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FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
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Record Group/Collection:	George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin:	Office of the President
Series:	Daily Files
Subseries:	

OA/ID Number:	90723
Folder ID Number:	90723-004

Folder Title:
Wednesday, September 30, 1992 [4]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	35	2	4	0

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Memo	From Command Duty Officer to Distribution Re: Visit Report for 30 September - 1 October 1992 (2 pp.)	10/1/92	(b)(7)(c); (b)(7)(e); (b)(7)(f)	
02. List	Re: Cabin Assignments (1 pp.)	10/1/92	(b)(7)(c); (b)(7)(e); (b)(7)(f)	
03. List	Re: Helo Manifest (Staff/Guests) (1 pp.)	10/1/92	(b)(7)(c); (b)(7)(e); (b)(7)(f)	
04. Schedule	Schedule of the President Re: Wednesday, September 30, 1992 [FOIA exemptions redacted] (2 pp.)	9/30/92	(b)(3)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Wednesday, September 30, 1992 [4]

Pinksheet Number: SS1203

OA/ID Number: 90723-004

Date Closed: 1/3/2025

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:



ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

17

9/30

Mr. President:

Re your question on the
gas tax -

- 1990 Budget Agreement
included a 5¢ gas tax - 2½¢
for the Highway Trust Fund +
2½¢ to deficit reduction.
- 1991 Surface Transportation Bill
did not include another 5¢
after you threatened a veto

Re your question on legislation
to implement Project Kids, as
mentioned about 2/3's does
but we are not intending to
send a bill up until the
next Congress. Thanks. Phil.

Presidential Phone Calls

Aboard Air Force One



DATE: 4-30 TIME: 11 07
incoming / outgoing

WITH: Boyd

SUBJECT: re attached

want him to see
S. Barnes material

Could it be linked to spying
on JAF?

FOLLOW UP: RZ will show him
this stuff

also I talk to him on
Op-Ed piece.

Synopsis of events concerning Scott Barnes' approach to Jim Oberwetter in 1992

March or April--A man identifying himself as Scott Barnes initiates two calls to JO offering information about Ross Perot which may be damaging, concerning RP activities re. the POW MIA situation. JO rejects the information saying no one has done more to help their cause than RP and he doesn't want to hear about it.

Wednesday, August 5, 1992--A Hunt receptionist reports a man (first name) Howard calls for JO asking questions about whether JO is to meet with Bob Teeter soon. Howard was not a familiar name to JO.

Thursday, August 6, 1992--JO's secretary takes a call from Howard asking about a JO meeting with Bob Teeter. Secretary later asks JO if he knows a Howard. He does not know of a Howard with BQ.

3:30 p.m. Howard Parsons arrives without appointment at Hunt Oil Company asking to see JO. HP says a Mr. Deotis of BQ national was supposed to have called to arrange meeting. (There was no call from BQ about this). JO keeps HP waiting for one-half hour and tries to call David Tell to verify if HP is on the level. Cannot reach Tell.

Receptionist becomes concerned at HP's behavior (nervous) and JO goes to lobby to see what HP wants. HP will not talk in front of receptionist, asks for private meeting to discuss very confidential political news. HP will not talk in JO's office asks to go outside.

JO and HP go outside. HP tells JO he has knowledge that RP will damage administration with testimony before Senate Committee on POW MIAs. HP says he has a tape of a telephone conversation only a day or two old between RP and a business associate and that RP will soon reenter the Presidential race. JO rejects offer of tape(s) and documents said to come from RP's office and concludes meeting. JO returns to office concerned of possible set up.

JO learns later an accomplice of HP was at another table outside the building waiting for a signal from HP to bring over tapes and documents. Meeting probably videotaped possibly with David Taylor of BBC Washington DC present.

Later Thursday, JO reaches David Tell of BQ and determines a Mr. Deotis had talked to a HP but did not think enough of it to even call me.

Sunday, August 9, 1992--3:00 p.m. Reporter Mike Senelli of the Houston Post calls JO and asks for a first thing Monday morning meeting. JO agrees.

Monday, August 10, 1992--9:30 a.m. Senelli and photog with Houston Post begin interview by asking how meeting with Howard Parsons and Bob Teeter went on August 6. JO recognized at once previous meeting was indeed a set up. JO gave reporter full details of earlier meeting with HP. Reporter constantly asked if JO knew hotel where HP stayed billed BQ and that wiretapped tapes were fed exed to BQ etc. Asked if JO knew Dallas police were outside during meeting photographing the JO HP meeting, etc. JO learned from reporter that Howard Parsons was an alias for Scott Barnes of Arizona.

Stunned and angry JO reaches Hunt security officer at 10:30 a.m. and asks for advice. Security officer advises JO, secretary, and receptionist to dictate complete recollections of everything that has occurred. These records are made.

At JOs request security officer calls Dallas Police Department to see if they had been involved in such an operation. Police report "no" such activity undertaken. This call probably leads to FBI being made aware of this case and causes FBI to become involved at an early time.

JO informs Mr. Teeter's office of what has transpired.

Monday, August 10, 1992--5:45 p.m. JOs secretary reports a second unexpected visitor has arrived in the reception area wanting to see JO on a confidential matter. JO huddles with security officer and decision is reached to approach the visitor who gives his name as Bob Watson. Watson too wants a private place in which to meet. JOs office is ok.

BW says he has undertaken the job of tape recording RPs telephone calls at a time last week at the instruction of Scott Barnes. BW said that he and HP (Barnes) and an individual who did work with RP had floor plans of RPs office and access to telephone lines used to do wiretaps.

JO told BW he had probably broken the law and asked if he had ever heard of Watergate where people lives had been ruined. Hunt security man asked to see what was in BWs briefcase and a cassette tape recorder (apparently not on) and a cassette tape were produced allegedly of one (or more?) RP telephone conversations. Security asked for BW identification, not given, a phone number, not given, pager number, not given and an address, given, 2424 East I 20, Oklahoma City, a field in an industrial complex. BW asked for \$2,500 and said Scott Barnes had indicated JO would pay him. BW said he had been outside during the meeting with JO and HP earlier and was prepared to hand over the materials then but that JO had not asked for them. BW then escorted to elevator lobby.

Tuesday, August 11, 1992--a.m. FBI calls Hunt security and is invited over. JO and security man brief FBI. Written recollections of all meetings by all concerned, including a joint memo of recollection by JO and security man are presented to Dallas FBI agents.

Later it is learned that FBI agents have visited Scott Barnes.

End of synopsis.

Other observations of interest

One press report indicates that on the day before the alleged wiretapping took place, BBC producer David Taylor, met with Scott Barnes, his friend, and others at a Dallas hotel with eavesdropping material in full view on a bed.

Earlier in the year, David Taylor had arranged an interview with JO and a BBC anchorperson, and had brought up Scott Barnes name to JO (in relation to POW MIAs.)

Only one day after the JO meeting with Bob Watson a BBC radio crew, with an appointment scheduled only a day or two before arrived for an interview.

At the same meeting at the hotel the press indicates a Mr. Jim Sassion, owner of PLE Security was in attendance. This man has done and continues to do security work for RP. His name is not Sassion, but Jim Ciano (sp.) He is a former FBI agent.

In at least one book on POW MIAs RP is quoted as calling Scott Barnes the "mystery box." Scott Barnes is clearly known to RP.

It is also known that Oliver B. "Buck" Revell, special agent in charge of the FBI's Dallas office is a very close acquaintance of RP.

Finally, see Vanity Fair article on RP "meltdown." Look for paragraphs on EDS wiretaps. The parallel is frightening.

^{Prescott}
The Courier

Sunday, August 16, 1992

Barnes tells of trip to Perot's office in Dallas

By STEVE LEE
The Prescott Courier

Local man Scott Barnes was surprised Tuesday by a visit from the FBI at his Prescott business.

Two FBI agents interviewed Barnes regarding his recent trip to Houston/Dallas and his knowledge of the alleged wiretapping of the business offices of Texas billionaire Ross Perot.

During a Wednesday interview with *The Prescott Courier*, Barnes gave this chronology of his Aug. 4 through 6 trip to Dallas:

Monday, Aug. 3 — Barnes drives to Flagstaff to help organize a national POW/MIA symposium to be held in September.

Tuesday, Aug. 4 — He flies from Phoenix to Houston. At the Houston airport, Barnes is photographed taking a package out of a storage locker.

During a subsequent FBI interview, agents allege the package contains electronic eavesdropping equipment, a floor plan of Ross Perot's personal business offices and a complete list of Perot's

• BARNES

From Page 1A

telephone and facsimile numbers.

Wednesday, Aug. 5 — Barnes meets with several other men at the Sheraton Park Central in Dallas. State-of-the-art electronic eavesdropping equipment is in full view on the bed.

Others at the meeting are identified by Barnes as follows: George Allen (identity unknown, possibly CIA), Jim Sassion (former FBI agent and owner of PLE Security, the company in charge of Perot's internal business security), David Taylor (BBC producer), and another BBC man with Taylor.

Later that day, Barnes goes to Perot's office. He enters Perot's office at 7:35 p.m. and is captured on

film by surveillance cameras while in a secured area.

Thursday, Aug. 6 — Barnes meets with Allen and others at 9:20 a.m. to hear tapes of the previous night's calls on Perot's line.

Barnes meets that afternoon with Jim Oberwetter, Hunt Oil Co. executive and Texas campaign manager for the Bush/Quayle campaign, in the Hunt company building to notify Oberwetter of damaging information about Perot which should be given to the president.

Barnes flies back to Phoenix and drives home to Prescott late that evening.

Five days later — the FBI shows up in Prescott to interview Barnes about the alleged wiretapping events.

See BARNES, Page 5A

Proprietary to the United Press International 1992

August 14, 1992, Friday, BC cycle

SECTION: Regional News

LENGTH: 711 words

HEADLINE: Bush-Quayle official says he was offered alleged Perot tapes

DATELINE: DALLAS

KEYWORD: PEROT-TAP

BODY:

The head of the Bush-Quayle campaign in Texas said Friday he was the target of an elaborately planned scheme to entice him into receiving what may have been illegally obtained information from Ross Perot's office.

Jim Oberwetter, who is also an employee of Hunt Oil Co., said in a statement that the scheme began on Aug. 6 when a man identifying himself as Howard Parsons came to his office "to discuss sensitive political matters."

Oberwetter said he refused to accept the man's offer to provide the information and later learned that near where their conversation was held there was another individual involved in "the entrapment effort who was prepared to hand over tapes and other documents if I had agreed to receive them.

"However, on learning what Mr. Parsons had sought me out for, I terminated the meeting," Oberwetter said.

The GOP official commented on a Washington Post report that the FBI was investigating allegations that someone bugged Perot's office telephones and offered the tapes to Oberwetter in a plot to embarrass the Bush-Quayle campaign.

The Post quoted Oliver B. "Buck" Revell, special agent in charge of FBI's Dallas office, as saying his office had opened an invitation into whether "anybody had conducted a wiretap ... or there was a conspiracy to wiretap" phone calls in Perot's office.

Oberwetter said that on Aug. 10 he met a Houston Post reporter who asked if his meeting with Parsons had been videotaped and photographed. Surprised, Oberwetter said he told the reporter what had happened.

He said after the reporter left, he called his security officer who later informed Dallas police. The FBI was subsequently informed.

On the same day, Oberwetter said, a second individual identifying himself as Bob Watson came to him without appointment. Oberwetter said the man later indicated to him and his security officer that he had brought a tape recording he had made of a discussion of Perot.

Oberwetter said the man then said he had been hired by one Scott Barnes and that Barnes had told him to deliver the material to Oberwetter and receive a payment of \$2,500.

"I told Mr. Watson that in all probability he had committed an illegal act. I asked him if he had ever heard of Watergate where people's lives had been ruined for doing exactly what he had admitted to in front of me and our security officer," Oberwetter said.

Oberwetter said the man then refused to show his drivers' license or give his telephone number. He said the man gave an address that is a field in an industrial site in Oklahoma City.

"After telling Mr. Watson that I thought he was in deep trouble, he was escorted from our offices. The following day when the FBI called our security officer for more information, they were invited over, and the security officer and I met with them. All of our written recollections of what had occurred were turned over to the FBI at our initiative to further their investigation into this errant scheme," Oberwetter said.

Oberwetter said the only logical explanation for the scheme was that "those involved were trying to either damage me personally or the president's campaign or both."

The Washington Post said Revell questioned Perot Thursday about the matter and that both Perot and Oberwetter were cooperating in the investigation.

Several Bush-Quayle campaign officials, the Post reported, say they have received phone calls recently from a man identifying himself as Scott Barnes, a controversial former Inglewood, Calif., police officer who has made numerous claims to the media about his involvement in efforts to rescue American prisoners of war in Southeast Asia.

Barnes, who the Post said was questioned by the FBI on Tuesday, claimed some Bush-Quayle campaign officials and other prominent Republicans expressed an interest in learning "what he (Perot) would be testifying about" at Senate hearings this week on missing Vietnam war servicemen.

"They asked me for assistance and I gave it to them," he reportedly said.

The Post quoted Bobby Burchfield, general counsel of the Bush-Quayle campaign, as saying, "That is absolute hogwash. The campaign is adamant that these charges are absolutely baseless."

IRAN CONTRA OP-ED
FROM BOYDEN GRAY

A



Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

Recent controversies about President Bush's possible "involvement" in the Iran-Contra scandal add up to a big nothing. To understand why, one must understand the activities that formed the tangled web of Iran-Contra. These include the so-called "Iran initiative;" efforts to support the Nicaraguan "Contras;" and the Contra resupply network run by Oliver North and supported in part by the diversion of funds from the Iran initiative. If you untangle these strands and examine the President's statements about them, the "new revelations" become repackaged versions of yesterday's news.

The Iran Initiative: President Reagan in January, 1986 approved an initiative to seek an opening to Iran and secure the release of American hostages through limited arms transfers and other measures. Then-Vice President Bush supported President Reagan's decision, with some reservations, and he consistently has said that he knew of this initiative.

The Contra support efforts: The President also was generally aware that there were private efforts to aid the Contras in 1985 - - a fact reported repeatedly in 1985-86. He supported the Contras as the best hope of helping democracy gain a foothold in Nicaragua.

Iran-Contra: Although the President knew the general outlines of the Iran initiative, and was generally aware that private parties were assisting the Contras, he was not aware of the diversion of Iran-related funds to the Contras until just before it was revealed publicly in November 1986. He knew that Oliver North was the focal point on the NSC staff for matters regarding

the hostages, counterterrorism and the Contras, but he did not know that North was directing a Contra resupply network with assistance from the CIA and other U.S. government personnel, utilizing secret bank accounts and shell corporations.

This lack of knowledge should not surprise anyone. The Iran-Contra scheme unfolded amid extraordinary secrecy. Unlike most significant covert actions, it was not subjected to rigorous staff review. The initiative proceeded on an ad-hoc basis. No one held formal NSC meetings. President Reagan called cabinet-level principals together hastily, with no prior notice of the agenda. No one took formal minutes of the gatherings, including of decisions made by President Reagan.

The President has criticized these failures in his interview with the Tower Commission and in his public statements, and he has corrected them in his administration.

Few public policy issues ever have been as thoroughly investigated and chronicled as Iran-Contra and the President's role in administration decision making in 1985-86. The events have been put under a microscope by the Tower Commission; a year-long, \$10 million Congressional investigation; a six-year, \$40 million Independent Counsel investigation; a private lawsuit that involved days and days of depositions going over the same ground; and intensive questioning from the media throughout this period, including the 1988 campaign.

Now consider the recent charges against President Bush.

The Shultz note: Bill Clinton and others have tried to cast

doubt on the President's credibility by citing a 1987 note dictated by George Shultz after a phone conversation with Caspar Weinberger. The memo mentions Weinberger's surprise at the then-Vice President's comment that he had been unaware of how strongly Shultz and Weinberger opposed the proposed sale of arms to the government of Iran. It also notes that George Bush was "on the other side."

The President was indeed "on the other side," as he has noted consistently over the years. It is not surprising that the two secretaries felt that he did not fully appreciate their positions, since they had expressed their opposition to the initiative vigorously in a series of meetings.

But Vice President Bush had no significant operational responsibilities for the initiative, and was not present when Shultz and Weinberger expressed their opposition to the arms-for-hostages approach. In fact, he attended only one meeting with Shultz and Weinberger -- January 7, 1986. Regarding that meeting, President Reagan has stated that George Bush was not present during arguments about the initiative.

In other words, President Bush never had a full opportunity to hear the arguments of Secretaries Weinberger and Shultz, or to gauge their passions on the matter. Indeed, the two secretaries both have acknowledged that they did not raise their concerns with the Vice President privately. President Bush has said that he might have judged differently if he had heard their objections.

The Shultz phone memo thus adds nothing new.

The Teicher/Secord testimony: Former NSC staffer Howard

Teicher has asserted that he briefed the President on the Iran initiative three times during the spring and summer of 1986. These briefings, he implies, contradict past statements by Mr. Bush.

His account does no such thing, and it certainly doesn't demonstrate that Mr. Bush knew more about the initiative than he has acknowledged. Teicher has noted that his briefings to the then-Vice President concerned "the basic framework for the Iran initiative: Arms, hostages, leading to a strategic dialogue" and not "the operational details of arms or money or who was doing what to whom." Indeed, such details had never been fully disclosed to Teicher, as he has testified. Teicher's account pretty well sums up the then-Vice President's knowledge of his initiative, and it confirms the account he has given consistently since 1986.

Richard Secord also has hinted that the President played a different role in the Iran initiative than he has acknowledged. Again, the details betray him. General Secord, who was Teicher's supervisor at the Pentagon in the early 1980s and later became a private arms dealer, has written a memoir that provides no new facts, no new firsthand recollections, not even any new hearsay, to demonstrate that George Bush played any greater role in the initiative or in Iran-Contra than has been documented by the Tower Commission and the Congressional Committee. In fact, Secord's book contains only four brief references to George Bush in its 360 pages.

In short, today's "news" is old stuff. Howard Teicher acknowledges as much, noting that he has "told this before to other

people," presumably including the Congressional investigators who took his sworn testimony. Now, the only way to turn this old news into a new story is to portray the President as having said that he had no knowledge of the Iran initiative and did not know that hostages were involved in any way. That is not true. The President has been careful never to say that he had no general knowledge of either, and to emphasize repeatedly that he supported the initiative, despite some reservations.

The record shows that the President has offered a consistent, truthful account of his activities.

End of "scandal."

George Bush always has understood that one cannot create foreign policy haphazardly. You must establish processes of rigorous internal debate and review. He has done so, and thus has crafted a foreign policy of notable coherence and effectiveness.

Nevertheless, the standard wisdom holds that the recent allegations somehow neutralize doubts about Bill Clinton's draft history and foreign-policy acumen. This speculation exposes the nakedly political aims behind the recent "revelations." It also threatens to divert attention from a crucial policy question: Which presidential candidate better understands how to conduct foreign policy -- not merely with a hostile Congress, but in a world dotted with potential foes?

As President, George Bush has shown his mettle, demonstrating his grasp of the subtleties of international relations, building a successful anti-terrorism policy, and leading the nation through

a period of perilous, epoch-making change. It would be a shame if a ginned-up "scandal" suddenly diverted attention from the crucial fact that our next President must be able to lead not only the United States. He must lead the world.

#

C. Boyden Gray is counsel to the President.

12:00 P.M. NEWS UPDATE

ETHANOL (UPI) -- The Bush Administration summoned midwestern congressmen to the White House to discuss a plan it hopes will defuse a dispute over ethanol that is hurting President Bush in key agricultural states. Dozens of congressmen arrived early to be briefed on the proposal, which would give special regulatory treatment to ethanol so that the corn-derived gasoline additive could be sold in at least half the states that will start selling clean-burning automobile fuels in 1995. The White House scheduled a Rose Garden ceremony for later in the day to present the plan.

CLINTON/DEBATE (Reuter) -- Bill Clinton accused President Bush of trying to manipulate the process for presidential debates and called on him to stage the first one Sunday. "There is a debate scheduled Sunday," Clinton said on ABC's "Good Morning America." "We ought to do it." Clinton said Bush was "manipulating this process for his own ends" since he was behind in the polls.

DEBATE TALKS (AP) -- Talks aimed at staging presidential debates resumed with negotiators for President Bush and Bill Clinton observing a truce in their war of words. Ross Perot promised to declare whether he would rejoin the race -- and take part in debates. Republican negotiators arrived at the Washington law office of Clinton campaign chairman Mickey Kantor just before 9:00 A.M. and were mostly tight-lipped on the prospects for agreement.

START TREATY (AP) -- The Senate approved the START treaty, capping a decade of negotiations that began in the Cold War and saw the demise of America's main adversary. On a vote of 93-to-6, senators agreed to the most complex nuclear arms treaty ever approved.

GAG RULE/SENATE (AP) -- The Senate voted to override President Bush's veto of a bill striking down his limits on abortion counseling at federally financed clinics. The vote was 73-26.

JOBLESS CLAIMS (AP) -- The number of Americans filing new claims for unemployment benefits climbed to 429,000 in mid-September, the highest level in six weeks, the government reported. The jump was blamed in part on higher layoffs in the auto industry and the continued effect of Hurricane Andrew.

CONSTRUCTION SPENDING (AP) -- Construction spending fell 0.8% in August, the steepest decline in nine months, the government said. Non-residential construction dropped to its lowest level in more than eight years, the Commerce Department said. Spending on residential, non-residential and government projects totaled \$424.0 billion at a seasonally adjusted annual rate, down from \$427.5 billion in July, the department said.

PEROT/POLL (Boston/Reuter) -- A slim majority of Americans think Ross Perot should not run for president "because he can't win and will only be a spoiler," a new poll has found. The poll, by the Boston Herald, found that 51% of Americans do not want Perot to run, compared to 19% who think it is a "good idea," 22% who said it would make no difference and 8% who said they were not sure. The Herald poll also gave Bush a 51% unfavorable rating against 38% for Clinton. In addition, 48% said they would vote for Clinton versus 39% for Bush. ###



daily
DC to Wisconsin

Sept. 30

Aboard Air Force One

Dear Bob,

Fast Action!

I signed a
paper today appointing
May Galvin to the
Kennedy Center Board.

I'm still ecstatic
over your Chicago
event.

Sincerely,

Ly Bunt

The Honorable Robert D. Stuart, Jr.
Suite 340
321 North Clark Street
Chicago, Illinois 60610-4715

71CH-101
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: September 28, 1992

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO: Connie Horner

Re: Kennedy Center

Do we have any vacancies on the Kennedy Center Board? Mrs. Robert Galvin would be fantastic -- really great on the Board.

Please advise asap since I must reply to the attached letter.

ROBERT D. STUART, JR.
321 NORTH CLARK STREET
SUITE 340
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60610-4715
312/222-7450

September 24, 1992

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Although you know Bob Galvin, Chairman of Motorola, very well, he does not think it's appropriate for him to ask you to consider his wife, Mary Galvin, as a candidate for the Board of The Kennedy Center. Since Mary is such an outstanding person and the Galvins are great loyalists to you and the Party, I recommend that you seriously consider her for this assignment. The Galvins have done a lot as a family to promote music and the arts.

Mary's correct name and address are:

Mrs. Robert Galvin
Route 2, P.O. Box 1060
Barrington, IL 60010

Sincerely,



Robert D. Stuart, Jr.

RDSjr/kh

From the desk of

George Bush

done
Jan 10/1/92

Jan 8.

- add to
Xmas card
list
1 put in my tennis
2 file her address ab
3 give P. cc of this

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

Gigi Fernández

Sept. 23, 1992

daily 9/30

Dear Mr President,

I wanted to thank you for inviting me to CAMP David to meet your family and play tennis with you. For me it was a great thrill and an experience I will never forget.

If you ever feel like playing again, I am a phone call away. I enjoyed playing with you and your sons and would do it again any time.

Send my regards to Mrs. Bush and Good luck in the elections!

Respectfully,

Gigi

From the desk of

George Bush

add to

1 Xmas card

list

2 put in my tennis
• file her address etc

3 give P. cc of this

88

Gigi Fernandez
915 W. Ninth St.
Aspen, CO 81611

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



9-30-92
Wisc. to N.Y.

Aboard Air Force One

Dear Herb,

Thanks for the
latest and most
welcome treat. Tomorrow
Bar - I will relax
& enjoy.

I, too, remain
confident in spite of
the ugly & hostile press
may thales,

A handwritten signature, likely of the President, consisting of a stylized 'R' followed by a flourish.

cc: ✓ (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (1 cc)

HERBERT S. HOFFMAN

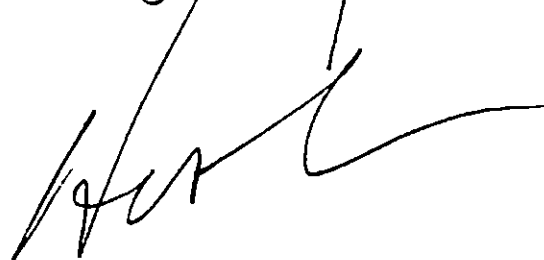
9-24-92

Dear Mr President

I hope you and
Mrs B. will find a few
moments to relax and
enjoy this.

I still am confident
as to the outcome in
November, I see very
positive signs,

Respectfully,



FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. George W. Strake, Jr.
Texas Commerce Bank Building
Suite 3300
712 Main Street
Houston, Texas 77002-3291



THE PRESIDENT

*fly to Wisconsin
9-30-92*

*Dear George,
That was a
wonderful letter you
wrote Bill Sawyer. Thanks
for sharing it. Warm
Regards. [Signature]*

✓cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (1 cc)

8
Jan 15 1993
COPY
GEORGE W. STRAKE, JR.

712 MAIN STREET, SUITE 3300
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77002-3291

September 18, 1992

Mr. William A. Sawyer, President
Exploitation Engineers, Inc.
P.O. Box 56345
Houston, Texas 77256-6345

Dear Bill:

Thanks for taking the time and trouble to write your note of September 17 about my remark on *Nightline*. I fully appreciate the economic problems that you cite in your letter because I certainly fall in the category of those who are making less than 30% of what I made 10 years. I have also had to take on an alternate business which is representing American companies in foreign countries. I am not enamored with the way things are now in this country but when faced with the choice of voting for Governor Clinton for President I ask myself four question.

- 1) Do I want my taxes raised?
- 2) Do I want a President who has never dealt with a foreign leader?
- 3) Can a draft-dodger be an effective Commander-in-Chief of our armed services?
- 4) Hilary?

The main point I was trying to make with my question on *Nightline* is that the press should report the news and save their opinions for designated editorialists. They should give the American people credit for having enough sense to make up their own minds without having to be guided by the opinions of "reporters".

Thanks again for writing, Bill. I hope you share my thoughts with your family.

Sincerely yours,



George W. Strake, Jr.

GWS,jr/ed
(GWS1479.ed)

bcc: President George Bush
Mr. Rob Mosbacher

EXPLOITATION ENGINEERS, INC.
Petroleum Consultants

*See
Bun*

September 17, 1992

Mr. George W. Strake, Jr.
Strake Trading Group, Inc.
Suite 3300
712 Main Street
Houston, Texas 77002

Dear George:

Your presents on Ted Koppel's View Point last night did not go unnoticed by our family. Defending a warm and kindhearted President such as George Bush is a very noble and righteous cause. Our President has been treated unfairly with respect to character issues by the press.

It is important that the candidates and the press get a grasp of the real issues which concern the bulk of Americans. The concerns are jobs, feeding and housing our families, and healthcare. You may not know but 20% of the people I know are either unemployed or are now calling themselves consultants. Nearly 80% of my acquaintances are making less than 30% of what they made 10 years ago. These are real concerns. I hope that the press will not get in the way of having them addressed.

Sincerely,

Exploitation Engineers, Inc.

William A. Sawyer
William A. Sawyer,
President

Mr. H. Dean Spratlin
2919 Nancy Creek Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30327



W13. to NJ.

9-30-92

Force One

Dear Dean,

Thanks so much
for that great and
supportive letter. The
press has been foul -
they are for Clinton;
but Dean I remain
quietly confident

It was so good
seeing you. May + thanks
C. B. Bush

cc: ✓ (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)

H. DEAN SPRATLIN

2919 Nancy Creek Road NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30327
September 17, 1992

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

Dear Mr. Presidsnt:

Thank you so much for inviting me to meet you at the airport today. It was very thoughtful of you and I really enjoyed seeing you, the Jack Guys, and Air-Force One.

I was glad for the opportunity to see you again in person. We see you constantly in the media, but it is good to see George, the man, once in a while. I also enjoyed being with the Guys. Even though we both live in Atlanta, I never see Jack except in connection with you. It also gave Jack and me a chance to discuss plans for getting our shipmates together in Washington at your next inauguration.

George, it really pains me to have to read the liberal Atlanta papers. It hurts personally to read or hear the criticism of you from Clinton and the Democrats. I don't see how you tolerate all the lies and unjust criticism that you have to put up with.

I have never been active in politics, but if there is ever anything you think I might do to help you or your campaign, please don't hesitate to ask.

We're all hoping and praying that the economy will improve faster for your sake, though the liberal media will still make it look as bad as possible.

Please give Barbara Nancy's and my best. Thanks again for your thoughtfulness.

Warmest regards,



P.s.: Did you know Duckbutt Lawrence died a few months ago?

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ms. Carolyn Fickenscher
5555 Amesbury #706
Dallas, Texas 75206



THE PRESIDENT

September 30, 1992

Dear Carolyn,

My son, George, passed along your thoughtful letter. Thanks so much for your kind words of support and encouragement. I'm grateful to have people like you on my side. This has been a tough campaign year but I, too, am confident about November. Thanks, again, for your support and prayers.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature, likely of Bill Clinton, is written in dark ink.

9-29-92

Dear Mr. President,

This morning I had the pleasure of meeting your son while working a flight to Washington, and wished to take this opportunity to express my complete support and confidence in you and your campaign. The liberal sector may have a loud voice, but

I am truly confident that when
November arrives, the value
that you and your outstanding
winning motto represent will be
triumphant!

My prayers are with you!

Very truly yours,
Carolyn F. Johnson
5555 Armadillo #706
Dallas, Texas 75206

Mr. Randy Peters
Recording Secretary,
UAW
Introduced the
President at meeting
w/ Working Families
for B/Q '92 in
Chicago.

Mr. Randy Peters
Recording Secretary
United Automobile, Aerospace &
Agricultural Implement Workers
13550 South Torrence Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60633

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

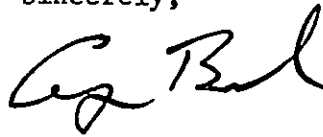
September 30, 1992

Dear Randy,

Just a quick note to say thanks for a great event in Chicago last Friday. I really enjoyed my visit and appreciate the support of everyone there. My only regret is that my stay was so brief, but I am grateful for such a wonderful warm greeting. Thanks, too, for your kind introduction.

Hastily off to Wisconsin and New Jersey -- on the road again and feeling confident about November. We will win! With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Mr. Edward Laumann
Provost
University of Chicago
Administration Building
5801 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

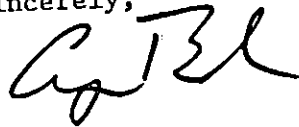
September 30, 1992

Dear Mr. Laumann,

Thanks so much for that warm welcome at the University of Chicago last Friday. I was delighted to be at your beautiful university to address the National Technology Initiative Conference. It was the perfect setting for this event. Thanks for all you did.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

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



ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

Phon cal

9-30-92

11:50 EST

Brady

1) Got: Akers, Gelb, +
all for me.

2) Also WST A-14

CAMP DAVID



FAX COMM # 301-271-1366

TO: MS. ROSE ZAMARIA
FROM: CDR JOE CAMP
SUBJECT: VISIT REPORT

No. of Pages to follow: 6

Reply Requested (Y/N)? N

COMMENTS: _____

If you don't receive all copies, call 301-271-1400.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	From Command Duty Officer to Distribution Re: Visit Report for 30 September - 1 October 1992 (2 pp.)	10/1/92	(b)(7)(c); (b)(7)(e); (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Wednesday, September 30, 1992 [4]

Date Closed: 1/3/2025

OA/ID Number: 90723-004

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
 (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
 (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
 (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
 C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
 C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
 PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. List	Re: Cabin Assignments (1 pp.)	10/1/92	(b)(7)(c); (b)(7)(e); (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, September 30, 1992 [4]

Date Closed: 1/3/2025	OA/ID Number: 90723-004
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. List	Re: Helo Manifest (Staff/Guests) (1 pp.)	10/1/92	(b)(7)(c); (b)(7)(e); (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Wednesday, September 30, 1992 [4]

Date Closed: 1/3/2025

OA/ID Number: 90723-004

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
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- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

POV (STAFF/GUESTS)

<u>CODE</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>ARRIVE</u>	<u>DEPART</u>	<u>VEHICLE ID</u>
P1	DON RHODES	WH STAFF	2033/WED	1234/THUR	FORD BRONCO

CARPET/GOV'T VEHICLE (STAFF/GUESTS)

<u>CODE</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>ARRIVE</u>	<u>DEPART</u>	<u>VEHICLE ID</u>
C1	PAULA RENDON MSCM ARIEL DEGUZMAN	WHSM	1534/WED	1159/THUR	WHSM VAN

1 Oct 92

ACTION ITEMS

1. Remove primer paint on Aspen pool deck. (PW)
2. Fix continuous loose rubber door seal problem on bottom of Aspen movie booth Door. (PW)
- *3. Clean up back entrance to Grounds/contractor lot. (PW)
4. Refinish back door at Red Oak. REPEAT ITEM (PW)
- *5. Repair blind pull string Hawthorn A. (SUPP)
- *6. Repair blind pull string Redwood, Room 14. (SUPP)
- *7. Clean pavement stain rear of Laurel. (PW)
8. Clean paint from doorknob/strike plate-right closet Aspen sitting room. (PW)

Ed Gaylord

Owner of Opryland.
The President did
not see him, he was
not at the event.

Mr. Edward L. Gaylord
President/Publisher
Oklahoma Publishing Company
9000 North Broadway
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73114

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

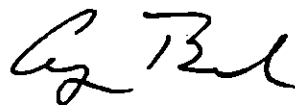
September 30, 1992

Dear Ed,

Just wanted to let you know I had a great time at
Opryland last night. I always love visiting that
wonderful place and last night was no exception.
Thanks so much for a most enjoyable evening.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Mr. T.G. Sheppard
c/o Moress & Nanas Entertainment
Suite 840
12424 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90025

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

September 30, 1992

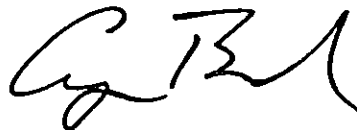
Dear T. G.,

Just a quick note of thanks for your support in Tennessee yesterday. It was great to see you and I really appreciate all you did to make the event such a success.

Hastily off to Wisconsin and New Jersey. I'm back on the road -- determined to win. Thanks again.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

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



Mr. Paul Overstreet
c/o Scarlet Moon Music
Post Office Box 121975
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

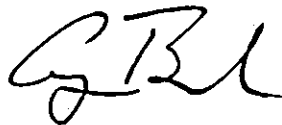
GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON
September 30, 1992

Dear Paul,

Just a quick note of thanks for a great time in Nashville yesterday. It was the perfect way to wind down the day -- listening to some good 'ole country music. I really appreciate all you did to make my visit such a success.

Hastily off to Wisconsin and New Jersey -- back on the road and feeling confident about November!
Thanks for your support. With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Mr. Mark Chestnut
c/o B.D.M. Company
1106 16th Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

September 30, 1992

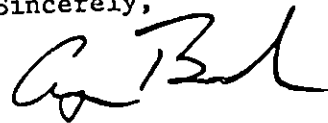
Dear Mark,

Just a quick note to thank you for such a wonderful time in Nashville yesterday. It was the perfect way to wind down the day -- enjoying some good 'ole country music. The event was a big success and I really appreciate all you did.

Hastily off to Wisconsin and New Jersey. I'm back on the road -- determined to win! Thanks for your support.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



*Neat meeting
your wife*

Michael Fells
Resident of East
Dallas Renaissance
Project, Introduced
President

Sept. 28, 1992

Mr. Michael Fells
4603 Swiss Avenue
Dallas, Texas 75204

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

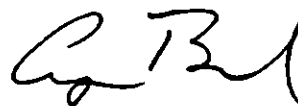
September 30, 1992

Dear Michael,

Just a quick note to thank you for your kind introduction in Dallas on Monday. I enjoyed visiting the East Dallas Renaissance Project and seeing how the community has banded together to eliminate crime from their neighborhoods. Thanks for your commitment to this worthy and important cause.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Mr. Dirk Newton
4515 Swiss Avenue
Dallas, Texas 75204

Mr. Dirk Newton
Co-owner of one of
the apt. projects at
the East Dallas
Renaissance Neighbor-
hood Project.

Sept. 28, 1992

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

September 30, 1992

Dear Dirk,

Just a short note to thank you for my visit to the East Dallas Renaissance Neighborhood Project on Monday. The video was very interesting and I enjoyed seeing a community-based, long-term solution to fighting crime. I was impressed by your efforts and commitment to this project. Thanks for all you are doing.

With best wishes,

*You didn't tell me
about all those
Rice degrees -
I taught there very briefly.*

Sincerely,

GB

Ms. Cheryl Harley
Co-Owner fo one of the
apt. projects at the
E. Dallas Renaissance
Neighborhood Project

Ms. Cheryl Harley
4515 Swiss Avenue
Dallas, Texas 75204

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

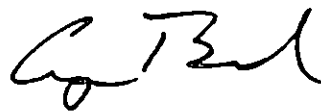
September 30, 1992

Dear Cheryl,

It was a great pleasure to meet you and to see how a community can band together to keep drugs out of their neighborhood. I really enjoyed my visit to the East Dallas Renaissance Neighborhood Project. Thanks for showing me that interesting video. Your commitment to the community and this great project is impressive.

Good luck and best wishes,

Sincerely,



Mr. Steven Hugh
Co-owner of one of
the apt. projects at the
E. Dallas Renaissance
Neighborhood Project.

Greeted the President.
Sept. 28, 1992

Mr. Steven Hugh
4515 Swiss Avenue
Dallas, Texas 75204

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

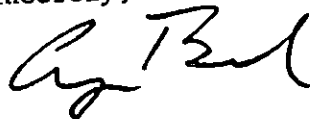
September 30, 1992

Dear Steven,

Just a quick note of thanks for a great visit to the East Dallas Renaissance Neighborhood Project on Monday. I enjoyed hearing about the great efforts of the community to eliminate drugs and crime in their neighborhood. Your commitment to this worthy cause is impressive. Thanks for all you are doing for the community.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Ms. Gayle Landuyt
Director of Manufacturing
Motorola, Incorporated
1301 East Algonquin Road
Shaumburg, Illinois 60196

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

September 30, 1992

Dear Gayle,

Just a quick note to thank you for the interesting tour of the Motorola plant floor in Chicago. I really appreciate the time you spent with me and hope that my visit was not too much of a distraction. Please pass along my thanks to all the employees for their warm welcome.

With best wishes, *to a great tour guide*

Sincerely,

George Bush

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON

daily
9/30

September 30, 1992

Dear Mr. Jones:

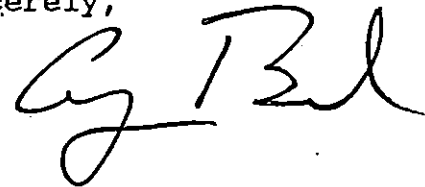
I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your generous endorsement of September 24. I am honored to enjoy your continued support.

For many years now, the Tulsa Tribune has served Oklahoma with responsible insight and information. I regret that you will be ending publication today. Your great family newspaper will be dearly missed and remembered always.

Thank you for your loyal, longstanding support of our shared principles.

With warm wishes, *and my respect.*

Sincerely,



Mr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones
6683 South Jamestown Place
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74136

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

September 30, 1992

Dear Mr. Jones:

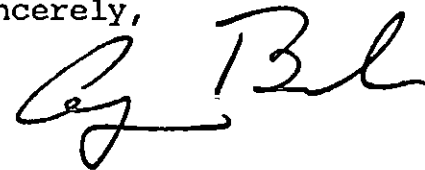
I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your generous endorsement of September 24. I am honored to enjoy your continued support.

For many years, your family has served Oklahoma with your responsible insight and information. I am sorry to hear that the Tulsa Tribune will be ending publication today. You and your dad may move on now to new challenges, and look back with pride at your terrific accomplishments that will never be forgotten.

Thank you very much for your loyal, longstanding support of our shared principles.

With warm wishes,

Sincerely,

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

Warmest personal regards!

Mr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Jr.
6447 South Louisville
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74136

September 25, 1992

TO: Robin McNeil
FROM: Edward C. Lawson, Jr.

Dear Robin:

Worked hard and long to get this editorial endorsement.

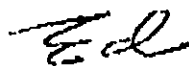
As you know, the Tulsa Tribune goes out of business September 30, 1992. The two owners are Jenkin Lloyd Jones and Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Jr. This has been a great Republican newspaper for many years and has solidly supported The President all along.

I am enclosing both of their home addresses and it would be nice to have a note to them from The President.

Thank you for your help and consideration.

Mr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones
6683 South Jamestown Place
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74136

Mr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Jr.
6447 South Louisville
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74136



09/25/92 08:41

The Tulsa Tribune

Frank Jones Jr., Editor and Publisher
Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Publisher Emeritus

G. Douglas Fox, Chairman
Howard G. Barnett Jr., President

Lawrence Lloyd Jones Barnett, Vice Chairman
David Jones, Vice President
Donna J. Peters, Secretary-Treasurer

Windsor Ridenour, Executive Editor
Pearl Wittkopp, Managing Editor/News
Mary Hargrove, Managing Editor/Projects
Tim Morris, City Editor

John A. Drummond, Editorial Pages Editor
Jim Sellars, Associate Editor
Jim East, Associate Editor

In Memoriam: Richard Lloyd Jones (1873-1963)
Richard Lloyd Jones Jr. (1909-1982)

EDITORIAL

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

For George Bush

Clinton's pandering to the pressure groups is scary



In the late summer of 1864, Abraham Lincoln was so pessimistic about his chances for re-election that he wrote a memorandum to himself wondering how the blood sacrifice of Union soldiers under his command could be kept from becoming meaningless under his successor.

But as days proceeded toward November, the contradictions of his opponents became ever more apparent and in the final election Lincoln won 55-45.

At this stage of the campaign, George Bush has ample cause for worry. Most polls find him not much better than even in traditional Republican strongholds and substantially behind elsewhere.

The media, of course, have a right to opinion as long as opinion is so labeled. But when opinion intrudes upon supposedly evenhanded news reporting, you get a hatchet job. Since well before the Democratic Convention, Bush has been a hatchet job.

In the television reporting of the Republican Convention, the loading wasn't even subtle. Panels of dedicated liberals convened immediately after Republican oratory to "interpret" what had been said. There had been little comparable second-guessing at the Democratic show.

The campaign to blame Bush for all the bad news proceeds in spite of the fact that both houses of Congress remain Democratic strongholds. There is no question that such incessant shellfire has been effective.

And Bush has contributed to his troubles by making too much of relatively unimportant issues, like Bill Clinton's performance under the threat of selective service. The

real issue is the Bush record in opposition to treasury-looting vs. the Clinton promises. Which man, if he were occupying the White House, would deliver the least pain to the American people?

It is Clinton's apparent inability to refrain from promising whatever he thinks would draw the most votes from any individual audience that tells much more about him than any other so-called "character" issue. For such is the clear and present danger of America's monumental national debt and continuing deficit that, unless we elect a president with the courage to say no, our rake's progress will proceed to the point of national tragedy.

Bill Clinton's claim that our fiscal malaise can be cured by axing the military and surtaxing the rich is a fraud. The money isn't there for the gigantic turnaround we must have. "Entitlements," that is, individual withdrawals from the common treasury not matched by past or present contributions, go on the cuff. How long is the cuff?

The recent devaluations of the dollar show that our foreign creditors are losing patience. The screws that will impose upon us discipline from abroad are already being tightened. Would Clinton meet the challenge, or would he ignore it to our increasing peril?

George Bush missed a gorgeous chance to elbow Congress into greater fiscal responsibility when he emerged from the gulf war of 1991 with unprecedented personal popularity. Too bad. But Bill Clinton's eagerness to achieve the White House by pandering to pressure groups is scary. Unless in the coming weeks Clinton exhibits an ability to level with the electorate, Bush will be a safer choice.

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

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

Date September 25, 1992

TO: ADDRESSEE Robin McNeil
COMPANY _____
ADDRESS _____
ADDRESSEE'S TELEPHONE NUMBER _____
ADDRESSEE'S FACSIMILE NUMBER 202-456-2391

COMMENTS: SEE ATTACHED MEMO AND NEWSPAPER ARTICLE.

FROM: ORIGINATOR Edward C. Lawson, Jr.
COMPANY _____
ADDRESS _____
TELEPHONE NUMBER _____ ROOM NO. _____
NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING THE COVER) 3
(please number all pages)
FACSIMILE VERIFICATION
NUMBER 918/582-4537 NUMBER 918/584-5155

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

daily 9/30

Mr. Alexander Lynch
The Bridgeford Group
280 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017



THE PRESIDENT

Dear Vinnie,

Our friendship with the Lynches has been important over the years, and I wish that Bar and I could be with you to celebrate this milestone with all in attendance, particularly your remarkable mother.

Happy 70th birthday to you, and many good wishes on this special day.

*Let's start over - with friendship
going back to
GCDs - Warrant
Regards!*

Sincerely, *[Signature]*

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc) ✓

JONATHAN BUSH
641 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N Y 10022
(212) 371-2170

9/29/92

Dear Jan,

Enclosed is a request sent to me by Alexander Lynch regarding the 70th Birthday celebration of Vince Lynch.

Could you please ask the President to send a note somewhat as follows:

Dear Vinnie,

~~I can't believe you are celebrating your 70th Birthday. I thought we were the same age, but it turns out you are five years older than me. Our friendship with the Lynch's has been important over the years, and I only wish that Bar and I could be with you to celebrate this milestone with all in attendance particularly your remarkable mother.~~

Happy Birthday to you.

GB

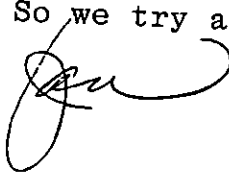
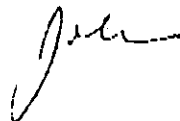
Please send the note to Alexander Lynch, The Bridgeford Group, 280 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10017.

Thanks for your help Jan.

NOTE:

Last year they asked for a 70th, but GB picked up on the fact that he was only 69 in 1991!! So we try again this year.

Sincerely,



THE
BRIDGEFORD
GROUP

Alexander R Lynch
Senior Managing Director

September 29, 1992

Mr. Jonathan J. Bush
J. Bush and Company, Inc.
641 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10022

Dear Mr. Bush:

My uncle, Bill Lynch, indicated that he had discussed with you the possibility of your brother's involvement in my father's 70th birthday celebration (this is truly a family affair). I have enclosed an invitation for the President and, as you can see, we are having a small gathering in Greenwich on Friday, October 16th. I understand that the President's many prior commitments most likely will preclude him from attending this gala evening, although his presence would undoubtedly enhance the quality and ambiance. In any event, a note or other appropriate acknowledgment from him would be most welcome, and I am certain much appreciated by my father.

With many thanks for all you help and consideration, I remain

Sincerely, *AL*

A. R. Lynch

SURPRISE!!

YOU ARE INVITED TO A 70TH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION

IN HONOR OF

VINCE/VINNIE/DAD

ON

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16TH IN GREENWICH, CONNECTICUT

COCKTAILS: 6:15pm
Sally and Alex Lynch
5 Woodside Road
Greenwich, CT 06830

DINNER: The Homestead Inn
420 Fieldpoint Road
Greenwich, Connecticut

RSVP: Alexander P. Lynch
(212) 476-8787

Ms. Gayle Landuyt
Director of Manufacturing
Motorola, Incorporated
1301 East Algonquin Road
Shaumburg, Illinois 60196

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

September 30, 1992

Dear Gayle,

Just a quick note to thank you for the interesting tour of the Motorola plant floor in Chicago. I really appreciate the time you spent with me and hope that my visit was not too much of a distraction. Please pass along my thanks to all the employees for their warm welcome.

With best wishes, *to a great tour guide*

Sincerely,

George Bush

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

A senior adviser to Bush said the timing of the announcement was dictated by the approach of Sunday's proposed debate, and the expectation that Perot will be in the race by the end of the week and that the commission would invite the Texas businessman to participate. The official said Bush wanted to make the announcement now, rather than appear "too defensive" by waiting until later.

Bush's failure to accept debates scheduled for Sept. 22 and last night had given Clinton political ammunition his campaign advisers believed was working against the president. Bush has been the subject of protests at nearly every stop over his refusal to debate, with most of the attention coming from costumed chickens, such as the two in Clarksville yesterday holding signs saying, "Read My Beak: Don't be Chicken. Debate."

Earlier yesterday, Clinton was in Louisville, site of the debate scheduled for last night, and taunted the president for not being there. "Here

in Louisville it occurs to me that you can't be a Louisville slugger if you don't stand up to the plate," Clinton told a midday rally.

The president's new move came just as the commission, which sponsored debates in 1988, was preparing to cancel Sunday's debate in San Diego.

and one vice presidential debate. In 1980 there was only one debate between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, a late-October encounter that helped seal Reagan's victory.

Devroy reported from Tennessee and Balz from Washington. Staff writers E. J. Dionne Jr. and Edward Walsh, traveling with Clinton, contributed to this report.

The commission, warning that "time is of the essence," had set a 5 p.m. deadline yesterday for the two campaigns to agree to Sunday's debate. Clinton's camp immediately accepted the offer, but Bush did not.

With Bush's proposal on the table, however, the commission decided not to cancel Sunday's debate. But if there is one, officials said, it likely will be in Louisville.

Bush's proposal would conflict with baseball playoffs. There is an American League Championship Series game scheduled for Oct. 11, and Oct. 18 is the date of Game 2 of the World Series. The seventh and final series game, if needed, is scheduled for Oct. 25.

"There are all kinds of conflicts to work out," Carville said.

The last time there were four presidential debates was in 1960, between John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon. In 1988 and 1984, there were two presidential debates

Perot's New 'Political Guru' Uncertain What Tomorrow Will Bring

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

DALLAS, Sept. 29—"I'm supposed to be his political guru, after eight years with Ronald Reagan," exclaimed Orson Swindle, who heads Ross Perot's grass-roots volunteer network. "And I want to tell you I have no idea what we're going to do if he announces on Thursday."

Swindle is executive director of United We Stand, America, the Perot-financed organization, and today he was busy on the telephone with the "referendum" that Perot last Sunday ordered his state coordinators to conduct among volunteers in their states on whether the Texas billionaire should enter the presidential race.

The coordinators will tell their volunteers about the presentations made by the delegations of top-level policy and political advisers representing President Bush and Democratic nominee Bill Clinton to woo them at a day-long session Monday. Like everyone who was in the session, Swindle thinks the referendum will induce Perot to declare his candidacy Thursday.

It's what comes next that puzzles him—and everyone else. "I can't imagine him running around the country and doing all the

things conventional candidates do," Swindle said. "He's a very unconventional guy."

Swindle confirmed reports that Perot has an arsenal of TV commercials ready to go, prepared by Dallas communications consultant Murphy Martin. "But I've never seen them," Swindle said.

Swindle's puzzlement symbolizes two key facts about Perot's reborn candidacy: It exists almost entirely in the mind of Ross Perot, and there is almost no one with past national campaign experience around Perot to guide, challenge or correct his political instincts.

The two veteran campaign managers hired last spring to run the Perot campaign—Hamilton Jordan, who worked for President Jimmy Carter, and Edward J. Rollins, who worked for President Ronald Reagan—are long gone.

Perot's attorney, Thomas W. Luce III, the onetime candidate for the Texas Republican gubernatorial nomination, who recruited Rollins and Jordan, also ended his

involvement with the Perot effort when Perot rejected the Rollins-Jordan campaign plan last July. It was soon afterward that Perot told his volunteers he had decided not to run, a decision he now says was "a mistake."

When old Perot friends are asked where he now gets his political counsel, they mention Swindle and Clay Mulford, a young lawyer who supervised the legal work in getting Perot on the ballot in all 50 states.

Swindle, an ex-Marine prisoner of war, spent eight years in the Reagan administration, including a stint as assistant secretary of commerce in charge of the Economic Development Administration, a job he lost when Vice President Bush became president and White House patronage people remembered his ardent support of Jack Kemp over Bush for the 1980 vice presidential nomination.

Swindle, who ran the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign in a Georgia congressional district adjoining Jimmy Carter's home in Plains, said today, "I suppose I'm the most politically sophisticated person around here, and I don't have any sophistication at all."

There is barely more experience among the volunteer state coordinators, judging from interviews with a dozen of them at breaks in the Monday meetings. What characterizes them, instead, is the fervor of their belief in Perot, their trust in his political instincts and their confidence in his prospects.

"He is the smartest man I ever met," said Wally Howard of Indianapolis, like many of

the other Perot coordinators a self-employed investor-entrepreneur-small businessman. "He's totally honest," said Nancy Kavanagh, the northern Ohio coordinator.

Sharon Holman, the campaign press secretary, whose previous experience consisted of managing real estate for Perot and his son, Ross Jr., said the large majority of the 50 people working in the Perot headquarters are "accountants keeping financial records for the Federal Election Commis-

sion. No one has been hired as political director," she said, "because Mr. Perot has incredible instincts."

Holman and Swindle both said they are convinced that inexperience will be no disadvantage. "It's part of the appeal of Ross Perot," Holman said. "If we don't look slick, that's not bad at all."

To a person, the state coordinators seem convinced that the polls showing Perot with high negatives and popular support from only one voter in six or seven are wrong. John Bishop of Santa Fe, N.M., who founded a company that makes stationery products from recycled materials, said that Perot volunteers last week made random phone calls to "three pages from the phone books for Las Cruces, Albuquerque and Santa Fe and we found 42 percent of the people said they would vote for Perot if he got back in."

"We had 2,000 volunteers in the state when he got out," Bishop said, "and we'll have more when he gets back in. We'll do phone banks from homes and we'll walk precincts. I don't think the Democrats or Republicans can match us."

In California, state United We Stand coordinator Bob Hayden returned from Texas Tuesday and planned meetings with supporters throughout the state Tuesday afternoon and Wednesday.

California supporters are being warned about what they say to reporters.

"A word of caution about the press," says a tape-recorded message at the state headquarters in Los Angeles. "It is best at this time that we decline any comment until we have an opportunity to reach our conclusions. Also, be alert to inaccurate or imprecise press reports. The hot line will have the facts."

In other states, coordinators plan to fax summaries of the Monday presentation to county coordinators who will poll their volunteers and report back.

In other, usually smaller states, the volunteers will gather face-to-face. In a few others, the coordinators will conduct their referendum by phone. The reports are due to reach Swindle by Thursday.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

Perot Has Bankrolled Political Movement

Texan's \$7 Million Sustained 'Volunteer' Drive Since July, Reports Show

By Charles R. Babcock
and Michael Isikoff
Washington Post Staff Writers

Since he declined to enter the presidential campaign in mid-July, Ross Perot has spent more than \$7 million to sustain his political movement, including hiring temporary workers to help get his name on a key state ballot and paying consultant fees and salaries to volunteer "coordinators" whose advice he says will determine whether he jumps into the race as an independent.

Perot and his top aides repeatedly have maintained that their political movement was a volunteer effort that sprang spontaneously from ordinary citizens who responded to the Texas businessman's initial offer to run when he appeared on the "Larry King Live" show last February.

"Keep in mind, this organization is controlled by the bottom up," Perot told King on the program Monday night. He told how, after he decided against running, his volunteers "proceeded to get my name on the ballot in all 50 states. . . . The volunteers own this organization."

Campaign finance reports filed by the Perot Petition Committee, however, show that Perot's cash has bankrolled the movement from the outset and his Dallas headquarters has had a large role in running it ever since.

CBS News last night quoted an Aug. 5 letter from Orson Swindle, the head of the Perot volunteers, to state coordinators telling them to stop quarreling among themselves and "accept the appointed leadership."

Swindle said in an interview last night that the Dallas headquarters

See PEROT, A16, Col. 1

Some Perot Volunteers Are Being Paid

PEROT, From A1

had selected some of the state coordinators because Perot's political group, United We Stand, America, was new and faced time constraints in getting him on all the state ballots.

Since last March, Perot personally has donated more than \$16 million to the effort, nearly 90 percent of the \$18 million the committee has reported as donations through August. And four days after abandoning his presidential bid, Perot began writing checks—three totaling \$725,000, the campaign reports show.

Perot has budgeted \$480,000 a month, \$7,500 for each of 64 offices in 50 states, Perot spokeswoman Sharon Holman said yesterday. The campaign reports show that at least eight of the new group's 50 state coordinators received either consultant fees or salaries from the Perot Petition Committee.

The Perot state coordinators who have been on his payroll included Georgia state coordinator Nisbet Kendrick, who received \$14,453 in

July and August; California state coordinator Bob Hayden, who received \$7,866; Wisconsin state coordinator Cindy Schultz, who received \$7,500; Texas state coordinator Jim Serur, who received \$4,861, and Maryland state coordinator Joan Vinson, who received \$2,890 in August.

Asked by King on CNN Monday whether his supporters were paid or volunteers, Perot said, "Oh, no, all of—virtually all of the state volunteers are volunteers. I'd say, you know, less than 1 percent of the people are on any kind of a compensation."

Holman said yesterday that only three coordinators are still being paid: Swindle, who is now the national executive director of United We Stand, Hayden and Serur. "At the time the 'professionals' were here, they felt each state should have a paid coordinator and a paid media person," she said. "There were commitments made that were still being honored" through August for the five other state coordinators, she added.

Holman said New York was the

only state in which the petition committee hired temporary workers to help collect petitions.

After he declined to run, Perot spent hundreds of thousands of dollars to place his name on the ballot there. This included \$150,000 to pay for full-page newspaper ads, \$30,000 for radio commercials and hiring 600 people from 15 agencies who canvassed the state seeking petition signatures.

The paid workers were needed, Perot volunteer Hays Kirby said at the time, because so many people were angry about Perot's reluctance to enter the race in July. The campaign reports show, for instance, that the Perot committee paid \$65,317 to DAP Corp. of Aberdeen, N.J., and \$18,387 to Achievement Temps of New York City for "personnel."

Some of the largest expenditures by the Perot Petition Committee over the past two months include expenses such as nearly \$250,000 in office equipment, \$540,000 to MCI for telephone service, and \$718,000 to Perot Systems for computer time.

The CBS report last night noted that 21 of 49 state coordinators the network contacted had assumed their positions after Perot's decision in July.

The random way in which some coordinators were selected can be seen in Nebraska, where Matt Wickless, 22, a college student, was picked as that state's coordinator last July after the leaders of the Perot petition drive dropped out following Perot's decision not to run for president. At that point, there were "two or three of us" left in the Perot petition office in the state and he assumed the coordinator position "basically by default," Wickless said.

This selection was officially sanctioned in an Aug. 4 letter he received from Mark Blahnik, national director of the Perot Petition Committee. Since then, Wickless said he has built up a new corps of 400 volunteers. There is virtually no overlap from the original Perot petition drive volunteers, he added.

Wickless also made clear his views: "I'd like to see Ross get back in it."

Staff writers Howard Kurtz and John E. Yang and researcher Lucy Shuckelford contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

Senate Passes Tax Bill Opposed by Bush

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate voted 70 to 29 yesterday to approve a \$34 billion urban aid and tax relief package that includes 125 urban and rural enterprise zones, a raft of incentives for the real estate industry and others, and two tax increases on the wealthy that have prompted a veto threat from President Bush.

Eight Democrats joined with 21 Republicans, including Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), to oppose the bill.

While few assert that the bill would make an appreciable difference to hard-pressed urban centers like Los Angeles or to the lethargic economy, both the Senate and House versions are laden with popular provisions that provide an impetus for compromise before Congress adjourns next week. The Senate version also makes carjacking a federal crime.

"It has some pluses, but it will not

turn this economy around overnight," Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), chief architect of the bill, said after the vote.

Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.), a critic of the bill, complained that "this is a \$30 billion urban aid bill that spends only \$5.8 billion on urban aid."

Bush has threatened a veto unless the Senate drops two tax provisions that would raise \$7.7 billion over five years by extending limits on itemized deductions and phase-outs of personal exemptions for higher-income taxpayers.

Those "temporary" tax increases were part of the 1990 budget agreement that Bush signed but later disavowed after being criticized for having broken his 1988 "no new taxes" pledge. Retaining those provisions is essential to financing the restoration of fully deductible Individual Retirement Accounts for middle- and upper-income taxpayers and other IRA provisions backed by Bentsen.

Both Bentsen and House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), who opposes Bentsen's IRA provisions, indicated yesterday that neither would hold out for a bill that stood no chance of being signed into law.

Both the Senate and the smaller \$17 billion, House-passed version contain enterprise zones, although there are only 50 in the House bill. Both bills would extend about a dozen popular tax breaks that have expired; repeal the luxury tax; restore "passive loss" tax write-offs for the real estate industry, and provide tax relief for corporations that pay the alternative minimum tax.

Both bills would raise tax revenue from, among others, securities firms, owners of commercial real estate and individuals and corporations who file estimated tax payments on a quarterly basis. However, the House version does not include the two tax increases on the wealthy that Bush opposes.

On 800 Line, It's Unanimous: All Callers Count in Perot Tally

The 1.5 million callers who tried Ross Perot's new toll-free telephone number Monday night did not get to talk with a Perot volunteer, or even a chance to leave a message.

"Thank you for calling United We Stand, America," a recorded female voice says before callers are disconnected from the line maintained by MCI Communications Corp. "Your call is very important to us and will be included in our total count of callers supporting Ross Perot. Thank you again for your valued support."

Some who rang to tell Perot not to run were miffed to hear that their calls would be tallied with Perot's supporters. But Perot had said on CNN's "Larry King Live" Monday that his mostly volunteer staff set up the number that day for "anybody in America that feels that it is in the best interest of the country for me to get in the race."

"You only want people to call who are for you, right?" King asked later in the interview.

"Yeah, people who feel that we should do it," Perot said.

Perot received millions of calls on another toll-free line early this year when he first said he might run for president as an independent. But he disconnected that line after announcing in July that he would not be a candidate. President Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton have since set up their own toll-free lines.

Democratic primary challenger Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. popularized the 800 number as a campaign tool this year by frequently repeating his number during television interviews and debates.

Perot gave out his number twice on NBC's "Today" show yesterday morning and three times on CNN (King also announced the number once for his guest). And MCI's lines have been jammed.

Spokesman Paul Sims said the telecommunications company logged 1.5 million calls for Perot in less than four hours Monday night.

—Mark Stencel

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

Bush Botched Iraq Policy, Gore Charges

'Poor Judgment' Blamed for War

By Charles Bahington
Washington Post Staff Writer

Democratic vice presidential nominee Albert Gore Jr. yesterday accused President Bush of pursuing foolhardy and "amoral" policies toward Iraq that led to the Persian Gulf War.

"His poor judgment, moral blindness and bungling policies led directly to a war that should never have taken place," the Tennessee senator told the Center for National Policy here.

The 40-minute speech, which Clinton-Gore campaign aides billed as a major foreign policy address, was largely based on information obtained by Democratic members of Congress and provided the campaign's most detailed criticism to date of Bush's dealings with Iraq and its president, Saddam Hussein.

While it contained no new facts, the speech presented a comprehensive statement of information that has surfaced since the war about warnings the administration disregarded con-



BY JAMES A. PARCELL—THE WASHINGTON POST
SEN. ALBERT GORE JR.
... Bush policy "coddling tyrants"

cerning Iraq's military buildup. The speech was designed to tarnish the luster of Bush's leadership in the successful allied military campaign to drive Iraqi troops from Kuwait last year.

Gore cited numerous instances before Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait in which federal agencies warned that U.S. exports to Iraq were helping Saddam build his military strength.

He said that despite reports from various administration agencies that Iraq was continuing to cooperate with terrorists and working hard at developing nuclear, chemical and biological weapon capabilities, Bush pressed for more loans and high-tech exports to Iraq.

See GORE, A14, Col. 1

■ Consumer confidence, leading indicators decline.

Page F1

"The path leading us to that war," Gore said, "and the path which the president has followed after, are deeply shadowed in profound error, in duplicity and in amoral disregard for our most basic values as a nation . . . Coddling tyrants is a hallmark of the Bush foreign policy."

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater dismissed Gore's remarks. "This is another effort by the Democrats in Congress to rewrite history to conceal their opposition to the war," he said.

Gore, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, voted in favor of going to war against Iraq, but once the war ended was one of Bush's earliest critics for his failure to protect the Kurds and Shiites from Iraqi attack.

Still, Gore tried to walk a thin political line in order to blast Bush without questioning the patriotism of those who fought or supported a war that was popular with many Americans.

"The conduct of the war will remain a proud memory for all Americans," Gore said. "But the full history must also include events before and after the war . . . George Bush wants the American people to see him as the hero who put out a raging fire. But new evidence now shows that he is the one who set the fire."

Gore targeted Bush's judgment and savvy, often considered the president's strengths

in dealing with foreign matters. Before the Gulf war began, the Democrat said, Bush repeatedly approved loan guarantees and other benefits to Iraq "in spite of repeated warnings that anyone with common sense would have had no difficulty whatsoever understanding." Gore accused Bush of "naivete and lack of candor" in dealing with Iraqi matters before and after the 1991 war.

Gore's speech contained 56 footnotes, mostly citing news accounts and diplomatic memos citing concerns by various agencies that Saddam was building a dangerous, potentially nuclear, military capacity before and after Iraq's 1988 defeat of Iran. The information was derived in part from disclosures by House Banking Committee Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), who has been investigating policy toward Iraq

for several years, and by House Foreign Affairs subcommittee Chairman Sam Gejdenson (D-Conn.).

In October 1989, Gore said, the CIA told Secretary of State James A. Baker III "that Iraq was clandestinely procuring nuclear weapons technology through a global network of front companies." Nevertheless, Gore said, Bush insisted on "improved economic and political ties with Iraq on the assumption that Iraqi behavior could be modified by means of new favors."

"Before and after consecrating a policy that tied us hip and thigh to Saddam Hussein, George Bush had all the information he needed to know that he was in deep, deep water," Gore said. "George Bush put American lives on the line in a war that never should have happened except for his mistakes."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

THE RACE FOR PRESIDENT

A Daily Digest



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Students and others listen to President Bush at airport near Alcoa, Tenn.

Clinton Attacks Bush On 'Export' of Jobs

President Puts Rival in Liberal Tradition

By Edward Walsh
and Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writers

With help from a Sunday night broadcast of CBS's "60 Minutes," Democrat Bill Clinton yesterday accused President Bush of encouraging the loss of American jobs to foreign countries and of allowing foreign companies that operate in the United States to escape the payment of billions of dollars in federal income taxes.

In campaign stops in Louisville and Columbus, Ohio, Clinton brought up the "60 Minutes" report, which detailed how the federal government provides tax breaks, low-interest loans and other incentives for U.S. manufacturers to move their operations to Central America and the Caribbean.

According to the report, this policy has included the use of U.S. government funds to pay for advertising that encouraged American firms to relocate in El Salvador.

"George Bush promised us 30 million jobs in eight years," Clinton told a large outdoor rally in downtown Louisville. "He just didn't tell us where the jobs were going to be. We thought he was going to create jobs in San Antonio, San Francisco and San Bernardino, not in San Salvador. He has actually overseen the creation of more private-sector jobs in Central America than in the United States of America."

Bush campaign spokeswoman Alixe Glen disputed Clinton's conclusions, charging that "his rhetoric in this speech shows his total ignorance of the world economy or how many U.S. jobs are dependent on both exports and foreign investment in the U.S."

Bush, meanwhile, invaded the home state of Democratic vice presidential nominee Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.), accusing Clinton at every stop of following a liberal Democratic tradition of wanting to increase taxes on the middle class.

In airport rallies from Blountville to Alcoa, Chattanooga and Clarksville, ending at the Grand Ole Opry in Nashville, Bush pared his argument to its bare essentials: Democrats are Democrats, and in the end they all tax and spend.

"There's an old saying," Bush said here. "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."

The Arkansas governor said

U.S. firms should be free to move their operations overseas, but that American workers should not be asked to provide tax dollars "to pay for policies that take their jobs away."

"Mr. Bush is literally spending your tax money to give companies incentives to move American jobs," he said. "He wants to export jobs."

Clinton also attacked the Bush administration's tax-enforcement policies, accusing the president of trying to turn the country into a "tax haven" for foreign companies. Although Glen said Bush had increased by 30 percent the number of IRS personnel enforcing payment of taxes by foreign firms, Clinton said these firms still escape paying billions of dollars in taxes each year, and he promised a crackdown.

At a later stop on the campus of Ohio State University, Clinton addressed thousands of students gathered before him on the lawn, raising the memory of President John F. Kennedy.

"In 1960, John Kennedy said to my generation what I say to you: This is a great nation, but we can do better," he said.

But in Tennessee, Bush had another Democratic presidential nominee in mind. He said Clinton "learned his liberalism" from George McGovern and remains a liberal Democrat despite his "moderate costume."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

At all stops, Bush portrayed Clinton as someone who has been on all sides of all issues. "One day, Governor Clinton says, 'I'll never run for president.' And the next year, he announces he's running. 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.'" If Clinton became president, Bush said, "we'd have to replace the American Eagle with a chameleon."

Bush aides said the Tennessee stops were aimed at holding the state in the GOP column despite Gore's roots there.

Vice President Quayle, who campaigned in Illinois yesterday, hoping to keep that state in the GOP column, professed indifference to whether Ross Perot enters the race. "If Ross Perot runs, that's good for us. And if Ross Perot doesn't run, that's good for us."

Asked to explain that elliptical remark, Quayle replied: "That's for you to figure out."

Walsh is traveling with Clinton; Devroy is traveling with Bush. Staff writer John F. Harris, traveling with Quayle, contributed to this report.



Bill Clinton reaches out to potential voters after address in Louisville.

ON TV

PRESIDENT BUSH

■ ABC (Ch. 7), 7:30 a.m.
"Good Morning America"
Live interview on crime.

GOV. BILL CLINTON

■ CBS (Ch. 9), 7 a.m.
"CBS This Morning"
Interview taped yesterday in Columbus, Ohio.

■ NBC (Ch. 4), 7:30 a.m.
"Today"

Part two of an interview taped Sunday.

VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

■ PBS (Ch. 26), 7 p.m.
"MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour"
Interview to be taped today in Washington.

Foreign Purchases by Bush Camp Alleged Officials Deny Union Charge of \$1 Million Deal With Brazilian Firm

By Paul Valentine
Washington Post Staff Writer

BALTIMORE, Sept. 29—Union leaders today accused President Bush's reelection organization of planning to buy more than \$1 million in campaign stickers and other paraphernalia from a Brazilian company, bypassing more expensive U.S. products and stealing U.S. jobs.

Bush campaign officials immediately denied the charge, saying all campaign-authorized items are U.S.-made. They said most of their campaign materials are purchased from the Spalding Co. in Louisville, with small purchases from other U.S. firms.

Rep. Helen Delich Bentley (R-Md.) accused Bush's Democratic challenger, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, of pushing the Brazil story and "trying to cloud the issues" of the presidential race.

At a meeting here today of offi-

cials of the 600,000-member Communications Workers of America, union vice president Bill Boorman called in reporters to say the Bush "reelection team" had chosen a plastics manufacturer in Rio de Janeiro to make campaign stickers, flags and balloons.

He showed a videotape with a Brazilian newscaster saying in Portuguese that Bush's "public relations advisers" had passed up manufacturers in California, Texas and New York for the cheaper materials in Rio.

Bush is "not doing a damn bit of good for the 10 million Americans he himself acknowledges to be unemployed," said the CWA's Boorman.

He said the union received the tape, unsolicited, from the Clinton campaign.

On the tape, the newscaster said an \$80,000 shipment "is ready" and a second shipment "will be worth \$1 million." Union officials provided

reporters an English-language transcript of the newscast, but said they do not know when it was aired.

The transcript said the manufacturing was done in "Baixada Fluminense." A Brazilian Embassy spokeswoman in Washington said Baixada Fluminense is a neighborhood in Rio de Janeiro and does not appear to be the name of a manufacturing company.

In denying any involvement, Bush campaign deputy press secretary Tony Mitchell said it was possible an individual Bush supporter ordered the Brazilian items, but if so it was done without campaign authorization. "We are not aware of any such private individual," he said.

A Bush campaign statement said that besides the Spalding Co., the campaign also buys small quantities from companies in Illinois, Nevada and Ohio.

The campaign "insists that all products be made in the United States," the statement said.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

Governors Lead Bush Charge in Midwest

GOP Executives Marshal Their Popularity and Strategic Ballot Issues in Key Battleground

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

LANSING, Mich.—Michigan Gov. John Engler (R) has quietly planted an explosive charge set to detonate Nov. 3—a referendum capping property taxes. And he is taking pleasure in the presence on the state ballot of another potential land mine, a term-limits measure.

"These go right down the Engler alley," said Colleen Pero, an Engler aide running the Bush-Quayle campaign's Michigan organization. "They get people out who are likely to vote Republican."

Engler, state chairman of the campaign, is looking with growing desperation for Republican voters who can push Michigan's 18 electoral votes into President Bush's column. The property-tax and term-limit referendums are ideally suited to bring out angry, middle-class homeowners, voters who gave vitality to the conservative revolution at the start of the 1980s.

Virtually every state has an eclectic and unpredictable network of local issues and controversies such as those in Michigan. These parochial issues run the gamut from ethanol in gasoline to abortions at a public hospital, from the debate about whether to classify imported minivans as trucks or cars to the ending of general-assistance welfare.

The power of these issues to make or break a close contest in the battleground states of the Midwest has prompted the Bush campaign to place great weight on the network of GOP governors in the Great Lakes region.

With the exception of Illinois, where patronage is not a dirty word, most of the governors do not control large organizations of government workers. In Wisconsin, Gov. Tommy G. Thompson (R) controls only 120 of 61,000 state jobs, and Engler's patronage muscle amounts to five posts in each of 19 state departments, according to aides.



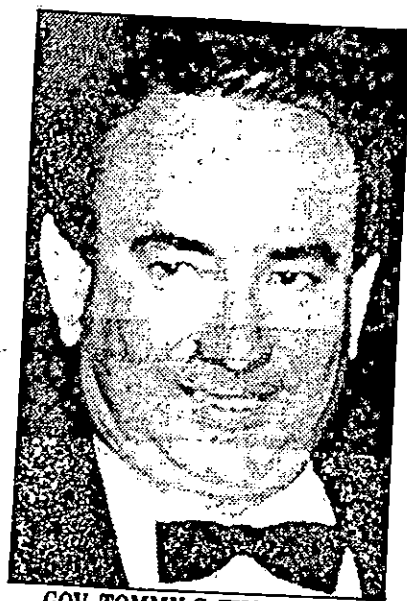
GOV. JOHN ENGLER
... property tax vote in Michigan

What Republicans Thompson, Jim Edgar in Illinois, George Voinovich in Ohio and Engler, to a lesser extent, bring are very high approval ratings. Equally important in a presidential contest, they bring an understanding of the local terrain. In theory, at least, these governors know how to traverse mined fields.

While Michigan is not the only midwestern state in which automobiles are built, it is the primary one and thus a political battleground over the automobile industry. With Engler leading the attack, Bush backers have charged that high-mileage standards supported by Democrats Bill Clinton and Albert Gore Jr. would cost the state 40,000 jobs.

Steve Weiss, running Clinton's Michigan campaign, countered that the Bush administration's classification of minivans as cars instead of trucks has resulted in lower import duties and fewer sales of American vans made here and in other states.

In addition, he said, General Motors Corp. recently announced that white-collar workers must begin paying part of their health care costs. This "sets the stage for management demands from unionized workers," Weiss said. "It makes the lack of a national health insurance



GOV. TOMMY G. THOMPSON
... pushed school, welfare changes

system a much more salient issue here. It was front-page news."

While sharp differences between Clinton and Bush on abortion nationally appear to be benefiting Clinton, the issue may help Bush in some midwestern states where voter turnout is organized.

In their own campaigns, Engler, Thompson and Missouri Gov. John Ashcroft (R) have worked with a crucial Bush constituency, the anti-abortion movement. In their states, local GOP strategists are banking on a strong voter-mobilization drive by antiabortion groups.

Abortion, however, is a sensitive subject, especially in Illinois, where Bush is turning to Edgar for support, although Edgar and GOP Senate nominee Rich Williamson back abortion rights. Then there is Carol Moseley Braun, the Democratic Senate nominee attracting Republican women who favor abortion rights.

Exacerbating the issue was the recent order in Chicago by Richard Phelan, Cook County Board president, that the county public hospital should resume abortions for poor women at taxpayer expense. The order prompted demonstrations pro and con.

Phelan, a Clinton supporter with

The Washington Post

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gubernatorial ambitions, is urging Clinton to take up the issue. Phelan contends that, although Cook County has a high percentage of Roman Catholics who traditionally oppose abortion, the overwhelming majority of voters approve of giving poor women as much access to abortion as the more affluent.

Abortion and the administration's unwillingness to grant a waiver of Clear Air Act ozone provisions to permit increased use of the corn product ethanol in gasoline has prompted some Illinois Republican candidates, including Williamson, to separate themselves pointedly from the national ticket.

Williamson has gone out of his way to draw distinctions between himself and the administration, and GOP candidates for legislative offices occasionally have skipped Bush events. This contrasts sharply with the 1988 contest, when local defections plagued the presidential campaign of Democrat Michael S. Dukakis.

In Wisconsin, the Thompson-Bush organization is trying to design a campaign that undermines Clinton's claims as a welfare and education reformer and to drive a wedge between liberal and moderate Democrats.

Thompson, whose popularity has remained high, has pushed school choice, including \$2,500 state grants for those seeking to attend private schools, and tough welfare reform. Far more Democrats than Republicans have opposed both proposals.

"These are wedge issues with Reagan Democrats, the voters in Green Bay and ethnic areas of Milwaukee," said Scott Jensen, running the Wisconsin Bush-Quayle drive.

But, Jensen acknowledged, popularity is hard to transfer. Even a well-liked governor such as Thompson has had considerable difficulty persuading voters who favor him to back legislative candidates he has endorsed. Swinging their support to an unpopular president may prove even more difficult.

David S. Broder

Comparing Clinton And Kennedy

DALLAS—The Democrats are doing their best to wrap Bill Clinton in the mantle of John F. Kennedy, but when you think about it, the comparison just doesn't work. I've been thinking about it a lot, after watching the admirably unsentimental, four-hour Public Broadcasting System documentary on the Kennedys and then coming here, the next day, to the city where JFK's saga ended in bloodshed almost three decades ago.

In the film biography of Clinton that introduced his acceptance speech at last summer's Democratic National Convention, the governor's media team made much of the handshake Kennedy gave Clinton when the youth from Arkansas came to Washington with other participants in the American Legion's Boys' Nation. Metaphorically, it was presented as a laying on of hands that inspired dreams of public service in the slim, curly haired youngster from Hot Springs, Ark.

I don't doubt that it was an exciting moment. But to suggest that somehow the soul and spirit of John Kennedy has been reincarnated in Bill Clinton—or even that the 1992 campaign is a sequel to 1960—is preposterous. It demeans Clinton in some ways and elevates him undeservedly in others.

As the documentary made clear, John Kennedy was the product of a dynasty, led by a relentlessly ambitious father, who was determined that his sons would achieve the eminence in politics that he had achieved in business. John Kennedy became the instrument of that family ambition after his older brother's death in World War II. As it turned out, he had a considerable flair for the game. But at every stage, from his first House race to the presidency, family money and family connections smoothed the way.

Clinton, by contrast, provided the spur to his own ambition and made the contacts that aided his rise. He scrounged to finance his campaigns, like other unprivileged rivals, and got to the top—in both his state and the nation—entirely on the dint of his own exceptional talent and effort.

Both men obviously were catnip to the ladies, but their attitudes toward women were as different as the eras in which they lived. Kennedy married a woman who was tremendously decorative and charming, but who had no interest in his life as a politician. Clinton's spouse is a match for her husband in political instincts and involvement. And anyone who knew the status of women in the Kennedy White House knows how inconceivable it was that Kennedy would have had a woman chief of staff, as Clinton has had as governor in Betsey Wright.

Kennedy was no Clinton when it came to the hard work of government. He was well-staffed in the Senate and, like other good politicians, was a quick study. But to suggest that he was an innovator in policy or a broker among his peers, as Clinton has been, would be to distort reality. Where Clinton has been a leader among the governors on education, welfare, child care and other national policy questions, Kennedy had a modest, a very modest, legislative record when he ran for president.

On the other hand—at least at this point—Clinton can't hold Kennedy's coat when it comes to sheer politics. To win the Democratic presidential nomination in 1960, Kennedy had to beat a gifted Hubert Humphrey in two primaries and then outmaneuver two other men who would also loom large in history's pages—Lyndon Johnson and Adlai Stevenson. By comparison, the field of rivals Clinton beat in this year's primaries look like midgets.

To be sure, after nomination, Kennedy did not have to run against an incumbent president, as Clinton is forced to do. But this is a far easier year for a Democrat to be running than 1960. Kennedy beat the political heir to an enormously popular president at a time when the economy was healthy and the United States' position in the world was secure. And he also overcame what had been until then an insuperable barrier—the prejudice against having a Catholic become president.

Today, the demand for change comes swelling up from the voters, carrying Clinton forward almost despite himself. In 1960, Kennedy had to create that demand himself, and he did it by mastering the then-new instrument of television and by energizing voters to produce a turnout that has not since been matched.

We don't yet know whether Bill Clinton can do either of those things—beat Bush on the tube or inspire nonvoters to vote. But we do know he's barely trying to do one thing Kennedy did in 1960. While Clinton cloned himself in picking Sen. Albert Gore Jr. of Tennessee, another moderate from a neighboring state, Kennedy reached across the divisions within the Democratic Party when he chose Lyndon Johnson as his running-mate.

And while Clinton has distanced himself from the Democratic Congress, Kennedy sounded a call for a party victory, not just a change of tenants in the White House. When Clinton starts to do that, comparisons may be more apt.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

The Democrats

Gore Says Bush's Efforts to Befriend Iraqi Leader Led to Gulf War

By ELAINE SCIOLINO
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 29 — Attacking President Bush's conduct of foreign policy, Senator Al Gore charged today that the Administration's efforts to befriend Saddam Hussein in the years before he invaded Kuwait led directly to an unnecessary war.

In an effort to transform what was once viewed as the President's greatest foreign policy success — the Persian Gulf war — into a political liability in the final weeks of the campaign, the Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate seized on an issue that Democrats in Congress have been chipping away at for months.

Citing recently declassified Administration memorandums and cables, Mr. Gore charged that Mr. Bush and his immediate predecessor, President Ronald Reagan, forged ahead with a policy of conciliation toward the Iraqi leader, approving the sale of sophisticated technology useful in Iraq's arms buildup and extending billions of dollars in loan guarantees despite evidence of Mr. Hussein's support for Palestinian terrorists, his military programs and his regional ambitions.

Mr. Gore's speech before the Center for National Policy, a nonpartisan public policy research group, offered no new disclosures of the Bush Administration's failed efforts to change Mr. Hussein's behavior by giving him economic and political incentives.

American Lives at Risk

But by sharpening the Democrats' personal attack on the President's character, the Tennessee Senator sought to portray Mr. Bush as a weak leader who followed an error-filled, duplicitous, amoral policy before Iraq's invasion and takeover of Kuwait in August 1990. This policy, Mr. Gore said, also put American lives at risk and made too many concessions when the gulf war was over.

The Tennessean charged that Mr. Bush's "poor judgment, moral blindness and bungling policies led directly to a war that should never have taken place."

As part of the Democrats' larger effort to neutralize the issue of which candidate can be trusted, Mr. Gore also charged that the President not only mishandled policy on Iraq, but also was less than truthful about it, and contended that such blunders made him unworthy of a second term. The Senator said that on two recent occasions Mr. Bush erroneously stated that the United States did not enhance Iraq's nuclear, chemical, biological or ballistic missile capability.

"Bush deserves heavy blame for intentionally concealing from the Ameri-



Senator Al Gore attacked the Bush Administration for its policy toward Iraq in the time before the Persian Gulf war. Mr. Gore addressed the Center for National Policy yesterday in Washington.

can people the clear nature of Saddam Hussein and his regime, for convincing himself that friendly relations with such a monster were possible, and for persisting in this effort far, far beyond the point of folly," Mr. Gore said.

Sharp Republican Reaction

The White House and the Republican leadership immediately dismissed Senator Gore's remarks as patently untrue.

"This is another effort by the Democrats in Congress to rewrite history to conceal their opposition to the war,"

said Marlin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman.

Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the Senate minority leader, called Mr. Gore's speech a "reckless election-year attempt at rewriting history" that he said "only highlights his own ticket's dangerous incompetence when it comes to foreign affairs."

In taking on the Iraq issue, the Democrats have entered a complicated political thicket that is difficult to explain to voters. Mr. Bush's approval rating soared to 91 percent at the end of the gulf war, and recent polls indicate that

Americans remain almost evenly divided on Mr. Bush's handling of the current situation in Iraq, despite Mr. Hussein's continued hold on power.

Mr. Gore, who voted in favor of the Senate resolution to go to war, did have praise for Mr. Bush's display of "fortitude and skill" in mounting an international coalition against the Iraqi leader after his invasion of Kuwait and confronting him with war.

Blaming the Firefighter

Although Mr. Bush "wants the American people to see him as the hero who put out a raging fire, he is the one who set the fire," the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee said. "He not only struck the match, he poured gasoline on the flames. So give him credit for calling in the fire department, but understand who started the blaze."

The speech addressed only briefly the issue of whether the Bush Administration's policy toward Iraq was not only flawed, but also criminal. Some Democrats in Congress have charged that the Administration willfully ignored evidence of Mr. Hussein's aggressive behavior in pursuing its admittedly failed policy toward Iraq, and then obstructed justice and lied to Congress to cover up its mistakes.

Senator Gore referred to "substantial evidence" that the Administration intentionally falsified export records and reports to Congress, a reference to a 1990 Commerce Department list of high-technology items to Iraq that was tampered with to conceal militarily useful items before the list was sent to Congress.

The Senator's aides said Mr. Gore, rather than Gov. Bill Clinton, the Democratic Presidential nominee, delivered the attack on Mr. Bush because of the Senator's prominence in foreign policy matters and as "an effective division of labor" between the Democratic candidates during the campaign.

Mr. Gore noted today that he protested Mr. Hussein's use of chemical weapons against his Kurdish citizens in August 1988, a month after the Iran-Iraq war ended, and urged the imposition of sanctions against Iraq. But he, like most members of Congress, earlier supported the Reagan Administration policy of insuring that Iraq not lose the war against Iran.

Mr. Gore defended his record in the Iran-Iraq war, telling reporters later today, "I do believe that a different standard ought to be used in judging the mistakes made toward Iraq while the Iran-Iraq war was going on, compared to the one that should be used after that war was over in 1988, because the strategic justification for looking the other way at their acts of terrorism was all of a sudden gone."

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Head to Head

With the presidential election only weeks away, *Reader's Digest* editors interviewed President Bush and Gov. Clinton about a variety of issues. Here is an excerpt from "Bush vs. Clinton: The Candidates Debate," which appears in the October issue.



Clinton: No. I favor school-choice programs where parents can choose another public school. I don't favor private vouchers, because there are already wide disparities among districts and because I believe that public education can be made to work if it's reformed.

Should the First Lady have a policy role in the White House?

Clinton: I would like Hillary to be involved, to be a real voice for America's children, to try to change some of our policies to promote child-rearing and stronger families. She has worked on that more than 20 years with the Children's Defense Fund. There's not a handful of people in this country who have done as much work as she has on this issue.

Bush: Not mine. Barbara has not tried to push into Cabinet meetings. She's done some wonderfully noble things for her country in literacy, caring for kids and demonstrating the need to help those afflicted with AIDS or who are down and out. She does not feel deprived because she's not making every decision on every piece of legislation that's before the Congress.

What is this election finally going to be decided on?

Clinton: I think it will be a race of change against the fear of change, of hope against fear in general, of new ideas against a more comfortable past.

It always takes more courage for people to change than to stay with a proven course, even if it's a failed course.

If the American people decide that we must do some things very differently than we've been doing for the last 12 years, then they will vote for Bill Clinton and Al Gore.

Bush: In the final analysis, it's going to be, Who do the American people trust to have the responsibility of being President of the United States? People are going to say, who has the experience—and I will be citing mine, in trying to bring about world peace, reduction of nuclear terror, trying to move the economy forward, standing up on anti-crime legislation and new programs on health reform. I'm confident that people will put their trust in me for another four years.

For a reprint of the full debate, call (914) 241-5372 or write: Reprint Manager, *Reader's Digest*, Box 406, Pleasantville, N.Y. 10570



We make a difference in 100 million lives worldwide.

What are the differences between you and your opponent?

Bush: We've got a major difference in terms of the economy. The answer is to stimulate economic growth. I do not favor more taxes. Every President has had at least one tax increase. We've had one. But I have had to veto tax bills and will continue to. Gov. Clinton's program has more taxes, particularly on small business. Small business is the backbone of our economy, and small business is the hope of a vigorous recovery.

I'm very proud of our record on foreign policy. When Gov. Clinton hits me on coddling Saddam Hussein, he's just flat wrong. He sat on the fence when I had to make a tough decision about war and peace. He joined the Democrats in Congress who fought me every inch of the way, saying, "Let sanctions work." Now he claims he supported the war.

Clinton: The difference is in the way we see the role of government. President Bush believes in trickle-down economics.

Trickle-down has failed. I don't think you can go back to an old tax-and-spend philosophy. But every education policy, tax policy, ought to be looked at with a view of putting people first.

You've got to have government, business, labor and education on the same side, working to invest in the capacity of the economy to compete in a tough, global economy. I think you have to create a whole new theory of government.

Is the economy better served by less government involvement or more?

Clinton: Government can do a good job of setting up the proper environment and incentives in which businesses in the private sector create jobs.

Germany, for example, controls health-care costs. We don't, so we have too little government in that sense. On the other hand, we try to micromanage the delivery of health care in a way that makes it more bureaucratic, costly and very unpleasant for health-care professionals. I would like a more active but less bureaucratic government.

Bush: Absolutely by less government involvement—by less regulation.

The way to stimulate growth is by giving people tax breaks—an investment tax allowance, a \$5,000 credit for first-time home buyers, changing the IRAs so people can have more flexibility without tax penalty in how they use that money, a capital-gains reduction that will stimulate jobs and growth. Each of these things means less government.

Are you in favor of a capital gains tax cut?

Bush: Yes.

Clinton: Only for long-term productive investments.

Do you favor term limitation for members of Congress?

Bush: Yes.

Clinton: No.

What can be done about the cost and availability of health care?

Clinton: We ought to have a basic system of health clinics to do primary and preventive care in our cities and our rural areas. We ought to have a basic health-care package that all private employers and the government provide that would enable us to simplify billing drastically and save tens of billions of dollars. And then we ought to encourage people to get into broad health-care groups where there is not such a financial incentive to perform procedures whether they are needed or not.

That would enable us to provide a basic system of health care for all Americans.

Bush: My health-care plan makes insurance available to all through tax credits, pooling of insurance, cost control.

Gov. Clinton supports some equivalent to the pay-or-play plan that drove businesses out of Massachusetts. It's going to run costs through the roof.

I'd stay away from socialized medicine or nationalized plans that are going to diminish the overall quality of U.S. health care.

Do you favor a school-choice program in which parents could use vouchers to send their children to any school they choose, including parochial and private schools?

Bush: Absolutely. We're championing a GI bill for children. It will not diminish public education; it will enhance it.

When I got out of the service I participated in the GI bill. They didn't say you can only go to a state college, or you can only go to a private college, but you can't go to a religious college. They said go where you want.

That principle resulted in a boom for all universities, increasing the quality of public universities. It will work for public schools. Gov. Clinton does not favor choice when it comes to religious schools, citing Constitutional opposition.

By ELIZABETH KOLBERT

It somehow seemed fitting 10 days ago when Ross Perot, the ultimate media candidate, said that he might re-enter the Presidential race simply to buy television time to talk about the issues.

CAMPAIGN WATCH

It also seemed appropriate when Mr. Perot proceeded to appear on several television shows talking about how his only goal was to get the other candidates to talk about the issues. And it seemed especially apt when Mr. Perot appeared Monday night on his favorite television call-in show, "Larry King Live," and expressed his regret that the campaign was not being waged on the issues.

All without talking about the issues. In the days since Mr. Perot began to talk about reviving his Presidential campaign, the once-and-future candidate has received more free television time than George Bush and Bill Clinton combined. He has been on NBC's "Today" program three times and on a special 90-minute edition of CNN's "Larry King Live" and is to appear today on "CBS This Morning."

Avoiding the Issues

Wherever he shows up, Mr. Perot rails about his opponents and their fuzzy approach to politics. But given broad latitude to discuss almost anything he wants, including what are commonly known as "the issues," Mr. Perot rarely does so. Instead, he talks about talking about the issues.

Consider this exchange recently between Mr. Perot and NBC's Jamie Gangel on "Today":

Ms. Gangel: "On taxes, Governor Clinton has said he's going to raise taxes on the rich. President Bush has, once again, taken the pledge no new taxes and is even talking about cutting. Which one is closer to what you think is responsible?"

Mr. Perot: "Well, you got to go to fair-shared sacrifice, and of course if I can get down here in the pile here, my book outlines that. We don't have time today to cover what I recommend, and I'm not sure I can find my book. We don't have time. But in the book, if you care to read it, is a plan for fair-shared sacrifice."

Or this one with Larry King after Mr. Perot's meeting with representatives from the Bush and Clinton campaigns:

Mr. King: "Did these guys agree with any of your strong sacrifice proposals? Raising top income tax rates, raising premiums, gas taxes?"

Mr. Perot: "No. But they were typically saying that we were very close on nearly every issue, but there were some differences. The interesting thing though is we talked about it. Now wouldn't it be interesting if we talked about differences, for example, if you have a good idea, and I have what I think is a good idea, and we talk about it constructively, we may have the idea that wins, right? That's what we need to be doing in these campaigns."

Understanding the Process

Watching Mr. Perot on television recently, it has been hard to avoid the conclusion that, despite all his protestations, he understands exactly how the political process — and perhaps even more important, the media — works. And apparently he intends to work them.

First there is the matter of his timing, which couldn't have been better from the standpoint of getting media attention. Just when the Presidential campaign was falling into a somewhat monotonous routine — President Bush attacks, Bill Clinton responds, polls unchanged — Mr. Perot stepped into the breach.

"The most remarkable thing about this campaign is how unremarkable it's been," ABC's Jeff Greenfield said. "Things settled into a pattern. So the notion of any kind of change in what has been an essentially unchanging election was bound to get a lot of coverage."

Then there is Mr. Perot's knack for ratings-boosting suspense. Having started his tease on morning television, Mr. Perot tantalizingly suggested that he would make his plans about re-entering the race known Monday on "Larry King Live." Once on the program, he said he would make his intentions clear later in the week.

If it was not already clear that Mr. Perot was the most sought after politician of the week before "Larry King," it was afterward. CBS's Mike Wallace called in to the show to suggest that Mr. Perot make his plans public Sunday evening on "60 Minutes." Mr. King countered by inviting Mr. Perot to come on his show again



Much of Ross Perot's effort in Presidential politics has been waged through the medium of television. On his favorite call-in show, "Larry King Live," he introduced his wife, Margo, and children Catherine Rathjen, Ross Perot Jr. and Nancy Mulford, right.

Ross Perot In His Own Words

On whether or not he would get back in:

"The point is, let's try to get the system to work within the two parties. We're working on that and we're working on it in all 50 states. . . . I say we're going to keep working hard to make the two-party system work. I want to give it every possible chance. I think we can get more done, more quickly and efficiently, that route, if the people who run the parties will listen to the people."

On why he might be forced to declare his candidacy so he could buy TV advertising time:

"Interestingly enough, I'm trapped. They won't sell it to

me unless I declare as a candidate, so I may be the first guy in history who will have to declare as a candidate so he could buy TV time. . . . So I may say, 'I declare,' so I can buy time. We'll have to see. The lawyers are working on it now, but it's a funny world out there, that you're forced to become a candidate to that you can explain to the American people what the problems are."

Sept. 18 on the "Today" show

On dropping out of the Presidential race in July:

"I made a mistake because I thought both parties would grab the issues and take off."

On how he would decide this time whether to run:

"If the volunteers — keep in mind, this is an organization controlled from the bottom up — the volunteers, millions of people, decide whether they want me to do it or not. If they want me to do it, we will certainly run to win. No point in doing it any other way."

Sept. 28,

"Larry King Live"



Thursday night or Friday night, whichever was more convenient.

Slidestepping Actual Plans

More than anything else, though, it is Mr. Perot's constant criticism of his fellow candidates, all done in the name of The Issues, that shows how adept he is at the game he claims to despise. Nothing has proven more effective this political year than trumpeting a plan to save the economy. And nothing has proven more dangerous than actually laying out what such a plan would entail.

Mr. Perot's plan, outlined in the book "United We Stand," which he

occasionally seems to misplace at the critical moment, does, in fact, lay out a detailed program for improving the nation's economy, one that includes increasing Medicare premiums, taxing Social Security benefits and raising gasoline taxes. But in over two hours of television interviews over the last several days, Mr. Perot has yet to voluntarily offer a single proposal from his book.

Perhaps, though, this will soon change. For on Monday night, Mr. Perot told Mr. King: "From this point forward, I absolutely refuse to discuss anything that is not critical to the future of this country."

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

Campaign Concerns Prompt White House To Drop Waste Plan

By KEITH SCHNEIDER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 29 — The White House has dropped a proposal to allow manufacturers to dispose of hazardous wastes in town dumps, senior Bush Administration officials said today, because of concern that the Bush campaign has become vulnerable to Democratic charges on the environment.

The decision was made by the White House chief of staff, James A. Baker 3d. Aides said he was worried about campaign charges that the Administration has tilted away from environmental protection. It struck down a proposal championed by the Council on Competitiveness, a cabinet-level group headed by Vice President Dan Quayle, which in the last 15 months has successfully advocated relaxing environmental regulations deemed to be needlessly burdensome to business.

Two senior White House officials said Mr. Baker was personally involved in the internal debate over the proposal, which would have allowed businesses to treat millions of tons of dangerous chemical wastes the same as household garbage and dispose of the material in ordinary landfills. Businesses are now required to detoxify such wastes carefully and bury them in special disposal sites or burn them in licensed toxic-waste incinerators.

The officials, who spoke on condition

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White House Retreats On Hazardous Wastes

Continued From Page A1

of anonymity, said Mr. Baker was worried that the Administration's yearlong effort to relax economically burdensome environmental rules had "tilted out of balance" and might become a political liability. In particular, the officials said, Mr. Baker was concerned about Mr. Bush's latest campaign promise on the environment, a pledge made in the Pacific Northwest two weeks ago to rewrite the Endangered Species Act to reduce protection for wild habitats and threatened species when jobs were at stake.

The decision to drop the proposal was made on Monday, a day before several prominent Democrats, among them Senator Max Baucus of Montana and Gov. Roy Romer of Colorado, were scheduled to hold a news conference to attack the proposal as a threat to public health and the environment that could increase the poisoning of the nation's ground water. At the news conference they said their criticism influenced the Administration to withdraw the proposal.

Senator Al Gore, the Democratic nominee for Vice President, issued a statement today that said the Administration's decision to withdraw the proposal was "an election year flip-flop that reflects the phony environmentalism that has marked the Bush-Quayle Administration."

The Administration's action is a blow to Vice President Quayle, who has often been at odds with Mr. Baker on policy issues. Mr. Quayle and the young staff of his Council on Competitiveness seized command of the Administration's agenda on the environment in the middle of 1991 by convincing President Bush that billions of dollars and thousands of jobs could be saved through accelerating the development of timber, oil, coal and other minerals, and by reducing the reach of environmental regulations.

Vice President's Reaction

A spokesman for Mr. Quayle said today that dropping the rule was a single decision and did not indicate that the Administration was going to withdraw its support for speeding up commercial development of natural resources or for reducing environmental regulations it considers harmful to business.

"The Environmental Protection Agency received hundreds of comments and they felt it was appropriate to take the action they did," said Jeffrey A. Nesbit, the spokesman, who said the issue could be taken up again after the election. "We don't see this as the start of a trend."

But officials of the E.P.A., the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture said today that other proposals written by the Competitiveness Council and approved

by Mr. Bush are also undergoing scrutiny by Mr. Baker's staff, including one proposed in August 1991 that would open half the nation's wetlands to development.

In the background of the Administration's decision on Monday lies a tangled political and legal history of the nation's program to manage and dispose of its most dangerous chemical wastes safely. In 1980, the chemical industry challenged two of the most important new rules the E.P.A. had issued under the 1976 Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, the nation's hazardous waste law.

Strict Rules on Hazards

One rule said that if a hazardous waste was mixed with other wastes, the resulting mixture was hazardous and must be treated and carefully disposed of. The other rule says any sludges, residues or other byproducts

Politics puts an end to easier dumping rules.

from treating hazardous wastes are also considered hazardous by the Government unless there is proof that they are not.

The two rules cover 45 million to 50 million tons of hazardous wastes generated each year, mostly by manufacturers, according to Dr. Joan B. Berkowitz, an independent market analyst in Washington, who based her estimate on her own research and figures provided by the Environmental Protection Agency. The Shell Oil Company and many other companies argued that much of this waste is dirt or sand or other materials that contain insignificant amounts of chemicals, and is not a health or environmental threat, yet costs industry billions of dollars to treat, burn or bury.

Last December, the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit threw out the two rules, saying they had been issued improperly by the E.P.A. The court said the E.P.A. could reissue the rules, but must begin a formal process to write new ones.

Four Administration officials, who were involved in writing the new rule but who also refused to be identified, described the internal struggle that accompanied the development of the proposal.

The competitiveness council, directed by David M. McIntosh, and conservative economists in the Office of Management and Budget, led by Art Fraas, heavily influenced the process of writing the new rule.

Senate Passes Tax Bill Containing Benefits for Many

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 29 — Six months after the Los Angeles riots unleashed a Congressional drive on urban aid, the Senate today finally approved a broad package to give tax incentives to businesses investing in impoverished city neighborhoods — along with a medley of tax benefits for every other economic group.

With the memory of the disturbances fading, the legislation sailed to passage on election-year crosscurrents. Provisions tacked on ranged from \$500 million in fresh financing for social programs like Head Start for the poor, to an expansion of individual retirement accounts for the middle class, to a cut in luxury taxes on furs, yachts and expensive automobiles for the wealthy.

But the lawmakers would also make permanent two tax increases for the very wealthiest taxpayers to pay for many of the \$32 billion in revenue that would be lost over five years. President Bush agreed to the two provisions — limiting itemized deductions and gradually discontinuing personal exemptions for the wealthy — as part of the 1990 budget deal. Since the Republican convention, however, he has insisted he would veto any legislation that raised taxes.

The bill passed by a vote of 70 to 29, with 22 Republicans joining 48 Democrats supporting the measure; 8 Democrats and 21 Republicans

The measure would expand existing I.R.A.'s and create a new one.

voted to defeat the bill.

During four days of often fractious debates, Senator Bob Dole, the Republican leader, accused Senate Democrats of attempting to set a campaign trap for Mr. Bush by forcing him to veto another popular bill. But many Republicans joined the Democrats in supporting the measure, some because of last week's attachment of a politically attractive measure cutting health costs for the self-employed and small businesses.

"We have some problems with the legislation," said Judy Smith, a White House spokeswoman. "We will wait to review the conference report."

Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, the Democratic chairman of the Finance Committee and primary sponsor of the bill, said the package fulfills "goals like revitalizing our cities, increasing savings and capital formation, aiding troubled families, and improving business competitiveness."

Indeed, the Senate tax package would touch the lives of almost all Americans, even if in

modest ways, in the unlikely event it is enacted. Middle-income families would receive a tax credit of up to \$2,500 for buying a first home. Disadvantaged children would become eligible for expanded foster care and nutrition services.

And in a modest concession to the White House, Senate Democrats included a capital gains write-off on long-term investments made by small start-up business ventures, halving the top tax rate on the earnings to 14 percent for investments held at least five years.

The Senate bill would expand individual retirement accounts to allow nearly all taxpayers to deduct their installments, up to \$2,000 annually. In addition, middle- and upper-income taxpayers would benefit from the establishment of a new form of I.R.A. The "special I.R.A." would allow taxpayers to make nondeductible contributions, with nontaxable withdrawals of capital gains, interest and dividend earnings as long as the funds were kept in the I.R.A. for at least five years.

"The list of winners in this bill goes on and on and on, each group narrower than the last, each group reaping benefits at the expense of all of the rest of the taxpayers," said Senator Bill Bradley, Democrat of New Jersey, as he noted that tax write-offs were being distributed like so many pork barrel projects to cotton warehouse owners, ferry boat operators and gunsmiths. "This bill has been promoted as an urban aid

Continued on Page D9

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

Senate Passes Broad Tax Measure

Continued From First Business Page

bill, but for an urban aid bill, surprisingly little goes to the poor in our inner cities."

The bill would establish 125 enterprise zones around the country, 75 of them in inner-city neighborhoods, set up with \$6 billion in tax benefits. Businesses would receive up to \$4,500 in tax credits for wages to employees who live in the zones, up to \$30,000 in first-year deductions for purchases of equipment and accelerated depreciation schedules for construction and equipment. It also authorizes the issuance of tax exempt bonds for building new businesses in the zones.

After the Los Angeles riots in April, the Bush Administration dusted off a \$1.9 billion plan setting up 50 zones, 15 of them in rural areas. For businesses expanding or locating in the zones, the Administration wanted to eliminate capital gains taxes on the sale of investments made in the zones and held for at least two years. It also proposed to give tax deductions of up to \$50,000 a year for people who buy stock in small companies doing business in the zones.

Mr. Bentsen struggled for months to keep capital gains write-offs out of the enterprise zones because, he said, "capital gains preferences benefit people who sell businesses." He added, "Preferences don't support businesses while they struggle to become vital long-term enterprises, and that is what we're trying to do after all."

Some urban experts have expressed little enthusiasm for enterprise zones, saying those that have been tried in 36 states have a mixed record at best. But other experts say enterprise zones cannot be judged until the tax benefits include write-offs on Federal taxes.

House Measure

The House has passed a far smaller bill — its cost is \$17 billion — that contains far fewer new I.R.A. benefits and enterprise zones. But the 50 it does establish would reduce the capital gains tax rate on new assets in zones held for five years to 14 percent.

"We'll have to get closer to the provisions of the House bill for enactment," predicted Representative Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, in an interview today.

"There's a lot of work to be done in a very short time," added the Illinois Democrat, who will serve as chairman of the conference committee. "If it can't be done in a few days, it won't be done. The critical question is whether the President will accept tax

Enterprise Zones, and a Lot More

How the Senate bill stacks up against the House version and Administration proposals.

URBAN AID

SENATE 125 'enterprise zones,' 75 in urban areas. Up to \$4,500 in tax credits to businesses for wages paid to employees who live in the zones and up to \$30,000 in first-year deductions for purchases of equipment.

HOUSE 50 zones, with similar benefits, but also includes a modest cut in capital gains tax.

BUSH Said after the Los Angeles riots that generous enterprise zones were needed.

THE ECONOMY

SENATE Tax credit of up to \$2,500 for first-time homebuyers.

HOUSE No provision.

BUSH Has proposed \$5,000 credit.

CAPITAL GAINS

SENATE No provision for capital gains in enterprise zones.

HOUSE Maximum capital gains tax rate of 14 percent on new investments by small business operators in enterprise zones held for five years or more.

BUSH Would like capital gains reductions for all businesses and investors everywhere.

HEALTH CARE

SENATE Would permit self-insured people to deduct 100 percent of health insurance payments, up from 25 percent.

HOUSE No provision; House Democrats are unenthusiastic.

BUSH Has supported similar measures in the past.

I.R.A.'S

SENATE Tax-free withdrawals from existing individual retirement accounts for college tuition, and medical expenses. Also reinstates deductible I.R.A.'s for nearly all taxpayers.

HOUSE Similar medical and tuition provisions.

BUSH Has proposed penalty-free withdrawals in the past but is against the Senate's version because of the cost.

TAX INCREASES

SENATE Would make permanent the phase-out of personal exemptions and limits on itemized deductions for the wealthiest taxpayers.

HOUSE No provision.

BUSH Strongly opposed.

hikes."

Under the Senate bill, the Housing Secretary and other Cabinet members would select which urban and rural areas would qualify for the tax write-offs, making it difficult to predict how New York, New Jersey and Connecticut will ultimately benefit.

Brad Johnson, Washington counsel to Gov. Mario Cuomo, said a provi-

sion to grant tax credits to low-income housing builders would provide New York State with \$22 million in annual credits. But he said he was concerned about the limitation on itemized deductions for the wealthiest taxpayers, which he said would raise New Yorkers' Federal taxes by \$700 million in 1996 and 1997 when the current rule is extended. An aide to

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, however, said he was confident that measure would not be in the final bill. He said New York City would certainly qualify for enterprise zones, and that Buffalo would be in the running.

Those Chicken Georges And What They Mean

By MICHAEL KELLY
Special to The New York Times

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Sept. 29 — In examining the Clinton campaign's developing strategy for unnerving, unsettling and eventually unhorsing George Bush, it is illuminating to consider the matter of the President and Chicken George.

For more than a week now, at his campaign appearances, Mr. Bush has faced hecklers costumed as giant chickens, bearing signs that mock the Republican candidate for refusing to debate Bill Clinton on terms set out by an independent commission.

The chivvying seems to have worked itself a surprisingly far way under Mr. Bush's skin, and recently the world has been treated to the novel sight of the President of the United States getting testy with a fake fowl.

Dressing Down a Chicken

From the rear of a train on a Midwest whistle-stop tour Monday, Mr. Bush spoke sharply to an ersatz hen waving a poster proclaiming, "Chicken George Won't Debate."

"You talking about the draft record

South, the West and New England that were considered safely Republican. Indeed, political polls show Mr. Bush the clear favorite in only one state in the nation, Utah.

Based on Close Finish

Clinton campaign strategists are quick to say they do not expect these days of riches to last forever. Indeed, they are basing their strategy on the idea of the race closing sharply and culminating in a two- or three-point victory on Nov. 3.

But that does not really matter. What matters, senior campaign officials say, is that Mr. Clinton's unexpectedly wide strength this late in the race allows the Democrats to play a highly offensive game, spending an extraordinary amount of time in theoretically Republican states, picking and choosing targets from New England to the Deep South.

Thinking About Separate States

"People tend to think of a Presidential campaign as one national effort, but internally, at this point, all we think about every day is about separate states, putting the 270 electoral votes we need together state by state," said George Stephanopoulos, the campaign's communications director.

"And every time we go to a Bush state, we pin Bush down another day in his own bunker," he said. "Look at the places where Bush is spending his time now: Mississippi, Alabama, North Carolina, Texas, Tennessee. We are forcing him to spend great amounts of time defending his own turf. And any of these states that we actually carry is a state right out of George Bush's hide."

In the Clinton camp's view, Mr. Bush finds himself in a position very similar to that Michael S. Dukakis enjoyed at about this time in 1988.

"In 1988, Dukakis was the one trying to thread the needle, looking desperately for a way to put together enough states to hit 270," said Craig Smith, the campaign's national field director. "That puts you automatically on the defensive. Dukakis spent all his time playing between his own goal line and their 20-yard line. This year we are playing the entire field, and it's the Republicans who are stuck between their goal and the 20."

Even if Mr. Clinton ultimately fails to carry many of the Republican states, his strategists figure they win by their current strategy of targeting these states because it all goes to keep the Bush campaign managers off balance, running around the country answering Mr. Clinton's attacks. "It plays with their minds," as Mr. Stephanopoulos put it.



Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas reaching to greet supporters yesterday in Louisville after addressing a rally at the Kentucky Center for the Arts.

It does more than that. It works to dominate state-by-state news, producing daily reports favorable to Mr. Clinton and unfavorable to Mr. Bush. That would be important in any campaign strategy, but it is crucial in the Clinton operation.

'Get-on-TV' Strategy

Traditional field operations hold as their core duty the identification and motivation of specific voters and subgroups of voters. The Clinton state-by-state strategy is based on the theory that the key to victory is not this at all, but rather an aggressive effort to manipulate local television.

"In this campaign we have a G.O.T.V. program, but it doesn't mean Get Out the Vote," Mr. Smith said. "It means Get on TV." It is a very very heavy media operation, and in this way it mirrors the national drive.

"Each state has two or three staffers whose whole job is Get on TV," he added. "We don't evaluate our people on the ground by how many voter-I.D. phone calls they make each day. We evaluate them by how they do in media placement each day: Did you get on TV? Did you make it on the front page? What was the tone of the coverage? How good was the play?"

And for getting on television, nothing beats Chicken George. Mr. Smith estimated that 15 to 20 Chicken

A campaign goal to dominate local TV news coverage.

Georges have succeeded in getting into Bush rallies, and onto local or even national television.

As he was speaking, videotape of the exchange between Mr. Bush and the chicken appeared on the screen of the television by Mr. Smith's desk. "Look, there he is now!" he claimed, laughing.

Originated in Michigan

Mr. Smith said the first chicken to challenge the President was unplanned by headquarters, the inspiration of a Michigan volunteer. But the Michigan man's act made the local news, and his continued success over several days of Bush campaign stops became a topic in the 7:45 A.M. meeting at which Mr. Craig and the 20 or so people running field operations plot daily tactics.

"For three days in a row, we were getting reports about how big this Chicken George is going over in Michi-

gan, so we decided we should encourage it," Mr. Smith recalled, in an interview in his office in Little Rock. "You know what they say: Let a thousand flowers bloom. This one bloomed pretty nicely."

The field media operation is sophisticated and ruthless. The computer that sits on Mr. Smith's desk is connected to computers on 50 other desks around the country and sends each state operation fresh "talking points," and documentation for defensive and offensive efforts four or five times a day.

Each day's work is planned in an early morning meeting, and the success of each is checked through a system that requires press representatives from each state to send in, through five regional "cluster" desks in Little Rock, reports specifying exactly what news reporting was achieved. High achievers are directly rewarded.

Mr. Smith pointed to a newspaper photograph on his desk, showing a protester at a Bush rally holding up a sign bearing the Clinton campaign's toll-free number.

State Budget Rewards

"We get these 1-800 signs in Bush rallies all over the country and that's important, because the cameras pay attention to them," he said. "To encourage the people in the field to be

aggressive about it, I put a rule into effect: For every photograph each state can produce from a local paper of one of our 1-800 signs, I increase that state's budget by \$50. If the picture runs above the fold out front, \$100."

Every day is an opportunity for more news reports, and the campaign is relentless. "We're not dumb, and that's why we're not going to let up for a second," Mr. Stephanopoulos said. "We know the other side is going to go nuclear soon, and we know that things are going to change. Things have to tighten up. That's the way Presidential races are."

Sitting on a sidewalk curb in front of the old newspaper building that serves as Clinton headquarters in Little Rock, Jeff Eller, the campaign's political communications director, puffed a cigar Monday afternoon and contemplated Tuesday.

"Tomorrow Clinton goes to Louisville, Ky., to talk about Bush not appearing for the Presidential debate scheduled there for that day. So we decided in the 7:45 meeting today that that would be a fine day to have Chicken Georges picket Bush-Quayle state headquarters all across the country. So we put out the word to each regional cluster's press person, and they put the word out to the states. We'll find out tonight how we did."

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

In Their Own Words

PRESIDENT BUSH

In a speech yesterday at a campaign rally in Knoxville, Tenn.

“Governor Clinton wants you to trust that the American 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 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 wring 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 any more.”

GOV. BILL CLINTON

In a speech yesterday to a campaign rally in Louisville, Ky.

“I want America to promote progress, not poverty. And it doesn't serve the interests of the workers in the United States or Central America when employers close their factories down here that provide workers with a decent standard of living and open up sweatshops to pay starvation wages in another country.

“60 Minutes,” listen to this, the “60 Minutes” program actually showed film of a United States Government employee promising what he thought was a business prospect that there would be no union activity in the Central American country because — listen to this, listen to this — because the prospective troublemakers could be fired and blacklisted so they would never be hired. That is a violation of all of our trade agreements, and this Administration has supported it.”

SENATOR AL GORE

In response to a question about debates as he arrived yesterday in New Castle, Del.

“Governor Clinton was in Michigan ready to debate. He was in Louisville ready to debate. And he will be in San Diego ready to debate this Sunday. Let's start the debate's right there, and then sit down with the commission and work out the all of the other details of other debates that will be forthcoming. We're ready to go. Governor Clinton will be in San Diego, and if Bush is serious, he will be there also to start the series of debates.”

VICE PRESIDENT DAN QUAYLE

In a speech yesterday at Ronald Reagan's boyhood home in Dixon, Ill.

“When Jimmy Carter went out of office, interest rates, interest rates were at 21 percent. Where are they today? About 6 percent. Inflation? Inflation was at 13 percent. Today it's about 3, 3½ percent. Remember the misery index that Jimmy Carter created during the 1976 campaign: unemployment and inflation? Well it was about 20 percent on Carter's watch, and now under our watch it's about 10 percent. We've cut it in half, and we're proud of it.

When Ronald Reagan became President, 22 nations around the world were Communist. Today, five. We now have, thanks to the Republican leadership, we have a stronger America. Our children are safer today than they've ever been before. We have got a great record, and now it's time to take our agenda for the future to the American people.”

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

Mr. Perot: Where's the Cattle?

There was never a question about Ross Perot's appeal to millions of disenchanted Americans, or about his ability to articulate widespread frustration with economic decline and political stalemate. The big question about him was always this: Is he fit to lead? With Mr. Perot flirting shamelessly with a late re-entry into the Presidential race, that question burns more brightly than ever.

Mr. Perot would best serve the nation by not running at all. He has no chance of winning. And his eleventh-hour entry may only confuse an increasingly sharp battle between two candidates who, unlike him, have stayed the course. But if Mr. Perot goes through with the charade of honoring a "summons" from his hand-picked supporters, he'll have a final chance to display the political courage that he has conspicuously failed to show during his quixotic and self-indulgent journey.

Ross Perot certainly hasn't lost his capacity to inspire political fear. Witness Monday's obsequious pilgrimage to Dallas by high-level emissaries from President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton. Their task was to persuade him and his 50 state coordinators that they share his concern about the Federal budget deficit.

The state coordinators said they were not impressed, and chances are that in a few days they'll return to Dallas and persuade Mr. Perot to run. At which point the questions that so annoyed him the first time around will begin anew — although he will have artfully reduced the time in which to ask them to less than five weeks.

There were, to begin with, questions of character. Reporters dug up impressive evidence of his

penchant for espionage and intimidation. There were questions about his willingness to seek favors from the Washington establishment he professed to despise; and questions about his theories of governance — particularly his devotion to an "electronic town hall" that would bypass the constitutional powers of Congress.

Maddeningly, he refused to adopt and defend a set of reasonably clear policy proposals. He was contemptuous of reporters who wanted to know his positions "on everything from mosquitoes to ants." He promised to produce a platform within 60 days, then reneged. He finally produced a detailed economic program — but only after withdrawing from the race.

So here's one more question for the next phase of the Perot campaign, assuming there is one. Is he willing to take his ideas to the people? His economic program is detailed in a book called "United We Stand: How We Can Take Back Our Country." It calls for higher taxes for many Americans, new taxes on some beneficiaries of entitlement programs, sharp limits on deductions for mortgage interest and cuts in many Federal programs.

These are powerful ideas. To many economists, they would reduce the deficit too fast, causing economic harm during a recession. To many pundits they're political suicide.

Still they are worthy of serious debate. But all Ross Perot has really done is wave the book at talk-show audiences and say, "read this," while asking Bill Clinton and George Bush to do the dirty work. That's not leadership. So far, as Lyndon Johnson might have said, Mr. Perot has been "all hat and no cattle."

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

Campaign Trail

Quayle Sees Good Side To What Perot Decides

Vice President Dan Quayle says Ross Perot "certainly sounds" like a candidate to him, and he has some thoughts about whether a Perot candidacy would help the Bush-Quayle ticket or the Clinton-Gore ticket.

"If Ross Perot runs, that's good for us," Mr. Quayle told a pack of reporters yesterday in Rockford, Ill. "If he doesn't run," he added, "it's good for us."

Say what?

"That's for you to figure out," the Vice President replied.

The pack was still in the dark by the time Mr. Quayle arrived in Dixon to visit the boyhood home of Ronald Reagan, so he agreed to spell out his reasoning: "He's going to take votes away from both."

Feeling at Home In Many Places

Sometimes it's hard to tell where President Bush is coming from. Literally.

He brags about having been born in Massachusetts. He says he grew up in Connecticut. He owns a home in Maine. And he votes in Texas.

On Monday while he was campaigning in Missouri, he declared that he had the "heartbeat of St. Louis" because his mother had been born in that city.

That seemed a bit of a stretch, even in a political year, but it was nothing compared to what happened yesterday in Alcoa, Tenn. There, deep in the home state of Al Gore, Mr. Bush happily went along with a local politician who introduced him as "a son of Tennessee."

Seems the President is a seventh-generation descendant of one Jonathan Weir, a Tennessean who, according to the introduction, distinguished himself by "fighting the British."

Battle for Texas Is Slow to Unfold

Texas is more than the state where Mr. Bush votes. Many political experts say it also is the one state, above all, that the President must carry if he hopes to be re-elected.

But the Bush campaign has yet to begin an all-out push to capture Texas and its 32 electoral votes. Although Republican leaders talked ominously

earlier this month about a "September storm" that would "blow away" Bill Clinton's chances of capturing the state, there seems to have been little action except for a few mailings and the establishment of some phone banks.

Why?

Some party officials now insist the "September storm" was never a firmly fixed plan, complete with campaign themes, schedules and television blitzes. They say they still intend to "blow away" Mr. Clinton — there was a planning meeting yesterday — but they won't say whether it will be an "October storm" or how they'll go about it.

Mr. Clinton is not the only challenge Texas Republicans face this year. There have been morale problems among the rank and file, squabbling among party leaders and endless worry about what to do about a possible candidacy by that other Texan, Ross Perot.

Deep in the Heart Of a Political Thicket

Speaking of problems in Texas ...

Bill Clinton may have a new one there.

Some Democrats are concerned that the resignation of Lena Guerrero, the Texas Railroad Commissioner who has acknowledged falsifying her academic record, could cost the Arkansas Governor some support, maybe a percentage point or two. Ms. Guerrero, a Democrat, was forced to admit that not only was she not a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Texas, as she had claimed, but not a graduate at all. She remains on the ballot, and the fear is that her "character" problem will remind some voters that Mr. Clinton has also wrestled with "character" problems.

Polls have consistently indicated that the Bush-Clinton contest is a tossup in the Lone Star State, even when Mr. Perot is factored in. So a loss of a point or two could be crucial.

B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.

The New York Times

WANTS 2 FORMATS

K, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

Consecutive Showdowns on Sundays Proposed — No Accord Yet

By RICHARD L. BERKE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 29 — President Bush challenged Gov. Bill Clinton today to four debates on consecutive Sundays in a surprise move that was intended to shake up the Presidential race and silence Democratic accusations that he fears his opponent.

Mr. Clinton, campaigning in Ohio, said he, too, was eager to debate, but he stopped short of accepting Mr. Bush's ground rules.

Mr. Bush departed from his text in a speech at Austin Peay State College in Clarksville, Tenn., to unveil one of the boldest tactical moves of the campaign. He said he wanted to appear with the Arkansas Governor on national television every Sunday night from Oct. 11 through Nov. 1, two days before the election.

Would Welcome Perot

The President proposed that two of the debates include a panel of journalists quizzing the candidates, a format Mr. Bush has favored before, and the other two use a single moderator, an arrangement endorsed by Mr. Clinton and the bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates. To further signal a willingness to enter the fray on national television as he is trailing badly in the polls, Mr. Bush said that Ross Perot would be welcome to join the debates if he decided to enter the race.

Mr. Clinton tried to cast himself as more eager to debate than Mr. Bush by countering that he wanted the first debate to be this Sunday, as originally proposed by the commission, and the second to be on Oct. 15, another date scheduled by the commission. Though Mr. Bush has insisted that he does not want the debates to be handled by the commission, Mr. Clinton sought its involvement again today, saying a decision about two more debates should be up to that organization.

'We Bided Our Time'

Bush aides said the President's proposal was inspired in part by the expectation that Mr. Perot would enter the race. He delivered his challenge in late afternoon, close to broadcast time for the network news programs, increasing the time pressure on the Clinton organization. Mr. Bush moved after a day in which his campaign organization had left the impression that it was not ready to agree to debates, and in which members of the commission raised doubts as to whether debates would ever take place.

The announcement came as commission officials were telling reporters that for the third time that they were canceling a scheduled debate, set for Sunday in San Diego, because of the Bush campaign's refusal to agree to the terms.

"Bill Clinton tried to make it a manhood issue," said a senior Bush aide,

The Debates

Bush Challenges Clinton: Debate On 4 Sundays

Continued From Page A1

"and we bided our time and let him take his shots. And now we're calling his bluff. He's got absolutely no choice. He's either serious about debates or he isn't."

Although the rivals have not reached any agreement, officials in both campaigns and on the commission said the fact that Mr. Bush has made a move greatly increases the likelihood that debates would take place.

Mr. Clinton and his advisers were caught off guard by Mr. Bush's announcement, which many analysts saw as a ploy typical of James A. Baker 3d, Mr. Bush's chief of staff, whose instinct is to look as if he is playing it safe and then spring something on his opponent.

Trying for a Change

The consensus among Mr. Bush's aides seems to be the same as their view on wanting Mr. Perot to enter the race: the only way to counter a losing trend is to change the complexion of the campaign. The move today clearly reflected a calculation that Mr. Bush needs to get the voters' attention in a way that he has not, and that the best way to do that is to get Mr. Clinton on stage with him.

In his challenge, Mr. Bush also said there should be two Vice-Presidential debates in October, one under each of the formats. The President, who has been trying every avenue to undermine whatever trust voters have in Mr. Clinton, used the occasion to suggest that his opponent did not want to face tough questioning.

"The candidates should not be afraid to accept and respond to questions from reporters during the course of the debates," Mr. Bush said. "Let's get it on!" he shouted.

'Let's Start This Sunday'

Mr. Clinton, campaigning at Ohio State University in Columbus, declared that he had been the one who months ago agreed to the commission's proposal. "I'm very happy to debate," he said. "Let's start this Sunday."

In raising questions about Mr. Bush's proposed schedule, Mr. Clinton noted that the commission had scheduled its debates to avoid conflicts with the Major League Baseball playoffs and the World Series.

Mr. Clinton described Mr. Bush's challenge as "a last-minute deal," add-

ing: "I thought for a long time they wouldn't have debates. But I think they got pounded on."

Indeed, the pounding continued up until Mr. Bush's announcement. Earlier in the day, Mr. Clinton traveled to Louisville, Ky., where the second debate had been scheduled to take place tonight, and taunted the President.

As if struck by a sudden thought, Mr. Clinton delivered a line at a noontime rally that had all the marks of a made-for-television special. "Well, let me tell you something," he said. "Here in Louisville, it occurs to me that you can't be a Louisville slugger if you don't stand up to the plate."

'Cynical' View Perceived

He charged repeatedly that Mr. Bush was ducking the debates because he did not dare try to defend his Administration's record. "It's bad enough that Mr. Bush isn't here to face up to his challenger; he won't face America's challenges," Mr. Clinton said.

Even Paul G. Kirk Jr., the debate commission's co-chairman and a former chairman of the Democratic Par-

ty, was prompted to break from his neutral stance and lash out at the President this morning, accusing him of taking a "cynical view."

"I don't think George Bush feels that debates are in his best interest," Mr. Kirk said in an interview. "That's the political bottom line. The chances of there just being one debate now are quite slim; the American people will make a judgment about why there weren't debates and who chose not to come to the table and not debate."

And at a news conference on Capitol Hill, Democratic senators and governors went further than their party's nominee in lashing out at Mr. Bush. Saying that the public should not foot the bill for a President who refuses to debate, Senator David Pryor of Arkansas called on Mr. Bush to return \$75 million in Federal money used to pay for his campaign. Senator John D. Rockefeller 4th of West Virginia repeatedly called the President a "coward."

A New York Times/CBS News poll of voters nationwide, taking as the general election campaign began after La-

bor Day, found that 63 percent of registered voters nationwide had the impression that Mr. Bush was avoiding debates.

But Bush aides said they expected Mr. Perot to enter the race, but that the President's announcement today would give them the upper hand.

"Nobody, not even Clinton, presumed we would be silly enough to debate in September," said a senior Bush aide. "He was smart enough to run on it for a couple of weeks, and they presumed we would be smart enough not to fall for it. Now things could not be more volatile."

Mr. Bush's announcement came just a few hours after his campaign chairman, Robert M. Teeter, sent the debate commission a letter that was widely interpreted as another rejection by the Bush team of the debate schedule.

Presidential aides said the letter was intended as a feint, to distract press attention while Mr. Bush strolled through three small-bore events around Tennessee until he was ready to make his announcement this evening.

Continued on Page A22, Column 1

BUSH SHIFTS STAND, SAYING HE'S READY TO HOLD 4 DEBATES

OCTOBER			
SUN	MON	TUE	WED
4	5	6	7
11	12	13	14
18	19	20	21
25	26	27	28
NOVEMBER			
1	2	3	
ELECTION			

The New York Times

2 Camps Regard A Perot Revival With Less Fear

By ROBIN TONER

Special to The New York Times

DALLAS, Sept. 29 — Strategists in the Bush and Clinton campaigns agree that a revived candidacy by Ross Perot would not be the powerful third force that it seemed last spring. But the Bush forces are hoping that it would help shake up a race that seemed ominously stable for a President lagging in the polls.

Strategists in both camps say that Mr. Perot, if he enters the race on Thursday, will probably make his influence felt around the margins. Citing the lateness of the hour, his current standings in the public-opinion polls and the high negative ratings that Mr. Perot has acquired since he bolted from the race last July, these strategists say they expect him to attract about the same percentage of votes as third-party candidates in the past — in the teens or even single digits.

Even so, that could have an impact in a close contest between President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton, particularly in some of the big, battleground states that are crucial to accumulating the 270 electoral votes necessary to win. "He'll be important if we accomplish our goal, which is to draw even with Clinton," said Fred Steeper, a poll taker for Mr. Bush.

Other Bush strategists said they hoped that simply by re-entering the race, Mr. Perot would force voters to think anew after a month in which Mr. Bush campaigned hard, trying a variety of appeals but had failed to close the gap with the Democratic Presidential nominee. "It tends to break things

Campaign Strategy

Perot's Return Would Lack Force, but Bush Backers Say Anything May Help

Continued From Page A1

loose, shake things up," a senior Bush adviser said.

Bush aides hope that Mr. Perot's re-emergence, coupled with the Bush campaign's call for four Presidential debates today, essentially creates a new race.

"Between what Perot did yesterday and what we did today in terms of debates, it blows away the notion of inevitability, which we were getting very close to reaching," said one Administration official, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "We needed to burst it open, and that's what we've done, and Bill Clinton is going to have to go back and re-examine every strategic and tactical judgment he's made in recent weeks."

Democrats largely dismiss this anal-

ysis as wishful thinking; if anything, many of them say, Mr. Perot is monopolizing attention at a time when Mr. Bush badly needs it, and is creating new complications for the President on a political map that is already decidedly unfriendly to him.

Symbolic Vote Called Unlikely

In general, Clinton campaign aides played down the impact of a Perot candidacy today, suggesting that voters were unlikely in such grim times to cast a symbolic vote.

"I still think the most likely scenario is Perot gets in the race, and it's anticlimactic," said Stan Greenberg, the poll taker for Mr. Clinton. "For those people who want to vote to change the occupant in the White House, I don't think Perot will be seen as a real option."

James Carville, a top strategist for the Clinton camp, said, "The more con-

In a close race, a voter revolt could be heard.

fused the thing gets the more disciplined we have to be." The primary issue, Mr. Carville asserted, remains the economy and the yearning for change, which is the wave the Arkansas Governor has ridden so far.

Strategists in both campaigns are quick to say that any analysis of the Perot factor is largely premature. If he decides to run it is not clear, they said, how serious a campaign he will run, how many states he will focus on, or whether he will confine himself to encouraging debate on issues like the deficit or present himself as a full-

blown candidate for the Presidency.

Moreover, political professionals in both parties said they were not sure how credibly or critically Mr. Perot would be treated by the news media. This week he has dominated much of television in the way that he did when he was first flirting with a race last spring.

Still, the Bush and Clinton campaigns are clearly making some initial judgments. Aides in both camps said they did not expect a reprise of the harsh attacks on Mr. Perot that the Bush campaign undertook in the spring, when Mr. Perot was briefly at the head of the pack. Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton have kept their fire trained on each other, and are hoping to keep an open door for the supporters of Mr. Perot, who could slip away as the election approaches and he remains mired in third place.

This attitude was reflected in the delegations sent here on Monday to brief Mr. Perot's state coordinators and, by extension, pay tribute to the Texas businessman. "There's less of a reason to bang on him, and more of a reason to court his supporters," said Mr. Steeper.

In general, the two campaigns are struggling to analyze two aspects of a Perot re-entry: his impact on individual states and his broader impact on the campaign dialogue.

From a geographic standpoint Mr. Perot is seen as a problem to Mr. Bush in two states that are the anchors of any Republican victory this year: Texas and Florida. He is seen as troublesome to Mr. Clinton in some of the Midwestern states and, if the race should tighten, in California, although the Democrat's lead in that state is formidable.

Jim Oberwetter, Mr. Bush's cam-

paign chairman in Texas, said he expected Mr. Perot would "get into the double-digits, but I can't tell you if that's in the tens or twenties, and I think he'll draw votes from both Bush and Clinton."

Still, many Democrats assert that Mr. Perot makes Mr. Bush's job far harder in the traditional Republican Presidential base in Texas and the Deep South. Conversely, Republicans are hoping that Mr. Perot chips away at Mr. Clinton in some Northern states like New Jersey or Ohio by pulling away Reagan Democrats who are angry at Mr. Bush but uneasy with Mr. Clinton.

Mr. Greenberg, the Democratic poll taker, asserted, "There's no state I look at where Perot's entry puts the state in jeopardy, but there are a number of states where Perot's entry gives us a precarious lead or widens it."

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

Ross Perot

Grass-Roots Drive Shows Hand of Oz

By STEVEN A. HOLMES
Special to The New York Times

DALLAS, Sept. 29 — As Ross Perot awaits the word from his supporters, there are increasing signs that his grass-roots organization is neither as large nor as independent as he purports it to be and that the signs of support he cites may not be as strong as he claims.

In addition, interviews with state coordinators returning home indicate that the process being used to determine whether the grass-roots group will urge the Dallas billionaire to run seem weighted in ways that will insure Mr. Perot is told to enter the race.

For example, Matt Wickless, state coordinator for Nebraska, said his group would telephone supporters who have been active in United We Stand, America, the organization financed by Mr. Perot since he abandoned the race in July. But Mr. Wickless added that individuals who worked to place Mr. Perot's name on the ballot in the state, then became disillusioned when he dropped out, would not be polled.

Interviews with former officials in Mr. Perot's original petition committees around the country and a review of the financial disclosure form that Mr. Perot has filed with the Federal Elections Commission indicate that despite his claims of having an independent grass-roots organization, Mr. Perot's Dallas headquarters hand-picked the state coordinators in a number of states and placed some of them on the campaign payroll.

'No Bottoms-Up Organization'

"The guys in charge in Dallas had this roving gang of rouges who were going around the country replacing people, I mean just replacing them," said John Opincar, an Austin businessman who was coordinator for central Texas for the Perot Petition Committee until Mr. Perot quit the race. "I like Mr. Perot. I have a lot of respect for him and am in favor of what he's trying to do. But United We Stand is no bottoms-up organization. Ross is going to do what Ross is going to do."

Mr. Perot said today on the NBC "Today" show: "This whole organization, which I will never get across to the media, is driven from the bottom up. Most political organizations are driven from the top down by a handful of powerful people."

Documents filed with the F.E.C. indicate that at least eight of the state coordinators of United We Stand, America, were being paid during August. Among those were the state coordinators from states such as California, New Jersey, Texas, Maryland and Wisconsin.

Some former volunteer workers in the Perot effort say that the state chapters of United We Stand, America, are little more than hollow entities that will rubber stamp decisions made in Dallas and have little broad-based support.

"They've been trying to get me to work with United We Stand, but I've resisted because they don't have control," said Joyce Shepard, a psychotherapist from Bayside, Queens, who



Tom O'Neil of Lawrenceville, N.J., was replaced as a state coordinator. He said: "In New Jersey, there are no volunteers. There are only Perot's people."

was coordinator of the Perot effort in the borough and now heads her own grass roots political group. "It they want to endorse in a Senate race, they have to get the O.K. from Dallas."

Orson Swindle, executive director of United We Stand, America, denied that there is an heavy handed control of state chapters by the Dallas headquarters. He said state organizations are free to endorse candidates if they so choose. But another Perot aide acknowledged that some of the campaign coordinators have been paid.

Beyond the issue of control, some former Perot volunteers say the organization is little more than a shell of its former self. When Mr. Perot pulled out, many volunteers stopped being active and these former workers say the new group has done little to bring them back, even after the Texan hinted he would once again be an active candidate. Indeed, some say they have been kept at arms length.

"The whole thing is a grand illusion," said Dawn Larson, a former county coordinator in Oswego, Ill., a rural part of the state southwest of Chicago.

Ms. Larson said the Illinois state coordinator for United We Stand, America, was recently quoted as saying the group would contact about 20,000 people to determine if Mr. Perot should again become a candidate.

"Even at the height of the petition drive we had a list of 16,000 to 17,000 petition passers," said Ms. Larson, who is an elector for Mr. Perot in her state. "Most of us who actually were the ones who put him on the ballot have never given them their lists, and they have never asked for it."

Sharon Holman, spokeswoman for United We Stand, America, acknowledged that a number of the state coordinators whom Mr. Perot continues to call "volunteers" were being paid. But she said that this was the result of commitments made by "political professionals" who no longer work for Mr. Perot. Last spring, Mr. Perot hired several political veterans to take charge of his campaign. They left the organization when Mr. Perot dropped out in July.

"That was a holdover to satisfy a commitment previously made when the professionals felt we should have paid people in those spots," Ms. Holman said. She added that currently only the state coordinators in California and Texas are still being paid.

\$4 Million Since July

Since Mr. Perot said he would no longer be a candidate for President on July 16 he has spent nearly \$4 million in the effort to get his name placed on the ballot in the remaining states. Officials in New York State say the businessman spent about \$1 million on the effort in their state, including the hiring of workers from temporary employment agencies to gather signatures.

In addition to quiet down protests from some state leaders over the selection by the Perot headquarters of some state coordinators to travel to Dallas to set up United We Stand, America in late July, Mr. Swindle sent a memo urging the volunteers to "accept the appointed leadership."

Mr. Swindle said today that the majority of states selected their own leaders, but that in a few instances some were not deemed reliable and were replaced.

Among those state coordinators who have been moved aside was Tom O'Neil, a businessman from Lawrenceville, N.J., who said he was replaced by a the wife of a classmate of Mr. Perot at the United States Naval Academy. The woman was on the campaign payroll in August. "He keeps quoting the volunteers, the volunteers," Mr. O'Neil said. "In New Jersey, there are no volunteers. There are only Perot's people." A number of these former volunteer leaders say they are embittered by their experiences, but may still vote for Mr. Perot. They say, however, the process announced by the Texan to determine the mood of his supporters considering his re-entry in the race is a sham.

"There is no canvassing of the volunteers as far as I can determine," said Edward Petrus, who was the Issues director for central Texas and now supports President Bush. "We had a rally in Austin two weeks ago, but there was no canvassing of the volunteers that I'm aware of." Mr. Petrus said about 200 people showed up for the rally.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

Crucial Charge Is Dismissed In Weinberger Perjury Case

By DAVID JOHNSTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 29 — A Federal judge today dismissed one of the five felony charges against Caspar W. Weinberger. The charge accused the former Defense Secretary of having illegally concealed private diaries from Congress during its investigation of the Iran-contra affair.

The ruling, in response to a motion by Mr. Weinberger's lawyers, left four charges against him. But it removed an allegation at the heart of the Government's case, one that accused Mr. Weinberger of having withheld notes that prosecutors say show he lied when he told a Congressional panel in 1987 that his knowledge of the affair was limited.

Without this central charge, prosecutors are left with a narrower case based on charges of piecemeal perjury and the making of false statements.

The remaining charges include accusations that Mr. Weinberger lied to

A serious blow to the Iran-contra prosecutor.

Congress when he asserted to the Iran-contra Congressional committees that he had no knowledge of Saudi contributions to the Nicaraguan rebels and did not know about a specific arms shipment to Iran in 1985.

The ruling by Federal District Judge Thomas F. Hogan was a blow to the prosecution in the most important of the three pending cases in the Iran-contra affair. A spokesman for Lawrence E. Walsh, the independent prosecutor, would not comment yesterday.

Robert S. Bennett, a lawyer for Mr. Weinberger, said, "We are of course very pleased with the significant ruling of Judge Hogan."

The judge said the prosecutors had failed to meet a legal test, established by an appeals court in the Iran-contra case of John M. Poindexter, the former national security adviser. The appellate ruling, Judge Hogan said, requires prosecutors to show that Mr. Weinberger acted corruptly and caused other Pentagon officials to knowingly violate a legal duty to turn over the diaries when Congress sought them during its investigation.

Judge Hogan said:

"If the indictment alleged that Mr. Weinberger informed the general counsel of the D.O.D. that Mr. Weinberger had notes but that the D.O.D. should not give the notes to Congressional staff, Mr. Weinberger would be properly charged with corruptly obstructing the investigation. In this case, there is no allegation that D.O.D. or any individual acted in a manner that is consistent with the Poindexter definition of 'corruptly.'"

Still May Furnish Evidence

Mr. Weinberger's notes may still be relevant, as evidence of what prosecutors say were his efforts to conceal specific activities from Congress. But the Government may be able to discuss the note in a somewhat broader context in an effort to prove the final count in the indictment, which accuses Mr. Weinberger of falsely telling prosecutors in an interview in October 1990 that he did not take notes of his meetings and discussions.

The discovery that Mr. Weinberger had kept copious notes during his tenure at the Pentagon provided Mr. Walsh with a focal point for his investigation of the Cabinet officer. That inquiry led a broader examination of whether top advisers to former President Ronald Reagan took part in a conspiracy to conceal Mr. Reagan's role the arms shipments to Iran.

That investigation ended without producing evidence that other officials violated the law. Mr. Walsh announced on Sept. 17 that he was shutting down the five-year investigation into the scandal and that he planned to seek no further indictments.

Diary Under Spotlight

But the case against Mr. Weinberger has focused on prosecutors' assertions that, during his seven years at the Pentagon, he recorded his thoughts and daily activities in a private diary. Mr. Weinberger filled more than 1,700 pages with notes in 1985 and 1986, the years in which most Iran-contra events occurred, prosecutors said.

But none of the diaries, recorded on small notepads that Mr. Weinberger kept at his desk, were turned over to the Iran-contra Congressional committees. After he left the Pentagon, Mr. Weinberger voluntarily gave his diaries to the Library of Congress where investigators found them in 1991 after Mr. Weinberger acknowledged their existence.

Debate Gambit Aims to Fire Up President's Campaign

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
and DOYLE McMANUS
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

With Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton comfortably maintaining a double-digit lead over President Bush in most polls since Labor Day, many Republicans have grown increasingly concerned that "a sheet of ice was forming over this campaign," as one consultant recently put it.

With his bold proposal Tuesday to debate Clinton four times through the end of the campaign, Bush has moved emphatically to try to break the ice.

The drama of the gesture—which was immediately deflected by Clinton—partly reflects the love of surprise shared by Bush and White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III. But, many observers say, it also illustrates a more fundamental reality: that the White House efforts to revive Bush's campaign by more conventional means—attacking Clinton and trumpeting the President's economic plan—had stalled.

"I think everybody has come to the same conclusion: We need to shake things up," says GOP consultant David M. Carmen.

For the same reason, White House officials and campaign strategists have become increasingly open in their desire to see Texas billionaire Ross Perot—who has said he could declare his intentions as soon as Thursday—re-enter the presidential

race.

No one in either campaign is certain whether Perot would hurt Bush or Clinton if he rejoined the contest. Likewise, no one in either camp is sure whether Bush or Clinton would benefit from so many debates so late in the campaign. And no one is certain how these two factors would combine—whether Perot's presence would heighten attention on the debates, or simply diffuse their impact.

But for Republicans all of these uncertainties are an improvement over the solidifying gloom of the last two weeks—when Clinton, despite all their efforts to sow doubts about him, has appeared to consolidate his lead.

Recent polls have shown Clinton holding daunting margins in such key states as California, Illinois and Missouri; double-digit leads in such battlegrounds as Michigan, Pennsylvania and New Jersey; and even remaining ahead of Bush in such Republican strongholds as Arizona, Alaska, Connecticut and Alabama.

Republican strategists are also bracing for the release of the latest unemployment figures on Friday. After two months of small improvements, many economists expect the unemployment numbers—the last that will be released before Election Day—to slightly deteriorate.

Between all of those clouds, Republicans see at least two glimmers of good news in this week's developments. In most states,

polls now show Perot drawing somewhat more of his vote away from Clinton than Bush—thus slightly narrowing the gap the President would have to surmount in a three-way race.

Republicans also hope that the debate initiative will help them regain control of the campaign dialogue. Clinton immediately countered the offer, calling for Bush to participate in the next two debates scheduled by the bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates, then to work through the commission if he wants to schedule more.

Acknowledging that refusing to debate sooner had hurt Bush, one Republican strategist close to the White House said: "We'll see how Clinton likes it—and how long he can keep it up."

Bush's proposal was undeniably a bold stroke. If accepted, it would mean the most debates in any presidential campaign since 1960—when John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon faced off four times. Such a sequence of face-to-face encounters would also dominate the rest of the campaign, strategists in both camps say.

As one senior Clinton official noted, each debate would lead the news for at least three days—the day before the event, the day of it and the day after. Add to that the requirement for increased debate preparation time, the official said, and such an intensive schedule of debates could virtually consume the remaining 35 days before the election.

"If they do the four debates," agreed Republican consultant Carmen, "it will be the campaign."

Officials at the White House and the Bush campaign were gleeful about the President's offer and Clinton's response.

"We got a line for you here," a senior White House official said triumphantly: "We put down a challenge and we got back a waffle."

"Don't talk to us about who wants debates," the official said. "I think they are probably in there with their hair on fire."

The officials interpreted Clinton's response as a sign that the Democrat remains hopeful of wrapping up the debates early while he still holds a lead. Bush, instead, wants to give himself every chance to score a last-minute coup.

One campaign official, who has been involved in debate planning, said the GOP wanted to keep the campaign as fluid as possible right up until Election Day—hence the unprecedented proposal for a debate on the Sunday two days before the voting occurs.

"We didn't want to debate in September," the official added. "People aren't focused on the campaign then, and it freezes the campaign too early."

One Bush aide conceded that the new Republican debate strategy would allow for the White House to seize on the kinds of last-minute personal revelations about Clinton for which presidential loyalists are

still plainly hoping. With the last debate under the Bush plan to be held so close to the election, "anything could happen," the aide said.

In the Clinton camp, Bush's sudden offer was viewed as a sign that "they're in trouble," as the senior official put it. From the start, many Clinton advisers have viewed debates as his best opportunity to reassure voters he has the stature and skill to sit in the Oval Office; some have believed Bush's previous refusal to debate was driven by concern that Clinton could use the forum to efface the White House's portrait of him.

With this new offer on the table, the senior official said, it is now likely there will be several debates, "but I don't know how they will be structured at this point."

On both sides, the sudden White House offer was seen in part as evidence of how a renewed Perot candidacy could unpredictably scramble the race. Some Administration officials acknowledged that Perot's potential return—and the prospect that Clinton and Perot might embarrass Bush by debating without him—forced the President's hand.

"You have the Perot factor. He's going to get in. What if the commission says, 'Fine, we'll be in San Diego'? Then we have to eat crow. That clock was ticking. We'd get crucified," a Bush official said.

Times staff writer Douglas Jehl, in Washington, contributed to this story.

Senate Passes \$35-Billion Tax Break Package

■ **Budget:** But Bush is likely to veto the measure unless it is stripped of provisions renewing increase on levies for the wealthy.

By ART PINE
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The Senate approved a broad election-year package of tax breaks and urban aid Tuesday but the measure faces a likely veto unless a joint House-Senate conference committee can work out a compromise acceptable to President Bush.

The sweeping legislation contains some \$35 billion worth of tax cuts for individuals and business and a similar amount of tax increases to offset the revenue loss. It passed by a vote of 70 to 29. The House approved a smaller version of the bill last July.

The legislation contains most of the major elements of Bush's economic recovery program, including faster write-offs for business investment, tax breaks for home buyers and real-estate investors and a cut in capital gains taxes—although the latter is far smaller than Bush had sought.

But Republicans said that Bush has told them he will veto the bill unless it is stripped of provisions that also would renew two tax increases for high-income Americans enacted in 1990.

It was not immediately clear whether the conference panel would accede to Bush's wishes. Democrats want the hikes to increase the share of taxes paid by the rich. And the 1989 budget accord requires that any tax-cut measure contain enough tax increases to pay for reductions.

Still, congressional strategists said that there is increasing hope among lawmakers that the conference committee would seek to meet the President's objections. With Congress planning to adjourn next Monday, a veto by Bush most likely would kill the measure.

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and Senate floor-manager for the bill, told reporters immediately after the vote that he is optimistic lawmakers can reach a compromise that Bush will sign.

He also brushed aside suggestions for postponing the measure until a new Administration takes office. "The country's in trouble right now and we shouldn't forget it," Bentsen said. At the same time, he conceded, "this is not going to turn the economy around overnight."

The centerpiece of the urban aid part of the bill would provide a spate of new tax incentives to encourage businesses to create more jobs in poor neighborhoods. The Senate voted to establish 125 "enterprise zones," compared to only 50 approved by the House.

Even so, the measure falls far short of the broad urban aid package that big-city mayors had demanded in the wake of the Los Angeles riots last spring. Half of the 125 enterprise zones would be established in rural areas. And Congress is not planning any further urban aid.

Tuesday's legislation would sharply expand benefits for Americans who deposit money in individual retirement accounts. And it would repeal the excise tax enacted

Senate Tax Bill: What's in It for You

Here are some major provisions of the Senate tax bill and how they compare to the House version:

URBAN AID

- Creates 125 new "tax enterprise zones" to help create jobs in poor neighborhoods, both urban and rural, by providing tax incentives for businesses that expand employment there.
- House bill: has similar provision.

INDIVIDUAL TAX CUTS

- Provides a new tax credit for those who have not owned a home for three years. It allows a 10% tax credit—up to a maximum of \$2,500—if they purchase one between July 28 and the end of this year.
- House bill: no such provision.
- Permits most taxpayers to fully deduct contributions of up to \$2,000 to Individual Retirement Accounts. The deductibility would apply to individuals with adjusted gross incomes of less than \$80,000 a year (and couples earning less than \$120,000). Current restrictions phase out such benefits for individuals earning more than \$25,000 and couples making more than \$40,000.
- House bill: no such provision.
- Sets up special new IRAs that would permit taxpayers to withdraw their money early tax-free if the funds have been in the account for at least five years. Under current law, depositors can't withdraw IRA funds without penalty until they are 59½ years old.
- House bill: no such provision.
- Allows individuals to take money from IRAs without suffering the current 10% early withdrawal penalty if they use the money to finance a first-time home purchase, pay college tuition costs, underwrite medical expenses or—in the case of the long-term unemployed—to cover their living expenses.
- House bill: has similar provision.

BUSINESS TAX CUTS

- Provides a new "investment tax allowance" designed to spur more spending on new plant and equipment by permitting companies to deduct an extra 15% of the cost of such facilities instead of only \$10,000, as is the case under current law. The write-off would apply to property placed in service before next July 1.
- House bill: no such provision.
- Sets up new rules for computing the corporate alternative minimum tax designed to simplify and reduce the burden on businesses in hopes of spurring more investment by those firms that are in capital-intensive businesses.
- House bill: has similar provision.
- Extends for another 18 months a series of existing tax benefits that otherwise would expire, including tax credits for research and development, job-creation, low-income housing, mortgage and industrial revenue bonds.
- House bill: has similar provisions.

Source: Congressional Joint Committee on Taxation

in 1990 on purchases of yachts and other luxury items, which have led to complaints by manufacturers that their business had been hurt.

The measure also contains modest reforms in the nation's health care system, primarily to allow workers who change jobs to maintain their medical insurance intact. But these are expected to be dropped by the conference committee.

The two provisions to which Bush objects would limit itemized deductions for individuals earning \$105,250 a year or for couples making \$157,900 and would phase out the personal exemption for that same income group.

Unless they are renewed, the provisions will expire in 1996 and 1997, respectively. Minority Leader Bob Dole (R-Kan.) warned last week that if the extensions are not dropped, "the President will veto this bill."

A veto by Bush would mark the second time this year that the President has rejected major tax legislation. He turned down a more sweeping tax measure in March, also because it would have raised taxes on the rich. That one included broader tax cuts for the middle class.

Since then, the tax issue has become even more visible. Democrats revived the legislation last summer, partly to help spur the economy and partly to force Bush into vetoing a tax-cut bill again just before the November election. Bush renewed his no-new-taxes pledge in August.

Although the House-Senate conference

committee is not expected to start its work on crafting a compromise until Thursday, talks between the White House and key Republican lawmakers began unofficially Tuesday. The sessions could go on through the weekend.

House negotiators are expected to push for a major paring of the Senate measure, which includes special-interest amendments that senators tacked on with an eye to the November election.

Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, already has said that he opposes expansion of IRA benefits added to the Senate bill by Bentsen, which alone would account for \$6.2 billion in lost revenue.

The tax increases in both the House and Senate versions primarily would affect securities dealers, owners of commercial real estate and wealthy individuals and corporations that are required to file estimated tax payments each quarter.

The cut in taxes on capital gains—the profits from the sale of stocks or other assets—would apply only to securities an investor buys to help start a new business. Bush had sought to slash tax rates on all capital gains.

Under the bill, a taxpayer could avoid tax on half the profit from the sale of start-up stock in a small company held five years or longer, with the benefit rising to 100% for stock owned 10 years or longer.

California's two senators, Democrat Alan Cranston and Republican John Seymour, both voted for the bill.

'92-Model Perot's a Hard Sell With the Boys on the Car Lot

By JOHN BALZAR
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WICHITA, Kan.—The public professes to scorn the car salesman. In fact, if polls are to be believed, car salesmen are admired only by themselves, their children and their spouses—and maybe even then just out of loyalty.

Nobody gives them credit for embodying some of America's most treasured ideals about work.

But consider: Their hours are long and their attitude positive. They are the elemental small-business men and women of the American economy. They are paid for what they do, nothing more. They survive on their skill and initiative, without subsidy or sympathy. They thrill to the deal and thrive on competition, one-on-one or global, you name it.

If you are one of those who always puts them at the bottom of your list, you'll have to ponder these contradictions for yourself.

As for me, car salesmen and saleswomen represent valuable assayers of character and motive and intent, and they grasp as well as anyone the urgency of human impulse. Salesmen possessing such instincts thrive on the asphalt lots; those who do not find themselves looking for work that pays wages.

So driving through the heartland, I sought out car salesmen on the subject of the 1992 presidential race—in particular this exasperating, possibly exciting phenomenon of big-business billionaire politician Ross Perot, himself once a computer salesman.

"Nuts," says Bob Weber, a former radio morning-drive disc jockey who now sells for Naperville Jeep-Eagle-Hummer outside Chicago. "I agree with [Republican campaign ad man] Roger Ailes; he'll get a majority of the vote in the insane asylums."

Weber says he was intrigued by Perot back when the Texas billionaire first offered himself as a national leader. Weber figured

Perot's billions were the sum of an unusual man's extraordinary skills. Might such boardroom abilities prove effective in redirecting America?

But Perot's haughty withdrawal and his remanufactured revival convince Weber that Perot "lacks the temperament, the skill to run our complicated country."

As Weber sees it, Perot, in a short period, has forgone his image as a dynamic let's-get-it-done bulldog of an American success story. He skipped the "hard work" in the middle of the campaign. Now he is trying to persuade the country he really is nothing more than a lap-dog for a disingenuous and anonymous group of political dilettantes—his state coordinators, whom he called to Dallas on Monday and asked whether he should re-enter the race.

"Who are these people?" Weber asks. "Is this how Perot is going to make every decision? It's one way to avoid responsibility or blame. . . ."

"Would I buy a car from Perot? Humm. Well, I don't think right now Perot could say whether he wants to sell me a car. I think he'd have to go ask his volunteers. And if I hear that volunteer stuff anymore, I'm, excuse me, going to be sick."

That was the harshest view I heard. But other car salesmen shared the opinion that Perot had squandered the very thing that appealed most to the mind of the businessman—the aura of a decisive leader.

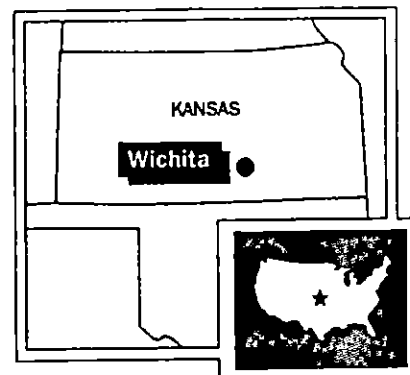
"At first I thought, here's a guy who thinks like I think, who would

work on problems like I would work on problems," says Charles Betts, owner of Betts Cadillac-Lexus in Des Moines.

"But as I watched the thing unfold, I put myself in his shoes. . . . And I found out I couldn't do it; he couldn't do it. Our approach is foreign to government. He wouldn't stand a factory girl's chance. . . ."

A factory girl's chance?

"Don't quote me. It's an old Detroit saying, but it's taken as a slam at working people, and I don't mean it that way. I guess it's like Perot when he spoke to blacks and called them 'you



FIELD NOTES

Americans in an Election Year

■ John Balzar traveled America with the presidential candidates in the 1970s and 1980s. This year, with politics and voters still the assignment, he is on his own in a Pontiac coupe.

people,' as if there were different kinds."

I use the quote anyway, not to be mean, but to underline Betts' point about the bumpy ride awaiting those who seek to traverse Democracy's road.

Both Betts and Weber say they will vote GOP in 1992, but not enthusiastically. "I feel the Democratic Congress perceives me as having more than my share and they mean to redistribute it. At least with Bush, it's gridlock," says Betts.

Here in Wichita, Steven J. Echer is manager of truck sales for Quality Chevrolet-Geo. He's of a mixed mind about Perot.

On one hand, Echer says, "I think he's gypped the American public. He says one thing and does another. Maybe he's like a car salesman, OK?"

On the other, Echer fears the standard Democrat versus Republican debate is getting America nowhere but into debt. "Some say that Perot might not be able to manage the country. But the others haven't done such a great job either, right?"

The odd thing about Echer, the Tall-American odd thing about him, is that while expressing his standard-brand frustration with politics, he also insists on finding something in each of the candidates to believe in.

Bush has participated in the end of the Cold War, "which has taken a tremendous strain and fear off everybody."

Clinton "reminds me of John Kennedy; I just can't tell you why I like the man."

And Perot's call for shared sacrifice to pay off the national debt strikes Echer as overdue. "Just make it fair and I think people are more willing to do something than ever."

Car salesmen and saleswomen represent valuable assayers of character and motive and intent, and they grasp as well as anyone the urgency of human impulse. Salesmen possessing such instincts thrive on the asphalt lots.

PERSPECTIVE ON ROSS PEROT

Is He Jerking Our Chains Again?



He can't stand aloof from the system he wants to reform; if he's serious, he'll have to get in the ring and take his lumps.

By ROSS K. BAKER

Trying to second-guess Ross Perot is as frustrating an undertaking as trying to diagram one of his sentences. Perot could make Lou Costello sound like the model of plain speaking. We still don't know for sure why he pulled out of the race on July 16 and we can't be certain that we'll be any more enlightened if he decides to come out of the neutral corner and fight Round 2; even at that point, should it come, it won't be clear whether Perot is prepared to slug it out with George Bush and Bill Clinton. Declaring a candidacy, it seems, means something different to Ross Perot than to conventional politicians. But if Perot conceives of his candidacy as nothing more than an American lesson in civics, then all Americans—not just his supporters—need to call him to account for once again toying with their emotions.

Both incarnations of Candidate Perot have his concern over the huge budget deficit as their life force. His solutions back in February were a collection of breezy little proverbs and arch observations. By summer, people were clamoring for something more filling than wit and wisdom. Meanwhile, the media were looking into his unusual business practices and his activities as an amateur surveillance expert. What emerged was a picture of Perot as a manipulative eccentric, and he was forced to bow out before the unveiling of his grand deficit-reducing design. When it finally did emerge, it got considerably less attention than it deserved because it was no longer attached to a candidate. Riderless horses don't get a wreath of roses when they cross the finish. Had Perot been in the saddle, his plan might have enriched

the national dialogue.

Budget-cutting is still the centerpiece of Perot's vision, but now he appears to be on to something bigger: a crusade to elevate and purify the political process. He now seems persuaded that his plan for an "electronic town hall" to reduce the distance between elected officials and citizens should be a permanent feature of American politics and that the use of 800 numbers to register the opinions of Americans is a good cure for alienation and civic passiveness.



It is good that someone is thinking about the cavernous gap that has opened between the rulers and the ruled, and both of Perot's ideas are worth more than a cursory glance by politicians, but they will get no more than a grunt and a nod if Perot is not in the fight for real. And there is some considerable doubt about the genuineness of his effort.

One very disturbing element in Perot's resurrected presence is the stipulation that he constantly lays down that the campaign has "nothing to do with personality," that we should get "off personalities and on to issues." That is what politicians are fond of saying before they lunge for the *ad hominem*

button. Perot, for obvious and self-serving reasons, really seems to believe that a presidential candidate's personality should not be a consideration. That is a little like saying that seasonings should have no place in the preparation of a meal. Personalities will be noticed, and no one has the authority to simply rule them out of bounds for discussion.

This tendency on Perot's part to talk about what he wants to talk about and nothing else casts a cloud over both his comeback and the merits of the reforms he hopes to introduce. However valuable his ideas and plans are, confining them to the terms that only he will allow is simply not how American politics works. Perot can no more shrift the personality question than Clinton can claim immunity on the draft issue or Bush on the economy. And if Perot gets back in in earnest, he has to be prepared to take his lumps. He can't simply hold himself and his ideas out as a yardstick for measuring the other two candidates and shrink from having himself judged by the traditional templates for presidential stature.

More is at stake here than a cavernous budget deficit or ingenious reforms for the political process. The larger question is one of personal accountability and the moral burden that a presidential candidate bears to refrain from going around jerking the chains of his fellow-citizens while all the time asserting that he is nothing more than the dutiful instrument of their will.

The Uriah Heep model of leadership—I serve that I may lead—has never been terribly popular with Americans. So if Perot truly cares about the reforms he urges on us, and really wants us to bite the bullet on the deficit, he's got to come down from the realm of the self-righteous and mix it up in ways that Americans have come to expect. He may have much to offer the political process, but he can't hold himself aloof from its unruliness, nor from its humbling and humanizing effects.

Ross K. Baker is a professor of political science at Rutgers University.

Bush Shifts on Debates, Seeks 4

■ **Campaign:** President's plan for Sunday face-offs could change the dynamics of the race. Clinton says he prefers the schedule that the White House has rejected.

By THOMAS B. ROSENSTIEL and JAMES GERSTENZANG,
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

CLARKSVILLE, Tenn.—After weeks of dodging proposals for face-to-face encounters, President Bush on Tuesday suddenly challenged Democratic presidential opponent Bill Clinton to debate "every Sunday evening" from Oct. 11 to Election Day.

Caught off guard, Clinton said he preferred to keep to the schedule proposed by an independent commission—which called for the two candidates to face off this Sunday in San Diego and again Oct. 15 in Richmond, Va.—before discussing additional confrontations.

Shortly before his surprise proposal, Bush had rejected the two pending commission-sponsored debates, as he had two earlier dates the group had set for him to meet with the Democratic nominee. Bush's action caused the University of San Diego, which was to host Sunday's debate, to cancel it.

Bush's new debate proposal came as Ross Perot continued to study the possibility of joining the race as a third candidate.

According to a spokesman for the Texas businessman, a toll-free telephone line set up to hear from those supporting a Perot candidacy logged 1.5 million calls just a few hours after he appeared on CNN's "Larry King Live" on Monday night. But aides acknowledged that some people called to recommend that Perot not run and were frustrated when a recording informed them they would be tallied as Perot supporters.

Also Tuesday, Orson Swindle, the head of Perot's grass-roots volunteer network, confirmed reports that a wave of pro-Perot television ads have been prepared for use should he re-enter the race.

Bush's surprise challenge for four debates—coming in the wake of negative publicity over his refusal to accept the debate proposals of a bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates—was viewed by many analysts as his boldest attempt to date to seize the initiative in a campaign that has seen him frozen in most public opinion polls at 9 to 15 percentage points behind Clinton.

If it comes to pass, Bush's plan would effectively change the dynamics of the presidential race by turning the final month into a debate series of his choosing.

"If Gov. 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," Bush said in the announcement issued in an appearance at Austin Peay State University in this Tennessee city near the Kentucky border.

Bush also said that, if Perot enters the race—which could happen this week—he would be welcome to join the debates.

Echoing the phrase popularized by soul singer Marvin Gaye, the President said, "Let's get it on."

Left with only a few minutes to respond before the evening newscasts on the East Coast, Clinton consulted briefly with aides and then announced, "I'm very happy to do a debate. . . . Let's start this Sunday and do one on the 15th" of October.

But the dates Bush proposed, Clinton said, conflicted with an American League championship playoff game and possibly with two World Series games.

"If you do just Sunday debates, you are going to run into that. So what I think we ought to do is, let's do one Sunday, let's do one on the 15th and then let's talk to the debate commission about what else ought to be done."

Later Tuesday, Clinton campaign chairman Mickey Kantor questioned Bush's proposal, saying, "I don't think this is a serious offer or the President would have accepted the bipartisan commission's debates." He reiterated that the Clinton camp would only discuss debates under the commission's aegis.

Bush campaign Chairman Robert M. Teeter indicated that the President's team was not inclined to negotiate the issue. "We expect the Clinton campaign to accept the

President's challenge. If they do not, we can only conclude Bill Clinton is not as willing to debate as he claims," Teeter said in a statement.

Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr., the co-chairman of the debate commission and former Republican National Committee chairman, reacted positively to the Bush proposal. "We welcome the President's announcement," he said. "It looks like we will have debates."

Earlier in the day, the commission had sent letters to both candidates giving them a deadline of 5 p.m. EST Tuesday to agree to sit down with the group to work out a compromise over the debate impasse. The letter had noted that finding alternative days is difficult because of the baseball playoffs and the World Series, as well as Sunday and Monday night football games.

Bush, in his proposal, agreed to compromise on the format question that had caused him to reject the commission's proposed debates. Under Bush's offer, two of the debates would feature a single moderator—the commission plan to which he had objected. The two other debates would involve a panel of journalists asking questions—the format the Bush campaign has been pushing.

Most experts argue that the single moderator would encourage more direct confrontation between the candidates. Bush had said he preferred the panel of questioners because that was the format that had been used in all presidential debates since 1976.

Bush also proposed there be two vice presidential debates over the next five weeks, one under each format, between Vice President Dan Quayle and Sen. Al Gore of Tennessee, Clinton's running mate. He did not suggest possible dates.

The debate over the debates had become a drag on both campaigns, but especially for Bush. A study by the debate commission found that not one newspaper in the country had expressed sympathy on its editorial pages for the President's position. And Bush found himself challenged at each of his recent rallies by Clinton supporters in chicken suits, taunting the President for resisting the debates, a

picture that the network and local television producers found irresistible.

But while he was winning the public relations battle, Clinton and his aides were also off stride because they were uncertain whether to prepare for debates and how they would fit into their travel schedule and political game plan.

A senior Administration official said that White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III had been mulling the new debate plan for some time—"This was not dreamed up this morning," the official said. He added that Republican strategists believed the proposal would work to Bush's advantage.

First, the plan minimizes the potential risk of any single debate, a format at which Bush aides believe Clinton may have more skill than the President.

Secondly, White House officials believe that being behind, Bush could be helped since the last debate would occur only three days before Election Day, ensuring him of one last chance to dramatically alter the outcome. The commission proposal to end debates Oct. 15 might effectively freeze the cam-

paign at that point, the Administration aides said.

White House aides said they were "gleeful" over Bush's surprise announcement and the attention it garnered.

But Clinton called the move an act of desperation. "I think they thought for a long time we wouldn't have debates and they got pounded on it, so they come up with this at the last minute."

"They try and manipulate everything," he said. "But that's all right. That's what they do. There ought to be debates. I'm ready. Let's go Sunday."

Before Bush dove into the debate issue, the campaign day had followed the rough contours it has assumed of late.

Bush, reiterating past efforts sought to link Clinton to three recent Democratic presidential candidates who were rejected by the voters.

The Arkansas governor, Bush said, "learned his liberalism from George McGovern." (Clinton helped run the 1972 Democratic presidential nominee's campaign in Texas.)

The President said Clinton "wore the same moderate costume" as President Jimmy Carter, "but at least Jimmy Carter meant it." And, Bush said, Clinton nomi-

nated Michael S. Dukakis, the Democratic presidential nominee four years ago, and praised "the Massachusetts miracle"—the economic success in Dukakis' home state that initially fueled his presidential bid but then hindered him when it fell flat.

"America does not need this kind of 'different' Democrat," Bush said. "There are some wonderful Democrats out there, but we don't need this kind of McGovern-Carter-Dukakis Democrat."

Bush also attacked Clinton for positions he took—and then stepped back from—on auto efficiency standards and the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Clinton, after initially expressing support for the trade pact, has since backed off, saying he wanted to study its details once the accord was officially reached. Similarly, he has softened his initial backing for toughened fuel efficiency standards for American automobiles.

"He'll take both sides," Bush

said. "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."

The attacks occurred as Bush spent the day haphazardly aboard Air Force One across Tennessee—Gore's home state. That's enough of a connection to put the state into the column of those likely to vote for the Democratic ticket this year, although it has cast its electoral votes—it has 11 this year—for the Republican presidential candidate in five of the past six elections.

If anything, Gore's standing in the state has been enhanced by his selection by Clinton, and Bush took care not to attack the senator directly—both to avoid antagonizing his supporters in the state and to keep the focus on Clinton.

Although Gore's position on the Democratic ticket may give Clinton an advantage in Tennessee, a Bush campaign aide said the President spent the day in the state on the recommendation of former Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr. and Education Secretary Lamar Alexander.

For his part, Clinton traveled Tuesday to Louisville, which was the site of the proposed vice presidential debate that was to have occurred Tuesday until the White House rejected it.

That allowed Clinton to continue to hammer Bush on that issue. He also blasted Bush on the economic front. Citing a report on CBS' "60 Minutes" last Sunday, Clinton told a cheering crowd of several thousand outside the Kentucky Center for the Arts that "the Bush Administration spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on programs to finance the movement of American businesses overseas."

"George Bush promised us 30 million jobs in eight years," he said. "He just didn't tell us where the jobs were going to be. We thought he was going to create jobs in San Antonio and San Francisco and San Bernardino, not in San Salvador."

Times staff writers Sam Fulwood III, Douglas Jehl and Doyle McManus contributed to this story.

Phone Lines Heat Up at Perot's HQ

By PAUL RICHTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

DALLAS—Some were calling to voice support, others to ask questions or give advice. And some were calling Ross Perot's North Dallas headquarters in rage Tuesday because the sometime presidential candidate's new phone bank did not register votes against the Texas billionaire.

But regardless of the reasons, the sound of the ringing phones at Perot's United We Stand movement gave his long-suffering volunteers hope that their candidate would soon be in the 1992 presidential race and that their up-and-down movement would again be on the upswing.

"We've been through some busy times and thin times, but I think they're going to get busy again," said Frank X. Shushok, a Richardson, Tex., real estate broker.

The new interest was prompted, of course, by Perot's declaration that he may decide by Thursday to officially declare his candidacy.

On Tuesday, a parade of camera crews and out-of-state volunteers trooped through Perot's Dallas offices, which are in a manicured office park. And there were predictions that the operation soon would be as busy as it was before July 16, when Perot announced that, after flirting with the prospect, he had decided against running. Until then, the offices had 125 phone lines and bustled with dozens of staff members and volunteers.

The operation has a way to go before returning to that level. Even after the national attention Perot received Monday as senior advisers to President Bush and Democratic nominee Bill Clinton courted Perot and his state political coordinators, the phones at times on Tuesday stood silent.

The volunteers include some who have been with the campaign since it began to organize in March and others who have joined recently.

Many of the volunteers share a view that Perot should be forgiven for an abrupt exit that causes some people to dismiss him as a thin-skinned quitter. Indeed, many believe that Perot always intended that his departure would be temporary as a way to escape a din of criticism from the press and his political rivals.

The campaign said Tuesday that its new phone bank had received 1.5 million calls by midnight Monday, just a few hours after Perot had announced on CNN's "Larry King Live" that supporters could register their endorsement of his entry by calling a new 800 number.

The volunteers acknowledged that a number of calls directly to their offices were from people who had called the 800 number to register opposition and were frustrated when they could not.

One man called the office number to demand that the volunteers subtract his call from the tally, since he had intended to urge Perot not to run. "I told him it was too late," said Ray Harris, a civil engineer from Richardson.

Another called to urge the volunteers to tune in the radio show of conservative commentator Rush Limbaugh, who at that moment was denouncing Perot furiously.

Gore Asserts Bush Blunders Led to Gulf War

By DOUGLAS FRANTZ
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Democratic vice presidential candidate Al Gore charged Tuesday that President Bush's policy toward Iraq led directly to the Persian Gulf War and accused Bush of misleading the American public about how his Administration contributed to Baghdad's prewar military buildup.

The strongly worded speech opened a concerted Democratic attack on Bush's handling of Saddam Hussein and Persian Gulf policy in 1989 and 1990. Strategists close to Gore and Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton said the ticket will hammer away at the issue in the last five weeks of the campaign to counter Bush's persistent references to Clinton's draft record and to challenge Bush's credibility.

"George Bush wants the American people to see him as the hero who put out a raging fire," said Tennessee Sen. Gore in what was billed as a major speech. "But new evidence now shows that he is the one who set the fire. He not only struck the match, he poured gasoline on the flames."

Until now, Clinton and Gore

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have made only occasional references to mounting evidence that the Administration tried to influence Iraq before the war with military and economic favors. Democrats clearly hope to use the issue to undermine one of Bush's chief selling points for reelection—his experience and performance as a foreign policy leader.

The White House dismissed Gore's remarks as it has earlier criticism of the President's policy toward Iraq. "This is another effort by the Democrats in Congress to rewrite history to conceal their opposition to the war," said White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater.

In his speech, however, Gore made a point of noting that he had supported military action in the Persian Gulf when the issue came to a vote in the Senate. Democratic strategists said that vote and his prewar criticism of aid to Iraq were two reasons Gore was chosen to launch the attack on Bush.

Gore opened the strategy before a friendly audience at the Center for National Policy, a Washington research group with Democratic leanings. Invoking some of his harshest language of the campaign, Gore called Bush's policy "amoral" and contended that "coddling tyrants" was a hallmark of Bush's foreign policy.

"His poor judgment, moral blindness and bungling policies led directly to a war that never should have taken place," Gore charged.

Gore, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said U.S. assistance to Iraq by the Ronald Reagan Administration during the Iran-Iraq war may have been justified for strategic reasons until the war ended in August, 1988. But he said that the acceleration of U.S. aid by the Bush Administration reflected "truly atrocious judgment" by Bush.

He also challenged Bush's statements that his Administration did nothing to help Iraq develop nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. Gore pressed Bush to "come clean" and acknowledge that American technology was used in Iraq's weapons programs.

The text of Gore's remarks contained 56 footnotes and relied heavily on disclosures in the press and Congress over the last 10

months concerning the extent of U.S. assistance to Iraq before the Gulf War and Bush's role in orchestrating that aid as vice president and President.

Classified documents have shown that the Bush Administration sent sophisticated technology and economic aid to Iraq despite intelligence warnings that Hussein was developing nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. Administration officials often justified continuing the aid by citing a top-secret order issued by Bush in October, 1989, mandating closer ties to Baghdad.

Bush and senior Administration officials have acknowledged that the policy failed, but they have steadfastly defended it as an attempt to moderate Hussein's behavior.

Bush campaign officials refused to comment on Gore's remarks, but Bush criticized Clinton's position on the Gulf War during a campaign swing through Gore's home state of Tennessee.

Noting what he described as Clinton's shifting positions on supporting and opposing the Gulf War and of withholding comment on a proposed free trade agreement with Mexico and Canada, Bush said: "If he ever became President of the United States—and he won't—we'd have to replace the American eagle with a chameleon."

(In January, 1991, after the Senate voted in favor of using force in the Gulf, Clinton said: "I guess I would have voted with the majority if it was a close vote. But I agree with the arguments the minority made." As for the North American Free Trade Agreement, Clinton has said he will make no decision until he sees what its provisions are on job training and environmental protection.)

Some Democratic strategists had been pushing the Clinton campaign

'His poor judgment, moral blindness and bungling policies led directly to a war that never should have taken place.'

AL GORE

for months to take on Bush's prewar dealings with Hussein, but campaign officials felt the issue was not as potent as the sagging economy. Party insiders said Bush's recent attacks on Clinton's draft record and new questions about Bush's role in the Iran-Contra scandal led to the change in tactics.

Gore sought to link the failed Iraq policy with recent questions about the extent of Bush's knowledge of the Iran-Contra scandal

while he was vice president. Bush has said that he was "out of the loop" during discussions on swapping arms for hostages. Citing claims by former White House aides that Bush attended key sessions where the policy was discussed, Gore said Bush's denials were no longer credible.

Democrats believe they can blend questions about Iraq and Iran with economic issues to portray Bush as a weak leader as the campaign heads into the final days. While Gore and Clinton do not plan remarks as extensive as Gore's 45-minute speech Tuesday, campaign aides said they will bring up Iraq regularly from now on.

"This represents an effort to turn up the volume and we have no plans to turn it down," said Marla Romash, Gore's press secretary.

Later in the day, Gore continued hammering Bush on what he called "Iraqgate" as he toured a recycling center in Scranton, Pa. At a press conference afterward, Gore repeated that Bush "needs to come clean with the American people."

Given Gore's harsh criticism of the Administration's dealings with Baghdad, Romash was asked why Gore voted to authorize going to war to expel Iraq from Kuwait.

"George Bush's policies left no alternative," she said.

Times staff writer Edwin Chen, in Pennsylvania, contributed to this story.

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WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

Bush Proposes Four Debates In Compromise

President Seeks to Regain Initiative After Criticism For Avoiding Meetings

By JOHN HARWOOD
And GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
CLARKSVILLE, Tenn. — President Bush, under fire for avoiding debates with Democratic rival Bill Clinton, moved to regain the initiative by challenging the Arkansas governor to four confrontations beginning Oct. 11.

For weeks, Mr. Bush and his aides have rejected proposals by a bipartisan commission for three presidential debates and one

Watering the Grass Roots

Perot's grass roots effort includes paying some 'volunteers' and orchestrating a poll of supporters. Meanwhile, new evidence raises questions on President Bush's knowledge concerning the Iran-Contra affair. Articles on page A16.

vice presidential matchup. But as his campaign rebuffed the commission yet again yesterday, sinking a debate proposed for Sunday, the Bush camp acted to grab the high ground and avoid another round of unflattering news reports on the subject.

Gov. Clinton said he was glad Mr. Bush finally agreed to debate, but he stuck to his insistence on the initial schedule, disregarding Mr. Bush's new suggestion. Mr. Clinton, in Columbus, Ohio, said he would rather debate the president this Sunday than the following one. He also said he was willing to debate on a second day, Thursday, Oct. 15, as the debate commission had suggested. That date, he said, would avoid a conflict with baseball's World Series.

He said other debates were subject to further discussion through the debate commission, his position all along.

"I accept Sunday, I'll be there," Mr. Clinton said. "Let's do one on the 15th, it's a better date than the next Sunday. And let's kick the other dates to the commission and see what we can come up with."

The decision by the White House to

propose a series of debates came amid growing unease on the part of President Bush as well as some in his camp that the failure to agree to a debate plan was casting Mr. Bush in a bad light. By moving yesterday, Mr. Bush and his aides blunted Mr. Clinton's increasingly frequent charges that the president was afraid to meet him.

"It is important that voters have an opportunity to see and hear from the candidates themselves in publicly televised debates," Mr. Bush told an audience at Austin Peay State University during a daylong swing through the home state of Democratic vice presidential nominee Al Gore. The president, who has been taunted repeatedly at recent campaign stops by demonstrators wearing chicken outfits, challenged Mr. Clinton to the debates and said "I'd be pleased" to have Ross Perot participate if he decides to enter the race.

The final confrontation, Nov. 1, would

take place just two days before the election. Mr. Bush also proposed two vice presidential debates on unspecified dates.

As for the format, the issue Mr. Bush has cited in rejecting the commission's proposals, he called for splitting the difference: Half the debates would use the traditional panel of reporters posing questions, half would feature only a single moderator and the candidates themselves. Mr. Bush also invited other potential debate sponsors to step forward.

Some Republican strategists have argued that Mr. Bush had more to lose than to gain from debating Mr. Clinton, because the smooth-talking Arkansas governor could gain stature and cement his national lead by sharing a stage with the president. But with the president seemingly stuck in the polls some 10 or more percentage points behind his rival and losing the public relations battle with Mr. Clinton over debates, his aides feel increasingly

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Bush Tries to Seize Initiative on Debates In Compromise Offer

Continued From Page A3

pressed to shuffle the electoral deck.

Mr. Perot's possible re-entry also might help change the dynamics of the campaign. Though it's widely believed that Mr. Perot would like to hinder Mr. Bush's re-election chances, some Bush aides are now arguing that the Texas billionaire's participation in debates could help define the president's economic appeal. Under this reasoning, Mr. Bush could assert his low-tax stance while casting Messrs. Clinton and Perot as advocates of tax increases.

The Clinton campaign sent a clear signal yesterday that one issue it is sure to try to emphasize in any debate is Mr. Bush's role in helping build up Iraq's Saddam Hussein in the years before Iraqi troops invaded Kuwait. In a lengthy, hard-hitting speech, Sen. Gore charged that Mr. Bush was a "principal architect" of a policy of building up Saddam Hussein before the invasion.

Using information gleaned from a host of internal administration documents declassified in recent months, Mr. Gore detailed how Mr. Bush twice personally lobbied for Export-Import Bank financing for projects in Iraq while he was vice president, and as president signed a secret order calling for the pursuit of improved economic and political ties with Baghdad. Mr. Gore also said that Mr. Bush in 1990 exempted Iraq from congressional prohibitions on receiving further U.S. government loans.

Mr. Gore charged that in approving billions of dollars in grain financing for Iraq, Mr. Bush and White House Chief of Staff James Baker, then his secretary of state, both ignored evidence from the Energy Department, the Defense Intelligence Agency and the Central Intelligence Agency indicating that Iraq was acquiring conventional weapons and materials needed for nuclear weapons. "His policies nurtured Saddam Hussein," Sen. Gore said. "He was deaf to information that to any other ear was a fireball in the night, ringing clearly that our policies were disastrously wrong, leading toward tragedy."

—Jeffrey H. Birnbaum in Washington contributed to this article.

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WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

Perot Waters His Grass Roots Heavily, Paying 'Volunteers' and Orchestrating Poll of Supporters

By TIMOTHY NOAH

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

DALLAS — By late yesterday, Ross Perot had logged 1.5 million phone calls to his new 800 number by his count, all urging him to enter the presidential race. Amazingly, not a single caller was recorded asking him not to run.

Of course, there's a small catch. Although Mr. Perot has taken pains in recent days to say he will do the people's bidding, his new venture in populist tele-democracy isn't equipped to register comments of any kind. Those who call the number — and there's nothing preventing people from calling more than once — are automatically counted as voting for a presidential run by Mr. Perot.

Throughout this second phase of Mr. Perot's not-quite-declared candidacy for president, the Texas billionaire has insisted that his supporters are the ones calling the shots. "Please keep in mind, everybody listening tonight, this thing is driven from the bottom up," he said on CNN's "Larry King Live" program Monday night. "The volunteers own this organization."

But the grass roots of Mr. Perot's movement are heavily watered by Mr. Perot himself, who according to Federal Election Commission documents has spent more than \$16 million on his campaign — almost \$4 million of that just in August, when he was supposedly no longer running for president. In addition, at least eight of his "volunteer" state coordinators — 10, according to a report by CBS News — are either on his payroll or are listed by the FEC as paid consultants. One of them, Bob Hayden of California, earned more than \$4,000 last month.

"This whole thing with the volunteers is a cruel hoax," says Matthew Lifflander, the former chairman of the New York metropolitan-area Perot group who has since helped found a group called Former Perot People for Clinton-Gore.

Barbara Marsh, who ran the Idaho petition drive before she was replaced by the campaign, says that the vast majority of Mr. Perot's original state coordinators have been replaced — several of them since he suspended his campaign in July. A

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Ross Perot

memo last month by Orson Swindle, executive director of the Perot volunteer effort, said that some volunteer leaders were being selected by Perot headquarters because they were people with whom top Perot aides and Mr. Perot "were most comfortable." Mr. Swindle says headquarters had to act because some state groups were embroiled in internal squabbles.

On Monday night, when Mr. Perot went on "Larry King Live" and gave out the 800 number, E.A. "Bill" Butler, Mr. Perot's county coordinator in Glens Falls, N.Y., got an urgent phone call from the campaign's regional director. Mr. Butler, a retired business consultant, says he was ordered to "get on the phone and call all your people and get them to vote 'yes.'"

Grass Is Dead

"I don't think any of this is grass roots any more," he says. "The grass has already turned brown and dead."

Those who call Mr. Perot's 800 number hear the following message: "Thank you for calling United We Stand America. Your call is very important to us. It will be included in our total count of callers supporting Ross Perot. Thank you again for your valued support." Without question, many of the calls counted as expressing support for Mr. Perot's candidacy will be the result of curiosity-seeking by the public and the press; every reporter who calls the number to verify the message's wording unavoidably "votes" in the process for Mr. Perot's entry into the race.

Mr. Perot has said that his 50 state coordinators will report to their volunteers and other supporters about Monday's Dallas meeting with representatives from the Clinton and Bush campaigns, and then poll them by tomorrow about whether they still want Mr. Perot to run. But Mr. Lifflander, who doesn't expect to be polled with the other former Perot supporters, contends that "this is not a legitimate poll." And even several of the state coordinators concede that the process is haphazard at best.

Some don't even pretend they'll be taking a precise numerical count. Greg Owens, the state coordinator in Arkansas, says, "There's no way I can get actual numbers at this point." Wally Howard, state coordinator in Indiana, expects he will get "some numerical things" and also "a general sense" about what the sentiment is. "It can't be an extremely detailed process in that amount of time," he concedes.

Information Gap

Even where a more detailed accounting is made of the desires of former Perot supporters — or those whom state coordinators are able to reach by phone or fax or through impromptu meetings within three days — very little of the information im-

parted by Bush and Clinton partisans to the state coordinators is likely to trickle down to those who didn't attend the Dallas meeting.

"I would love to lie to you and say I remember every word" of financier Felix Rohatyn's argument on behalf of Bill Clinton that drastic deficit reduction might harm the economy now, says Iowa coordinator Rick Ross says. "But I don't." New Hampshire coordinator Herb Clark Jr. says his volunteers in Manchester began tallying callers who favor a Perot candidacy even before he returned from Dallas. Does that make his briefing on the Bush and Clinton presentations superfluous? "To some degree," he says.

Since those most active in Mr. Perot's petition drive will speak with the loudest voice in this process, the outcome should be no surprise. "H. Ross Geppetto in Dallas has created some puppets," says Malcolm Mac Kay, Mr. Perot's former Western New York coordinator.

'Clearly Top-Down'

"We had nothing to do with our coordinator down in Dallas who is supposedly representing us," says Christopher Sardone, an accountant in Rochester, N.Y., who headed a local draft-Perot committee that remains active on other issues. "That was decided by people on his payroll in New York. That's not bottom-up, it's clearly top-down."

Mr. Sardone also terms "ridiculous" Mr. Perot's contention that only 1% of the people who work for him are paid. "That's just not true, from what I can see in New York state," Mr. Sardone says. "We've dealt with really nothing but people on payrolls. I don't know where he's getting a number like that."

Actor Tom Laughlin, who portrayed the screen vigilante Billy Jack in a number of films, says he grew disillusioned last month after he was scolded by a state coordinator for publicly urging Mr. Perot to enter the race. Mr. Laughlin — who himself sought the presidency for a brief time earlier this year before joining the Perot movement in California — contends that United We Stand, the Perot volunteer organization, threatened to cut off funding to any volunteer groups that prematurely pressed their request that Mr. Perot re-enter the race. "I am having enormous problems with this whole game," he says.

Mr. Swindle, head of the Perot volunteer effort, calls Mr. Laughlin's allegation "absolutely ludicrous." And other Perot volunteers staunchly defend the way the campaign is being run, contending that decisions do indeed come from the bottom. "I get a sense that some people feel the strings are all being pulled from Dallas," says Gregory Kiesinger, an organizer near Buffalo, N.Y. "That's just not the truth. There's no one left out here but us volunteers."

—Kevin G. Salwen in Washington contributed to this article.

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WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

CIA Documents Raise New Questions About Bush's Knowledge of Iran-Contra

By DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—In October 1986, when the Iran-Contra operation began to unravel, Vice President Bush's office sent a set of humorous buttons to the Central Intelligence Agency reading "I'm Max Gomez" and "Who's Felix Rodriguez?"

Recalling the incident in federal court last month, former CIA spy master Clair George testified that the buttons were then a "very funny item for the White House." Now, however, the joke could be on Mr. Bush.

A steady stream of new evidence shows that the CIA knew a great deal about Mr. Rodriguez, alias Max Gomez, and his role in the secret Contra supply network. And the information raises questions about how Mr. Bush, whose office had close contact with the CIA, couldn't have known more about the White House effort to circumvent the ban on U.S. military aid to the guerrillas.

The Iran-Contra affair has returned to the news in recent days, thanks to a new book by retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard Secord and widely publicized comments by Howard Teicher, a former White House national security aide. But this attention has focused on what Mr. Bush knew of the "arms-for-hostages" policy in Iran.

Aid to Contras

That leaves begging the question of what Mr. Bush knew about the other side of the Iran-Contra equation, which involves issues of law as well as policy. Mr. Bush continues to claim he knew nothing of the secret effort to supply arms to the Contras. "Nothing having to do with the Contras is something that anybody alleges George Bush was involved in," his former chief of staff, Craig Fuller, said last week on ABC's Nightline.

But an array of previously secret CIA communications made public in recent months shows that the agency was much more aware than previously known of Mr. Rodriguez and his role in the Contra supply operation. The number and detail of CIA cables on the subject raise questions as to how Mr. Bush and his aides could have known so little when the CIA — with which they were so close — knew so much.

With Mr. Bush's help, Mr. Rodriguez, a former CIA operative, had gone to the Ilopango Air Base in El Salvador as a private citizen of the U.S. to help advise Salvadoran helicopter operations in 1985. As early as January 1986, CIA field officers reported back to headquarters on Mr. Rodriguez's budding involvement with the Contra network. "Felix Rodriguez ... apparently has been 'coordinating' all of this with [White House aide] Ollie North," the CIA's El Salvador station chief cabled to headquarters the following month. "What is going on back there?"

'Now Infamous American Citizen'

When CIA superiors ordered that officers no longer mention Mr. Rodriguez by name, the El Salvador station chief — later, transferred out of country — took to refer-

ring to the operative as "the now infamous American citizen working at Ilopango."

As the button jokes illustrate, there was a camaraderie between top CIA officers and Donald Gregg, a longtime friend of Mr. Rodriguez who was Mr. Bush's national security adviser at the time. But Mr. Gregg has denied ever being told of his friend's early involvement in the Contra supply effort. And the fact that Iran-Contra prosecutor Lawrence Walsh never brought any charges against Mr. Gregg is a vindication of sorts for both men.

A colorful veteran of CIA operations—including service as a helicopter pilot in Vietnam — Mr. Rodriguez still enjoys prominence among Cuban-American conservatives in Miami. Before he entered the Iran-Contra picture, Mr. Rodriguez also had a history of associations with arms dealers, at least two of whom have since landed in federal prison.

These include Sarkis Soghanalian, who helped back the Somoza regime in Nicaragua and was convicted in 1991 of smuggling arms to Iraq. And Florida state records list Mr. Rodriguez as the president of the now-defunct Giro Aviation Corp., whose partners included Gerard Latchinian, a Miami arms broker later convicted for his role in an unsuccessful plot to assassinate the president of Honduras. Mr. Rodriguez has also boasted that he used his ties with a third arms dealer, Mario Dellamico, to persuade Honduran officials to give a landing clearance for a U.S. supply plane for the Contras in 1986.

Interest in Nicaraguan Conflict

As recently as 1984, just a year before he left for El Salvador, Mr. Rodriguez applied for re-employment as an independent contractor for the CIA, according to agency records. And though his primary focus at Ilopango was fulfilling his mission in counterinsurgency operations, the former operative had maintained a longstanding interest in the Nicaragua conflict. In the 1983-1984 period, for example, he appears to have been active in Honduras on behalf of a program to provide physicians for the Contra wounded.

Within days of his meeting with Mr. Bush in January 1985 about going to El Salvador, Mr. Rodriguez was already meeting with Robert Owen, who served as an early liaison for Col. North with the Contra forces. "FR"—Felix Rodriguez—and I had a discussion," begins a two-page memo by Mr. Owen back to Col. North. The memo later adds: "It would be good to find a retired hand who could spend some time down there."

The one constant in the whole affair is Mr. Rodriguez's steadfast loyalty to Mr. Gregg, whom he served with in Vietnam and who is now ambassador to South Korea. In his account of the affair, Col. North writes that it was Mr. Gregg who suggested that Mr. Rodriguez would be "a good contact" in El Salvador. Gen. Secord adds that it "defies imagination" that the CIA, in turn, never informed Mr. Bush's office of Mr. Rodriguez's activities.

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A Gentleman's 'B-' for Bush on Economics

By ROBERT J. BARRO

The Clinton campaign has accused George Bush of having the worst economic record of any president in the post-World War II period. The charge is unfair, because some other presidents in recent memory have had far poorer performances. The accompanying table provides an economic report card for each four-year term from Presidents Truman to Bush. I use the "misery index" developed by Arthur Okun, an economic adviser to the Johnson administration. This index adds together the inflation and unemployment rates; a higher value indicates more misery and hence a poorer outcome. I take into account the difficulty of measuring the changing rates of inflation and unemployment by comparing each president's average rate of inflation and unemployment with the values that prevailed at the end of the previous term.

The first two columns of the table show the additions to inflation and unemployment that occurred during each administration. The sum of the two columns in Column V gives the president's contribution to the standard misery index. Column VI shows the ranking of each administration, where 1 is best (that is, the least contribution to misery) and 11 is worst.

We can consider additional aspects of economic performance. The change in long-term interest rates, shown in Column III of the table, is a better measure than the change in inflation of a president's contribution to long-term inflationary expectations. Column IV considers the growth rate of real gross national product (GNP) — the value shown on the table is the shortfall of the average growth rate during each term from the long-term average rate of 3.0%. Column VII combines these two measures of economic performance with the two standard ones to calculate each president's contribution to an expanded misery index. Column VIII gives the associated ranking.

Nixon's Crimes

The two misery indexes provide clear verdicts about the worst and best presidential terms. The two worst are the Nixon-Ford administration (1973-76) and the Carter administration (1977-80); Nixon-Ford is worst on the standard ranking, whereas the Carter era becomes worst if one gives weight to the extraordinary increase in long-term interest rates (5.5 percentage points) due to the breakdown of monetary policy. These two administrations are followed for poor results by the first Eisenhower term (1953-56) and the first Nixon term (1969-72).

The two best administrations are Reagan I and Reagan II (1981-84 and 1985-88). The reductions of the misery indexes reflect the sharp cutbacks in inflation and interest rates, combined with reasonable results on unemployment and GNP growth. The next highest rankings are for Kennedy-Johnson (1961-64) and Truman (1949-52).

The results are non-partisan overall, but will doubtless cause consternation among liberals, who will readily applaud the failures of Nixon and the favorable outcomes for Kennedy and Truman but will have trouble accepting the successes of Mr. Reagan and the dismal ratings of Mr. Carter. (Mr. Nixon's results — likely reflecting such brilliant policies as price controls, the closing of the gold window, an increase by four percentage points in the ratio of non-defense federal spending to GNP, the Endangered Species Act, and the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit — are so bad that they constitute reasonable grounds for impeachment. Getting him for Watergate was like getting Al Capone for tax evasion.)

The report card shows that President Bush's economic outcomes are roughly in

table makes clear that the outcomes were substantially different, with Mr. Reagan at the top of the pack and Mr. Bush in the middle. Mr. Reagan's policies, although not as good as his rhetoric, did show up in a net cut in tax rates, a fall in the share of non-defense spending in GNP from 17.1% in 1980 to 16.6% in 1988, and the avoidance of significant new regulations.

Mr. Bush, in contrast, raised tax rates, expanded non-defense federal spending from 16.6% of GNP in 1988 to 19% in 1992, increased minimum wage rates, and raised unemployment-insurance benefits. He also introduced an array of new regulations and stimuli to litigation in the form of the Clean Air Act, the Civil Rights Act, and the Americans with Disabilities Act. To his credit, however, he has maintained a basically positive stance on free interna-

Economic Report Card on the Presidents

Administration	Inflation Change (I)	Unemployment Change (II)	Interest Rate Change (III)	Shortfall in GNP Growth (IV)	Misery Index Change (V)	Rank (VI)	Expanded Misery Index Change (VII)	Rank (VIII)
Truman II 1949-52	-0.4	0.4	0.3	-2.6	0.0	4	-2.3	4
Eisenhower I 1953-56	0.3	1.6	0.6	0.7	1.9	9	3.2	9
Eisenhower II 1957-60	-0.8	1.3	0.5	1.1	0.5	5	2.1	8
Kennedy-Johnson 1961-64	-0.5	-0.8	0.3	-1.7	-1.3	3	-2.7	3
Johnson II 1965-68	2.2	-1.1	1.5	-1.4	1.1	7	1.2	6
Nixon I 1969-72	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	1.6	8	1.6	7
Nixon-Ford 1973-76	4.8	1.5	0.8	1.1	6.3	11	8.2	10
Carter 1977-80	3.9	-1.3	5.5	0.3	2.6	10	8.4	11
Reagan I 1981-84	-5.7	1.4	-0.7	0.7	-4.3	1	-4.3	1
Reagan II 1985-88	-0.6	-0.8	-2.1	-0.2	-1.4	2	-3.7	2
Bush 1989-92 (est.)	-0.2	1.0	-2.1	2.1	0.8	6	0.8	5

- (I) Average CPI inflation rate (exclusive of shelter) during term, less rate in final year of previous term.
 (II) Average unemployment rate during term, less rate at end of previous term.
 (III) Change in long-term government bond rate from beginning to end of term.
 (IV) Long-term average value of 3.0 less average real GNP growth rate during term.
 (V) (I) + (II).
 (VI) Misery Index rank (1 is best).
 (VII) (V) + (III) + (IV).
 (VIII) Expanded Misery Index rank (1 is best).

the middle of the post-World War II experience. This rating is a composite of the reductions in inflation and especially in interest rates, the moderate increase in the unemployment rate, and the slow growth of real GNP. (Mr. Bush's average growth rate of 0.9% per year is the worst of the 11 administrations. There is, however, some evidence that growth rates of output have been significantly understated since the mid-1970s because of the rising share in GNP of the service sectors, for which productivity increases have been undercounted.)

The Clinton campaign has not only complained about President Bush's economic performance but has also criticized the last 12 years of Republican rule, as though the Reagan and Bush results and policies were pretty much the same. The

tional trade, and he has vetoed or moderated some proposals for increased government intervention, such as the Family Leave Act.

Although family leave is not the most important area of government policy, the recent discussions of this topic provide clear insights into the differing policy positions of Messrs. Reagan, Clinton and Bush. Most economists (and all respectable economists) would agree that the amount of family leave and the trade-off between leaves and wages would be satisfactorily determined by voluntary interactions between workers and firms in our competitive labor markets. Unnecessary government intervention into this market makes the economy operate less efficiently and does not help workers or families.

Mr. Reagan would have accepted these

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The Perot Vacuum

We always suspected that Ross Perot's withdrawal from the Presidential race was too good to be true. After all, getting him to go away cost General Motors \$750 million. So now he goes about his business, extracting greenmail from George Bush and Bill Clinton, not to mention the dazed television viewer.

The carnival that arrived in Dallas Monday, beamed across the nation and the world, could only have happened here. Americans have become quite used to election seasons rich in spectacle, but the goings-on in Dallas may have given new meaning to the word. First, in a daylong political talkathon, Mr. Perot received the top emissaries from the Democratic and Republican camps. Not unlike petitioners visiting a holy man, the emissaries made their obeisances.

They each paid their reverential tribute to United We Stand — the grass roots organization that put citizen Perot on the ballot in 50 states — and to its maximum leader. They hoped in return to receive the leader's ultimate blessing.

For the better part of a long day, the parade of supplicants continued. Felix Rohatyn, Senator Lloyd Bentsen and Mickey Kantor, the Clinton campaign chairman, were but three of the nine-man team dispatched to make a pitch on behalf of Mr. Clinton. The Republicans sent Brent Scowcroft, Robert Teeter, Senator Phil Gramm, deputy campaign manager Mary Matalin and Jack Kemp.

Democratic and Republican petitioners both were able to divine a profound harmony between their candidate's views and those of Mr. Perot. In election seasons, miracles of this kind are never in short supply.

Beaming under the warm rays of all this homage, a gracious and effusive Ross Perot allowed, in return, that he too saw the common threads linking his own message to those of the other candidates — both of them. It was, everyone had to agree, quite a party, if a strange one. By 6 o'clock prime time, citizen Perot was at the microphones holding a press conference and introducing — in the event he re-entered the race — his vice presidential running mate, James B. Stockdale, former POW and Navy pilot.

Following the events of this day — one of the more bizarre in modern American politics, which is saying quite a lot — the television screen also provided one of the stranger viewing experiences of the season. Mr. Perot appeared on Larry King's show on CNN to recite his daylong message —

that he might or might not run and it was all up to the volunteers. Midway through this, Mike Wallace called up; the star of "60 Minutes" wanted to know in all earnestness why Ross Perot kept making his big announcements on "Larry King Live." After a nervous exchange, Mr. Wallace recited the day and time of his own show and asked Mr. Perot to consider coming on "60 Minutes" to make his announcement about whether or not he would run.

Mr. Perot beamed — and who could blame him? Not even in his wildest dreams of self-importance could Ross Perot have imagined this scene: the czar of America's top interview show calls up in person — on national television — to express jealousy over Mr. Perot's attention to competitors and demands a chance to book him. Mr. Perot thought fast and furiously and then gave Mr. Wallace the answer he had given supplicants all day, which was, "Maybe."

Monday's day of courting and homage to Mr. Perot was the kind of which fantasies are made. Mr. Perot understandably enough enjoyed it immensely, and so in its sensation-besotted way did the media.

Still, for all Mr. Perot's geniality, viewers of "Larry King Live" got an occasional glimpse of the Perot already familiar to the business world, and who emerged more and more clearly just before dropping out in June. The one, for example, who responded to all but the most comfortable questions by denouncing the questioners.

What will come of this we can only guess. Our hunch is that from the first Mr. Perot has been out to sandbag Mr. Bush, and will end up endorsing Mr. Clinton, after milking the last possible ounce of attention and adulation. But there's a good chance the electorate will have the good taste to start laughing. The real "Perot phenomenon" is the public's disdain for the candidates and postures offered by the two major parties. After all, the President of the United States, behind in the polls and faulted for lack of conviction, had the perfect opportunity to set himself apart by refusing to go to Mr. Perot with his hand out. Mr. Clinton, ahead in the polls and facing a difficult presidency if elected, had even better reason to avoid this unseemly display. Both candidates, and their handlers, instead ran true to form for the season. What they demonstrated was the vacuum in which Mr. Perot's candidacy was born.

arguments, perhaps instinctively, and would have viewed family leave as a perfect area for the government not to enter. Mr. Clinton, in contrast, views family leave as a basic right that the government ought to require. Mr. Bush, in classic middle-of-the-road fashion, views mandated leave as excessive government interference, but would instead subsidize leaves through the tax system. Since there is no reason to think that the unfettered labor market generates "too little" or "too much" family leave, the Clinton and Bush approaches are both undesirable, and it is unclear which policy is worse.

Hoping Clinton Doesn't Mean It

Mr. Bush has outlined his plans for a second term in his "Agenda for American Renewal." It is a sensible document that focuses on the benefits from small government and unhindered markets. It argues for less government spending, lower tax rates on capital income, free international trade, less regulation and reform of the legal system to discourage litigation. It advocates school choice, favors property ownership by the poor and makes some reasonable suggestions in the difficult areas of health care and welfare reform. In a general way, the document proposes a return to the Reagan approach of the 1980s, an approach that one can reasonably credit for the strong economic outcomes of that period. The main problem with all these reasonable ideas is that most were absent from Mr. Bush's actions of the last four years. Why should we think that he is committed this time to these sound policies?

Mr. Clinton has outlined his philosophy in his "Putting People First." This platform, although vague in many areas, clearly proposes a general expansion in the role of the federal government. Part of the plan envisions more government spending, for example, on construction, transportation and environmental management. Part proposes to use taxes and subsidies along with direct mandates to pick technological winners and to control private decisions in areas such as health insurance, drug pricing and family leave. Despite the lack of detail, the general thrust is toward more socialism in America, just at the time when most of the world's economies are moving profitably in the opposite direction.

The choice in the upcoming election is between one candidate, Mr. Bush, who has sensible proposals that we can hope he means this time, and the other candidate, Mr. Clinton, who has poor ideas that we can hope he does not mean. It is not a great choice, but it could be worse. The Republicans could have nominated Richard Nixon, and the Democrats could have chosen Jimmy Carter.

Mr. Barro, a Wall Street Journal contributing editor, is a professor of economics at Harvard.

Bush on debates: Let's make it four

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

CLARKSVILLE, Tenn. — President Bush yesterday dramatically raised the ante in the debate over debates, suggesting not two but four debates — two with the single-moderator format favored by Bill Clinton and two with the panel format he prefers.

The Arkansas governor seemed stunned and reacted cautiously, suggesting that the president meet him Sunday night in San Diego for a

debate scheduled by the presidential commission on debates, with negotiations on more debates later.

"Let's start Sunday; I'm ready," Mr. Clinton said. But he said Mr. Bush's dates would conflict with the televised baseball playoffs and World Series.

Under the president's proposal, unveiled at a huge and strongly supportive rally at Austin Peay State University here on the banks of the Cumberland River in Middle Tennessee, the two candidates — and

independent Ross Perot if he resumes his candidacy — would debate every Sunday night from Oct. 11 to Nov. 1.

The final debate would take place two days before the election.

Mr. Bush said he would accept two single-moderator debates, as proposed by the commission and supported by Mr. Clinton, and two debates with a panel of journalists, as he prefers.

The surprise within the surprise was his invitation to Mr. Perot, who said hours before the president's an-

nouncement, "Sure I will go" if invited.

"In order to move this process forward, I challenge my opponent to a debate on every Sunday evening between now and November 1," Mr. Bush said to loud cheers. He was in Tennessee for a five-city campaign tour and to attend a country music show at the Grand Ole Opry in Nash-

see **DEBATES, page A10**

• The Vietnam-era draft was a touchstone for a generation. Page E1.



Ross Perot

Based on calls taken until 5 p.m. yesterday.

THE WASHINGTON TIMES READERS POLL

The Washington Times received 1,671 calls in response to the question "Should Ross Perot get back in the presidential race?" The results:

YES **35%**

NO **65%**

The Washington Times

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DEBATES

From page A1

ville.

"If Governor Clinton is serious about debating, he will accept this challenge. Let's get it on."

Moving to end the debate on debates, Mr. Bush said, "Because of the importance of this election, the strength of our convictions about what's right for this country and my belief that a Clinton presidency would be wrong for America, I think it is important that voters have an opportunity to see and hear from the candidates themselves."

He said he favors two debates between Vice President Dan Quayle and Mr. Clinton's running mate, Sen. Al Gore of Tennessee.

The presidential debate commission recently called for three debates under the direction of a single moderator. The Clinton campaign agreed, but the White House rejected the plan.

White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III and Bush-Quayle campaign chairman Robert Teeter said they wanted to negotiate the format with the Clinton campaign and not through the independent commission, which is composed of senior Democratic and Republican aides.

But while the Bush campaign sought meetings with the Democrats, Mr. Clinton's aides rejected any face-to-face meetings. The disagreement led the commission to cancel two debates, including one in Louisville, Ky., last night.

An hour before the deadline for a Sunday debate in San Diego, Mr. Teeter said in a letter to the commission, "The president continues to be of the view that debates are desirable, and frankly we cannot understand why the Clinton campaign continues to refuse to discuss this matter with us."

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said the president was "baffled that [Mr. Clinton's camp] was not willing to sit down with us, not willing to even talk about debates. So we wanted to give them enough time that everybody understood his position, and it's clear now that he simply didn't want to debate."

Mr. Bush said, "I also believe that the candidates should not be afraid to accept and respond to questions from the press during the course of the presidential debates."

Since rejecting a Bush proposal two weeks ago, Mr. Clinton has taunted Mr. Bush, saying he is afraid to debate. His campaign has dispatched supporters dressed as chickens to heckle Mr. Bush at campaign speeches.

"I think that he [Mr. Bush] ran into so many people in chicken costumes that he finally figured out he laid an egg," Mr. Gore said yesterday in New Castle, Del.

Mary Matalin, Bush deputy campaign director, taunted back yesterday: "This was the only way to get those chickens to the table. Let's see them put their mouth where their macho is."

When the Clinton campaign reacted with uncertainty yesterday, the president needed the challenger with a touch of sarcasm: "I feel quite confident that Governor Clinton will accept this proposal since his campaign chairman has indicated that Governor Clinton will debate, and now, I quote, 'with moderators, without moderators, in a studio, out of a studio, three questioners, one questioner.'"

Mr. Bush didn't propose cities or times, but several nonpartisan groups, including the debate commission and the National League of Women Voters, are expected to compete to stage them.

"It's interesting. This is the same guy who didn't have an economic plan for 3½ years, and then right before the election he comes up with an economic plan. And then we have a debate planned, and now he comes up with this," Mr. Clinton said.

The offer is "not to be taken seriously" until it is formally presented to the commission, said James Carville, one of the Clinton campaign's key strategists.

"They are in political trouble, and they're flopping around," he said. "The encouraging thing is that there is some capitulation on format by the president."

Clinton campaign chairman Mickey Kantor echoed that position last night on CNN's "Larry King Live," insisting that the debates should be worked out through the commission and should be held on the planned Oct. 4 and Oct. 15 dates.

The initial Republican reaction to Mr. Bush's proposal was confidence that the offer would work to his advantage by making him the leader in trying to break the impasse and would give him the appearance of being on the offensive by wanting so many debates.

"The president is not afraid to debate," said South Carolina Gov. Carroll Campbell, who is Mr. Bush's Southern campaign director. "They wanted three debates originally. It will be to his advantage."

Haley Barbour, a GOP national committeeman from Mississippi and Bush campaign adviser, rejected the notion that the four-debate offer was a risky one for the president.

"The more people who see Clinton in action, the better Bush is going to do," he said.

"Clinton is a clever, nimble performer, but he's going to require a lot more preparation," Mr. Barbour said. "Let's see if Clinton rises to the occasions or whether he will continue to use the debate over the format as something to hide behind."

In Nashville later, Mr. Bush took a shot at Mr. Clinton's education at Oxford University in England during the Vietnam War, which has figured prominently in draft-dodging allegations against Mr. Clinton.

"I don't pretend to be the world's greatest debater," Mr. Bush said. "I didn't go to Oxford."

• Ronald A. Taylor in Little Rock, Ark., Major Garrett in Dallas, and Donald Lambro and J. Jennings Moss in Washington contributed to this report.

Quayle tries to win Illinois at the Gipper's

DIXON, Ill. (AP) — Vice President Dan Quayle made a pilgrimage to Ronald Reagan's boyhood home and alma mater yesterday and urged Illinois voters not to forget "what Ronald Reagan and George Bush have done for America."

Mr. Quayle, on a crisp, cloudless autumn day, journeyed by bus across 200 miles of northern Illinois farmland, drawing cheers from big crowds in small towns as he rekindled warm memories of Mr. Reagan and depicted a bleak future under Bill Clinton.

"Remember the misery index that Jimmy Carter created during the 1976 campaign?" Mr. Quayle asked more than 2,000 people outside the restored home, now a museum, where Mr. Reagan spent four years of his youth.

He asked the townspeople to con-

trast the economic stagnation of the Carter years with "what Ronald Reagan and George Bush have done for America."

"Illinois is going to vote for George Bush again. Don't believe the pundits. Don't believe the polls. Believe the people," he told 300 well wishers in Oregon, Ill.

If others in the GOP were apprehensive about what impact Ross Perot's political resurrection might have on the race, Mr. Quayle was all smiles.

"He certainly sounds like a candidate," said the vice president at a Goodwill Industries job-training center in Rockford, Ill.

The Texas billionaire has "put the good on the front burner and that's good," said Mr. Quayle.

"We've got the best plan for reducing the deficit" with the un-

item veto and a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution, said Mr. Quayle. "It doesn't really make any difference whether he gets in or stays out. He's helped us and we're grateful for that."

He blamed Congress for the huge federal deficit, which has quadrupled under Mr. Reagan and Mr. Bush.

With his parents, James and Corinne Quayle, the vice president toured the two-story, three-bedroom white-frame house the Reagans rented from 1920 to 1923. A private, nonprofit group has restored it with lace curtains, polished wood and period furnishings. Outside stands a bronze life-size statue of the 40th president.

Mr. Quayle examined a baseball on a chest in Mr. Reagan's small bedroom beside an old box camera and

such books as Black Beauty and Tarzan. School pennants filled the wall.

Mr. Quayle just laughed when asked if his boyhood home in Huntington, Ind., would become a museum some day. "We'll see. I doubt it," he said.

He also visited a hospital in Peoria and was holding rallies at Mr. Reagan's alma mater, Eureka College, and in Decatur before flying to Detroit.

Mr. Quayle assured a big lunchtime crowd in Princeton, Ill., that Mr. Bush "does support ethanol." Corn growers are pressuring the White House to waive a Clean Air Act restriction that would bar sales of ethanol-blended gasoline in big cities because it increases smog.

"We're going to get that ethanol problem resolved," said Mr. Quayle.

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Bubba-courting Bush invades Gore country

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — President Bush, in his best redneck-lovin', hi-y'all twang, swept through Sen. Al Gore's state yesterday, pecking away at the Democratic vice presidential candidate's base in an effort to win America's beer drinkers, bass fishermen, veterans and country music fans.

Mr. Bush was accompanied throughout the day by retired country singer Naomi Judd and such Nashville stars as the Gatlin Brothers, the Oak Ridge Boys, Ricky Skaggs and Crystal Gayle.

At each stop he was introduced by Miss Judd as "the present and future president of the United States." At Clarksville, 6,000 cheering supporters heard Crystal Gayle sing, "Won't you go home, Bill Clinton?"

Before Mr. Bush arrived at the huge event, staged in the basketball

stadium of Austin Peay State University in Clarksville, Mr. Skaggs sang "Amazing Grace." He said of Mr. Bush: "He's a great man and I love this man. . . . We're going to win this thing, but we've got to do it together."

The president wound up at Nashville's Opryland theme park, which held a "country music salute to George Bush."

The success of Mr. Bush's determined appeal to the nation's good ol' boys and gals won't be known till Nov. 3. But the campaign tactic itself reflects the popularity explosion country music has enjoyed in recent years.

"I love country music because country music loves America," Mr. Bush said in Chattanooga.

Buoyed by new polls showing him closing the gap with Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton to single digits, Mr. Bush told crowds at five Tennessee campaign stops:

"So much for the polls, so much for the pundits. We are going to win this!"

At Blountsville, Alcoa, Chattanooga and Clarksville, his comments brought the Truman-styled cheers he wants to hear most in his resurgent race for re-election: "Give 'em hell, George."

Meanwhile, the Bush campaign turned down a new request from the presidential debate commission to debate Mr. Clinton on Sunday in a format already rejected by the re-election team.

But Mr. Bush said after an airport rally in Chattanooga: "Don't worry. There will be [debates]. Stay tuned."

Harshly attacking "candidate Clinton" for flip-flopping on taxes, support for the Gulf war and international trade, Mr. Bush warned crowds of 2,000 to 3,000 that the Arkansas governor isn't cut out for the decision-making demands of the Oval Office.



Naomi Judd



Ricky Skaggs



Crystal Gayle

"If he ever became president of the United States — and he won't — we'd have to replace the American eagle with a chameleon," he said to cheers at each stop. "That's 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."

The crowds cheered Mr. Bush's praise of Tennessee soldiers who served in the Gulf war and his attacks on Mr. Clinton for waffling on support for the effort.

The president also criticized his opponent's tax increases as governor of neighboring Arkansas.

"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 the 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?" he asked. The crowd boomed.

The tax message is the heart of Mr. Bush's most recent campaign strategy, aimed at plucking away states in which the Democrats hold slim leads.



Sen. Al Gore tells the Center for National Policy that President Bush was no hero in the Gulf war. Photo by Ruth Fremson The Washington Times

Gore says Bush policies set stage for Gulf war

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Sen. Al Gore said yesterday that President Bush's "poor judgment, moral blindness and bungling policies" toward Iraq helped lead to the Persian Gulf war.

"George Bush wants the American people to see him as the hero who put out a raging fire. But new evidence now shows that he is the one who set the fire. He not only struck the match, he poured gasoline on the flames," the Democratic vice presidential nominee said in a speech to the Center for National Policy.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said the speech was "another effort by the Democrats in Congress to rewrite history to conceal their opposition to the war." Mr. Gore was one of the few Democrats who voted in support of the war.

Without disclosing any new information about the 1991 war with Iraq, the Tennessee senator pulled together previously released details and presented a broad picture of what he described as U.S. coddling of Saddam Hussein in spite of evidence that he was building up his military machine and harboring terrorists.

The attack on what long have been viewed as Mr. Bush's shining presidential accomplishments — the quick military victory over Iraq and his general emphasis on foreign policy — was the sharpest so far by either member of the Democratic ticket.

For Mr. Gore, who compensates for presidential nominee Bill Clinton's relative lack of foreign affairs experience, the speech also continued the trend of using the senator as the chief bulldog criticizing Mr. Bush.

Mr. Gore said new evidence about U.S. policy toward Iraq before it invaded Kuwait in August 1990 "contradicts President Bush's repeated statements to the American people that he did not want to go to war."

He laid out the history of U.S. relations with Iraq since they were normalized in 1984 after Iraq went to war with Iran and the Reagan administration backed the Iraqis. Using published reports, congressional testimony and three recently released memos from the State Department, Mr. Gore said the president and his top advisers knew that the Iraqis were developing nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

Even so, Mr. Gore charged, the president blocked attempts to impose economic sanctions on Iraq and approved loan guarantees. "George Bush showed the worst judgment that I have ever seen on the part of a president of the United States in dealing with a foreign leader," Mr. Gore said later at a campaign stop in Scranton, Pa. "Bush's statements no longer have any credibility on the subject. He needs to answer these questions and come clean with the American people about what he did and when he did it."

The phrasing was an apparently deliberate echo of what Mr. Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle are saying about Mr. Clinton and his avoidance of the draft during the Vietnam War.

Republicans have criticized both Mr. Gore and Mr. Clinton for their positions before the war with Iraq even though both supported the use of force. The Bush campaign has accused Mr. Clinton of waffling.

Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole accused Mr. Gore yesterday of "shopping" his vote on the war resolution to get the best speaking time on the Senate floor. "No wonder some colleagues refer to the senator from Tennessee as 'Prime Time Al,'" the Kansas Republican said.

Gore spokeswoman Marla Romash responded: "He spoke at about 9:30 on a Saturday morning. Now that's prime time for the cartoon crowd. So maybe that's why."

Clinton says Bush sends jobs abroad

By Ronald A. Taylor
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton yesterday assailed Bush administration policies that he said encourage job creation abroad instead of at home.

"At a time when companies are having a hard time getting loans to expand factories in Middle America, Mr. Bush's administration is offering loans at low cost in Central America," Mr. Clinton said in a speech yesterday in Louisville, Ky.

He was referring to an Agency for International Development program that he said encourages companies to move offshore. The program was scrutinized in

a segment of the CBS program "60 Minutes" Sunday.

He said the program to provide financial assistance for U.S. firms to relocate abroad is evidence that "Mr. Bush has not the vision or the sense of mission to fight for American jobs, American businesses and American workers."

The president "is actually overseeing the creation of more private-sector jobs in Central America than in the United States of America in the last four years," he said, adding: "If that's not enough to send him packing, I don't know what is."

Mr. Clinton said the situation is one of many that the president should be forced to address.

"He ought to have to answer why, at a time when he is trying to reduce dollars for job training for people who lose their jobs to overseas competition... he would be trying to increase the money available for job training for workers in other countries who took jobs away from Americans," he said.

He cited the shutdown of a Decaturville, Tenn., sportswear factory, which resulted in the loss of 304 jobs when the firm expanded its operation in El Salvador.

Noting that the president was campaigning in Tennessee yesterday he said he hoped Mr. Bush would be asked about the firm's shutdown.

"I hope he is asked why he took jobs away from the people in Decaturville, Tenn., by using their own tax dollars to shut them down and move their plant overseas," Mr. Clinton said. "George Bush promised us 30 million jobs in eight years. He just didn't tell us where the jobs were going to be."

He said the "60 Minutes" show suggests that "when Mr. Bush says he wants America to be an export superpower, he means exporting factories and jobs, not products and services."

Throughout the campaign, Mr. Clinton has stressed the need to reform tax laws that encourage overseas expansion by U.S. firms.

Call your tailor!

A Los Angeles psychologist who claims to study these matters says Bill Clinton wins it will be "trendy" to dress like working men and women and, of course, to adopt new respect for Hollywood.

Robert R. Butterworth says a Clinton presidency would be so revolutionary it would deliver "the final death blow to conspicuous consumption," something that has eluded two centuries of American life.

This student of cultural trends has another dire warning. With Mr. Clinton in the White House, Mr. Butterworth says, there will be a lot more lively cocktail chatter about — heavens forbid, you guessed it — recycling.

Sampling error

In those heady days when the Washington Post-ABC News presidential poll disclosed giant leads for Mr. Clinton that were found in other polls, the OP felt no obligation to explain the pollster's mechanics. But when the survey showed Mr. Clinton taking a 12-point plunge, hey, stop the presses. The Post was moved to run an explanatory piece on the ever-present margin of error. There it was yesterday morning: "Clinton Slide in

Survey Shows Perils of Polling."

No nos, please

Mr. Perot's 800-number hot line has no provision for telling the big-bucks Texan not to horse around in the presidential race.

"I don't think that's playing fair; I think it's misleading," Bonnie Smith of San Diego, a 55-year-old unemployed marketing manager, told the Associated Press after calling the number to tell Mr. Perot not to run.

To her dismay, the automatic answer said her call would be counted as a vote in favor of his joining the race. "That isn't democratic. . . . I got the impression it was to voice your opinion," she said.

Mr. Perot actually said, in announcing the number, that voters could call in to express "support" — not opinions. Within 2½ hours after the number was announced, the hot line got 1.5 million calls.

Veep support

There has been much colorful commentary about the TDK tape-Spy magazine poll that discovered the real mom-and-pop ticket for college students this year would pair Bill Clinton and Barbara Bush.

By a 43-39 percent margin, nearly 1,200 students nationwide

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

said they would prefer Mr. Clinton as their father over President Bush. Asked who they'd like for mom, 56 percent preferred Mrs. Bush to Hillary Clinton.

Today's students are fickle, though. They preferred Mrs. Clinton over Mrs. Bush for president. They also thought Mr. Clinton "was most likely to have cheated in college."

The students showed a distinct preference (56-35 percent) for Mr. Clinton as president. The future of the nation also revealed deep in the data some nonstereotypical views:

A 35 percent plurality thought Hollywood is run by a cultural elite out of touch with the views of a majority of Americans, and a 31 percent plurality thought Vice President Dan Quayle would be surprisingly competent if he became president.

Rollins vs. Perot

Ed Rollins, who asserts that Ross Perot offered him \$500,000 to keep

his mouth shut when he left his campaign, says the deputation of campaign delegations to Dallas this week helped the Democratic challenger.

"Clinton absolutely benefited. . . . Every day he can freeze the political environment and keep moving with a 12- or 15-point lead — if we spend the next five days debating whether Ross Perot gets in or not — George Bush cannot make up the ground," Mr. Rollins said on CNN.

The Republican strategist added: "I would not have gone. . . . It was a circus; it was a fool's folly. . . . Neither campaign understood the Perot movement when it was in full force and neither understands it today when it's not in full force."

On "Larry King Live," Mr. Perot said: "I probably didn't spend two hours with Mr. Rollins the whole time he was here. Some of my associates felt they needed advice from a person of his background. I hu-



Ed Rollins says George Bush is the bigger loser from the Dallas "circus."

mored them and let them bring him to Dallas. And the rest is history."

Mr. King: "Was that a mistake, too?"

Mr. Perot: "I don't want to dignify it by talking about it. . . . Why would anybody care what he thought? . . . It's ludicrous to even

put him on television. . . . This is a man who now makes a living pretending to know a great deal about me and knows next to nothing about me because I had almost no contact with him."

Go figure

Asked if a reborn Perot candidacy would help the Republicans, Mr. Quayle said yesterday, "If Ross Perot runs, that's good for us, and if Ross Perot doesn't run, that's good for us."

When reporters asked for an explanation, Mr. Quayle initially said, "That's for you to figure out." He said later that he meant any attention to Mr. Perot would focus on the deficit issue, and that would help Mr. Bush.

Tanks for the memory

NBC's Jay Leno took note the other night of the Clinton camp's use at Bush campaign stops of someone dressed as a chicken to call attention to the president's refusal to debate the Democratic nominee. His conclusion: "Michael Dukakis says this is the most degrading job he has ever had."

— Alan McConagh

Bush, Clinton ancestors traced to village of fools

By Crispian Balmer
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

LONDON
President George Bush and Democratic contender Bill Clinton may like to call one another all sorts of names — but cousin certainly is not one of them.

Yet new research carried out by an English television company points to the fact that the two men probably are related — although distantly — with both their families coming from the same tiny village in central England.

That village is Gotham, renowned in English legend as a haunt of madmen and inspiration for Bat-

man's home city.

Previous research has shown that Mr. Bush's family left England for America in 1631. Mr. Clinton's family — the Blythes — sailed for the New World in 1774.

Now the Misha television company has traced both candidates' families back to the same small village of Gotham, pronounced

"goat'em" in England — the town of goats.

Mr. Bush's ancestors went by the name of St. Andrews, says Misha producer Alexander Moody, with first mention of them coming in the year 1180 when they are described as residents of Gotham.

see COUSIN, page E4

COUSIN

From page E1

The earliest reference to the Blythe family in England also comes from Gotham village, in 13th-century parish records.

Mr. Clinton was named William Jefferson Blythe at birth but changed his name when he enrolled in high school.

"The St. Andrews family were the aristocrats of Gotham whilst the Blythes were probably the happy, laughing yokels," Mr. Moody says.

Mr. Bush is already known to be Queen Elizabeth II's 13th cousin but Harold Brooks-Baker, publishing director at Britain's leading authority on ancestry, Burke's Peerage, feels sure he is also related to Mr. Clinton, despite the difference between the two families' social standing.

"You would almost certainly find that there was a relationship between the two families," Mr. Brooks-Baker says.

"I do not know if Gov. Clinton



George Bush



Bill Clinton

would like to call President Bush his cousin, but I suspect this is the case."

The fictional Gotham City has become legendary as the home of Batman, but the name derives from the English village.

Gotham village became known in English folklore as the home of crazy people. This reputation possibly dates from the reign of King John in the 13th century, when the crown sent its agents to the village to collect money, Mr. Moody says.

Hearing of the visit the Gothamites decided to act mad in an attempt to dodge the taxes.

■ "You would almost certainly find that there was a relationship between the two families."

The king's men found the villagers trying to drown an eel in a pool of water and building a wall around a cuckoo bush to prevent the bird from flying away and taking summer with it.

The taxmen fled and the villagers got a reputation for being fools. But they also avoided paying their taxes.

When Washington Irving in 1807 wrote his book "Salmagundi," he said New York was a city of madmen and accordingly branded it Gotham City. The name stuck and became Batman's hometown.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

Letters

Your tax-and-spend figures don't add up

The Washington Times fell short in its attempt to explain how the president "won" his recent appropriations skirmish with Congress ("Cut some more, Mr. President," editorial, Sept. 22). On the surface, you appeared correct about the president's efforts to control Democratic spending. However, under closer scrutiny, your figures do not add up, and this presidential "win" is at best a taxpayer draw.

The president threatened to veto seven appropriations bills, including those funding the Depart-

ments of Treasury, Labor and Defense, if Congress did not cut back the spending levels in each.

The Times pointed out that these seven bills together cost \$10 billion more than Mr. Bush wanted to spend. The conclusion drawn from your editorial is that Mr. Bush forced Congress to reduce these appropriations measures, allegedly saving \$10 billion.

The Times, however, failed to factor in the sum total of congressional spending legislation for

this fiscal year. Though Congress did exceed Mr. Bush's planned spending level in these seven measures, lawmakers responsibly provided lower appropriations in other areas. Cumulatively, Congress' proposed spending would have been \$12 billion below the administration's. Such behavior hardly fits the tax-and-spend congressional image your editorial conveyed.

STEPHANIE STAPLETON
Washington

COMMENT

Leave bill to protect families

Submitted by Mike Carpenter, parent and reader from Shelbyville, Ind.:

On occasion, I slip into the bedrooms of my sleeping daughters before I go to work in the morning. I stare at the content faces of Andrea, Katie, Kellie and Arika and thank God for being blessed with reasonably healthy kids.

Oh, we've been to the emergency room before, but they've always recovered well. Starting my day knowing that they are asleep in their beds and out of harm's way makes me feel very lucky.

Most parents have experienced the thankful situation I just described, and it happens all over America. They would also give anything to feel that way the next time they find themselves in an emergency room awaiting information on an injured child's condition.

To politicians, family values are just another pawn in their political games. But to working parents, the Family and Medical Leave Act is a matter of survival by protecting priorities — jobs and family members. They should not have to sacrifice one for the other.

Injuries and illnesses are a fact of life and, as parents, we must realize that our children are vulnerable to them, no matter how much we love them and try to protect them. Just as we parents want and need to be there for our children when they are hurting, they expect us to comfort and take care of them in their time of pain.

If President Bush is truly committed to family values, how can he deny working Americans the job and benefit protections to care for ill or injured family members? The welfare of our family members should be more valuable than a political pawn to get re-elected.

The Family and Medical Leave Act should not have to be mandated but, then, neither should child-labor laws, workplace-safety laws, military leave or jury duty leave. The fact is, these protections are mandated because there is an obvious need for them to be.

For our kids, our elderly parents, our spouses and our workers, America needs and deserves the protection provided in the Family and Medical Leave Act.

File Dater 9/30

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO:

Colin Powell

L. Sullivan

Coren King - 1st black
SS commission

Joyce Berry - commission
cigars

Knolls - 1st woman
surgeon general

Bernadine Healey
4 women cabinet

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO:

Carol Hells
Jenny Martin
Barbara Franklin

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04. Schedule	Schedule of the President Re: Wednesday, September 30, 1992 [FOIA exemptions redacted] (2 pp.)	9/30/92	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, September 30, 1992 [4]

Date Closed: 1/3/2025	OA/ID Number: 90723-004
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
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P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]



SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
Wednesday, September 30, 1992

7:00 am (25 min)	<u>Prebrief for Interview</u> (Fitzwater)	(TAB A)	Oval Office
7:35 am (10 min)	<u>Interview with "Good Morning America"</u> (Smith)	(TAB B)	Map Room
7:50 am (10 min)	<u>Photo opportunity with JET Magazine</u> (Smith)	(TAB C)	Oval Office
8:05 am (5 min)	<u>Interview with WOR-AM, New York, New York</u> (Fitzwater)	(TAB D)	Oval Office
8:15 am (15 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>		Oval Office
8:30 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)		Oval Office
8:50 am	<u>The President departs for the J.W. Marriott for Address to attendees at "A Salute to the President and his Black Appointees"</u> (Demarest)	(TAB E)	J.W. Marriott
9:30 am	<u>Arrives White House</u>		South Lawn
9:35 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>		Oval Office
9:55 am	<u>The President departs for Oshkosh, Wisconsin</u>	(TAB F --	South Lawn Trip Schedule)
11:05 am	<u>Arrives Wittman Regional Airport for Law Enforcement Endorsement</u> (Demarest)	(TAB G)	Oshkosh, Wisconsin

UNP 09/29/92
9:00 pm



12:00 pm	<u>Arrives Fond du Lac City County Government Center for Meeting with Families of Children First</u> (Demarest)	Fond du Lac, Wisconsin
	(TAB H)	
12:45 pm	<u>Fond du Lac Community Welcome</u> (Kaufman)	(TAB I)
1:20 pm	<u>Meeting with Victory '92 Supporters</u> (Kaufman)	(TAB J)
2:30 pm	<u>Departs Oshkosh en route Newark, New Jersey</u>	(TAB M -- Trip Schedule)
5:30 pm	<u>Arrives Newark International Airport for Law Enforcement Endorsement</u> (Demarest)	Newark, New Jersey
	(TAB N)	
6:05 pm	<u>Arrives Heavy and General Construction Laborers Local 472 Union Headquarters for Welcome</u> (Demarest)	(TAB O)
7:05 pm	<u>Departs Newark en route Camp David</u>	
8:15 pm	<u>Arrives Camp David</u>	Camp David, Maryland

RON Camp David

SUPPLEMENTARY BRIEFING MATERIALS

TAB K -- Briefing on Local Issues, Wisconsin (Moore)

TAB L -- Wisconsin Political Briefing (Mullins)

TAB P -- Briefing on Local Issues, New Jersey (Moore)

TAB Q -- New Jersey Political Briefing (Mullins)

7:00 POTUS In
7:01 Sec. Baker In
7:07 Zoellick, Darman, Grady In
7:21 All out but Baker
7:22 POTUS, Baker Out to Map Room
7:42 POTUS Out to Oval
7:45 POTUS for Jet Magazine Photo
7:55 Jet Participants Out but Judy Spiller
7:56 George Tr. In

8:13 Baker In
8:32 Baker Out, Scamcroft In
8:34 Howes, Baker, (b)(3) In
8:45 (b)(3) Out ~~9:00 pm~~



New Enforcement
Endorsement
Newark, New Jersey



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