bush has said that the United States was misled by Israel about the missile shipments to Iran, but Nir explained the relationship to Bush differently, according to the investigative report. "The Israelis were supposed to provide a physical base for loading and unloading a variety of ammunition and weapons," the report states, "and in general provide the facade in case of exposure."

BY BRIAN DUFFY



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Bewitched by role models

Clinton and Bush show the danger of mimicking earlier presidents rather than reshaping the office for today's problems

On grainy film, a boyish Bill Clinton pumps the hand of his hero John Kennedy. In a snapshot, a thirtysomething George Bush beams at Dwight Eisenhower. Even though such contacts might be expected of two of the savviest networkers ever to run for president, it was hard not to be impressed by these images of Clinton and Bush displayed in cinematic celebrations at the political conventions. Captured forever in black and white, their proud smiles spoke of a lost age before the need to be cool and skeptical about the highest office in the land overwhelmed reverence for the presidency.

It is difficult to imagine a 21st-century Bush or Clinton showing off similar encounters with, say, Richard Nixon or Jimmy Carter. Yet, a crucial subtext of this year's presidential campaign has been the nation's yearning to rediscover where the presidency fits in the nation's sense of itself. Amid all the talk of deficits, drafts and downturns, that search has gotten little play. But the desire to reconstruct the presidency helps to explain many of this campaign's vicissitudes: voter volatility and Ross Perot's appeal, Clinton's boost after his "New Covenant" acceptance speech and, especially, the remarkable collapse of Bush's support since the gulf war.

Among schoolchildren. Many reasons for the presidency's decline are all too familiar: Vietnam and Watergate, administrative ineptitude and imperial pretensions. Thirty years ago, an elementary-school student might turn to "Pictorial History of American Presidents," a respectful treatment of the chief executives, organized chronologically from the Founding Fathers forward. That book hasn't been revised since the mid-'60s, and today students rely on texts focused less on the accomplishments of the officeholders than on the reach and limits of the office. Even among schoolchildren, presidents aren't what they used to be.

Of course, presidents rarely *have* been what many liked to think they once were. Indeed, the periods when Americans wanted the office at the center of the national imagination are the anomalies, not the rule. "While I don't expect anything very astonishing from him," Oliver Wendell Holmes said of Calvin Coolidge, "I don't want anything very astonishing." In Holmes's view, the times simply did not demand it.

That is clearly not true now. As at least the past four presidents have found, political success today turns on being able to satisfy great expectations during times that demand increasing limits. The fancy footwork required now is not

simply in choosing steps to get the nation to its goals but in *defining* those goals in an era in which some choices are simply no longer possible. The road traveled by a Roosevelt or a Reagan is not likely to carry a Bush or a Clinton to the promised land in 1992. Yet neither one seems comfortable striking out for terra incognita without a familiar map.

For Clinton, as historian William Leuchtenburg has said of all postwar presidents, the challenge is to escape "the shadow of FDR." As a model, Franklin Roosevelt's presidency has its

limits today; the chances to move the institutions of government aren't what they used to be, in part because of the paralyzing national debt. Instead of finding ways to project government into people's lives, Clinton would face a far different task in the White House. He has tried to avoid the "tax and spend" trap with his talk of "a third way," emphasizing a balance between citizens' rights and duties and government intervention and market forces. But when pressed by foes, Clinton often seeks refuge in a New Deal mode, arguably as inappropriate for 1992 as his hero JFK's cold-war bellicosity would be.

The shadow over Bush is that of Ronald Reagan. Seeking to rekindle his predecessor's electoral magic, the president is struggling to mimic Reagan's minimalist view of government without adjusting to changed circumstances. If government is the problem, as Reagan argued, then the role of the president is bound to shrink, perhaps beyond the point the public wants. Reagan was able to adopt the posture of national leader, albeit one whose efforts were about diminishing his function. With Bush acting as a consolidator, not an innovator, his approach can seem like drift, not leadership, to the disaffected.

Roosevelt and Reagan are certainly good models in one respect. Both were masters at altering the legacies of great presidents for their own purposes. FDR redirected the Jeffersonian tradition from a focus on limited government to one of protecting rights, especially economic rights; Reagan borrowed freely from Roosevelt, the national father figure. And both used Lincoln when it suited them. In relying on the past, they kept a keen eye on the dictates of the present, experimenting and adapting as necessary for times that required more than derivative approaches. If neither Bush nor Clinton learns that lesson, it's unlikely that a presidential candidate 30 years from now will be eager to show he or she once met either man.

BY DONALD BAER



Superchiefs. Who can best resculpt the presidency?

PEROT: TIME TO WALK AWAY

For months, *U.S. News* has been outspoken in saluting what Ross Perot seemed to represent. In a column last March, entitled "Ross Perot's Time to Saddle On Up," this writer glowingly described a citizens' revolt rising up in the heartland that was trying to put a Texas buccaneer into the White House. In an editorial in June, Mortimer B. Zuckerman praised the Perot movement for giving voice to the country's disenchantment with the status quo. We believed then—and do now—that the nation's political establishment is failing in its responsibilities and needs to be shaken up.

But events since then have revealed that for all his considerable accomplishments as a citizen, Ross Perot is the wrong man for the presidency. As he himself suggested years ago and has shown this year, he has neither the temperament nor the patience for politics. He should now summon a little courage and abandon his quixotic attempt to re-enter the race. The reasons Perot gave for leaving the field in July are as valid now as then; the only thing that keeps changing is his mind. As country singer Kenny Rogers puts it in "The Gambler," a man should know "when to hold 'em . . . when to fold 'em . . . when to walk away." Sorry, Ross, you've already folded.

Should he become an active candidate, Perot would have absolutely no chance of winning the election and only a modest prospect of winning any state. While some of his supporters have remained staunchly loyal, others are disgusted by the way he jerked them around this summer and by his antics since. His unfavorable ratings have climbed to some 50 percent, an atmosphere that is asphyxiating for politicians. A campaign coming now, so late in the season, would be seen as a colossal ego trip putting his own personal interests above the national interest.

This campaign already has too many distractions and diversions. Instead of debating real issues with real people, the White House sends Dan Quayle into debate over a phony issue with a fictional television character. With his lead in the polls still holding, Bill Clinton spends his time telling voters what they want to hear, not what they need to hear. A Perot candidacy

would turn the campaign into a three-ring circus. One can already see the stories that would soak up airtime: Will Perot hurt Bush or Clinton the most? What makes Ross run? Why did he quit, anyway? How much money is he willing to spend this time? (Answer to all of the above: Nobody knows.) The nation should spend the next five weeks asking serious questions about someone who will win, not trivial questions about a man who won't.

Many times in the past Perot has proved that as a private citizen, he can be a powerful, positive force for the country. His critics have said for years that Perot

has been loony in insisting that America knowingly left POWs behind in Vietnam; last week's sworn testimony by three former defense secretaries was a clear vindication of Perot. Had he not been so unswerving in his support of POW families, the truth might still be hidden. Perot also has devoted thousands of hours and millions of dollars to helping wounded soldiers, disadvantaged children and people who needed just a little hand. Earlier this year, he showed that he also knows how to touch and motivate people all over the country.

Instead of diminishing both himself and the campaign by reviving his candidacy, he would best serve the country now by launching a true citizens' crusade for economic renewal. The economic program Perot issued this summer, demanding sacrifice and discipline, offers far more hope for long-term growth than either Bush's or Clinton's plan. Speaking privately, high-ranking officials in both parties acknowledge its superiority; so do voters, who have sent it to the top of bestseller charts. Let Perot pull together his army and join forces with Paul Tsongas and Warren Rudman to form a massive, grass-roots coalition. Let him join up with Sens. Pete Domenici and Sam Nunn, who have headed a reform effort at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C. Voters now wary of Perot as a president would follow him much more readily—and with greater respect—if he committed his energy and resources in a private capacity. President Perot was not meant to be. Citizen Perot can still be an American legend. ■

*He would best
serve the
country now
by launching a
true citizens'
crusade for
economic renewal.*



9/29/92

USA TODAY

This is not the time to be expanding IRAs

OUR VIEW Congress must avoid savings plans that will land this debt-ridden nation deeper in debt.

Hold onto your wallets. Congress is trying to boost your savings again.

Today, as part of a \$35 billion grab bag of tax breaks and urban aid, the Senate will decide whether to expand use of Individual Retirement Accounts.

Currently, 73% of all Americans — including people without pensions, individuals making less than \$25,000 a year and couples with less than \$40,000 income — can make tax-deductible contributions to IRAs that earn tax-free interest until withdrawn.

But for the Christmas-for-everyone crowd in Congress, that's not enough. They want to triple the income limits while making the R for retirement in IRA meaningless.

Instead of having to wait until 59½, people could make withdrawals for college, a new home, medical expenses, hurricane relief or the down payment on a car. Or they could put \$2,000 to \$4,000 of their income, after paying taxes on it,

in glitzy super-IRAs and withdraw the proceeds after five years, tax free.

Proponents say these changes will boost savings and investment. And a boost is needed.

But not just any boost. History shows expanding IRAs alone will just feed the federal debt.

Congress made IRAs universal in 1982 to boost savings. But in 1987, it took them back. Why? Instead of generating massive new savings, IRAs became havens for old savings of the well-to-do. Personal savings actually dropped by half. And instead of costing government a projected \$2.6 billion in revenue, IRAs cost \$21.1 billion. That helped boost the deficit to \$200 billion.

Accountants say this year's package is likely to do the same. And the USA can't afford that.

Congress must stop playing Santa and face two facts — \$300 billion deficits and a \$4 trillion national debt.

The nation needs real new savings, not tax havens for old savings that only increase the country's debt.

► The tax package, 4A

Let's expand IRAs now

OPPOSING VIEW Restoring and expanding the IRAs would boost savings and spur home building.

In Texas, we say the time to kill a snake is when you've got it at the end of your hoe.

Too often, we've held back on dealing with problems that undermine our economy, such as a savings rate that's only a third of the rates in Japan and Germany and a housing market that's more like an anchor than an engine of growth.

Restoring and expanding the Individual Retirement Account would help on both counts, boosting savings over the long term and spurring home building immediately. There is no valid excuse for further delay on this measure.

Over half of all two-income families



By Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

are ineligible for a full IRA deduction. My legislation would permit all but those with the very highest incomes to either claim a deduction for IRA deposits or pay no taxes on earnings when they make a withdrawal.

They could withdraw for retirement or to buy a first home, pay for college or cover the costs of serious illness or unemployment.

The new IRA would not add a nickel to the deficit, now or in the future, and its ability to increase savings is not just the view on Capitol Hill, where it has strong bipartisan support. A growing number of economists agree as well.

It complements the enterprise zones for urban areas. These zones may create jobs, but a rejuvenated IRA will definitely increase savings, and that's important, whether rebuilding America's cities or restoring its lagging economy.

Lord Chesterfield's immortal admonition on procrastination is as valid today as when he wrote it: "Never put off till tomorrow what you can do today." Let's not stand that on its head when it comes to IRAs.

9/29/92

USA TODAY

Scandal in the making

On another subject, USA TODAY says Congress should remove breeding grounds for scandal.

Without benefit of divining rod or crystal ball, taxpayers sometimes can find signs of a scandal in the making.

Just find the spot where there's lots of loose public cash and little chance to see how it's spent.

Today's installment of the USA TODAY/Gannett News Service series Capitol Cash exposes one such trouble spot — legislative service organizations — in the House of Representatives.

They were formed as a way for Congress members to pool expenses, thereby saving money.

Today, they're sometimes used to

beat rules that limit the way legislators can spend your money. House members can't spend taxpayer dollars for entertaining. So, instead, they pay taxpayer money as dues to LSOs, which then do the entertaining for them.

LSOs have spent money without documentation and stashed funds indefinitely without telling the public.

These organizations are scandals in the making, raising questions of just how much money they will cost taxpayers or what special-interest influence they invite.

In the past decade, three House task forces have suggested reforms, from changes in the way they're funded to demands that they fully document expenditures and disclose more publicly.

All those ideas make great sense. Yet Congress ignored them, as well as proposals to junk LSOs altogether.

Congress should stop stalling. Enough is enough.



THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1992

Perot's Plan Is Called Model of Good Sense, Bad Economic Timing

Program to Cut Deficit Risks Prolonging or Worsening Current Slump, Some Say

Dilemma for Next President

By ALAN MURRAY
And TIMOTHY NOAH

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Ross Perot has done what most economists, many businessmen and some politicians have been calling on presidential candidates to do for years—propose a tough-minded plan to eliminate the nation's budget deficit.

But Mr. Perot's plan comes at a time when a growing chorus of economic experts say it could be exactly the wrong medicine. As long as the U.S. and the world are mired in the current stubborn economic slump, they say, any effort by the U.S. to sharply reduce its budget deficit could be an economic misstep of global proportions.

"Deficit reduction is contractionary fiscal policy" that could prolong the nation's economic problems, says Nobel prize-winning economist James Tobin. Any plan to shrink the deficit involves a mix of tax increases and reductions in government programs, both of which have the effect of slowing the economy. "It would have been a great plan in 1988," adds economist Allen Sinai, but to enact anything like that next year "would be poison."

Conflicting Pressures

The criticism of Mr. Perot's deficit-slashing plan illustrates a dilemma of economic decision-making that faces the next president, who almost certainly will not be Ross Perot. With deficits running more than \$300 billion a year, there will be intense pressure—especially from financial markets—for the president to craft a credible deficit-reduction plan early in his term. But if the economy is still stagnant in January, the president may also face irresistible calls for Keynesian-style fiscal stimulus to spark the economy—even if that means bigger deficits for a time.

Negotiating a way between those conflicting demands will be one of the next president's first, and most difficult, tasks. President Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton have both indicated they support cutting the deficit, although not as rapidly as Mr. Perot. And they haven't provided specifics to back up their deficit-cutting plans. Meanwhile, advisers to both candidates have begun to contemplate ways to craft a budget that would both stimulate the economy in the near-term—say, 1993 and probably 1994—while enacting multi-year reforms that would close the deficit over the longer term. It won't be easy to come up with a plan that both enlivens the economy and convinces the financial markets that down the road, the U.S. deficit will shrink. The conflicting demands, says David Hale of Kemper Financial Services, "may be irreconcilable."

Time for Growth?

Under the Perot plan, none of the cuts in the deficit would actually take effect until January 1994. That assumes that the economy will be growing healthily by then. Mr. Tobin argues the economy may still be too weak in 1994 and 1995 for such medicine. And passage of the Perot plan would have to occur next year, when anticipation of such a drastic remedy could put a damper on any economic revival.

John White, an Eastman Kodak executive and former Carter administration official who helped pull together the Perot plan, argues that since the Perot cuts wouldn't take effect until January 1994, there is time to spur an economic recovery. "Yes, you may have to have a stimulus," he says, "and you can do it in 1993." But unlike the deficit plans of the major-party candidates, the Perot plan leaves little margin for error, since the cuts would have to begin soon if the deficit is to be eliminated in five years.

Mr. Perot's plan to cut the deficit and restore the nation's economic health wasn't made public until after he pulled out of the presidential race in July. It has since been published as a book—"United We Stand"—and it is the centerpiece of his renewed lunge for the political limelight. If the Texas billionaire re-enters the race, he says he will promote the plan in his public appearances and his television advertisements. If he doesn't re-enter, he will continue putting pressure on the other two candidates to embrace the tough proposals.

The Texas billionaire, who continues to maintain that the decision whether he will re-enter the race is in the hands of his volunteers, said at a press conference yesterday, "I think I'll know Thursday night" whether he will become a candidate again.

Attention From Candidates

Mr. Perot made his remarks at the start of a day in which high-level emissaries from the Clinton and Bush camps gathered in closed-door sessions at a Dallas hotel to convince leaders of Mr. Perot's anti-Washington crusade that they will follow at least the spirit, if not the details, of Mr. Perot's economic plan.

Speaking for the Clinton campaign, however, financier Felix Rohatyn underscored the economic dilemma that will face the next president. He noted that Mr. Clinton's plan puts the emphasis first on boosting the economy, and then calls for reducing the deficit by only 50% over four years—compared with a Perot plan to eliminate the deficit over five. "The risk of stepping on the brake too hard too quickly at this point, with the economy as fragile as it is, is pretty high," he said.

It was also clear that the Clinton camp views many of Mr. Perot's proposals as political nitroglycerin. For example, when asked whether Mr. Clinton would endorse Mr. Perot's proposal for a 10-cent gasoline-tax increase for each of the next five years partly to help rebuild public infrastructure, Clinton campaign chairman Mickey Kantor said, "Governor Clinton published his plan . . . in June. It's going to stay the same. There are differences. . . . That's one of them."

Texas Senator Phil Gramm, speaking after an appearance before the Perot volunteers on behalf of Mr. Bush, emphasized that Messrs. Bush and Perot both share the desire to cut the budget deficit, but also noted differences. "We're against massive tax increases on gasoline; we're against cutting Social Security benefits," he said.

After the appearances by the Clinton and Bush teams, Mr. Perot said his state coordinators would take their impressions back to the volunteers, and that if a survey to be conducted between now and Thurs-

The Perot Plan

FIVE-YEAR
SAVINGS
(\$ billions)

Increase taxes on Social Security	30
Raise Medicare premiums	38
Curb Medicare and Medicaid costs	141
Cut farm supports	17
Raise top income-tax rate to 33%	33
Restrict mortgage deductions	16
Tax some employer-paid health insurance	57
Close tax loopholes for foreign corporations	21
Restrict business entertainment deductions to 50%	16
Increase tobacco tax	19
Increase federal gasoline tax	158
Other	124
Tax breaks for investment, research and worker training	-61
NON-INTEREST DEFICIT REDUCTION	609
Interest savings	145
TOTAL DEFICIT REDUCTION	754

day finds they want him to run, "then certainly I will honor that request." But "if everybody's lukewarm," he later said, "it probably wouldn't be a good idea." While Mr. Perot didn't tip his hat, he appeared to be more comfortable with the Clinton program than with Mr. Bush's.

During an unusual session on CNN's Larry King Live last night, the state coordinators withheld applause when asked to indicate whether they liked the Clinton presentation or the Bush presentation better, but they applauded loudly when asked if they thought Mr. Perot should run.

To be sure, Mr. Perot's plan, based on the principle of shared sacrifice, has something in it to upset almost every sector of society. For elderly people with higher incomes, there's increased taxation of Social Security benefits and increased payments for Medicare. For the working person, there's an increase in tobacco taxes and a whopping 50-cent-a-gallon rise in the gasoline tax over five years. For those with generous company-sponsored health-care plans, there's a limit on how much health care can be deducted from their company's taxes—limits that presumably would be passed through to employees. For the well-to-do, there's an increase in the top income-tax rate and a \$250,000 cap on the maximum mortgage eligible for interest tax deductions.

Many businesses would feel the pain as well. Pharmaceutical companies would lose many of the generous tax breaks they get for their facilities in Puerto Rico. Oil companies would lose tax preferences for drilling. And small-business people would see their deductions for business entertainment cut to just 50%.

Mr. Perot leavens the plan with a big increase in research and development spending and some targeted tax cuts designed to encourage investment spending. But the bottom line is a steep reduction in the annual deficits, to \$95 billion in 1995 and to zero by 1998.

Whatever their political demerits, many of the changes have been advocated

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by policy experts for years. An increased gasoline tax, for instance, not only raises money but also cuts down on pollution and on the nation's need to buy oil from abroad. And the cap on mortgages would encourage people to put more of their savings into productive investments, and less into lavish houses.

"As a general matter, I think it is as good a long-run deficit reduction strategy as anybody in the political arena has come up with," says Harvard economist Benjamin Friedman.

The problem, however, is one of timing. Deficit reduction is most important when the economy is running full-tilt. That's when private businesses need access to people's savings in order to finance their plans for growth. At such times, a large deficit drains the nation's savings pool, and means less money is available for private investment and growth.

But when the economy is in the dumps, private businesses don't want to invest. At such times, government deficits are not only harmless; the fiscal policies that create them can actually help to stimulate flagging consumption and investment.

"The structural budget deficit is an insidious and serious long-term evil," says Paul Samuelson, a Nobel-prize winning economist and author of a popular economics textbook. "But to wait until you are in a recession . . . for drastic and quick action I don't think is good *a priori* policy."

No Perfect Time

Many who have watched the Washington budget debate in recent years argue that waiting for the "right moment" to cut the budget deficit may well mean that the deficit never gets cut. Enacting a Perot-like plan takes enormous political muscle, and Sen. Warren Rudman, a New Hampshire Republican, says that kind of muscle

only exists at the beginning of a president's term. (His own program to shrink the deficit through automatic cuts, known as the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill, was amended and postponed repeatedly and ultimately failed.)

Moreover, economists across a broad spectrum believe the budget deficit continues to be the greatest threat to the long-term ability of the economy to generate a continuing increase in living standards.

But as long as it is stumbling along at growth rates of less than 2%, growth — not deficit reduction — will be the leading concern. "It's absolutely true we must get the structural deficit down for our long-term growth," says Mr. Sinai, an economist with Boston Co., an investment firm. "But the other truism is the economy can't go on underperforming this way. We can't kill two birds with one stone."

Even by the Perot camp's own estimates, the Perot plan does nothing to help growth in the near term. Under projections commissioned by Mr. Perot from DRI/McGraw Hill, the economic consulting firm, the plan would modestly reduce economic growth in 1994. Beyond that,

the plan's effects would depend largely on how the Federal Reserve responded to the shrinking pool of red ink. If the Fed eased credit quickly in line with the deficit reduction plan and interest rates fell, the net effect could be to increase growth by one-tenth to five-tenths of a percent each year from 1995 to 2000. But if the Fed was slow to respond — or felt it couldn't cut much further after this year's rate-cutting blitz — a Perot plan could continue to be a drag on growth through the end of the decade, and would increase growth only in the next century.

Nevertheless, Roger Brinner of DRI/McGraw Hill says he believes "the plan is safe." He notes Congress will have another full year's information on the economy before it has to pass something, by which time he expects it to be clear that the economy "is gradually picking up speed."

Looking to Keynes

The theories developed by the late British economist John Maynard Keynes in the 1930s state that deficit spending can be used to stimulate a stagnant economy. The amount of stimulus depends not on the

size of the deficit, but on the increase in the deficit. Because the U.S. entered the 1990 recession with annual deficits already topping \$200 billion a year and heading toward \$300 billion, most officials concluded there was little room for Keynesian-style fiscal stimulus to get the nation out of recession.

Instead, the government has relied largely on the Fed's monetary policy to take the lead in restoring economic growth. It has repeatedly cut interest rates, bringing them to their lowest level in three decades. But so far, the economy has shown little response. And the longer the economy falters, the more economists are again suggesting fiscal stimulus may be the only remaining solution.

"Deficit reduction has always been designed to solve the long-run problem facing the economy and the nation," says Robert Reischauer, director of the Congressional Budget Office. "Right now there is a short-run problem, and that's getting the economy back on its feet. The jury is still out on whether the monetary easing we've had will be sufficient to bring the economy back to an acceptable rate of growth."

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Bush Struggles for Farm Belt's Vote As Midwest Looks Like a Key to Victory

By SCOTT KILMAN
And BRUCE INGERSOLL

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

CHICAGO — President Bush is struggling to nail down the Farm Belt vote at a time when the Midwest is very important to his chances for re-election.

Midwest farmers are usually a sure thing for Republicans seeking the White House. As a group, they haven't voted for a Democratic president in a big way since Lyndon Johnson in 1964. But polls indicate that Mr. Bush isn't doing as well among farmers as the GOP ticket often does.

The problem for Mr. Bush is that farm morale is low. That's baffling for Republicans, because farm incomes have been relatively high in recent years and balance sheets are the strongest in decades. But memories of the mid-1980s farm debt crisis persist: an annual Iowa State University survey found that only 17% of 2,370 Iowa farmers think the quality of life for farm families will get somewhat or much better in the next five years. And there are real problems: the U.S. dominance of the world grain trade has slipped, and crop prices are sinking across the Midwest in anticipation of big autumn harvests.

In early July, Ross Perot even ran ahead of Mr. Bush among Iowa farm families and was tied with Mr. Bush in Indiana, according to a preference poll conducted by Farm Research Institute, based in Urbana, Ill. Mr. Perot's initial decision against running benefited Democrat Bill Clinton, even though the Arkansas governor has done surprisingly little to cultivate the farm vote.

Mr. Bush has shored up his numbers in recent weeks by tossing a few billion dollars at the agriculture sector in the form of export subsidies and export credit guarantees for its customers, among other things. A mid-September survey by Farm Futures magazine of 421 readers found 53% for Mr. Bush, 32% for Mr. Clinton and 15% undecided.

Mr. Bush had trailed Mr. Clinton in the magazine's July poll. But Mr. Bush still trails where he was four years ago. Of the surveyed readers, who tend to farm at least 250 acres of land in North Central states, 78% said they voted for Mr. Bush in 1988.

Since the poll, the Bush administration has sown even more money across the Farm Belt. Last week, the Agriculture Department announced it is sweetening the payments to grain farmers enrolled in its crop-price support program. As a result, an Illinois corn farmer with 100 acres enrolled will get a government check for roughly \$400 well before the election.

Agriculture wasn't much of a campaign theme earlier this year. That's in part because Sen. Tom Harkin, then a contender for the Democratic nomination, ran as a favorite son in Iowa — which is where candidates often make their first big pitch for the farm vote. His competitors largely skipped the barnyard.

President Bush has been paying a lot more attention since the Democrats nominated two Southerners—running-mate Sen. Albert Gore is from Tennessee—who might challenge the GOP lock on the South for the first time since the 1960s, as well as threaten another Republican stronghold: California.

For Mr. Bush, that increases the importance of electoral vote-rich Midwest states such as Illinois — which appears to be leaning toward Mr. Clinton. Though farm

numbers are dwindling, with farmers at about 2% of the population, they are still seen as key to the Midwest, because some surveys suggest that often 80% of farmers vote on Election Day. Historically, the Republicans have counted on the Illinois farm vote to counter Chicago's Democratic wards. The other key Midwestern states are Missouri, Ohio and Michigan.

Corn is the Midwest's No. 1 crop, and farmers there are trying to take advantage of their swelling political importance by demanding a big concession from the White House on ethanol — a corn-derived fuel that already enjoys sweetheart tax treatment from the federal government.

The corn lobby wants most of all a waiver that would allow ethanol-blended gasoline to be used in cities that have an air-pollution problem with ozone. Ethanol makes gasoline evaporate faster, and the Environmental Protection Agency wants to limit ethanol in these cities amid concerns that such evaporation releases compounds that form summer ozone.

The EPA backs ethanol as a way to reduce carbon-monoxide pollution in many other major cities. But that isn't enough for the farm lobby, which sees expanding ethanol production as one way to lift the price of corn. The EPA move would block ethanol from many major markets during the summer. And corn farmers anyway say some studies show ethanol doesn't have a dirty side.

It's a dilemma for Mr. Bush, because some environmental groups and Big Oil oppose a waiver for ethanol. The corn lobby, though, has managed to whip it into the biggest cause among farmers this election year. "This ethanol issue is just incredible," says Agriculture Secretary Edward R. Madigan, who is Mr. Bush's campaign point man in the Farm Belt. "It's like abortion in some communities. It's become an absolute litmus test."

Mr. Clinton has done so little to capitalize on Mr. Bush's relatively thin farm support that industry officials grouse the Democrat is running a "stealth" campaign for the farm vote. The Democratic Party platform spends just a few paragraphs on agriculture, and Mr. Clinton has yet to make a seminal address on the sector.

During a Sunday speech in rural Iowa, Mr. Clinton tweaked the administration for unleashing the flood of farm-export subsidies so close to the election. Mr. Clinton said an earlier deal would have helped farmers more. Actually, grain traders have described Mr. Bush's offer of a price break on roughly 30 million metric tons of U.S. wheat to 28 nations as grandstanding. China, for example, probably doesn't need the seven million tons it's being offered.

One reason for the low-key approach is that Mr. Clinton apparently doesn't advocate any big philosophical change from current farm policy. Mr. Clinton supports the 1990 farm bill, which his advisers from Congress heavily influenced. His beef is the way it was carried out by the Bush administration.

That five-year farm bill, and its 1985 predecessor, began trimming government payments to farmers amid demands to close the federal budget deficit. Most industry analysts predict that this trend will continue no matter which party holds the White House during the writing of the 1995 farm bill. But Gov. Clinton would be expected to soften the cuts, as well as to protect programs for Southern crops such as rice, cotton and sugar.

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South Carolina's Veteran Sen. Hollings Plays The Outsider to Fend Off Tough GOP Challenge

By DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

AIKEN, S.C. — Like an aging lion, Ernest Hollings is roaring against the night to hold his rivals at bay.

"I am an outsider in Washington when it comes to deficits," the veteran Democratic senator insists. "I'm an outsider when it comes to trade."

His voice booms a litany of "American" initiatives for everyone but the alienated at home. "We got Americans in the Corps of Engineers rebuilding the emir's palace in Kuwait," he mocks. "Come on, they've got an American plan to put up — on fast-track — whatever jobs are left to go down to Mexico. Why the hell can't we get an American plan for America?"

White-haired, imperious, Fritz Hollings has come down Whiskey Road here, past the high-walled estates of long-ago railroad heirs, to preach to the faithful at a Democratic fish fry. Now, as the shadows lengthen, the late afternoon light is a reminder of his own vulnerability in a year of disenchantment with the government he has been part of for a quarter-century.

"I can't imagine the Senate without Hollings," said Ann Palazzo, a 56-year-old mental-health

worker, with unabashed loyalty. But conservative critics of the 70-year-old incumbent, who has been in the Senate for 26 years, hunger for nothing less.

"If you want to change the Senate, you gotta change the senator," says Tommy Hartnett, a former state legislator and congressman who is challenging Mr. Hollings. The 51-year-old Republican brings to the campaign both a gift for mimicry and a thick, red-covered compilation of the Democrat's voting record dubbed "Ernest Goes to Washington." Mr. Hollings's own Senate GOP colleagues—

"co-freres" as he would call them — contributed to the preparation of the volume, and, stumping the state, they hope to make this a premier political fight in the South.

Behind the drive is a lingering bitterness over Mr. Hollings's role in the 1989 fight over John Tower's nomination to be defense secretary. And the Bush administration views Mr. Hollings, the chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, as a stubborn ally of the trial-lawyer lobby against product-liability legislation and as a protectionist critic of the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico and Canada.

"I've been serving in Washington, but he's being run by Washington," Mr. Hollings retorts, comparing Mr. Hartnett's campaign aides to "seeing-eye dogs." Like a true son of the Citadel, Mr. Hollings fires off television ads like artillery blocking rounds in anticipation of a ground assault. But his anxious efforts to separate himself from Washington invite ridicule and make it harder for him to talk of what he has done to advance South Carolina in health and technology.

Spurned by Reagan

A new television spot, for example, features an old testimonial from Ronald Reagan reminding voters of Mr. Hollings's role in passing the Gramm-Rudman deficit-reduction law in the mid-1980s. In fact, Mr. Hollings later disavowed the law, which has long since been overtaken by events. And Mr. Reagan, who seems to remember Mr. Hollings only as an afterthought in the film clip, has now issued a statement asking that the spot be removed and saying that he backs Mr. Hartnett.

Republican Gov. Carroll Campbell chides Mr. Hollings for taking a backward-looking approach because he "can't claim the mantle of the future." And as much as the senator casts himself as the battle-tested trade warrior, foreign investments by the likes of BMW and Hoffmann-LaRoche are changing the state's economy — and political views. Textile employment in the state was down to 90,000 by this July — less than 20 years ago, it was 160,000 — and the industry represents only a quarter of manufacturing jobs today.

"The bottom line is, we're a trading state," says Gov. Campbell. "The state has become more international and therefore more understanding of the needs of trade."

What has changed, too, is that many in the textile industry are supportive of the trade agreement, which they say is sensitive to their needs and opens markets in Mexico. Meeting last week in Washington, directors of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute endorsed the agreement. And with the major exception of Roger Milliken, chairman of Milliken & Co. and critic of the agreement, the senator finds himself at odds with past textile allies.

Campaign Dollars

Mr. Hollings's power—and longevity—help nonetheless to deny Mr. Hartnett large campaign contributions from business. The senator has already spent more on television than his challenger can hope to muster for the entire campaign. W.W. "Hootie" Johnson, a top NationsBank Corp. executive and twice chairman of Gov. Campbell's finance committees, is a prominent Hollings backer. Even the Auto Dealers and Drivers for Free Trade political action committee gives to the senator—his inside-Washington connections include Thomas Boggs, a lobbyist for trial lawyers and the trade PAC's counsel.

In his most recent fight with federal regulators, Mr. Hollings used his power on the Senate Appropriations Committee to win compromises last week for South Carolina utilities worried about proposed rules governing microwave communications.

Like Alaska Republican Sen. Ted Stevens—a friend and fellow committee member whom he calls "Senator Avalanche"—Sen. Hollings has a negotiating style that can resemble a bloody Sam Peckinpah movie. There is wit and a genuine intellectual independence, but in recent years the Democrat has also become more with-

drawn and, critics say, arrogant.

His long career has in fact a much broader dimension than he shows now. He crusaded against hunger in the 1960s and has worked to boost funding for community health centers and cancer research. His protectiveness on trade is matched by support for state technical schools, which he helped foster and integrate as governor in the early 1960s. And borrowing a page from agricultural field services, he created a system of federal centers to help businesses become more competitive by adapting new technology.

CAMPAIGN
★ **92**



Ernest Hollings

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TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1992

Mr. Hollings's campaign ads now are as likely to talk of putting "able-bodied"



Tommy Hartnett

welfare recipients to work. And this senator, who voted against Thurgood Marshall and for Clarence Thomas on the Supreme Court, betrays a fear of the racial politics ingrained in this state. Mr. Hartnett's literature accuses him of supporting "race-based quotas." And a briefing book for the

Hartnett campaign says outright that Republicans benefit from the fact that "the two parties have been identified strongly along racial lines."

The amiable businessman shows no appetite himself for pressing this "advantage" too harshly. Mr. Hartnett's tenure in the House coincided with the first heady years of the Reagan administration, and he brings the same single-mindedness to his platform of term limits, lower taxes and the line-item veto. Quotas are mentioned less, and the trade agreement can wait until after the election.

At a lunch in Florence, S.C., last week, Rotarians hailed Mr. Hartnett as "Cincinnatus", giving up his plow to return to service. "You don't owe them anything—

any elected official at any level," he says, urging them to join other states' voters in ousting incumbents.

But traditions die hard here, where voters have sent Sen. Strom Thurmond—now approaching 90 years old—back to Washington since the mid-1950s. "I'm a young man next to Strom," says Sen. Hollings, smiling. "I'm just coming into style."

Los Angeles Times

Presidents Are Only Human

BY DANA PARSONS

Chuck Stanaert teaches an honors class in American government at Ocean View High School. As part of a classroom discussion, his students have discussed whether Bill Clinton's efforts to avoid being drafted during the Vietnam War era made him unfit to be commander-in-chief.

Some thought his unwillingness to serve disqualified him as presidential timber. Others argued that the 1960s were a tumultuous era and that opposition to the Vietnam War didn't automatically brand Clinton a coward or someone opposed to all future U.S. military intervention.

The discussion probably didn't break any new ground, but it seems to me that just talking about potential Presidents as cowards or womanizers (yes, they know about Gennifer Flowers too) shows how far we've come (or is it gone?) as a society.

Maybe I had a sheltered education in Nebraska, but I grew up with heroic, mythic visions of Presidents. George Washington chopped down a cherry tree and didn't lie about it; Abraham Lincoln walked five miles to return a two-cent overcharge; Teddy Roosevelt led the charge up San Juan Hill.

Presidents embodied virtue, wisdom, kindness and courage. They were the best the country had to offer.

My grandpa's highest form of flattery was to tell people I was "going to be President someday."

Is any parent or grandparent today touting their offspring for President?

Americans love our heroes, and public education was always a willing partner in cultivating them. That may

Maybe I had a sheltered education in Nebraska, but I grew up with heroic, mythic visions of Presidents.

have left us with warm fuzzy feelings as school kids, but what about the disillusionment when we realized later that, guess what, Presidents tell lies.

Would the cynicism of the modern era have been as great if we hadn't grown up thinking our Presidents had no flaws?

Stanaert, who doubles as a history/social science consultant with the county Department of Education, is teaching again after being out of the classroom for several years. His honors class is for seniors who, he says, "are very sophisticated about dealing with some of these issues, in ways that even adults aren't. Maybe it's because they've been brought up in a culture that's taken for granted that heroes have feet of clay, that a whole person is a human being, and we want to be able to look at a lot of different perspectives."

In a society where so much information is available, it would be virtually impossible for schools to portray public figures as flawless characters, even if they wanted to.

"We have a commitment on the one hand to have cultural heroes to be used to teach lessons on ethics and things of that sort," Stanaert said. "On the other hand, we have a responsibility of showing kids that these are real people."

Similarly, with historic figures, Stanaert said teachers should try to explain their actions in the context of their times.

"Why do we teach history?" Stanaert said. "We're trying to link the past to the present to try and permit us to make informed decisions, based on our knowledge of history."

I'm just old-fashioned enough to miss talking about Presidents or would-be Presidents in Washingtonian or Lincolnesque terms.

And so I come back to Bill Clinton, who represents a significant point on the continuum. He may well be elected President and if he is, it will be with the public's full knowledge of questions about alleged marital infidelity and draft evasion. That kind of personal baggage used to be death knells for presidential aspirants.

His election would probably signal the end of our national naivete about Presidents being better than the rest of us.

But if I were a school kid again, I think I'd rather hear the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth about the Presidents.

Real people probably make better Presidents than mythical figures anyway.

Study Links Income Level, Participation in Politics

By MATT MARSHALL
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—A smaller percentage of Americans contributes an increasingly large proportion of the funds raised by political campaigns, while volunteerism plays a far smaller role in determining the outcome of elections, according to a study to be released today.

The study, based on a random survey of 15,000 Americans in 1989, also found that income and education were better predictors of an individual's participation in political activities than was race.

"The gap in activity between the rich and the disadvantaged is growing," according to the study, conducted by the Citizen Participation Project in New York in conjunction with the Ford, Spencer and Hewitt foundations and the National Science Foundation.

"As political campaigns have become more technical and professional, the need for money—to hire paid staff, buy television time, obtain computerized mailing lists—goes up, and the value of old-fashioned canvassing goes down," the study said.

The only way to begin to compensate for the sheer weight of money in the political process is through better educating the electorate, said Sidney Verba, director of the study and professor of government at Harvard University. The more educated an individual, the more likely he or she is to participate in the political process, he said.

Of people making \$125,000 or more, 31.9% were "very active" in the political process—that is, participated in political organizations and voted; only 5.3% in that income group were completely "inactive."

But for those making less than \$15,000, 4.3% were considered "very active," while 22.2% were inactive.

Among whites of all income levels, 7.7% were completely "inactive," 9.2% of African Americans were inactive, and 15.8 of Latinos were inactive.

Los Angeles Times

Clinton Advance Man a Well-Kept Secret

Movie producer Mort Engelberg and the rest of his team work days ahead to assure that each stop on the campaign trail comes off just right.

By JENIFER WARREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

The people running Bill Clinton's campaign for President would prefer you didn't know about Mort Engelberg. Engelberg, 54, is a nice fellow—smart, articulate and passionately devoted to the candidate he has served since last fall.

But Engelberg is a Clinton advance man. And in the world of modern politics, advance men are somewhat like secret agents—people whose very existence is best concealed for the sake of the mission.

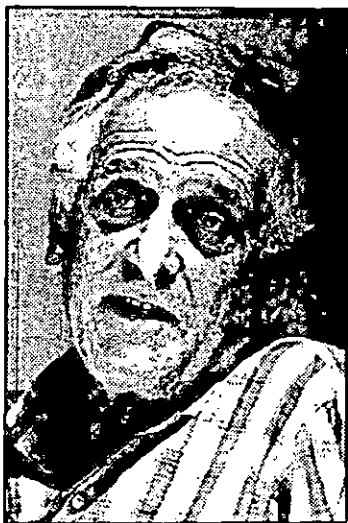
Consider the risks of exposure. Advance artists are a campaign's field scouts and mine-sweepers. Working several days ahead of the candidate's schedule, they ensure that each rally, each speech, each pause along the trail is marked by huge, squealing crowds, an inviting setting and flawless logistics.

If their painstaking efforts were unmasked—if the public knew that elaborate choreography, not a candidate's magnetism, often accounts for a successful campaign event—then the spectacle might seem fake, the politician little more than a carefully placed prop.

"The key to the job," explains Andy Paven, an advance man for Michael S. Dukakis in 1988, "is to make everything seamless and, above all, to stay invisible."

Mort Engelberg has mastered this trick, which is not too surprising given his trade. Engelberg is a Hollywood movie producer, and his keen eye, resourcefulness and unflappable style have made him a vital leader of the Clinton advance team.

For more than a year, Engelberg has volunteered for the Arkansas governor, taking a



RANDY LEFFINGWELL / L.A. Times

Hollywood producer Mort Engelberg has been a Clinton volunteer for more than a year.

break from his lucrative career in the film business to live an advance man's nomadic, caffeine-driven life on the road. It is not his first such stint—he did the same for Walter F. Mondale in 1984 and Dukakis in 1988.

But this run for the White House has brought Engelberg considerable acclaim—particularly for the July bus tour Clinton and running mate Al Gore took through part of America after the Democratic Convention in New York.

Conceived by Engelberg and several other staffers, the six-day journey was designed to extend the fizz and momentum bubbling forth from the convention. Delivering the candidates to cornfields, town squares and truck stops, the camera-friendly tour reinforced their image as regular guys concerned about the struggles of regular Americans.

"The bus tour was a home run," declared Jim King, whose 30-year advance man resume includes Robert F. Kennedy's 1968 bid for the Democratic presidential nomination. "Mort has an extraordinary eye. He saw the chance to put the candidate with real people in real places and it worked."

Mickey Kantor, Clinton's campaign chairman, agreed. "Mort is an extremely creative person," said Kantor, who recruited Engelberg and has known him since they were boys growing up in Tennessee. "Unlike most of us, he can conceptualize an event—see it and feel it—and figure out how to make it look right."

Engelberg dismisses such praise. His self-effacing manner is among the first things one notices about the man: He may be a Mercedes-driving movie mogul, but this is a person who seems uncomfortable in the spotlight. "Advance work is really like plumbing, and I'm just one tiny cog in this big, big operation," he says with a flip of his hand and a humble half-grin. "The important thing is the candidate and what he's saying."

Few would disagree. But what if an advance man stumbles? What if the sound system fails, a setting sun makes the candidate squint, the motorcade breaks down or passing air traffic drowns out a speech? These may seem like minor mishaps, but they are the stuff of advance man migraines. One such glitch can stain or spoil a campaign appearance, leaving a poor impression that can be hard to shake.

Occasionally, the consequences are far more grave. Take, for example, one of the classic advance horror stories, the one in which Dukakis tried to look tough by putting on a helmet and climbing in an M-1 tank.

"There are a few of these legendary nightmares we old advance people always talk about, and the tank is one of them," Engelberg said, practically shuddering at the memory. Engelberg says he was not involved in the tank ride, an event at which few Dukakis veterans even admit to being present.

"He looked silly in that tank, but they were trying to make a statement about Dukakis and defense, so it seemed logical. It just proves that you don't always know what the picture will say," Engelberg said.

(The Republicans gleefully used the footage as grist for their campaign ads, and some observ-

ers estimated that the gaffe cost Dukakis 10 points in the polls.)

On a recent September Saturday, Engelberg savored a rare break from the campaign grind at his modest white house in the Hollywood Hills. He looked tired—his sad-dog, blue-gray eyes appearing a bit bleary beneath a thatch of thinning gray hair. A slight paunch hung from his tall frame—traveling has separated him from his Exercycle—and he smoked heavily but guiltily, using a curled palm to swipe repeatedly at fugitive puffs floating toward a visitor.

With harpsichord music as his soundtrack, Engelberg sipped an iced coffee and sought to explain why he would sacrifice the comfort and glitz of movie making for the anxiety, stale pizza and sleep deprivation of a political campaign.

"For one thing, it's not entirely altruistic," he said, calling the work "therapeutic" and "wonderful relief" from Hollywood. "L.A. is a one-industry town, and everything here is 'how did your picture do' or 'how did your friend's picture do' or 'are you gonna make this deal or that deal?'"

"You have one constituent in the movie business and that's yourself. Whereas in politics—and I know this sounds pretentious—but politics is about something. Picking the next President, that's a pretty important thing."

Early on, it also felt like a difficult thing for Engelberg and other Clinton loyalists. When Clinton launched his campaign last October, he was "really an unknown—a governor from a small state whose candidacy didn't seem to make sense on paper," Engelberg recalled.

"There was a campaign organization there, but not much of one—you were lucky if you could get picked up at the airport. . . . It was lonely and it was frustrating. I had become convinced this was the man who should be President and it took awhile for the world to catch on."

Now, however, the mental scrapbook is filled mostly with

Please see ADVANCE, A8

Los Angeles Times

ADVANCE: Key Player for Clinton

Continued from A5

positive moments. One came on the first night of the post-convention bus tour, in the town of York, Penn.

Clinton's 28-vehicle convoy—scheduled to arrive at their York hotel at 8 p.m.—was three hours late. No advance promotion had been done for the hotel arrival, Engelberg said, but when the cavalcade arrived "there were almost 4,000 people standing there in the heat in the middle of the night, just waiting.

"That was a real high point, because it became clear to me that there was some magic going on with these guys [Clinton and Gore] that had nothing to do with me," Engelberg said. As the crowds continued to exceed expectations along the bus route, he started "a running joke with a CNN reporter, who said all these people were actors we'd hired to follow us from place to place. Well, I'd like to take credit for the crowds, but I can't."

Engelberg is not hugely famous in Hollywood, but the movie business has been good to him. The

first film he produced was "Smoky and the Bandit," the 1977 Burt Reynolds-Jackie Gleason hit that was a giant moneymaker. ("It's certainly not Citizen Kane," Engelberg says, "but I guess it struck a chord.")

His credits also include "The Big Easy," "Russkies," a Steve McQueen movie called "The Hunter" and more than a dozen other pictures.

Before his cinema days, Engelberg spent a few years as a journalist before moving to Washington in 1961 to work for the director of the newly formed Peace Corps, Sargent Shriver. Later, he followed Shriver to the Office of Economic Opportunity, the headquarters of President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty and the spark for Head Start, VISTA and other landmark programs.

In 1967, Johnson's domestic initiatives began suffering under the funding strain caused by the Vietnam War, so Engelberg left, signing on with MGM. He later worked for United Artists, assisting on numerous James Bond films, be-

fore branching out on his own.

As the campaign winds into its final weeks, thoughts of the future are spinning through the minds of all Clinton staffers, who are betting their candidate will be the next White House tenant and wondering where they might fit in. After past campaigns, Engelberg always returned happily to Hollywood. This time, he's not sure where he'll land.

"The joke is that maybe there will be a new Cabinet position—secretary of the movies—and I might do that," he says. "In all seriousness, nothing has been offered and I don't know what I'd do if something was. But it's going to be an exciting time in Washington, with a lot of dynamic, innovative people. So who knows?"

On this day, Engelberg had a more pressing decision to make, one relating to his trip to orchestrate yet another event, in Boston the next morning.

Gazing up at the sky, the advance man wondered aloud: "I hate to overpack. Do you think I'll need a sweater?"

George Bush, a Man Dead to Irony

He cares little whether any given statement follows logically on past statements and actions.

BY MICHAEL KINSLEY

"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 Sen. Don Nickles (R-Okla.) 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 Bush is dead

'At a certain level of brazenness, logical inconsistency amounts to dishonesty. How can he mean what he says if it is so self-contradictory?'

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 on his past statements and actions?

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 by explaining that it was "not a rally speech." It was, rather, a "serious talk." Presumably he will let us know when he is making a campaign speech and therefore need not be taken seriously.

In Enid, Bush said 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."

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 to rule by "a new . . . elite of the so-called 'best and brightest,'" adding unctuously, "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 Vietnam War—a war 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.

If you're Bush painting 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 voters to be dead to irony themselves.

Michael Kinsley's column appears in the New Republic, where he is a senior editor.

Los Angeles Times

Crucial GOP Area Shows Clinton, Bush in Dead Heat

By DAVE LESHER
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

Halfway between the Republican National Convention and Election Day, President Bush still is locked in a dead heat with Democrat Bill Clinton among Orange County voters, who are crucial to the Republican Party, according to a new Times Orange County Poll.

The three-day survey, concluded Sunday, found Clinton with 42% of the vote in Orange County compared to 41% for Bush, a difference within the survey's margin of error. The results are virtually unchanged from a Times Poll in Orange County almost a month ago, despite a stepped-up campaign by Bush which included a visit to Anaheim with former President Ronald Reagan two weeks ago.

The poll also indicated that the outcome would not be altered if prospective independent candidate Ross Perot enters the race. He is expected to decide by the end of the week.

Perot would win about one in five Orange County votes, the poll shows—a stronger showing than recent national surveys have found. But his support is drawn almost equally from the two major candidates and it is not enough to make him a contender in Orange County.

In a three-way race, Clinton was favored by 35% of the Orange County electorate compared to 33% for Bush and 22% for Perot—still a dead heat between Clinton and Bush.

The Times Orange County Poll, conducted by Mark Baldassare & Associates, contacted 600 registered voters by telephone during the weekend. It has an overall margin of error of plus or minus 4 percentage points. The error rate is higher for subgroups, such as those most likely to vote.

Orange County is California's greatest Republican stronghold and the place where GOP candidates turn for large winning margins to offset the state's Democratic bases in the Bay Area and Los Angeles. As a result, it would be almost impossible for Bush to win in California if he merely ties Clinton in Orange County.

In 1988, when Bush beat Democrat Michael S. Dukakis in California by slightly more than 3 percentage points, he won 68% of the vote in Orange County. But the survey showed just how much different this election is for Bush: 58% of those who voted for him in 1988 said they would do so again in November.

At the same time, Clinton won the support of nearly a quarter of the Orange County voters who

backed Bush in 1988 and he hung on to almost all of the county's Dukakis voters.

Nationwide, Clinton has held a double-digit lead in polls for several weeks, and in California, a recent Times Poll showed him ahead by 21 points. With such sagging support for the President and just five weeks left in the campaign, some Bush strategists say the President could only be helped if Perot joined the race and shook up the electorate.

With Perot in the race, only half of Orange County's Republicans said they would vote for the President. A quarter of them would vote for Perot, and 17% would choose Clinton.

Even in a two-way race with Clinton, Bush was favored by just 60% of the county's Republican voters, while 22% said they would vote Democratic.

The dynamics of the race also did not change significantly when the survey focused on the voters who said they were most likely to vote.

The support for Clinton and Bush was virtually unchanged among these voters in a two-way or three-way race. Perot's support, however, dropped from 22% among all registered voters to 18% among those most likely to cast a ballot.

Just 10% of the electorate in Orange County is still undecided about the race, the poll found.

On the issues, Orange County voters ranked jobs and the economy far and away the most important issue in the presidential race.

About 60% of those surveyed said the economy is "the most important issue . . . in deciding who to vote for in this presidential election." Education was second at 12%.

Orange County voters split evenly on which candidate would do a better job promoting economic prosperity. But among the 60% who said the economy was the top issue, 46% favored Clinton, 36% Bush.

At the same time, the poll suggested that many of the issues that have been the focus of the Republican campaign this year are not considered important by most voters. Family values and abortion were cited by only about 1 in 20 of those surveyed.

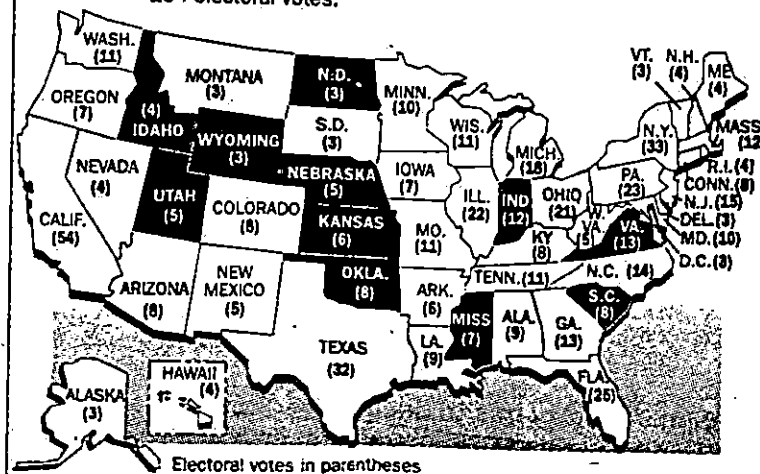
On foreign affairs, Bush was rated superior to Clinton by a 4-to-1 ratio. But just 2% of the electorate said it was an important factor in their choice for president. Bush was also rated 2 to 1 over Clinton as the better choice for holding down taxes. But again, only 9% of the voters said that was an important issue in the race.

Electoral Battleground: Where They Stand

While the political world waits to see what Ross Perot decides and what impact he may yet have on the election, a raft of recent state-by-state polls compiled from the Hotline, a political newsletter, and other sources show Democratic candidate Bill Clinton having moved into a strong lead over President Bush. Here's how the electoral battleground shapes up as of now. A candidate needs 270 electoral votes to win.



- ☐ **Strongly Clinton:** 19 states and the District of Columbia, with a total of 245 electoral votes.
- ☐ **Leaning Clinton:** Five states with 55 electoral votes.
- ☐ **Strongly Bush:** Two states with 17 electoral votes.
- ☐ **Leaning Bush:** Nine states with 57 electoral votes.
- ☐ **No recent polls or too close to call:** 15 states with 164 electoral votes.



Los Angeles Times

Quayle Issues Call for Health Care Changes

■ **Politics:** He touts 'universal access for all Americans' with vouchers for low-income citizens.

By ROBERT L. JACKSON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

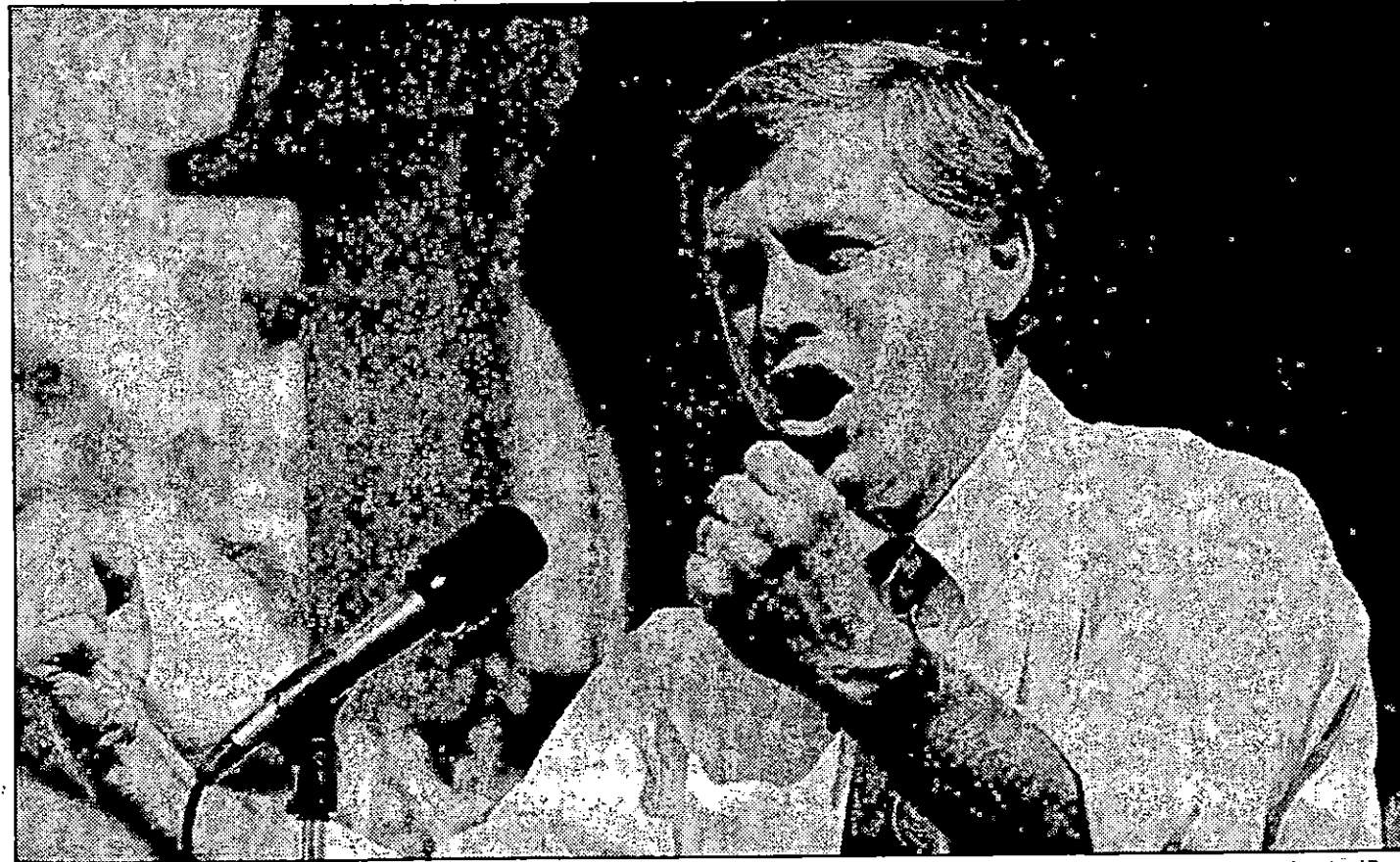
COLORADO SPRINGS, Colo.—Vice President Dan Quayle told an audience of hospital workers and patients Monday that "the time is ripe for a change" in the nation's system of health care.

Declaring that "all Americans need affordable health insurance," Quayle said the best solution is President Bush's system of vouchers that will include "tax deductions for the middle class to make private insurance more affordable."

The vice president's remarks at Penrose-St. Francis Hospital here capped a busy day of campaigning that included "Victory '92" rallies and fund-raising appearances in New Mexico, Colorado and South Dakota before an overnight stop in Rockford, Ill., where he will begin a bus trip this morning.

In Clovis, N.M., Quayle appeared in his shirt-sleeves to tell a steamy gymnasium filled with thousands of screaming high school students, "This election is about your future, about our country's future, about who can create the jobs and the opportunity for Americans."

"Times are bad, times are difficult," Quayle said at another stop, in reference to the sluggish economy and high unemployment rate. "But they're not as bad as we're being told. This still is the richest country in the world, and one that many people in Poland, the former Soviet Union and other



Associated Press

Vice President Dan Quayle gestures during his speech at an outdoor rally in downtown Colorado Springs Monday.

countries would love to live in."

And at an outdoor rally in downtown Colorado Springs, he reiterated a theme that the election of Gov. Bill Clinton would mean higher taxes, while "George Bush and I will hold the line against taxes and spending."

In his remarks about health care, he stressed the same theme.

"Our opponents are offering a government-run [health care] system . . . paid for with higher taxes," he said.

By contrast, he said, "we will provide universal access for all Americans. The Bush Administration will make that hap-

pen by providing vouchers worth up to \$3,750 per family to low-income citizens for private insurance. States will develop a basic health insurance plan for those who have vouchers."

Quayle continued that "a health insurance tax deduction of up to \$3,750 per family would be available to each family with incomes up to \$80,000."

Health insurance costs are going up at twice the rate of inflation, he told his hospital audience, and "if nothing is done, by the turn of the century the average American family will be spending approximately \$12,000 a year for health insurance."

Medical costs for the government, he said, have grown "from about \$19 billion to over \$239 billion in the last 22 years. So the deficit would look much different had those costs been kept under control."

To help reverse this trend, the Bush health-care plan would reduce administrative costs by using electronic billing, automated patient records and insurance market reforms, he said.

He added that "we will reduce the cost to small employers by establishing health insurance networks for them to join, thus giving them more leverage to negotiate prices."

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WASHINGTON EDITION



Associated Press

Sen. Al Gore speaks to people in Morganton, N.C., during a campaign stop Monday.

All Goes Right for Gore at Cable TV Battleground

■ **Politics:** Nominee visits N.C. hamlet victorious in epic fight. He assails Bush for saying he will veto regulatory bill.

By EDWIN CHEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

MORGANTON, N.C.—For Al Gore, it doesn't get much better than this. On Monday, he had the right issue in the right place at the right time. It was hardly a coincidence, but such are the makings of a dream event for any politician.

Earlier this year, this North Carolina hamlet of 16,000 won an epic, six-year battle against the nation's largest cable TV company, booting out Tele-Communications Inc. after a \$750,000 battle that also saw the corporate behemoth wage an unsuccessful campaign to oust the mayor and a city councilman.

Now, with President Bush expected to veto a popular bill to regulate the cable TV industry and stimulate competition, Tennessee Sen. Gore—a co-sponsor—lambasted Bush for siding with big business and called on hundreds of sympathetic local residents to help "veto" a second term for the Bush Administration.

"Other communities should not be forced to endure the hardships that Morganton has gone through," Gore said.

The Democratic vice presidential nominee's message struck a decidedly populist note, thus stepping up a new emphasis by the Clinton-Gore ticket of late to portray the Democrats as ready to take on big business. Last week, in talking about health care reform, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton vowed to take on the health insurance industry and stop it from making huge profits.

Gore, spending a full day in this key battleground state, also appeared at Brenner Children's Hospital in Winston-Salem, where he met with young parents of sick children and promot-

ed the ticket's health-care proposals.

His appearance in Morganton was well planned. Before Gore and his entourage arrived, a top campaign aide made himself available to traveling reporters to ensure that the event's significance would not elude them.

In 1985, Morganton decided not to renew TCI's monopoly franchise, largely because of widespread complaints about its poor service and rising fees, three to four times above the inflation rate.

The firm, which serves one of every five American cable users, responded by filing a \$35-million lawsuit against the city. TCI pursued the case all the way to the state Supreme Court, but lost. It also pursued its case in federal court, to no avail.

During the litigation, TCI spent \$140,000 to sponsor a local referendum designed to prevent the city from canceling TCI's contract. It lost by a 2-1 margin, and Morganton is now constructing a state-of-the-art cable system.

"Morganton finally is in control of its cable destiny," Mayor Mel Cohen said.

Gore told a cheering crowd in an auditorium of the historic Burke County Courthouse: "Napoleon had his Waterloo and TCI had its Morganton."

Gore noted that both houses of Congress recently passed the Cable Television and Consumer Protection and Competitive Act by healthy margins, and said he is confident that both chambers could override a veto. The bill would open the way for the first price controls on basic cable service in eight years.

Bush, in a letter to Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole (R-Kan.) earlier this month, said he intended to veto the measure.

The President has never been overridden in nearly four years.

Looking into a bank of television cameras, Gore addressed Bush directly, urging him not to veto the bill and warning: "The American people may just veto your desire for another four years."

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Los Angeles Times

Top Clinton, Bush Aides Court Perot Backers on Budget

■ **Campaign:** At the end of a day of political theater, Perot has kind words for both sides. Texas billionaire says supporters to be canvassed before he decides course.

By PAUL RICHTER and J. MICHAEL KENNEDY, TIMES STAFF WRITERS

DALLAS—In a remarkable political pageant, top Democratic and Republican officials journeyed here Monday to persuade a polite but skeptical audience of Ross Perot supporters that the Texas billionaire should not rejoin the presidential race.

All-star campaign contingents led by Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) and Bush-Quayle campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter laid out their budget and economic plans in separate, 2½-hour sessions with state coordinators for Perot, who said he may decide by Thursday whether to enter the race he quit in July.

Perot called the daylong meetings and press conferences he organized at a North Dallas hotel "historic," and said there was "a great deal of overlap" between his economic views and those of President Bush and Bill Clinton. But many of Perot's 50 coordinators said they still saw substantial differences between the two parties' platforms and their own—particularly on deficit-cutting—suggesting they will urge Perot to rejoin the fray.

And even as Perot insisted his decision was not yet made, his Colorado state coordinator, Ron Ellsworth, said he doubted the volunteers "will accept anything that Bush or Clinton say . . . This is an exercise in courtesy."

Although Perot insisted that his state officials were maintaining an open mind about whether he should run, their partisanship seemed evident Monday evening when they gathered to watch Perot's appearance on CNN's "Larry King Live" show. King asked how many had been more impressed by the Democratic presentation, and how many by the Republican appearance. He was greeted by silence. But when he asked how many wanted Perot to run, the volunteers erupted in applause.

The day was one of the more curious moments of political the-

It's Deja Vu as Bush Hits Taxes, Crime

By JAMES GERSTENZANG
TIMES STAFF WRITER

DALLAS—It was just like old times: Here was candidate George Bush pledging not to raise taxes, no ifs, ands or buts. And here he was again, accusing his opponent of being soft on crime, while horrifying his audience with tales of a truly gruesome crime and proposing that the perpetrators can "rot in jail" for all he cares.

But there's a hitch: The year is 1992, not 1988.

Four years ago, the twinned issues of taxes and crime became a club that Bush wielded against a hapless Democratic oppo-

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ater in a jarringly unpredictable campaign year. In July, Perot said a re-energized Democratic Party made his independent bid unnecessary, but of late he has complained that neither Bush nor Clinton had a credible deficit-reduction plan and has said he would enter the race if his supporters wanted him to.

At the end of the day, Perot, who was denounced by Bush campaign

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officials last spring as a "monster" and "temperamental tycoon," rose at a podium with top Republicans to describe his warm feelings toward his "old friends."

Even the meeting's goals were somewhat cloudy. Perot says the 50 supporters who attended will now contact local backers over the next three days to decide whether he should run. But who these supporters are, how they will be canvassed—and why they would even consider abandoning him after carrying his standard through such adversity—is unclear.

The meeting, carried on in a frenzy of press coverage, certainly demonstrated the continuing influence of Perot, who in three-way polls still wins about 1 of 6 voters. While many analysts don't believe he could win the race in the five weeks that remain, he could be influential, particularly if other events tightened up the contest.

The Democratic contingent included Bentsen, Clinton-Gore campaign chairman Mickey Kantor, retired Adm. William J. Crowe Jr., Oklahoma Sen. David L. Boren, former Urban League chief Vernon E. Jordan Jr., New York financier Felix Rohatyn, Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-San Francisco), former San Antonio Mayor Henry A. Cisneros and Clinton economic adviser Gene Sperling.

The Republicans, in addition to Teeter, included Brent Scowcroft, the President's assistant for national security affairs; Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas; Jack Kemp, the secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and Mary Matalin, the Bush-Quayle campaign's political director.

Perot had nothing but praise for the Clinton delegation after the morning session. "There is a lot of commonality," Perot said. "Where there are differences of opinion they are honest differences of opinion, with both sides looking for answers and neither side frozen in its positions."

After he had heard from the Bush camp, Perot had similarly kind words for that side.

And, asked if he also found a "lot of commonality" with the Bush program as well, Perot told reporters: "There is a great deal of overlap."

Which plan did he prefer? "It wouldn't be appropriate for me to say," Perot said.

While the Republicans and Democrats sought to play up their agreements with the Perot platform, both sides also pointed to

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differences. And the campaign brass indicated they had no plans to adjust their programs to oblige Perot.

The Democrats said they did not want to cut the deficit as quickly as Perot's plan would, for fear that such spending cuts and tax hikes would further damage the economy.

Rohatyn, a longtime friend of Perot's, said the difference between the Perot and Clinton plans "is an issue of judgment: How hard do you want to step on the brakes at a time when the economy is very slow? Gov. Clinton's judgment, which I share, incidentally, is that the risk of stepping on the brakes too hard and too quickly at this point, with the economy as fragile as it is, is pretty high," said Rohatyn, who helped lead New York City back to financial health in the 1970s.

Clinton has claimed his deficit cutting plan would halve the deficit in four years. Perot's is aimed at eliminating it within five years.

The Republicans sought to stress how they joined with Perot's supporters in wishing for a better managed economy and well controlled government. But they made no secret that they disagreed with Perot's plan to raise gasoline taxes 10 cents a year for five years and increased taxes on Social Security benefits for upper-income individuals.

"We're against massive taxes on gas—we're against putting taxes on Social Security benefits," said Gramm.

Those two proposals are among the more politically explosive elements of Perot's plan, and the reference prompted Perot to interject that the plan does not envision taxes on Social Security benefits.

"That's not true," he said. "That's not in the platform."

Perot said the intention was instead to trim the cost-of-living increases on the payments by one third. However, in his book, Perot proposes increasing taxation on Social Security benefits for retirees earning \$25,000 or more. The cost-of-living proposal referred instead to pension programs for federal civilian and military personnel.

Perot and the Republicans faced an awkward moment when a reporter asked Teeter whether he still believed, as he had said in June, that Perot "lacks the judgment, or temperament, or respect for our laws, to be President."

Teeter said only that he thought Bush is "by far the most qualified man to be President."

Perot interjected, after a moment, "I've told you [Republican] guys for months that to know me is to love me."

Perot's 50 state officials said they would keep open minds as they reported to Perot supporters at home about the day's discussion. But many did not hide their coolness toward the two parties' programs.

"Some of it was the same old gobbledegook," said Shirley Hamm, the Idaho coordinator, after the Republicans spoke.

"This is a 'run, Ross, run' crowd," said Ellsworth, the Colorado coordinator. "I don't think there was a swaying."

The coordinators asked if Clinton would commit himself to resigning if he didn't come through on his campaign's deficit cutting promises. The request was declined.

Again and again, Perot insisted that the unusual meeting was an example of how democracy should work.

"I think it's a historic day, because we will only talk about the issues," he said. "The issues are now being discussed by millions of Americans who came together."

Asked what he will do if he does rejoin the race, Perot pledged he would conduct an "all-out" campaign across all 50 states. But he declined to say whether he would travel, or do more than simply use the free TV appearances.

Perot said that retired Vice Admiral James Stockdale, a former Vietnam prisoner of war whom he had designated as his interim running mate, would be his vice presidential candidate if he decides to make the race.

Perot said he plans to ignore attacks if he comes under the kind of close scrutiny he was subjected to by the press earlier in the year.

"You say, 'What are you going to do when they bring up all this stupid stuff about you?'" he told a roomful of reporters. "I'm going to ignore it . . . I'm going to ignore it unless it's the issues. OK?"

As a campaign event, the day was highly professional, and included several photo opportunities, and adequate facilities for the horde of photographers and reporters who attended. But some absences served as reminders that the Perot campaign is not the large apparatus of last spring.

Tom Luce, Perot's longtime lawyer, and Morton Meyerson, head of his Perot Systems computer company, have now distanced themselves from his political efforts. And Edward J. Rollins, former

Competing Economic Plans

Here is a look at the economic plans offered by President Bush, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and Ross Perot.

TAXES

- **Bush** says he would cut income taxes for all Americans and has floated a 1 percentage point rate cut as a possibility. He would increase the personal income tax exemption by \$500. He would cut the capital gains tax in half and eliminate it entirely for newly issued small business stock held for at least 10 years. He would reduce the corporate tax rate for small businesses by one-third, create a permanent tax break for research and development and increase deductions for newly purchased income-producing equipment.
- **Clinton** would raise taxes on the wealthiest Americans and offer others a tax rate cut or children's tax credit. He would toughen tax collection on foreign companies doing business in the United States and end tax breaks to U.S. companies that move plants and jobs overseas. He supports an investment tax credit for new plants and equipment, a permanent research and development tax credit, and a 50% tax exclusion for long-term investors in new businesses.
- **Perot** would raise marginal income tax rates on individuals making more than \$55,550. He would raise the tobacco tax and increase the gas tax 10 cents a gallon every year for five years. He would eliminate capital gains taxes on investments in new small businesses and reduce the rate for long-term investments. He supports investment tax credits. He would cut some mortgage deductions and trim business-lunch deductions.

DEFICIT REDUCTION

- **Bush** says he would cut spending \$300 billion in five years and devote the savings to reducing the annual deficit, currently \$334 billion. He says he wants to cap entitlement growth but hasn't specified which programs; he also would freeze domestic discretionary spending and federal employment. He has proposed a checkoff box for taxpayers who want to earmark 10% of their returns for deficit reduction.
- **Clinton** says he would cut the deficit in half in four years. He would cut 100,000 federal jobs and impose a national ceiling to hold down private and government health care costs.
- **Perot** says he would save \$754 billion over five years and end up with a \$10-billion surplus. He would cut 15% from programs other than debt costs, defense and entitlements. He would eliminate farm subsidies to large corporations. Upper-income Social Security and Medicare recipients would pay more in taxes and premiums.

DEFENSE CUTS

- **Bush** would cut defense spending by \$50 billion by 1997.
- **Clinton** would cut defense spending by at least \$100 billion by 1997.
- **Perot** would cut defense spending by about \$90 billion by 1997.

Source: Staff and Associated Press

co-manager of the Perot campaign, has been taking shots at his former boss from the sidelines.

In an editorial-page article in the New York Times on Monday, Rollins said Perot should "leave the country to its serious business without distraction. He ought to be content and should quit tampering with our Democratic process simply to massage his ego, badly bruised when the country learned he wasn't who he pretended to be, and didn't have the courage to go the distance with a presidential

campaign."

In a television appearance Monday, Rollins alleged that Perot offered him \$500,000 to keep his mouth shut after leaving.

"That's not true," Perot said on the King show. "This is a never-ending saga from a man I barely spent any time with. . . . It's just another in a long series of unprofessional statements. We had to terminate him. I have to be blunt."

Times researcher Lianne Hart contributed to this story.

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BUSH: Themes of '88 Campaign —Taxes, Crime—Are Revisited

Continued from A1

nent. Now they are more like a wand that he hopes will work some magic on the presidential campaign and make Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's lead in the polls disappear. A Washington Post-ABC poll released Monday put that lead at 51% to 42%.

And so, he worked both themes on Monday, first telling a morning television audience before he left the White House that the statement he tossed out three weeks ago—that he would not “ever, ever” go along with a Democratic tax increase—was a pledge that meant the same as “no new taxes.”

“That’s exactly what it means. Exactly. Yeah,” he said, all but using the words “read my lips” to recast in cement the broken promise that has haunted his reelection drive.

Then in St. Louis and again in Dallas, he brought out the crime issue, visiting downtrodden neighborhoods in two politically crucial states to call for widened use of the death penalty.

“Drive-by shootings, random violence, gang massacres—these people are merchants of death, who trade in death. And the death penalty is warranted in these cases,” the President said.

While Bush has never called explicitly for the death penalty in connection with drive-by shootings, the crime bill he submitted to Congress more than three years ago would make reckless drug-related offenses punishable by death, and aides contend this would cover most drive-by cases.

For car hijackers, he called on Monday for federal legislation that would carry with it sentences of up to 20 years, or life imprisonment if the crime involves kidnapping, serious injury, attempted murder or attempted kidnapping.

But even as Bush hammered away at Clinton, his campaign was focused on two meetings taking place behind closed doors in North Dallas. There, representatives of the Democratic and Republican presidential campaigns met, one after the other, with the leaders of Ross Perot's United We Stand, America organization as White House officials wondered whether Perot would return to the presidential race from which he had dropped out in July. Bush's own visit to Dallas was scheduled well before the Perot meetings were set up.

The meetings were built around what each candidate would do about the federal deficit, and Bush, at the start of the day, made it clear that higher taxes would not be part of his solution.

During the first of three sessions this week on the ABC program “Good Morning America,” Bush said: “I’m going to hold the line on the taxes, I’m going to get them down.”

Was he offering a pledge that in a second Bush term there would be no new taxes, he was asked.

He replied: “As far as I’m concerned it will be.”

Later on the campaign trail, Bush's toughened approach on crime lacked any images as direct as Willie Horton, the black murderer who raped a white woman while on furlough from a prison in Michael S. Dukakis' Massachusetts.

Instead, the President told his audience gathered in the parish hall of St. Francis de Sales Roman Catholic Church in the Fox Park neighborhood of St. Louis about a car hijacking that took place earlier this month

in a suburban neighborhood halfway between Washington and Baltimore.

In that case, a woman was killed after two men forced her out of her car. Tangled in a seat belt, she was dragged almost two miles until “the thieves tried to knock her off by banging into a fence.” Her baby, in a car seat, was tossed out of the car “like a piece of trash” but survived, Bush said.

“We cannot put up with this kind of animal behavior. These people have no place in a decent society. And as far as this President’s concerned, they can go to jail, they can stay in jail and they can rot in jail for crimes like that,” he said. “I want thugs who take cars at gunpoint to stay in a cell so long that when they get out they’re too old to drive.”

Even before Bush spoke out on the subject, the Senate approved legislation Saturday making car hijacking a federal crime punishable by life in prison if a death occurs.

It was just a short leap for Bush from a car-jacking in Maryland to Clinton's record in Arkansas. Unlike Dukakis, Clinton favors the death penalty and has presided over several executions as governor. But Bush said that last year the average inmate in Arkansas served less than one-fifth of his sentence, while federal prisoners served, on average, 85% of their full sentence, and that violent crimes increased 60% in Arkansas during the 1980s, twice the national average.

Indeed, Arkansas shared in the national trend of crime spreading from large urban states to smaller, rural ones, and while violent crime increased 33% nationally from 1982 to 1992, it was up 66% during that period in Arkansas while Clinton was governor.

Other measures pressed by Bush include authorizing the death penalty for murder committed in the course of a sex offense, making crimes committed by street gangs federal offenses carrying severe penalties, and making theft of firearms punishable by up to 10 years in prison.

For a week, Clinton supporters have taken to twitting Bush over the failure of the two campaigns to agree on a format for a presidential debate. At nearly every public presidential appearance, one or two people dressed in chicken suits have shown up to make their point. Monday was no exception.

At one stop in East Dallas, a chicken-suited character called out: “Chicken George, why don’t you debate?”

“Listen to this guy,” Bush said. “There are going to be debates.”

“May I say a word about the chicken question? You’re talking about the draft record chicken or are you talking about the chicken in the Arkansas River?” Bush asked, referring first to questions about Clinton's effort to avoid military service during the Vietnam War and then to the pollution caused from chicken droppings allowed to flow into some Arkansas waterways.

“Which one are you talking about? Which one?” Bush asked, adding in a good-natured tone: “Get out of here. Maybe it’s the draft. Is that what’s bothering you?”

Times staff writer Douglas Jehl, in Washington, contributed to this story.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

*Parents are Davis and
Susue*

Mr. Christopher Robinson
6621 Fairfax Road
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20815



THE PRESIDENT

September 29, 1992

Dear Chris,

I'm glad to hear that you're enjoying your job at the RNC. We've got a good team over there and I'm delighted to have you aboard. You're right, the press has been very pro-Clinton -- attacking me from right and left, but I'm confident that people will see the difference and we will win.

Our tour through the Midwest was a big success. Now, we're back on the road again and counting down the days to victory in November. Thanks for your support and encouragement. Give my best to your Mom and Dad.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill Clinton".

JAN'S

9/29/92

RZ took a phone call from a reliable source who was reporting that Senator Al Gore tried on at least two occasions to influence a decision involving his cousin, Major Gary Gore.

The Major is presently serving a sentence at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas. He was court-martialed, February 25, 1992, because of sexually related matters.

Understand court-martials are considered a matter of public record so this could be verified.

It is alleged that Senator Gore directly intervened on the Major's behalf. Also, that there is a history of similar problems when as early as 1986, the Senator contacted the Major's Commanding Officer.

The bottom line relating to the latest incident is that on 2 specific occasions, the Senator tried to influence the decision and get it changed.



Naomi Judd
Term.

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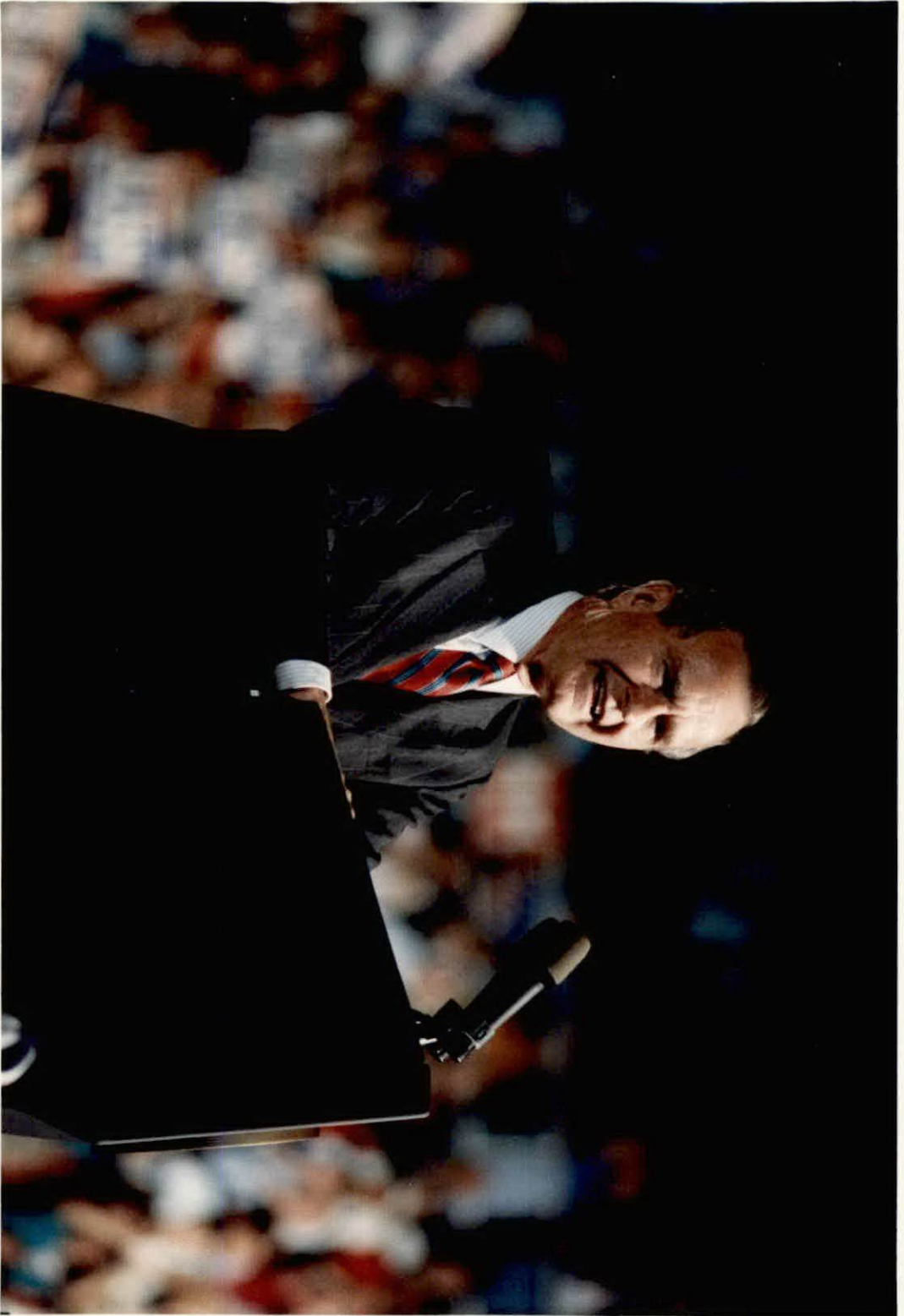


Tony

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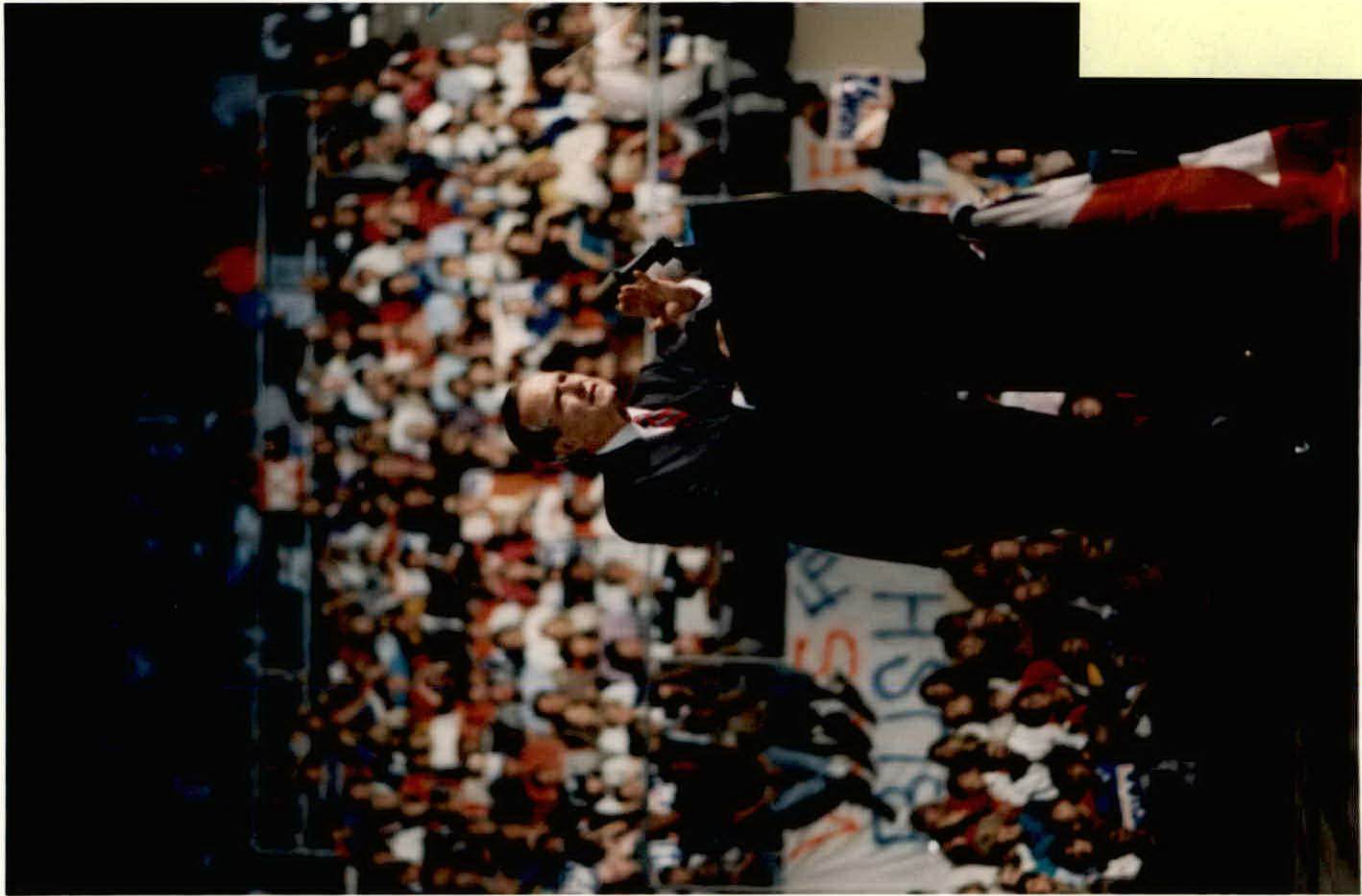


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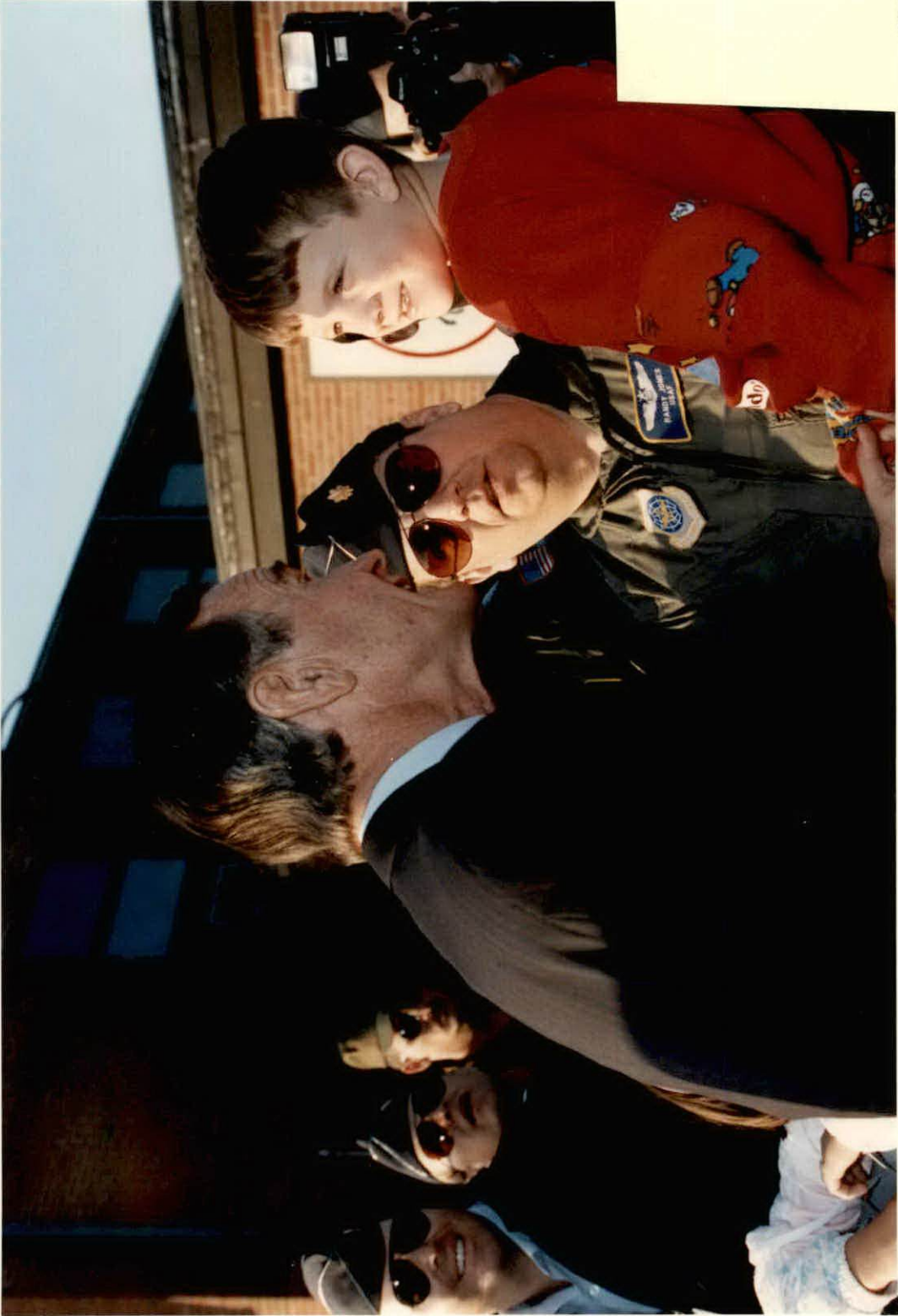
Clarksville, Tenn



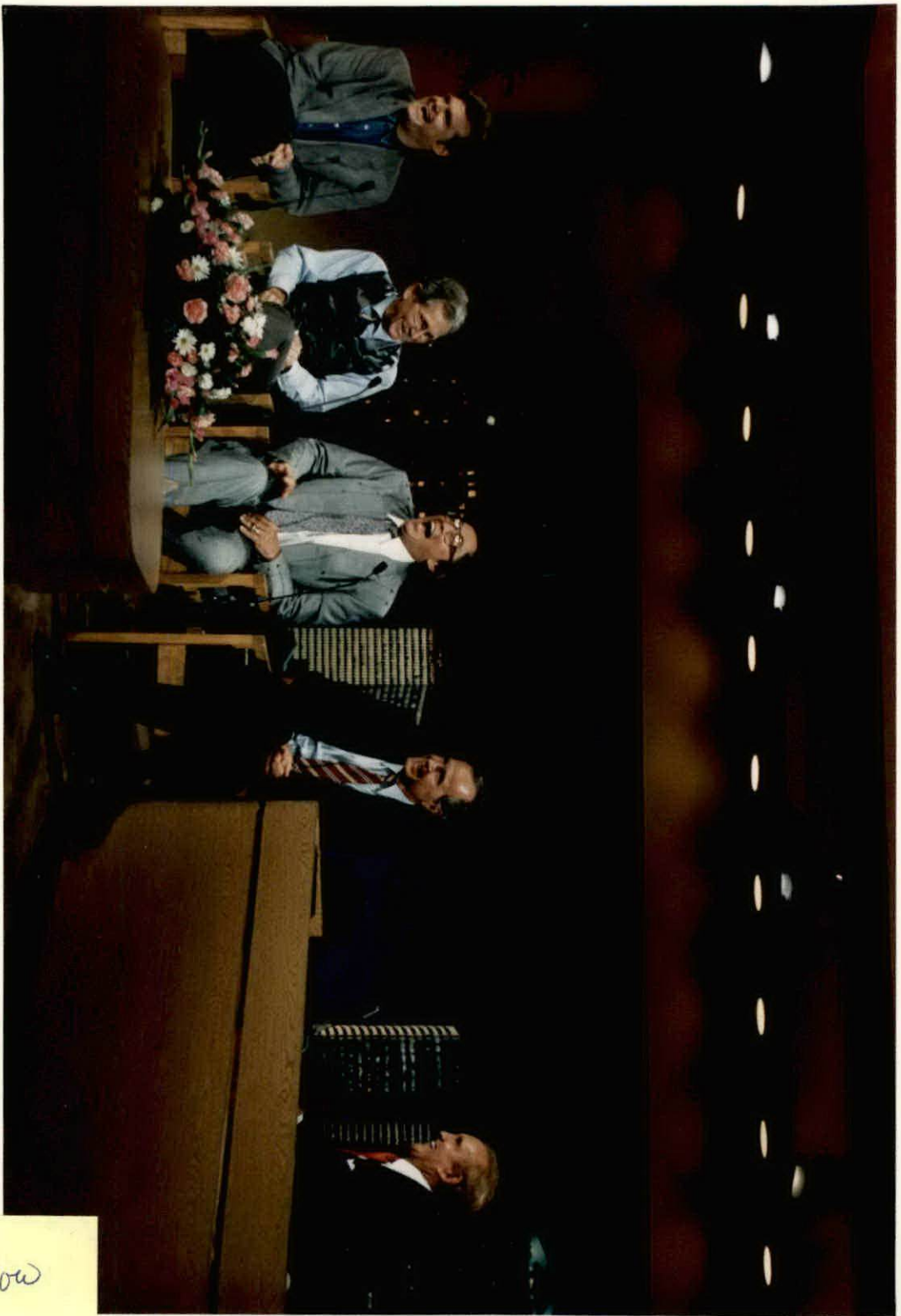


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