Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2009-0166-S

FOIA Number:
2009-0166-S

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 90726
Folder ID Number: 90726-001

Folder Title:
Wednesday, October 7, 1992 [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	35	2	5	0

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 04]. (2 pp.)	07/08/1992	(b)(1)	S
02. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 05]. (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C
03. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 08]. (2 pp.)	07/08/1992	(b)(1)	S
04. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 09]. (2 pp.)	05/11/1992	(b)(1)	S
05. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 10]. (2 pp.)	07/08/1992	(b)(1)	S
06. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 11]. (1 pp.)	07/30/1992	(b)(1)	S
07. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 12]. (1 pp.)	01/21/1992	(b)(1)	S
08. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 13]. (2 pp.)	07/08/1992	(b)(1)	S
09. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 14]. (2 pp.)	07/08/1992	(b)(1)	S
10. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 15]. (2 pp.)	07/08/1992	(b)(1)	S
11. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 18]. (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, October 7, 1992 [3]

Pinksheet Number: DJC3224
OA/ID Number: 90726-001
Date Closed: 10/8/2019
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 6, 1992

MEETING WITH U.S. TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
CARLA HILLS

DATE: October 7, 1992
LOCATION: San Antonio, Texas
TIME: 1:30-1:45 p.m.

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

I. PURPOSE

To express your full support for trying to reach agreement with the EC on the Uruguay Round and oilseeds during the October 11-12 talks in Brussels.

II. BACKGROUND

Carla Hills and Ed Madigan will meet with their EC counterparts this coming Sunday and Monday. This exchange is of singular importance since it will be followed on October 16 by a special EC summit which John Major called to deal with the fall-out from the French referendum and recent financial turmoil in Europe.

If the talks can forge a framework agreement, we will urge Delors, Major, Kohl and others to have the results blessed by the EC summit. Mitterrand could find himself in the awkward position of having to block a unified European position at a time when he wants to accentuate EC unity and thus might be persuaded to go along. Much work would remain to wrap up the details of a U.S.-EC accord and then to finalize the broader agreement in Geneva (where all the GATT negotiators meet). But general U.S.-EC agreement would break the deadlock in Geneva. Conversely, if U.S.-EC agreement cannot be reached nor substantial progress made, there is, realistically, no hope for a Uruguay Round agreement this year. Similarly, if we cannot break through the oilseeds impasse this weekend, we will be forced toward retaliation and possible EC counter-retaliation. (Regarding financial services, in response to Nick Brady's messages our G-7 partners have indicated that they are not prepared to join us in common action now. But we have diffused this as an issue between us and the EC.)

You should indicate to Carla your desire for an all-out effort to forge agreement and your willingness to support and work for any agreement she and Ed Madigan bring home. If you agree, we will arrange for you to call Ed before he leaves to offer the same words of encouragement.

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, #2021-07
By MC NARA, Date 7/16/21

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Lawrence Eagleburger, Acting Secretary of State
Carla Hills, U.S. Trade Representative
Brent Scowcroft, National Security Advisor
Julius Katz, Deputy U.S. Trade Representative
Eric Melby, NSC (notetaker)

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House Photographer only

V. SEQUENCE

Meeting

Attachment
Tab A Talking Points

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
USTR CARLA HILLS

-- This weekend's talks with the EC are crucial. You have my full support to go all out for an agreement that is good overall for the United States.

-- Please tell me what flexibility and authority you need with respect to agriculture and other issues. I'll be happy to talk to Ed -- and Nick Brady, too, if need be.

-- On oilseeds I have the sense that an agreement is within reach. I want you to make a vigorous effort to find an accord that meets our basic needs.

-- Keep me posted during the talks through Brent. If you need me to lend a shoulder or to make a judgement, Brent can get to me.

-- Be assured that I will stand behind and work for any agreement that you and Ed bring back.

-- Reaching agreement is very important to me personally. We have worked too long and too hard to let this slip through our fingers if there is a worthwhile agreement to be reached.

-- I am ready to get to Major, Kohl, Delors and others quickly to urge that the EC summit next week bless any agreement you reach.

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, #2021-02
By MC NARA, Date 7/16/21

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 6, 1992

MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT SALINAS OF MEXICO AND
PRIME MINISTER MULRONEY OF CANADA

DATE: October 7, 1992
LOCATION: Plaza de San Antonio Hotel
TIME: 2:~~00 2:40 p.m.~~ 05pm
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT BS

I. PURPOSE

To demonstrate U.S., Mexican and Canadian solidarity at the initialing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and to discuss next steps on ratification and implementation.

II. BACKGROUND

Key points to be made during the meeting:

-- Confirm that prompt ratification of NAFTA will be a top priority in your second term, but explain that challenges and criticisms of the agreement in Congress could slow process.

-- Discuss near-term economic benefits of NAFTA that may be useful to highlight in seeking ratification.

-- Stress the importance of continued close cooperation on environmental issues to ensure public support for the agreement.

-- Brief Salinas and Mulroney on your efforts to move the Uruguay Round to a successful conclusion and seek their public support for an agreement this year.

You last met with Salinas on July 14 at the All Star Game in San Diego. Your most recent meeting with Mulroney was at the Munich Summit in July.

This first meeting since the conclusion of the NAFTA negotiations provides an opportunity to demonstrate that all three leaders are in full agreement on prompt ratification of the agreement and are committed to managing the new trade relationship carefully.

Both Salinas and Mulroney will be keen to hear a reaffirmation of your commitment to make the NAFTA's

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, #2021-02
By MC NARA, Date 7/16/24

ratification a top priority of your second term. At the same time, Salinas and Mulroney need to understand how our ratification process works and the potential problems which could arise.

The two leaders will be interested in hearing our assessment of how challenges and criticisms by certain members of Congress will affect ratification and how we intend to handle them. Attention has focused in particular on Congressman Gephardt's criticisms and the reservations expressed by Presidential candidates Clinton and Perot. Clinton's cautious endorsement of NAFTA October 4 should help reassure the two leaders that the accord has important bipartisan backing.

Mexican ratification of the agreement should not be a problem since Salinas' PRI party holds all but four seats in the Senate. There is broad support for NAFTA in Mexico which has already experienced impressive trade and investment growth as a result of Salinas' market opening reforms. The agreement helps Salinas demonstrate to domestic audiences that closer relations with the U.S. have major benefits and need not compromise independence and sovereignty.

The picture is quite different in Canada. Discouraged by years of slow economic growth and the inability of Canada's high-cost industries to compete, many Canadians have looked for a scapegoat in the bilateral free trade agreement. NAFTA appears to have generated little enthusiasm in Canada although there is not much outright opposition either. Despite the Canadians' current negative feelings about free trade, Mulroney is confident that he can obtain parliamentary approval of the agreement.

In preparing for ratification, it will be important for all three governments to stress the near- and long-term economic benefits of a continental free trade area. We ought to publicize export success stories and important new trade-related investment projects. The strong growth in U.S.-Mexican trade over the past five years provides numerous examples. While U.S.-Canadian trade has grown at a slower pace, there is no question that the Canadian free trade agreement has boosted exports in both countries.

NAFTA's impact on the environment remains sensitive for many in the U.S. We have negotiated strong provisions on environmental protection in the agreement and need not be defensive on this point. But it would be helpful to underscore to both Salinas and Mulroney the importance of this issue and the need to continue cooperating closely. EPA and the Mexican environmental ministry are planning to sign later in October the agreement creating a Binational Environmental Commission. Agreement on a trilateral North American Commission on the Environment should follow within

the next three to four months. This trilateral forum is of keen interest to the Canadians.

Given the focus on trade at the Summit, it would also be appropriate to brief Salinas and Mulroney on our efforts to reinvigorate the Uruguay Round negotiations. Both Mexico and Canada are strong backers of the Round and would like to see an agreement this year. Additional public statements of support by Salinas and Mulroney and active efforts by the Mexican and Canadian governments could help move the negotiations along. They would also reinforce our message to other trading partners that NAFTA is part of a global strategy on trade liberalization.

Finally, to consolidate the sense of cooperation that NAFTA represents, you might preview the possibility of future trilateral meetings on matters of mutual interest.

Suggested points to be made are attached at Tab A.

III. PARTICIPANTS

A list of participants is attached at Tab B.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open photo, writing pool.

V. SEQUENCE

Meeting will begin with 15-minute session of cordial welcomes and photo ops with principals only. Other officials will join for remaining 30 minutes. Hills will be prepared to discuss key issues in greater detail in the expanded trilateral. Following the meeting, the Trade Ministers initial the NAFTA. A reception, with receiving line, will follow. Bilateral meetings will occur after the reception, first with Salinas and then with Mulroney.

Attachments
Tab A Points to be Made
Tab B Participants List
Tab C Biographies

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT CARLOS SALINAS AND PRIME MINISTER BRIAN MULRONEY

INTRODUCTION

-- I am delighted that we could all meet together so soon after we concluded negotiations on the agreement. This demonstrates that we are united behind this important trade accord and attach a high priority to managing our new trade relationship.

-- NAFTA is a pathbreaking agreement, covering services, investment and environmental protection for the first time. We should all be proud of what our negotiators have accomplished.

-- The benefits of this agreement are many and will continue for decades:

  o All three countries will create more jobs as NAFTA helps expand trade and spur economic growth within the region.

  o NAFTA will make our region more competitive with Asia and Europe.

  o The agreement will help safeguard our North American environment and encourage close working cooperation among our environmental experts.

NAFTA RATIFICATION

-- I would like to see NAFTA ratified as soon as possible by all three governments. This will be a priority for my second administration.

-- Under U.S. legislation, I can sign the agreement after December 17th. I intend to do so soon thereafter. I will

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, #2021-02
By MC NARA, Date 7/16/21

submit implementing legislation early next year. We intend to work actively with the Congress during the 90 legislative days it has to consider the agreement and implementing legislation.

-- Ratification may not be a smooth process in Washington. But I am confident that we will prevail because this is a terrific deal for us all. We have no intention of reopening the negotiations. I trust you share this view.

NAFTA AND ENVIRONMENT

-- One of our most important accomplishments was to ensure that trade expansion and environmental protection go hand in hand. And I know this was only made possible by a strong commitment to the environment at the highest levels of all three governments.

-- Environmentalists have praised the agreement because of this. To ensure their continued support in all three countries, we need to work effectively together on environmental issues. The impact of NAFTA on the environment will receive close scrutiny in the run-up to Congressional ratification.

-- I was pleased to learn that the U.S. and Mexico are ready to sign an agreement creating a Binational Environmental Commission and that a trilateral North American Commission on the Environment should be in place within the next several months. We should make effective use of these fora to advance our environmental goals.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NAFTA AND URUGUAY ROUND

-- NAFTA shows the world that sweeping trade liberalization is possible if governments negotiate in good faith and look to the future, instead of the past, to build a prospering economy.

-- NAFTA complements global efforts that we all support to liberalize trade and investment. We need to ensure that our trading partners understand this since some mistakenly view NAFTA as an inward-looking trade bloc.

-- I am determined to help bring the Uruguay Round to a successful conclusion this year.

-- I have been in contact with a number of leaders to encourage progress on the Round and underscore our interest in moving ahead. I have also instructed Carla Hills and Ed Madigan to pursue every opportunity to reach a fair and balanced agreement. Carla and Ed will have meetings with the EC in Brussels on October 10 and 11. Nick Brady has been working with his G-7 counterparts on financial services.

-- This is a critical time for the Round. We all need to push actively to bring the Round to closure this year.

PARTICIPANTS

U.S.

The President
Lawrence Eagleburger, Acting Secretary of State
Carla A. Hills, United States Trade Representative
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Julius Katz, Deputy United States Trade Representative
John D. Negroponte, U.S. Ambassador to Mexico
Peter Teeley, U.S. Ambassador to Canada
Bernard W. Aronson, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs
Thomas M. Niles, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs
Olin L. Wethington, Assistant Secretary for International Economic Policy, Department of Treasury
Charles A. Gillespie, Senior Director, Latin American Affairs, NSC Staff
Eric D. K. Melby, Senior Director, International Economic Affairs, NSC Staff

MEXICO

Carlos Salinas, President
Fernando Solana, Secretary of Foreign Relations
Pedro Aspe, Secretary of Finance and Public Credit
Jaime Serra, Secretary of Commerce and Industrial Development
Luis Donaldo Colosio, Secretary of Social Development
Arsenio Farell, Secretary of Labor
Jose Cordoba, Chief of the Office of the Presidency
General D.E.M. Arturo Cardona, Chief of the Presidential Staff
Andres Rozental, Under Secretary in the Secretariat of Foreign Relations
Gustavo Petricioli, Ambassador of Mexico to the United States
Herminio Blanco, Chief, NAFTA Negotiating Team
Jorge de la Vega Dominguez, Ambassador of Mexico in Canada

CANADA

Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister
Michael Wilson, Trade Minister
Gilles Loiselle, President of the Treasury Board
Derek Burney, Canadian Ambassador to the United States
David Winfield, Canadian Ambassador to Mexico
Donald Campbell, Deputy Minister of International Trade and External Affairs
James Judd, Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet, Foreign and Defense Policy
Robert Clark, Deputy Chief NAFTA Negotiator

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 04]. (2 pp.)	07/08/1992	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, October 7, 1992 [3]

Date Closed:	10/8/2019	**OA/ID Number:**	90726-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0166-S[4]	**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. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 05]. (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, October 7, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 10/8/2019	**OA/ID Number:** 90726-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]	**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]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ with
~~SECRET~~ attachment

~~SECRET~~

7429

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
October 6, 1992

MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT CARLOS SALINAS OF MEXICO

DATE: October 7, 1992
LOCATION: San Antonio
TIME: ~~4:00 - 4:15pm~~ 4:10 ~~4:30pm~~
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

I. PURPOSE

To foster closer bilateral cooperation in the wake of the Supreme Court decision on Alvarez Machain and its negative effects on relations, and to confirm your commitment to prompt ratification of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

II. BACKGROUND

Key points to be made during the meeting:

-- Confirm that prompt ratification of the NAFTA will be a top priority in your second term, but remind Salinas that the Congressional process is an uncertain one.

-- Urge Salinas not to press action in the UN or World Court on the Alvarez Machain case. We would be forced to defend against such action, provoking negative reactions in the U.S. and undermining NAFTA. It is in both our interests to put the case behind us and improve anti-drug cooperation. Your June 30 letter assures there will be no recurrence. You cannot intervene as the trial proceeds in the U.S.

-- Ask Salinas to press the Salvadoran FMLN to abide by the peace accords, including their commitments on demobilization by October 31 and an honest inventory of weapons for UN peacekeepers.

-- Urge Salinas to approve extradition of Javier Prado to the U.S. for trial on drug smuggling charges.

You last met with Salinas at the All Star Game in San Diego on July 14. The NAFTA and the Machain case were the main topics of discussion at that meeting, and Salinas was not completely satisfied with the outcome of that meeting.

With the completion of negotiations on the NAFTA and labor and environmental flank issues, U.S.-Mexican relations have reached an unprecedented level of cooperation. The

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, #2021-02
By MC NARA, Date 7/16/21

remaining significant point of contention is law enforcement cooperation in the wake of the Supreme Court's decision on Alvarez Machain.

Salinas needs to demonstrate to domestic audiences that his policy of closer relations with the United States has a payoff for Mexico and need not compromise Mexican independence or sovereignty. The NAFTA represents the reward gained from improved relations, while law enforcement, and specifically the Machain case, symbolizes Mexico's determination to maintain its independence from U.S. hegemony.

Salinas wants assurances that you will make the NAFTA ratification a top priority for your second term. He will also make a determined pitch for the return of Machain to Mexico and a renegotiation of our bilateral extradition treaty, possibly proposing (as he did at San Diego) that it be replaced by a trilateral agreement including Canada.

Our primary objectives are:

a) to reassure Salinas personally that we will press for prompt Senate ratification of the NAFTA next year, while noting that it will be difficult to predict how the process will go, and

b) to convince Salinas Mexico should not pursue the Machain case in the World Court or other fora. In our defense we would have to lay out the details of official involvement in the Camarena murder and the official coverup. Mexico would suffer from such an expose, and so would NAFTA. Also, it will be difficult and risky to renegotiate our extradition treaty, or turn it into a trilateral one with Canada.

Salinas sees the NAFTA as providing a major boost for a Mexican economy that is beginning to falter after several years of sustained growth. According to some estimates, NAFTA-generated activity could create up to 600,000 new Mexican jobs by the year 2000. In addition, the NAFTA will mean greater access to the U.S. market, which already buys three-quarters of all Mexico's exports. Equally important, commitments made under a NAFTA will help Salinas lock in Mexico's domestic reforms, signaling that the current favorable climate toward trade and investment will not be easily reversed. This should encourage the continued inflows of foreign investment and repatriation of flight capital necessary to offset anticipated current account deficits. In effect, Salinas has made NAFTA a cornerstone of his economic and foreign policy.

Salinas anticipates no problems with Mexican ratification of the treaty, since his PRI party holds all but four of the seats in the Mexican Senate. He is concerned about the outlook for U.S. ratification, given reservations expressed

by Presidential candidate Clinton and others, including Representative Gephardt. Clinton's cautious endorsement of the pact on October 4 should help reassure Salinas that it enjoys bipartisan support.

Alvarez Machain is charged with crimes related to the torture and murder of DEA agent Camarena in Mexico in 1985. Machain was returned to the United States against his will in 1990 for trial. On June 15, 1992, the United States Supreme Court reaffirmed long-standing precedents that a court's jurisdiction over a criminal defendant generally is not affected by how he was brought before the court, and that the trial of Machain could proceed.

This decision was incorrectly perceived in Mexico as approval for routine kidnapping operations in violation of the sovereignty and laws of other states. Because of the resulting outburst in Mexico, you sent a letter to Salinas on June 30 in which you stated that your administration "...will neither conduct, encourage nor condone such abductions in the future." We had hoped that your letter would satisfy the Mexican concerns and put this incident behind us. Nonetheless, the Mexicans persist in keeping the issue alive.

The Mexicans continue to press for the return of Machain, most recently during a conversation between Acting Secretary Eagleburger and Mexican Foreign Secretary Solana at the UNGA. We told the Mexicans that we will not return Machain because he has been indicted and must be tried under our law. Continued Mexican pressure in international fora could lead to serious political problems. To explain our action, we would have to cite Mexican government complicity in covering up DEA agent Camarena's torture and murder, and its attempts to frustrate our investigation. Such a public exposé will escalate tensions and undermine support for the NAFTA.

The Mexicans also seek to amend our 1978 extradition treaty to assure that transborder renditions can only take place in a manner spelled out in the agreement. We have told the Mexicans we prefer not to amend the treaty because you have already given personal reassurances against future abductions, and because we foresee political pressures on both sides for other changes, leading to a less effective treaty. Moreover, Justice resists because other countries, also reacting to the Supreme Court's decision, have indicated that they want to include an "abduction" clause in treaties we have with them.

The case has also led the Mexicans to re-examine DEA's status and operations in Mexico. Our two governments are currently negotiating new "rules of the game" for DEA agents operating in Mexico.

If time permits, you might also raise the case of Javier Prado with Salinas. Prado is a Colombian citizen sought under an indictment in a U.S. court for cocaine smuggling. We have requested his extradition from Mexico. While the Mexicans have responded positively to our high level demarches, so far the courts have not approved Prado's extradition. We are concerned that the request will be refused and Prado will be allowed to return to Colombia.

We remain concerned that peace in El Salvador is jeopardized by FMLN refusal to abide by the provisions of the Peace Accord. They have not kept their commitments on demobilization, which is supposed to be complete by October 31. Moreover, the FMLN has still not provided an honest inventory of its weapons, and is offering arms to other guerrilla groups in the region. The Mexicans have been active in support of the Accord, applying pressure to the FMLN to comply. You sent a letter to Salinas earlier this month asking Salinas to do what he could to assure that the FMLN meets the October 31 deadline and to support President Cristiani as he implements the peace. In addition, Assistant secretary Aronson went to El Salvador last week in an effort to put the process back on track.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Attached at Tab B

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Photo, writing pool.

V. SEQUENCE

Photo-op, followed by meeting.

Attachments
Tab A Points to be Made
Tab B Participants List
Tab C Biographies

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT CARLOS SALINAS

NAFTA

-- I assure you that I have assigned a high priority to NAFTA approval and will press hard for prompt action by the Congress.

ALVAREZ MACHAIN

-- I am concerned that bilateral relations, especially narcotics cooperation, have been affected adversely by the Mexican reaction to the Supreme Court's decision on Alvarez Machain.

-- I want to work with you to limit the effect on our relations from this case.

-- However, it is impossible for me to intervene in the trial process for political and legal reasons. Perhaps after the trial, if Machain is convicted, we could consider a request from Machain serve out his sentence in Mexico. But I cannot promise anything.

-- As I told you in my letter of June 30, I will not permit a recurrence of this kind of operation in Mexico. Appropriate agencies of the U.S. Government have been advised of the commitment I made to you. In addition, state and local government officials have been warned that they could be extradited to Mexico or prosecuted in the United States if they attempt similar operations.

-- We believe that these actions should alleviate your concerns, and that we can put this incident behind us.

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, #2021-02
By MC NARA, Date 7/16/21

-- I appreciate Foreign Minister Solana's assurances to Acting Secretary Eagleburger that Mexico will not take any confrontational steps pending further consultations.

-- As Attorney General Barr Attorney General Morales Lechuga in San Antonio on September 2, our nations need to maintain the high level of cooperation on narcotics we have achieved.

-- I hope that Mexico can be flexible as together we develop new rules for DEA agents in Mexico. Their main purpose is to gather information useful for the prosecution of traffickers in both our countries. Onerous restrictions would compromise their ability to work effectively.

-- I know that your government is interested in amending our extradition treaty. In view of the actions we have already taken, we do not believe that is necessary and, moreover, it would be risky to submit an amended treaty to our Senate.

-- We hope your government will be able to act promptly and favorably on our request for the extradition of Javier Prado. Prado is a Colombian now in Mexico who has been indicted in the United States for cocaine smuggling. He is a prominent member of the Cali cartel. Attorney General Morales Lechuga and Foreign Secretary Solana know about the case. We would appreciate your cooperation on this request.

CENTRAL AMERICA

-- We appreciate everything you are doing to assure that the FMLN abides by the Chapultepec Peace Accord.

-- We hope you will continue to press the FMLN to demobilize by the October 31 deadline, and to provide an accurate arms inventory to UN representatives.

-- President Cristiani faces a difficult task as he implements the peace. He needs all the support and flexibility he can get.

U.S.-MEXICAN RELATIONS

-- As I indicated in my remarks, we are at a new stage in North American relations. New areas for cooperation and collaboration should be on the agenda when our Binational Commission meets next year.

PARTICIPANTS

U.S.

The President
Lawrence Eagleburger, Acting Secretary of State
Carla A. Hills, United States Trade Representative
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
John D. Negroponte, U.S. Ambassador to Mexico
Bernard W. Aronson, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs
Charles A. Gillespie, Senior Director, Latin American Affairs, NSC Staff
Eric D. K. Melby, Senior Director, International Economic Affairs, NSC Staff

MEXICO

Carlos Salinas, President
Fernando Solana, Secretary of Foreign Relations
Pedro Aspe, Secretary of Finance and Public Credit
Jaime Serra, Secretary of Commerce and Industrial Development
Luis Donaldo Colosio, Secretary of Social Development
Arsenio Farell, Secretary of Labor
Jose Cordoba, Chief of the Office of the Presidency
General D.E.M. Arturo Cardona, Chief of the Presidential Staff
Andres Rozental, Under Secretary in the Secretariat of Foreign Relations
Gustavo Petricioli, Ambassador of Mexico to the United States
Herminio Blanco, Chief, NAFTA Negotiating Team
Jorge de la Vega Dominguez, Ambassador of Mexico in Canada

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 08]. (2 pp.)	07/08/1992	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, October 7, 1992 [3]

Date Closed:	10/8/2019	**OA/ID Number:**	90726-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0166-S[4]	**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.
04. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 09]. (2 pp.)	05/11/1992	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, October 7, 1992 [3]

Date Closed:	10/8/2019	**OA/ID Number:**	90726-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0166-S[4]	**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.
05. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 10]. (2 pp.)	07/08/1992	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, October 7, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 10/8/2019	**OA/ID Number:** 90726-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]	**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.
06. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 11]. (1 pp.)	07/30/1992	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, October 7, 1992 [3]

Date Closed:	10/8/2019	**OA/ID Number:**	90726-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0166-S[4]	**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.
07. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 12]. (1 pp.)	01/21/1992	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, October 7, 1992 [3]

Date Closed:	10/8/2019	**OA/ID Number:**	90726-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0166-S[4]	**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.
08. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 13]. (2 pp.)	07/08/1992	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, October 7, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 10/8/2019	**OA/ID Number:** 90726-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]	**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.
09. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 14]. (2 pp.)	07/08/1992	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, October 7, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 10/8/2019	**OA/ID Number:** 90726-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]	**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.
10. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 15]. (2 pp.)	07/08/1992	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, October 7, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 10/8/2019	**OA/ID Number:** 90726-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]	**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]

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, #2021-02
By Mc NARA, Date 7/16/21

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 6, 1992

MEETING WITH
PRIME MINISTER BRIAN MULRONEY OF CANADA

DATE: October 7, 1992
LOCATION: Plaza de San Antonio Hotel
TIME: ~~4:20 p.m. - 4:35 p.m.~~ 4:30 - 4:45pm
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

I. PURPOSE

To address non-NAFTA related issues on Mulroney's agenda.

II. BACKGROUND

Key points to be made during the meeting:

-- Reaffirm our position that the Constitutional issue is for Canadians themselves to decide, while reaffirming that the U.S. has always enjoyed excellent relations with a strong and unified Canada.

-- Point to establishment of the senior-level "Howe Group" in response to Mulroney's request for senior U.S. Government political oversight of the bilateral trade relationship.

-- Make clear that we will continue the airlift into Bosnia, and will pursue establishing and maintaining the no fly zone.

Mulroney comes to San Antonio less than three weeks before Canada holds a non-binding national referendum on the current unity package of proposals. Having given Western Canada equal representation in a reformed Senate in return for expanding Quebec's representation in the Commons, Mulroney thought he had finally arrived at the compromise needed to resolve the impasse. The package has been supported by all 10 provincial premiers, the main opposition parties, and major business organizations. However, it still faces a tough challenge in several Western provinces and in Quebec (where a no vote scraps the deal). Mulroney has taken the stance that a no vote is a no for Canada, not just for the current agreement -- and that the country would face significant economic turmoil if the crisis does not end quickly and with Canada intact. In this, he is counting on the exhaustion that most Canadians feel toward the constitutional debate.

If you are asked about the impact of a "no" vote in Quebec on the NAFTA, Mulroney is anxious that you reaffirm your public position, i.e., that the U.S. has always enjoyed the best relations with a strong, united Canada. (We have attached contingency statements given to us by the Canadians at Tab B.)

Given the short period for the bilateral, we anticipate that Mulroney may just touch on the several trade disputes still pending (steel dumping, and countervailing duties on softwood lumber). In his Washington meeting with you last May, Mulroney pressed for political "oversight" of the trade relationship. We recommend you eschew discussion of specifics, and point to the establishment of a senior level group to handle trade issues along the lines Mulroney had asked for earlier in the year.

Time permitting the key foreign policy issue Mulroney may raise is the crisis in Bosnia. The Canadians have joined us and France in resuming the airlift, and are participating in setting up the command and control headquarters unit. Mulroney may want to hear your game-plan for securing the UN Security Council resolution establishing the no-fly-zone, including enforcement if required.

III. PARTICIPANTS

U.S.

The President
Lawrence Eagleburger, Acting Secretary of State
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Peter Teeley, U.S. Ambassador to Canada
Eric D. K. Melby, Senior Director, International Economic Affairs, NSC Staff

Canada

Brian Mulroney, Canadian Prime Minister
Derek Burney, Canadian Ambassador to the United States
Michael Wilson, Trade Minister
Gilles Loiselle, President of the Treasury Board
James Judd, Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet, Foreign and Defense Policy

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open photo, writing pool

V. SEQUENCE

The bilateral meeting with Prime Minister Mulroney will take place after the bilateral meeting with President Salinas.

Attachments

Tab A	Points to Be Made
Tab B	Contingency Questions and Answers on Canadian Unity Debate
Tab C	Bio

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER BRIAN MULRONEY

UNITY CRISIS

-- I understand that the unity referendum may go down to the wire, especially in Quebec.

-- If I am asked about the referendum, I'm going to repeat the same thing I have said in the past: The issue is for Canadians to decide. At the same time, I'm going to reaffirm that we have always enjoyed excellent relations with a strong and unified Canada.

-- If asked about NAFTA and the unity question, I'm not going to speculate on an independent Quebec joining NAFTA.

TRADE

-- Both sides need to continue working to resolve trade disputes as quickly as possible.

-- Last May you asked me to make sure that our trade relationship got the senior level attention it deserved. We have established a senior level group whose charter is to try to anticipate problems, review issues of concern, and solve disputes quickly and quietly.

BOSNIA

-- We think it critical to establish and maintain the no fly zone over Bosnia.

-- We will deal with the issue of enforcement as it arises. I have no intention of telegraphing to the Serbs what specific actions we will take.

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, #2021-02
By MC NARA, Date 7/16/21

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Declassify on: OADR

Contingency Questions on Canadian Unity

Q: Mr. President, what is your view of the Canadian constitutional referendum October 26?

A: This is a vote for Canadians alone. Only they can decide about their own constitution. But as I have said before, we have always enjoyed excellent relations with a strong and united Canada. Our relationship works well for both countries and stability is a major reason for its success.

Q: Would you envision an independent Quebec joining NAFTA?

A: I won't speculate about hypothetical situations. NAFTA is an agreement among the three countries of North America: Canada, Mexico, and the United States. These are the countries which negotiated the pact and which are now pledged to ratify it.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
11. Report	Government Report [originally closed as 18]. (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, October 7, 1992 [3]

Date Closed:	10/8/2019	**OA/ID Number:**	90726-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0166-S[4]	**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]

Mr. President
You were asking
about this.

RZ

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/7

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

RCV BY:Xerox Telecopier 7020 ;10- 5-92 ; 8:23AM ;

Welfare #10

CLINTON

THE RECORD

Campaign '92



A Profile

By Steve Wick
STAFF CORRESPONDENT

Little Rock, Ark. — Ever since he stood on the steps of the old statehouse building last October and began his campaign for the Democratic nomination for president, Gov. Bill Clinton has been trailed by revelations from his political closet and allegations about his personal life that could have tripped him up and sent him back home.

While campaigning, Clinton has fended off allegations of marital infidelity, draft dodging, and questions about his record as the nation's longest-serving governor. There were also accusations that his wife, Hillary, a prominent Little Rock attorney, had profited from state business.

Whenever such matters have come up, Clinton has offered the same stock responses, inviting an examination of his record. And he points out that the nation's governors, in a survey last July, listed him as the most effective.

But an examination of his record raises questions about Clinton's portrayal of himself as an innovative, progressive governor with a long record of accomplishment. In 1978, when he was first elected, Clinton, at 32, was the youngest governor in Arkansas history; today, he is the nation's longest serving governor. The state has no limit on number of terms.

In the area of education, which Clinton has enthusiastically embraced as the defining issue of his campaign, suggesting that his home state could be the model for reform nationwide, his rhetoric does not match his record. In many statistical areas — test scores, for example — Arkansas remains anchored at the bottom of all 50 states. And while Clinton has said the environment is the issue of the 90s, his record shows that it was clearly not the issue of the 80s in Arkansas.

According to a research group, Arkansas ranks 50th out of 50 states in the area of environmental policy. Yet, on the campaign trail Clinton has criticized Bush for failing to live up to his promise to be the environmental president. Even as Clinton has criticized Bush for weakening protections of wetlands, Clinton has in the past sought to lift restrictions on Arkansas farmers. And Clinton's boasts of promoting economic growth and pushing welfare reform in his home state are belied by data which show that only three other states receive more federal aid to dependent children, have a higher rate of poverty or a lower per capita income.

Traditionally, Arkansas has been one of the poorest states in the deep South, with little or no economic growth. The average annual salary is slightly more than $14,000. Clinton's annual $35,000 salary is last among the 50 state governors, and this year's state budget — $2.8 billion — is 49th out of 50 states. Only Mississippi's is lower.

The state, which has 2.5 million residents, has lived for years with the stigma of being a backwater, an out of the way place created almost by a historical accident when Louisiana and Missouri were carved out of the Louisiana Purchase. Today, there are more chickens and hogs in the state than people.

Born in the small town of Hope, Clinton went on to a Rhodes scholarship in England. He then went to Yale University where he received a law degree. He returned to Arkansas with a strong desire to enter public life and, he often says, a desire to bring Arkansas into the modern world.

Attempts to interview Clinton about his long record in the state were rebuffed by staffers who said he was too busy campaigning. But Arkansas officials strenuously defend his record, saying he has accomplished a great deal in a state with limited resources. They point out that 10 years ago, when Clinton became governor, Arkansas ranked last in most education and income categories and that moving up two or

3-22-92

New York Newsday

page 1&3

and income categories and that moving up two or three places in the rankings is a significant achievement. One Clinton aide said of the governor's efforts in education: "Perhaps everything he's tried hasn't worked, but at least he's tried."

His supporters point out that Clinton has spoken about education more than any governor in state history, and they tick off numerous programs he has instituted, from teacher competency tests to establishing minimum educational standards in all school districts, that have made a profound impact on the state.

Clinton, who wants to institute a national apprenticeship program to teach non-college bound students job skills and to start a program to forgive college loans in exchange for service as teachers, police officers or child care workers, boasts of his efforts to

RCV BY:Xerox Telecopier 7020 ;10- 5-92 ; 6:24AM ;

3-22-92 New York Newsday

...erve education in Arkansas. "Show me another ...erving governor who got elected five times during the tough times of the 1980s, that got more done and changed more lives and stood up to more interest groups and raised more money for education," he said in an interview last year.

EDUCATION

In 1964, the year Jimmy Wilson graduated from the segregated, all-black Lake View high school, 70 percent of his classmates went on to college. "We were dirt poor, but looking back I consider seven out of ten of us going to college a triumph," Wilson said recently.

Three decades later, no one is boasting about the graduation rates at Lake View High, or at many other schools in the eastern part of Arkansas, where flat, low-lying cotton and soybean fields run east to the muddy waters of the Mississippi River.

This spring when Lake View High School holds its graduation ceremony, approximately 25 percent of the graduates are expected to move on to colleges and universities — less than half the national average. "We have the lowest rates in the state," said Wilson, who is a Democratic state legislator and the Lake View school superintendent. "The numbers here are a horror story."

In the lush Mississippi Delta country, a region of deep poverty, poor housing and a landscape that, in some places, seems unchanged from a century ago, some school officials are not buying Clinton's claims that he has singlehandedly brought Arkansas education into the modern world. Even as they praise Clinton for paying attention to the delta region during his gubernatorial races, they say his record on education is poor.

"He has no more right to call himself the education governor than [President George] Bush has the right to call himself the education president," said Wilson, who added that on other issues he remains a Clinton supporter. "And I've told this to Bill's face. He can't say it, it's not true. We compete with Mississippi and Louisiana on educational statistics — *that's* how bad it is."

Statewide over the past decade, improvements in education have come at glacial rate. According to statistics compiled by the University of Arkansas, the state ranks 47th in the nation for per capita state and local spending for education, it is the fifth in the nation for the number of adults considered illiterate, it is 43rd in the nation on per capita spending for higher education, it ranks 25 out of the 26 southern and midwestern states that use the ACT — rather than the SAT — for graduating seniors who want to go to college, it currently ranks 49th for teacher pay.

Statewide, 51 percent of all graduating high school seniors go to institutions of higher learning, less than the national average of 57 percent. The state currently ranks 17th for high school graduation rates, with 77.2 percent of all students receiving a diploma. New York, with much higher curriculum standards, is 46th with 62.3 percent graduating.

In the delta, officials say that percentages range from a low of approximately 25 percent to a high of 70 percent. According to state education officials, approximately 77 percent of all high school graduates require remedial classes during their freshman year in college.

Since 1983, when Clinton began his campaign to ... gone to education.

"Clinton pushed up the percentage that goes to education, but the amounts are still small," said Michael Gauldin, Clinton's press secretary. "The platform is lower here." Under prodding from Clinton, the state legislature has raised the sales tax, which is now 4.5 percent, to fund increased pay for the state's teachers. Arkansas is one of only a handful of states that taxes food. With new raises, state officials say, Arkansas teachers will likely be 46th in the nation next fall. Because of low pay, according to state education officials, the majority of all graduates from state schools who go into teaching do so in states other than Arkansas.

"Many people say, 'What has he done?' " said Beverly White, a school superintendent at another Delta school district, in Marianna. "I feel he has emphasized education and offered possible solutions. But there are certain givens here. This is the South. Change comes slowly. Money is not abundant. All over this state, students start out behind in education. We're moving, although we haven't yet arrived where we should be."

As part of an effort to weed out illiterate teachers, Clinton pushed through legislation that required all teachers take competency tests. Five percent of the state's teachers were dismissed or quit between 1983 and 1985 after they failed or refused to take the test. And he has been praised for mandating that all school districts offer core curriculum as well as advanced classes in math and science. Teachers' union officials, who condemned Clinton for the competency tests, now enthusiastically support his efforts to increase salaries. Yesterday, the New York State United Teachers endorsed him.

"You have to know where we've been to see how far we've come," said Syd Johnson, president of the Arkansas Education Association, who is a Clinton supporter. "To someone from a big eastern state, it may not look like much. A few years ago there was no core curriculum in this state, which says a lot about how bad it was here, and there were scant few advanced classes."

But educators in other southern states say primary and secondary education throughout the region has improved over the past decade. Nancy Loposer, associate dean of the School of Education at the University of Alabama, said, "All southern states have improved, although in most every place I know of they are still behind the national average."

"How can Clinton boast about education?" said Asa Hutchinson, co-chairman of the Arkansas Republican Party. "One, he's been governor for eleven years, so there would be a natural progression. Beyond what you would expect, though, there's been nothing . . . All the while, state revenues have dou-

ENVIRONMENT

When Clinton returned to the state capitol last month for a session of the state legislature, he was greeted by a dozen protesters who charged that he had a poor environmental record. Their charges are supported by a research center in North Carolina, which conducted a survey of all 50 states in August to measure both environmental problems as well as policy.

According to Robert Hall, the center's research director, Arkansas ranked 40th in terms of pollution problems relative to population size. "In the area of policy — laws passed, not task forces or commissions set up to study a problem — Arkansas was 50th, the worst in the nation," said Hall.

Clinton's environmental aide, Ken Smith, said in Little Rock that the study, by the Institute for Southern Studies, a non-profit think tank in Durham, was flawed and dated. "They said we have no groundwater testing program, but we do," Smith said. "They said we had no landfill standards, and we do. There are outright errors in this report. We reject it. We've worked our tails off to bring everything up to par.

"Arkansas is a tremendously beautiful place," he added. "There are localized problems, and we are trying to deal with them. You can't deal with a lot of different issues at once in this state. Re-

page 263

Since 1982, when Clinton began his second term — he was defeated in 1980 and re-elected in 1982 — he has dramatically increased state spending on education. Between 1980 and 1991, state revenues increased by 53 percent, or $317.5 million. Of that, 78 percent, or $248.6 million, went to education. About 50 percent of the 1991-92 state budget is earmarked for education. State officials point out that, while the *amount* spent in education may be relatively low compared to all states, Arkansas ranks third in the nation on the *percentage* of the budget that goes to education.

State officials say it was Clinton who formed a coalition with members of the state legislature and successfully pushed the state to increase spending on education. Records show that $2.48 million, 78.3 percent of all new revenues generated since 1983, have

All the while, state revenues have doubled. In 1980, the state collected $820 million. In 1991, it was $1.9 billion. Where is the improvement after all this money's been spent?"

Gene Campbell, the dean of the College of Education at the University of Arkansas, said that Clinton has made education an important priority, "but we're still working on making real progress. Statistically, it does not look good. Why we can't get off the bottom of the charts, I don't know."

37

RCV BY:Xerox Telecopier 7020 ;10- 5-92 ; 8:25AM ;

sources are finite. Jerry Brown has said Arkansas is an 'environmental disaster' and that is just not true. He's never been here.

Last month — even as Clinton criticized Bush for easing wetlands policies — it was disclosed that, in March, 1990, he asked the White House to remove some state farmland from wetlands restrictions. The restrictions were eased nationwide, and later, after he had announced his bid for the presidency, Clinton criticized Bush for making the changes. In an interview last week, Smith said Clinton's letter to the White House was not meant to ease restrictions throughout the country, but rather to help an "isolated" number of Arkansas farmers.

ECONOMY

When Clinton talks about reviving the national economy, he refers to Arkansas, where, he says, manufacturing jobs have increased in the past decade even as they have declined nationally. State records show that, from 1980 to 1990, they rose 11.2 percent in Arkansas. From 1985 to 1990, the state was 10th nationally for manufacturing job increases.

According to census data, these jobs have been among the lowest paying in the nation. Arkansas ranks 47th in the nation for personal income, with average annual salaries of $14,188. Arkansas is a right to work state, which means workplaces cannot be restricted to union members only. Clinton says he supports the right-to-work law and union officials nationwide have criticized him for being anti-union, a charge he denies.

"Clinton's record on creating jobs may appear good on the surface, but from a labor point of view, it stinks," said Bill Becker, the president of the state's AFL-CIO chapter. "There's too much reliance on the sales tax to pay for programs, and thus hurts everyone, and salaries in the state are very low. There's a tax on food for people, but no tax on food for farm animals.

"In terms of job safety, we're in the bottom tier of states, in worker . . . quality of life, we're at the bottom. There's no way I could support him for president, and I've told this to the national AFL-CIO."

Business leaders, however, have praised the state's pro-business atmosphere.

In the delta, residents and activists say, economic growth has been all but nonexistent. They say growth has been concentrated in the state's northwest corner, which is predominantly white. Blacks in the delta praise Clinton for paying attention to the region during his campaigns, but they also say they feel left out of the economic growth.

Approximately 550,000 people live in the delta, compared to 2.4 million of the state's population is white, 15.9 percent black.

"No one cared about the delta the way he has," said Robert Miller, a physician in Helena, on the Mississippi River. "He has gotten 90 percent of the black vote here. We support him for what he has tried to do, not for his record. He would not be the governor without the black vote. But we remain the poorest part of the state. Jobs have not come here, any jobs."

Miller grew up in Helena when the city was strictly segregated. His grandfather was a slave; his father a doctor unable to practice medicine at the city's one hospital. In many tangible ways, he said life has not changed in the Delta since he was a child. "The standard of living is mostly the same, this is a poverty stricken area," he said, adding that he did not blame Clinton.

WORKFARE

Workfare is the term public figures use when they talk about welfare reform. Welfare reform is a hot topic this year for both Republicans and Democrats, with Clinton saying he has been an enthusiastic supporter of reform for years.

According to Arkansas officials, Clinton first embraced the concept of putting welfare recipients to work in 1983, when a change in federal rules allowed states to experiment with changes in the welfare system. Clinton pushed for the creation of a program called Project Success, which was designed to help people on public assistance learn skills.

State officials concede that there is no dramatic proof anywhere in the state that reform has put large numbers of people back to work. Instead, they point to small improvements as signs of change, including these: the slow, upward movement of per capita income, from $9,176 per year in 1983 to $14,188 in 1990; the movement of an average of 231 people per month from the welfare rolls to jobs; and improvement in infant mortality rates.

Officials say Clinton has introduced a host of reform legislation, including programs that provide low income women with comprehensive health care and programs to address the problems of teenage pregnancies.

Officials and residents of the rural Delta area say such programs have had an effect. Miller says rural health care programs in the Helena area now treat thousands of poor people who would otherwise not receive any care at all. "I've walked with Bill Clinton through areas that are the poorest of the poor in this state," Miller said. "It may not look great . . .

page 3 of 3

New York Newsday

3-22-92

...compared to 2.3 million statewide. The area has the lowest wages and the worst housing in the state, officials said. Historically, the region was where the large cotton plantations were before and after the Civil War, and where slavery was concentrated. If change has come slowly to Arkansas, it has come even slower in the Delta. Statewide, 62.9 percent

...look great to an outsider, but in small ways it is better."

A New York not-for-profit organization, the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, found in a study of southern states that improvements in the state have come, but slowly.

"Throughout the 1980s, a recipient with a family of four received only $168 per month, one of the lowest amounts paid anywhere in the country," said Judy Gueron, corporation president. "With amounts that low, you can see why someone would want to try something new."

Presidential Phone Calls

DATE: 10-7-92 TIME: 9:30 incoming/outgoing

WITH: Digger

SUBJECT: S. Tonio W. Seed is working Milit. does E. Side trying in Richmond W-Seed-

FOLLOW UP: Hell send Facts (FAX) on W-S

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

& RZ Do not share with anyone !!

Presidential Phone Calls

DATE: 10-7-92 TIME: 7:10 AM
incoming/outgoing

WITH: Nick Brady

SUBJECT: (I guess its Woodward story —
Yes / " Must knock story down "
Econ. team

Glad it landed on me not on you —
Full Confidence in Brady

FOLLOW UP:
Pleas for me to back him, since I backed Darman —
He told JAB
"If you're going to lead you must stop it"

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

Presidential Phone Calls

DATE: _____ TIME: _____ (Incoming/outgoing)

-2-

WITH: _____

SUBJECT: Wanted you to know I had to be

Very Defensive -

"Got to trust me on these things - only look at what's best."

Talking to Tecter =

I stopped it from coming out of the W.H."

FOLLOW UP: _____

You've got to clear it up -

Weak economy I've taken heat for you -

I decided start this -

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

Presidential Phone Calls

DATE: 10-7 TIME: 7:20 (incoming/outgoing)

WITH: Brady (again)

SUBJECT:

Keep conversation between us - Jim went well - but please keep it confidential - between us. He knocks people down all day long - MDT does this.

FOLLOW UP: Go with Texas we've got - Next time "southern person" (or Texas) might do better and that's fine but not (wow) go with Texas we've got!

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

WASHINGTON, D.C.

F5-Addresses

Alpha file

get-well closing

Linda xcc Xmas list

Mr. Jameson Parker
Suite 304
4354 Laurel Canyon Boulevard
Studio City, California 91604

THE PRESIDENT

Oct. 07, 1992

Cross-reference

Dear Jameson,

When Mac McRaney was flying with me on AF-I he told me about your recent dangerous encounter - some nice neighbor. In any event I hope all is well. Indeed

Barbara - I wish you well. Mac speaks so highly of you. I hope your recuperation goes fast - well.

Sincere Best Wishes

George Bush

bccGerald McRaney

JAN's



News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992
6:00 A.M. EDT EDITION

NATIONAL NEWS

BUSH, CLINTON PEROT MOUNT SEPARATE TV CAMPAIGN PITCHES -- President Bush and Bill Clinton pressed their election bids in separate TV appearances, with Bush talking about welfare reform and Clinton defending his actions during the Vietnam War. **(Reuter)**

BUSH BLAMES NETWORKS FOR DEFEAT OF VETO OF CABLE TV BILL -- President Bush maintained Tuesday that Monday night's veto override by Congress, his first defeat in the 36 override votes of his Administration, on a bill to re-regulate the cable TV industry was the result of "a very good sales job on the part of the networks." **(Boston Globe)**

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

CHINA BLASTS U.S. ARMS EXPORTS AS 'ROTTEN FRUIT' -- China attacked the U.S. Wednesday for its worldwide arms sales, saying Washington would eventually have to eat the "rotten fruit" of the deals. **(Reuter)**

BUSH TO HOST SUMMIT, PRESS TRADE -- President Bush arranged to host a three-nation summit in Texas Wednesday to promote the NAFTA as well as his election-year efforts to stimulate the economy and win the state's crucial 32 electoral voters. **(UPI)**

NETWORK NEWS (Tuesday evening)

CONGRESS -- The House leaders placed an adjournment phone call to the President, little of whose legislative agenda had been enacted.

CAMPAIGN -- If President Bush wants to catch Bill Clinton, he better start soon.

ABORTION -- Four weeks before the election President Bush has decided to take a high-risk, flatly anti-abortion stance in a case before the Supreme Court.

NATIONAL NEWS.....A-1

INTERNATIONAL NEWS...A-11

NETWORK NEWS.....B-1

EDITORIALS.....C-1

This Summary is prepared Monday through Friday by the White House News Summary Staff.
For complete stories or information, please call 456-2950.

BUSH, CLINTON PEROT MOUNT SEPARATE TV CAMPAIGN PITCHES

President Bush and Bill Clinton pressed their election bids in separate TV appearances, with Bush talking about welfare reform and Clinton defending his actions during the Vietnam War.

Bush, on "Good Morning America," touted his welfare reform plan which he said was designed to break "the cycle of dependency" many poor have on government payments. The President also went on local Philadelphia stations in an effort the White House said was designed to bypass the media and take his campaign directly to the people. Perot, in the first of several paid TV appearances that he calls electronic town meetings, detailed the ills of the economy under the past 12 years of a Republican White House.

(Robert Trautman, Reuter)

PEROT GOES ON PRIME-TIME TELEVISION, ACCEPTS DEBATE INVITATION

DALLAS -- Ross Perot complained about Washington insiders helping send U.S. jobs overseas in the first of a series of 30-minute programs to be nationally televised Tuesday night.

The Perot campaign also announced late Tuesday that Perot had accepted an invitation to join in the presidential debates. **(UPI)**

Perot Ad Hits 'Trickle-Down' GOP Economics

Wielding a pointer and an array of charts, Ross Perot launched his advertising campaign Tuesday night with a broad attack on "trickle-down economics" that made no mention of the painful fiscal measures he advocates. Without naming names, Perot assailed the Reagan and Bush Administration's for policies that allowed the rich to get richer while the federal government ran up a $4 trillion debt. Perot castigated the Bush Administration on several points. He charged that the Administration is planning "a $60 billion surprise" after the election to finance the continuing bailout of ailing savings and loan associations. Perot said the Republican administrations were filled with dozens of officials who left to become lobbyists for foreign countries, which he called "economic treason." In an apparent reference to the Bush campaign, he said some foreign lobbyists, whom he likened to "Russian spies," are now working for presidential campaigns.

(Howard Kurtz, Washington Post, A20)

First Perot Ad Is Long On Ills, Short On Cures

Ross Perot used his first 30-minute network appearance to paint a bleak picture of a nation in permanent decline but offered no solutions for the debt or deficit, inadequate schools or sagging job growth. Perot repeatedly mentioned Washington's indifference to the recession and showed several pie charts and bar graphs of declining wages, industrial production, job growth and increasing poverty among children. He specifically criticized "trickle-down economics" and paraphrased President Bush, saying the economy was in "deep voodoo."

(Major Garrett and Hug Aynesworth, Washington Times, A8)

-more-

REHEARSING FOR SHOWDOWN
Bush, Clinton Begin Practicing For Debates

John Sununu is back at the White House.

No, not in his old job as chief of staff. Sununu is playing Ross Perot in the mock debates that President Bush began Tuesday morning. As the practicing intensifies before Sunday's first contest, Bush, Sununu and Richard Darman, who plays Bill Clinton, will hold their sessions in a re-created debate setting, probably the White House theater room.

Across the country, Bill Clinton will be doing the same thing, using Washington lawyer Bob Barnett as his stand-in for Bush and Oklahoma Rep. Synar as his Ross Perot.

Bush aides see the first debate as central to yet another scenario in which the president overcomes a 10-point-plus deficit in the polls and moves ahead of Clinton, momentum he has been unable to achieve in any other way.

One aide described it this way: "Clinton makes some big mistake (Sunday) and on Monday we play it out big, maybe do some ads right away. On Tuesday, for the vice presidential debate, Quayle spends his 90 minutes attacking Clinton's mistake and then it's a snowball... We pick up some momentum and the numbers start moving again. There's a lot riding on the first debate."

(Ann Devroy, Washington Post, A1)

Bush Studies For Debate; Clinton Slams Jobs Policy

Bill Clinton Tuesday heatedly denied organizing protests against the Vietnam War and called rumors that he considered renouncing his citizenship to avoid military service "ridiculous."

Clinton's comments on "Donahue" came on a day when President Bush studied for the presidential debates behind White House doors.

Clinton began the day in Florida, where he attacked a foreign aid program he said has encouraged U.S. companies to export jobs to Central America.

"No wonder George Bush spends all his time bad-mouthing me. He cannot defend spending tax dollars to shut American plants and throw Americans out of work and take their money to finance low-interest loans and job training and promotional ads to move the plants overseas," Clinton told a rally at the University of Florida in Gainesville.

The program Clinton criticized is part of the Caribbean Basin Initiative. **(Deborah Zabarenko, Reuter)**

NBC, CBS WON'T LET ANCHORMEN SERVE AS DEBATE QUESTIONERS

You won't be seeing Tom Brokaw or Dan Rather at the presidential or vice-residential debates. NBC and CBS said Tuesday that they will not allow their anchormen or correspondents to serve as moderators or panelists as the televised sessions.

Both networks are protesting the process by which aides to President Bush and Bill Clinton are selecting the panels. Each side is drawing up lists of acceptable journalists and has the right to scratch off names on the opposing camp's list.

"Debate moderators and panelists should be chosen by independent groups, not political parties," said NBC News president Michael Gartner. **("Politics," Washington Post, A19)**

BUSH SAYS MISSING CLINTON PASSPORT PAPERS SHOULD BE EXPLORED

President Bush said Tuesday that questions over Bill Clinton's travel records should be "looked at" if they relate to the Democrat's brief tour of Moscow in 1970 while on a break from his university studies.

"I don't know what it relates to," Bush said in reference to reports that pages are apparently missing from Clinton's passport records. "But if it relates to going to Moscow during anti-war demonstrations, I expect it should be looked at," he told Philadelphia's KYW. **(UPI)**

AS CLINTON TOURED, MOSCOW SHUNNED PEROT
No 'Detente' For POW Aid

Bill Clinton arrived in Moscow on New Year's Eve 1969, just as Ross Perot was trying to get permission to land there with a chartered Boeing 707 loaded with food and medicine to be transshipped to U.S. fliers held captive in North Vietnamese prisons.

Perot's request was denied. He couldn't get a visa.

Perot ran into Cold War politics and his $1.5 million effort to help American POWs failed.

His effort illustrates the confrontational nature of U.S.-Soviet relations during that era, and runs contrary to Clinton's description of that period as a "time of detente" between the two nations.

Officials for Bush and Perot did not return calls Tuesday for comment. **(Jerry Seper and Michael Hedges, Washington Times, A1)**

PEROT GIVES BUSH PUSH AT HOME
Texas Gain Is Exception To Clinton Trend

Since Ross Perot's entry in the race, President Bush pulled ahead of Bill Clinton by 5 points in Texas, according to the latest Washington Times/Mason-Dixon poll.

"Psychologically, it (Bush's lead) is extraordinarily important because it is the first major sign of movement by Bush in this race," said GOP media consultant Brad O'Leary, who publishes the O'Leary/Kamber Newsletter. In Florida, he holds a 6-point lead over Clinton, 42-36, according to the poll conducted Sept. 10-12. Overall, the poll shows Clinton has a strong enough lead in 25 states to claim 302 electors.

(Ralph Hallow, Washington Times, A1)

NEW POLL SHOWS CLINTON HAS WIDE LEAD OVER BUSH, REPORT

LOS ANGELES -- Bill Clinton has a wide lead over President Bush and Ross Perot, according to a poll conducted for the Los Angeles Times. With the election less than a month away, Clinton holds a comfortable 14% lead over Bush, with Perot trailing a very distant third. Results of the poll published by the Los Angeles Times Wednesday showed that 48% of those surveyed will vote for Clinton, compared with 34% for Bush and only nine percent for Perot. The poll shows that Clinton has assembled a broad coalition. He leads Bush and Perot among men and women voters, as well as blacks and whites and in all income, education and age groups. **(Reuter)**

-more-

POLL SHOWS CLINTON LEADING IN MARYLAND

ANNAPOLIS -- Bill Clinton holds a sizable lead over President Bush among Maryland voters, while Ross Perot's re-entry appears to have had little effect, according to a poll released Tuesday.

Half of the 809 voters interviewed said they would vote for Clinton and 34% would vote for Bush, according to the survey done for the Washington Times by Mason-Dixon Political/Media Research.

(Todd Spangler, Washington Times, B1)

DAILY TRACKING POLL

The USA Today daily tracking poll shows Bill Clinton with 46%, President Bush with 36% and Ross Perot with 10%.

("Election '92," USA Today, 5A)

POLL SHOWS CLINTON INCREASES LEAD WITH PEROT IN RACE

Bill Clinton increased his margin over President Bush in an NBC poll taken after Ross Perot re-entered the race last week, NBC said Tuesday.

Of 820 registered voters, 46% said they would vote for Clinton, 32% for Bush and 10% for Perot, with the rest undecided, NBC said.

(Reuter)

FOR OLD REPUBLICAN REASONS, NEW JERSEY LEANS TO CLINTON

HACKENSACK -- In the 1950's and 1960's, hundreds of thousands of city dwellers, mostly white and mostly working class or lower middle class, left the turbulence of New York or Philadelphia behind, crossed the Hudson or the Delaware and settled in the clusters of suburbs that sprang up in New Jersey.

Many were Democrats who continued to vote for their party's candidates in state and local contests but who in presidential elections supported Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan and George Bush, with their promises to get tough on crime.

Now they are one of the main reasons Bill Clinton stands a good chance of breaking the Republican stranglehold on New Jersey's electoral votes.

"Something big seems to have changed," said Rep. Torricelli. "For a long time people sat on their suburban porches, looked back to where they came from, moaned about the crime in the streets there and the bad schools and the drugs, and voted Republican for president.

"Now more and more sense that all of those social ills have followed them out here, they see this economic trouble, and suddenly the Democratic Party's message means something to them again."

(R. W. Apple, New York Times, A1)

CLINTON GETS TESTY IN TV EXCHANGE WITH DONAHUE

NASHVILLE -- Bill Clinton engaged in a testy exchange Tuesday with Phil Donahue over his involvement in Vietnam War protests, with Clinton arguing that the attention to what he did in his early twenties was "diverting people from a discussion of the things that affect their lives."

Donahue said his questions were aimed at discovering if Clinton was trying to have it both ways about his past. "We have another example of you (saying) 'Yes, I'm there but I wasn't there.'"

"No, you don't," Clinton snapped.

Donahue did not back off....

The exchange reflected Clinton's growing impatience with press reports about -- and Republican efforts to highlight -- his life more than two decades ago. **(E. J. Dionne, Washington Post, A1)**

CLINTON TOUTS COLLEGE AID; PRICE IS A QUESTION MARK

GAINESVILLE -- The pitch for repaying a college education through community service or taking it out of paychecks over time always draws thunderous cheers, but some of those not clapping at Bill Clinton's idea say it would be a very expensive public works program.

"The college drop-out rate is more than twice the high school dropout rate because so many people cannot afford to stay," Clinton said during a rally at University of Florida.

"We offer a solution -- a national trust fund out of which any American can borrow the money to finance a college education, no questions asked," Clinton said.

"If every young person in Florida worked for a couple of years to pay off a college loan as a teacher, a police officer, in a rural health clinic program, with children, with elderly people, with the disabled...we could solve our problems and educate a whole new generation," he said. **(J. Moss, Washington Times, A4)**

PROSPECT OF DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS 'SCARY,' QUAYLE SAYS

LOS ANGELES -- Opening a new front in the Bush campaign's drive to block a Clinton victory next month, Vice President Quayle warned Tuesday of the "scary" prospect of allowing both Congress and the presidency to fall into Democratic hands.

All but conceding that Republicans will fail to gain control of Congress in next month's election, Quayle sketched a nightmarish scenario of runaway inflation, lost jobs and high interest rates if continued Democratic rule on Capitol Hill is coupled with a Democratic White House.

"You would no longer have a gridlock Congress, as we have today. You would have a runaway president," said Quayle, reversing an earlier position in which he urged one-party control of the government, even if that meant putting Democrats in charge.

(Paul West, Baltimore Sun, 1A)

NO-FAULT TERMINATOR

In California, Vice President Quayle complained again about movies that have "too much sex and violence."

But Quayle excluded Bush's friend and supporter Arnold Schwarzenegger from this indictment of family-value-free Hollywood.

He's OK. "They just give him a script to follow," Quayle told The Los Angeles Times.

("Inside the Beltway," Washington Times, A6)

ENERGY SECRETARY WATKINS DERIDES GORE POLICIES AS 'WOO-WOO STUFF'

ST. PAUL -- Secretary Watkins blasted the Clinton campaign Tuesday, calling Al Gore's energy and environment policies "woo-woo stuff."

Watkins, in St. Paul to address business leaders, said in a news conference that Gore's book, "Earth in the Balance," which outlines numerous environmental problems and how to deal with them, "demands too much of us."

"It's woo-woo stuff," Watkins said. "It's a religious tome. It's emotional. It's not based on good science, and it's not based on economic analysis. And it points the finger back at us and says we are the evil empire, the worst polluters. I mean, come on. This nation is the greatest nation in the world."

(Charles Laszewski, Knight-Ridder)

EDITOR'S NOTES: "Down And Out At The White House," regarding attitudes in the White House and the campaign, by Martha Sherrill, appears in the Washington Post, page B1.

DEMOCRATS THINK THEY'VE CORNERED BUSH ON TAX BILL

Congressional Democrats want to play "gotcha" with President Bush on the $27 billion tax package they hope the Senate will send him later this week.

And that's why the Senate Republicans may try to prevent the bill from ever getting to Bush's desk for his signature.

"He's in a terrible position," Rep. Wise said Tuesday. "Sometimes when you paint yourself into a terrible corner, you can't get out."

Democratic leaders are seeking "to get the votes to embarrass the President one more time," said Sen. Dole. "I don't think the President would sign it if it got down there. And there's no question about a veto being sustained.... The bill's not going to go anywhere."

Rep. Michel said Bush's justification for killing the bill should be that it is "cluttered with junk" that makes it ineffective.

"That's the President's frustration," Michel said. "He can never, with this Congress, have a clean shot at his economic package, his tax bill."

(Alan Fram, AP)

BOTH PARTIES SAY THE OTHER AT FAULT

Democratic and Republican leaders put the blame squarely in each other's camp Tuesday for the gridlock that has paralyzed the 102nd Congress.

Sen. Dole said the Democratic Party achieved their primary objective...bashing President Bush."

Sen. Mitchell says Bush's attacks on Congress constitute "a political ploy, a campaign tactic which will not work" and says the 103rd Congress will convene in January "with a new president, a new outlook a new approach."

Says Rep. Foley: "The only gridlock that has existed in this Congress has been the gridlock brought on by the President."

(Judi Hasson and Richard Wolf, USA Today, 4A)

SENATE BOGS DOWN OVER TAXES, ENERGY
House Passes Urban Aid, Adjourns

Reeling from an all-night filibuster, the Senate bogged down over most of its remaining business for the year Tuesday amid doubts that a $27 billion tax bill will be enacted.

The House approved the tax bill, which contains a package of urban initiatives, before it adjourned, but by an unexpectedly close vote of 208-202.

A White House official said Tuesday night that President Bush would veto the bill if it reaches his desk and that the President hopes the Senate will not pass the bill before it adjourns.

(Helen Dewar and Eric Pianin, Washington Post, A1)

BUSH'S CABLE VETO LOSS COMES AT WORST TIME

President Bush calls his 35-1 veto record a "good streak." But the first defeat couldn't have come at a worse time. The override of Bush's veto of legislation to re-regulate the cable industry dealt a major psychological setback at a time when he hardly needed more bad news.

In a blatant gesture of kick-him-when-he's-down, Democrats in the House whistled, cheered and shouted "Four more months" Monday night as Bush's perfect veto record was broken. It was almost as if Bush were already a lame duck president. When he was soaring in popularity, such an override would have been unthinkable.... Democrats have managed to turn Bush's veto strategy -- a strategy that once gave him enormous leverage despite Democratic majorities in both chambers -- into a weapon against him in the final days of the campaign....

To make matters worse, Al Gore was a sponsor of the bill that nearly everyone but Bush and the cable industry seemed to like....

"This is not a partisan piece of legislation," Rep. Markey (D-Mass.), a coauthor of the bill, had said. But the fine points of the legislation got overshadowed by the political drama. And few disputed Sen. Dole's assertion that: "This is an effort to embarrass President Bush 30 days before the election. He hasn't asked for much," Dole argued. But it turned out to be too much.

(News Analysis, Tom Raum, AP)

BUSH BLAMES NETWORKS FOR DEFEAT OF VETO OF CABLE TV BILL

President Bush maintained Tuesday that Monday night's veto override by Congress, his first defeat in the 36 override votes of his Administration, on a bill to re-regulate the cable TV industry was the result of "a very good sales job on the part of the networks."

The President said he was not dismayed at his first veto setback since he took office in January 1989. "We've had a good streak," he said in an interview on "Good Morning America." "We've won 35 straight, lost one, not a bad record. But the big thing is you've got to stand for something." **(John Mashek, Boston Globe)**

BARBARA BUSH ASSAILS CONGRESS

DENVER -- Barbara Bush on Tuesday danced with senior citizens, hugged children and urged voters to stand with President Bush in his battle against Bill Clinton and "the scandal-ridden Congress."

"This is going to be a tough race for the President and all Republican candidates," she told 750 Republican partisans at a luncheon at the Jefferson County Fairgrounds.

Earlier, in Colorado Springs, she said the first-ever override of a Bush veto was bad news for the cable TV industry, but not a bad omen for Bush.

"What it shows is that a scandal-ridden Congress is just doing what they normally do, playing with the American people's money," she said. Putting the cable industry under government regulation will have "a terrible impact on the cable business," she said.

(Christopher Connell, AP)

BUSH SIGNS TRANSPORT BILL BUT SAYS IT WILL COST JOBS

President Bush Tuesday signed into law a $254 billion defense-spending bill that was stripped of an abortion provision that had raised a veto threat from the White House.

Working on a stack of end-of-session bills as Congress rushed to adjourn, Bush also signed a $2.3 billion appropriation for operation of the House and Senate. However, Bush complained in a statement that lawmakers rejected his election year call for a 33 percent reduction in congressional staffs.

Bush also signed a $36 billion transportation bill while arguing that it would cost thousands of jobs. He signed a separate measure providing $2.1 billion for NASA's prized space station.

(Robert Burns, AP)

PUTTING OFF TOUGH CHOICES ON WEAPONS
Hill, White House Delay Terminating Programs

The 1993 Pentagon spending bills sent to the White House this week represent a calculated decision by both Congress and the Administration to put off for another year the tough choices about which weapons programs will survive the end of the Cold War.

Industry executives and congressional staff members said election year politics and concern for the economy made it impossible in the end for Congress to shut the door on any major programs. **(Steven Pearlstein, Washington Post, F1)**

QUOTABLE

Rep. Gingrich: "This is a country that is very angry. It knows it's not happy with President Bush. It's already decided it's not very happy with Ross Perot.

President Bush, referring to Clinton: "He ought to stop attacking me and try to help the good people of Arkansas before he becomes the President."

("Inside the Beltway," Washington Times, A6)

BUSH SAYS DARMAN HAS 'MY FULL CONFIDENCE'

President Bush expressed "full confidence" Tuesday in Richard Darman during an interview on "Good Morning America."

Joan Lunden asked Bush about a Washington post report published Tuesday that said Darman had offered to resign earlier this year after Bush had repudiated a 1990 budget deal with Congress that Darman had helped negotiate. **(Washington Post, A19)**

WHITE HOUSE BATTLE DISTRACTS ADVISERS FROM ECONOMIC 'WAR'

President Bush's top economic advisers have worked for nearly four years without agreeing on an overall philosophy or plan and have been divided by personal animosity and turf fights that are fierce even by Washington standards, according to more than two dozen sources inside and outside the Administration.

The bitter infighting has hampered the Administration's efforts to diagnose what is wrong with the American economy, explain its economic thinking to the public in a coherent way and then go about addressing the problems, those interviewed said.

Bush has never established a permanent, effective structure for handling economic decisions. Nor has he given a single adviser full authority for coordinating economic policy, in the way he has relied on Brent Scowcroft for national security matters.

According to two sources, Bush has complained that it is hard at times to sort out or make sense of the advice he receives from his economic team of Secretary Brady, Richard Darman and Michael Boskin. **(Bob Woodward, Washington Post, A1)**

BUSH TO NAME CONVENTION SPEAKER TO NATIONAL COMMISSION ON AIDS

President Bush has decided to name Mary Fisher, who is infected with the virus that causes AIDS and is the daughter of a prominent Republican fund-raiser, to take the place of Magic Johnson on the National Commission on AIDS, a White House official said Tuesday.

Fisher is best known for making a speech to the Republican convention in which she pleaded for tolerance toward people with AIDS and said the Administration needed to do more to combat the disease.

Of Fisher's appointment to the commission, the panel's chairwoman, Dr. Osborn, said Fisher was an excellent choice to take Johnson's place because she was "at least as special as Magic in her own way. She does not see AIDS as a political problem, but as a human problem." **(Philip Hilts, New York Times, A14)**

-more-

COURT WEIGHS LIMITS ON ANTIABORTION TACTICS

After affirming last term the constitutional right to abortion, the Supreme Court was asked Tuesday how far it is willing to go to protect women trying to exercise that right. Justices are considering for a second time...the difficult question of whether a federal civil rights law protects women trying to gain access to clinics blockaded by Operation Rescue. The case of Bray v. Alexandria Women's Clinic will become part of the new terrain mapped out by the court.... NOW president Patricia Ireland opened her statement by saying that the Bush Administration, which has joined the case on the side of Operation Rescue, was supporting "vigilante mobs at the clinics."

(Joan Biskupic, Washington Post, A14)

LAWYER USES KKK ACT IN ABORTION-RIGHTS CASE

...Outside the Supreme Court, the rhetoric was oblivious to the legal points being argued. Patricia Ireland, president of NOW, said that "having checked his kinder and gentler facade at the courthouse door," President Bush was willing to put "the First Amendment rights for women up for sale."

(Nancy Roman, Washington Times, A3)

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAYS COUNTRY IN MORAL CRISIS

William Barr said Tuesday the nation is in a moral crisis caused by a secularist "binge" that began in the 1960s.

The widespread permissiveness is perfectly exemplified by Woody Allen's reaction to criticism of the actor-director's affair with the young stepdaughter of Mia Farrow, Barr said.

"Genuinely puzzled over all the fuss, Mr. Allen explained to Time magazine that he was in love with the girl," Barr said. "Having fallen in love, Mr. Allen implied it must follow as night follows day the two of them would consummate their love. After all, he said, the heart wants what the heart wants."

Added Barr, "Try that as an instruction for your children when they ask you if a particular course of conduct is good or bad."

Barr made the remarks in a speech to the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights and the Fellowship of Catholic Scholars.

"Today I fear the power and pervasiveness of our high-tech popular culture not only fuels the collapse of traditional morality but drowns out the scattered voices that are raised against secularization," Barr added. **(James Rubin, AP)**

UNCLE SAM BEGINS PUSH FOR QUALITY

The government is starting to adopt a management approach that could save taxpayers billions of dollars a year. In a report released Tuesday, the GAO said 68% of the government's 2,800 installations are using TQM. "If they get serious about it, taxpayers could save millions or perhaps billions a year," says Edwin Artzt, CEO at Procter & Gamble.

(John Hillkirk, USA Today, 1B)

EDITOR'S NOTES: "The Power Of Comical Thinking: A Bushie Is Born," regarding a new book about President Bush that it out, appears in "The Reliable Source," Washington Post, page B3.

###

CHINA BLASTS U.S. ARMS EXPORTS AS 'ROTTEN FRUIT'

BEIJING -- China attacked the U.S. Wednesday for its worldwide arms sales, saying Washington would eventually have to eat the "rotten fruit" of the deals.

"In today's world that is filled with calls for an end to war and the arms race, the U.S. government is completely going against the desires of all people by carrying out its policies of arms transfers," said a signed commentary in the Communist Party newspaper, the People's Daily.

It said Washington's sales -- which it described as major transfers of advanced weapons, many for offensive purposes -- would return to haunt the U.S. **(Reuter)**

N. KOREA DENIES MISSILE SALES, CHEMICAL SALES

TOKYO -- North Korea rejected Wednesday what it called "unreasonable preconditions" set by Washington for normalizing ties, and denied it was exporting missiles or developing biochemical weapons.

The official Korean Central News Agency said the preconditions were laid down by Assistant Secretary of State William Clark Tuesday during a news conference on Capitol Hill.

According to the news agency, Clark said that if Pyongyang wanted to improve relations with the U.S., it should stop missile exports, give up development of biochemical weapons, and accept North-South mutual nuclear inspections on the Korean peninsula. **(Reuter)**

BUSH TO HOST SUMMIT, PRESS TRADE

President Bush arranged to host a three-nation summit in Texas Wednesday to promote the NAFTA as well as his election-year efforts to stimulate the economy and win the state's crucial 32 electoral voters.

With four weeks to go in the campaign, Bush hoped the talks would also boost his uphill efforts to win a second term by underscoring his relations with world leaders.

Bush, Prime Minister Mulroney and President Salinas arranged to gather in San Antonio to witness the initialing of the free-trade pact by their trade ministers. **(Thomas Ferraro, UPI)**

BUSH, CANADIAN AND MEXICAN COUNTERPARTS TO SEE PACT INITIALED

President Bush and his Mexican and Canadian counterparts are meeting to discuss how their nations can speedily ratify a treaty dismantling trade barriers among the North American neighbors.

Bush was flying to San Antonio today to join President Salinas and Prime Minister Mulroney in watching their negotiators initial the NAFTA. Sen. Baucus called the San Antonio event "pure political theater. How many more times before the election can the Bush Administration hold a ceremony and declare victory on the NAFTA?" "The Bush agreement will cause the loss of U.S. jobs, and we continue to believe that the agreement should be withdrawn and renegotiated," AFL-CIO president Kirkland said in a statement.

-more- **(AP)**

CIA PROVIDED ERRONEOUS DATA ON BANK SCANDAL INVOLVING LOANS TO IRAQ

The CIA conceded Tuesday that it provided the Justice Department with incorrect information regarding a banking scandal involving loans to Iraq.

The unusual admission followed several letters written by members of Congress to Robert Gates, asking about the discrepancies between information provided to the Justice Department and to lawmakers.

"There was no intention to mislead anyone or to hold anything back," said CIA spokesman Mark Mansfield. "It was the result of an honest mistake and a record system that is somewhat less than perfect," he added. **(Ruth Sinai, AP)**

CRITICS WIN BIG IN KUWAIT
Emir Could Curb Scope Of Power

KUWAIT CITY -- Government critics woke up to something of a shock Tuesday -- a landslide victory in Kuwait's first parliamentary elections in seven years.

Seven loosely allied opposition groups and independent candidates captured 35 or the 50 parliament seats. Most of the 15 solid seats for the government came from the ruling Sabah family's traditional supporters in tribal areas.

(Neil MacFarquhar, Washington Times, A1)

U.S. TO AID RUSSIA ON NUCLEAR STORAGE
Facility Part Of Disarmament Agreement

The U.S. and Russia signed an agreement Tuesday under which the Pentagon will provide up to $15 million to help Russia design a facility to store safely nuclear material from scrapped bombs and rockets.

The agreement implemented some provisions of a wider deal signed by Presidents Bush and Yeltsin in June to help Russia safely destroy thousands of nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction.

Tuesday's agreement was signed at the Defense Department by Russian Ambassador Vladimir Lukin and Deputy Defense Secretary Atwood. **(Reuter, Washington Post, A22)**

SON OF DOWNED FLIER RIPS MIA PROBERS

MOSCOW -- The son of an American flier shot down in the 1950s says the U.S. team probing MIA cases in Russia has bungled its best chance of turning up evidence on Americans held prisoner in the former Soviet Union.

Malcolm Toon countered Tuesday that the man's case [pursing shot-down father] has been "vigorously" pursued with the Russians but admitted that such cases have been handled inadequately in the past. **(Gerald Nadler, Washington Times, A1)**

WHITE HOUSE MISLED PANEL ON MIAs, SENATE AIDES SAY

Senate POW investigators, in a memo to their bosses, charge that Bush Administration officials misled them about whether the executive branch had ever determined that U.S. servicemen were left behind in Southeast Asia.

The Washington Times has obtained a copy of the three-page memo. It is dated Sept. 28 and addressed to the chairman and vice chairman of the Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs.

The memo notes a significant disparity between testimony from Pentagon and State Department officials in November and that of key Nixon Administration officials last month.

According to the memo, Kenneth Quinn, deputy assistant secretary of state, said last year that "he was not aware of any judgment at any time in the executive branch that there were Americans left behind in Laos or Cambodia."...

"The hearings [last month] on the Paris Peace Accords...established and documented a simple truth -- the government left men behind and key officials knew about it. Some even tried to do something about it," the memo says.

(Carleton Bryant, Washington Times, A9)

EAGLEBURGER SAYS U.S. PRESSING 'NO-FLY' ZONE IN BOSNIA

The U.S. is concerned about the killing of Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina and is pressing allies to enforce a ban on military flights there, says Lawrence Eagleburger.

Informal closed debates on the flight ban are under way with Britain, France and other U.N. Security Council members, Eagleburger said on "MacNeil-Lehrer," predicting the result could be a compromise involving first trying measures short of using force to enforce the ban.

"The President has decided, and I think rightly so, that the situation in and around Sarajevo and Bosnia is so disastrous now we need to move hard and fast to prevent it from becoming worse," Eagleburger added. "But I can understand the French, British or anyone else" with ground troops in the area wanting to think through the consequences.

(Gene Kramer, AP)

BOSNIAN SERB THREATS MAKE U.N. WARY ABOUT ENFORCING NO-FLY ZONE

U.N. -- Threats by Bosnian Serbs to fight any attempt to bar warplanes from the skies over Bosnia-Herzegovina have made some Security Council members wary of trying to enforce a "no-fly zone," diplomats say.

Anonymous diplomats said Tuesday that the U.S., Britain and France seem to be nearing agreement on declaring a ban on combat aircraft over Bosnia, but without spelling out enforcement provisions.

In a bid to derail a ban on warplanes, Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic offered Tuesday to ground his warplanes if troops loyal to the Muslim-led Sarajevo government refrain from attacks.

(Peter Spielmann, AP)

U.N. RESOLUTION COULD LEAD TO YUGOSLAV WAR CRIMES TRIALS

U.N. -- The U.N. Security Council, in a further effort to halt atrocities in the former Yugoslav republics, unanimously adopted a resolution Tuesday night that diplomats said might ultimately lead to the creation of a war-crimes tribunal. It stops short of making an explicit recommendation for a Nuremberg-style mechanism. Instead, it calls for creation of a "commission of experts" to examine and analyze evidence of war crimes "with a view" to providing its conclusion to U.S. Secretary-General Boutros Ghali, who could then recommend "further appropriate steps."

(Trevor Rowe, Washington Post, A27)

FINANCIAL MARKET ANALYSTS URGE WORLDWIDE RATE CUTS

With stock markets around the world in turmoil and recession spreading among industrial counties, a call is going out for financial market analysts for a dramatic, coordinated reduction in interest rates. World stock markets "are close to breaking down," International Strategy and Investment, a New York investment firm, told its clients. "If Germany, the U.S., Japan, France, etc., eased (interest rates) simultaneously, it would certainly make a lot of people happy." **(John Berry, Washington Post, F1)**

U.S. URGES UNITA TO ACCEPT ANGOLA VOTE

LUANDA -- Rebel chief Jonas Savimbi's former U.S. backers have accused him of violating Angola's peace accords and increasing tension in the war-shattered country. Many Angolans feared there could be a fresh outbreak of strife. Washington's top Africa expert urged Savimbi to respect the outcome of last month's elections which international observers judged free and fair, accusing him of violating the 1991 accords by withdrawing his army from the new unified force. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen said Tuesday: "This is an unfortunate step which is not in accord with the spirit or letter of the Angola peace accords." **(Judith Matloff, Reuter)**

RESULT OF VOTE DELAYED, UNITA APPARENTLY MOLLIFIED

LUANDA -- Electoral officials have delayed announcing the result of Angolan's first free election after objections from the rebel group UNITA prompted fears of a renewed civil war. With 90% of polling stations reporting -- and UNITA trailing -- the National Electoral Council said Tuesday it was suspending the count to allow the figures to be doublechecked. Caetano de Sousa, president of the council, said definitive election results will be announced Thursday. Observers say the rebels were mollified by the decision to doublecheck the vote. **(Paul Ames, AP)**

AMERICAS CRITICIZED FOR ABUSE OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

MEXICO CITY -- ...An Amnesty International report criticized the U.S. and Canada for failing to protect indigenous rights. In the U.S., it said, 45 American Indian natives are on death row, which Amnesty opposes. **(Reuter, Washington Post, A32)**

-End of A-Section-

(Tuesday evening, Oct. 6)

CAMPAIGN/CONGRESS

ABC's Peter Jennings: Good evening from California. We've come here to the West this week as we went to the South earlier -- to see what it is that will affect the outcome of the presidential race. Much of our story is down there in that valley -- that haze, which is smog; the increasing demands on land and on the state government here, in this the most populous state in the nation; and even the fear down there in the Silicon Valley that getting out of this decade and into the next century competitively is a very serious technological challenge for the nation. You can say it many ways, and the voters here certainly do: The most abundant state in the union is in a pretty sorry shape at the moment. And that is having an enormous impact on presidential politics. We'll hear from Californians and from others in the West for the rest of the week. But by way of setting the stage, we're going to begin in Washington, where so many people lay the blame for their current predicament. Today on Capitol Hill, even as they prepared to adjourn for the election, Congress and the President were still going at one another.

ABC's Brit Hume: On Capitol Hill, the House finished its work today, and its leaders placed the traditional adjournment phone call to the President, little of whose legislative agenda had been enacted.
(**Rep. Gephardt**, on phone: "We wanted to report to you that we finished our work here in the House.")
That was all very polite, but the farewell news conferences by leaders on both sides of the Capitol were filled with election-year partisanship.
(**Sen. Dole:** "No doubt about it. The Democratic majority achieved their primary objective, which was bashing President Bush for the last -- almost the last 18 months.")
(**Sen. Mitchell:** "We look forward with great enthusiasm to the reconvening of the 103rd Congress with a new president.")
The Senate, though, hadn't quite finished its work, thanks in part to an all-night filibuster by Sen. D'Amato. He was trying to force the Senate to put special help for some factory workers back home into a last-minute tax bill.
(**TV coverage:** D'Amato singing during filibuster.)
After 15.5 hours, though, D'Amato couldn't go on and gave up. Still, the Senate remained stalled, unable to take up the tax bill as other Republicans blocked it, because it had started as an attempt to help the cities and ended up loaded with new tax breaks and new taxes. You might think that the President, who's in political trouble partly because of a flip-flop on the issue of new taxes, would be leading the charge against this bill. But it does have some things he wants and the White House held out hope the measure could somehow be changed to eliminate the offending taxes. That would take a political miracle, but it's not the only political miracle the White House is hoping for this fall.

(ABC-Lead)

CAMPAIGN/DEBATES/POLL

NBC's Tom Brokaw: There's a lot riding on that rapid-fire series of debates which begin Sunday night in St. Louis. And it's clear from the latest **NBC News Poll** that if President Bush hopes to catch Bill Clinton, he'd better start soon. Since Labor Day, the President has actually lost some ground. This latest survey involved 820 registered voters over the past two days. Support for Bill Clinton -- 46 percent. That's 14 points ahead of George Bush at 32 percent, Ross Perot way back at 10 percent. And the poll shows each candidate's own supporters still have significant reservations about their choices: 45 percent of those polled think Clinton will be the best debater, less than a quarter [23 percent] think that the President will be better [13 percent for Perot]. In the upside-down game of political expectations, that could actually work to the President's advantage.

Brokaw discusses the campaign with **NBC's John Cochran:**
Brokaw: With the President not gaining in the horse race, he needs help. What's the strategy there now?
Cochran: The strategy is to do the near-impossible -- to look presidential and, at the same time, to attack Bill Clinton at every opportunity and on every issue, especially if it reflects on Bill Clinton's character, and that includes the draft issue. Now, the President can get away with that on the campaign trail and in his political TV ads. But how do you do that in the debates? After all, the whole purpose of the debates, from George Bush's point of view, was to look presidential and to hope that Bill Clinton would look callow and unpresidential and that Clinton might even make some kind of bonehead mistake.
Brokaw: What about the Ross Perot factor for the President?
Cochran: Well, right now, it's not much of a factor. What they're hoping now, actually, is that Ross Perot does well in the debates and that he will pull away voters who have no intention of voting for George Bush anyway but who were thinking about voting for Bill Clinton. For example, those Reagan Democrats who now are thinking about going back to the Democratic Party for the first time in 12 years.
(NBC-2)

CBS's Dan Rather reports there are some questions concerning the debates. First, will there actually be an event on Sunday and who will be there? The sticking point: The Bush and Clinton camps want Ross Perot to be invited to all of these events. The debate commission says it will only commit to inviting Perot to the first one. Whether or not Perot appears, he bought TV time for himself tonight.

CBS's Bill Lagattuta reports on Perot's first "info-mercial." But America may be sick and tired of listening to Perot. Once seen as a political savior, he is fast becoming a political footnote. In the latest **CBS News-New York Times Poll**, 72 percent say he should have stayed out; 56 percent think he's just a distraction; and only 11 percent believe he got back in for the volunteers. If the election were held today, Perot wouldn't carry a single state. Only in Texas could he really have an impact. Nothing better illustrates the tragedy of the Perot movement than the commercials he commissioned this summer, then rejected.

Lagattuta continues:
(Hal Riney, commercial producer: "If he didn't agree with advice others gave him, he tended to get angry.")
Perot will spend $1 million on TV this week trying to sell himself all over again. But this time, consumer confidence in the product he's pitching may be at an all-time low. (CBS-2)

CAMPAIGN/CALIFORNIA

Jennings reports the politics and the economics of California are a closer match to those of the nation as a whole than anywhere else in the nation. Because Californians believe that their state and their nation is somewhat tattered and frayed, George Bush is in trouble.
(Leslie Newquist, Bush campaign: "The President is in a lot of trouble in this state because the people are angry. They want someone to blame.")
(Joe Scott, newspaper publisher: "He's in so much trouble because of the economy, basically, and because he's never really connected with California voters, culturally or any other way.")
Whatever political labels people prefer, the operative word on everyone's lips is "change." The state of the economy and the fear of lost jobs have led one worker after another -- often reluctantly -- to settle on Bill Clinton. However well he is doing here, Clinton must also contend with deeply imbedded cynicism. (ABC-2)

CAMPAIGN/WEST/PEROT

Jennings reports ABC's election unit says six western states with 89 electoral votes are leaning toward Gov. Clinton. Bush is ahead in five states, but they have only 19 electoral votes among them. Arizona and Montana are even.

ABC's Jim Wooten reports Arizona is the only state west of Texas where Perot still makes a difference. He may help Bush.
(Bruce Merrill, pollster: "Right now, if this were a two-man race, I would be willing to state that I don't think George Bush could win. But the unknown factor is indeed Ross Perot.")
What amazes Arizona pollsters is that Clinton is even close enough to Bush that Perot could affect the outcome. In a state that usually supports the Republican, Clinton has a solid campaign going.
(Roy Coffee, Bush Arizona chairman: "He [Bush] is in a fight for his political life. We're seeing that across the country.")
(Bruce Babbitt: "If Bill Clinton wins Arizona, he won't need Arizona. He'll have all 50 states.")
(Gov. Roy Romer: "People do want a change. And this is what George Bush doesn't offer. Perot is not credible. Clinton is the alternative.")
(TV coverage: President Bush greeting policemen.)
Romer thinks Bush is beaten in Colorado, even if the state's economy is flourishing again. Pollster Floyd Cerulli [phonetic] agrees.
(Cerulli: "It's not an economic recession. It's a psychological depression. Those very, very important suburbs of Denver are full of voters who are concerned about the future.")
(TV coverage: President Bush greeting crowd.)

Wooten continues:
The President cannot, by any means, be written off in the West. And yet there are thousands of voters on whom Republicans have relied for generations who are now saying they're just not sure. Those are discouraging words for the Bush campaign. **(ABC-3)**

CAMPAIGN/TODAY'S EVENTS

Jennings reports President Bush worked in the White House for several hours, preparing for next week's debates. Gov. Clinton campaigned in Florida. He charged that the Administration's foreign-aid program encourages American companies to move jobs to Central America, and he said that was immoral.
(**TV coverage:** Clinton speaking at campaign stop.) **(ABC-4)**

CAMPAIGN/TURNING POINTS

CBS's Mark Phillips reports that in a campaign that has not yet produced a memorable rallying cry or much movement in the polls, there is one ringing phrase that can be applied: Just wait. This has become the "just wait" campaign.
(**TV coverage:** President Bush, Clinton, Perot greeting cheering crowds at various campaign stops.)
Back in the primaries, it was "just wait until the other candidates expose Clinton's personality flaws, his draft record, his desire to be all things to all people." When Perot quit the first time, it was "just wait until Perot's conservative support drifts back to Bush." Later, it became "just wait until Bush gets his bounce from the convention, just wait until James Baker starts performing his voter-manipulation magic, just wait until the negative ads start having an effect, just wait for Perot II to start sucking away the Clinton protest vote." Or on the Bush downside, "just wait for his disputed role in Iran-Contra to lodge in the public mind." So the country waited and nothing much happened. The campaign was stuck. Voters seemed less concerned with Clinton's potential weakness as president than they were with Bush's already demonstrated weakness.
(**John Sears**, former Reagan adviser: "If you're the incumbent, you first have to give people some good reason to reelect you. Then, you can get into the subject of what may be wrong with the other candidate.")
Yet Clinton remains a vulnerable candidate. He may not be the Teflon candidate, but he may be something just as good.
(**Charles Krauthammer**, political commentator: "He's the inoculated candidate. Teflon implies that you're never hit. He was hit extremely hard, but having survived the initial hits, that may have inoculated him to the point where he can't be hurt again.")
So now, it's "just wait for the debates," in which Bush's last chance seems to lie in the hope of a major Clinton gaffe. This has been called a weird campaign year, yet that weirdness has not been reflected in wildly fluctuating polls. Rather, the support for the candidates has been weirdly static, given everything that's happened. So now, the opposing camps are just waiting again in a campaign that is finally beginning to run out of time. **(CBS-3)**

CAMPAIGN/ENVIRONMENT

ABC's Ned Potter reports that in many places, the campaign has come down to one issue: Who can be trusted to protect people's jobs? (**TV coverage:** President Bush, Clinton greeting cheering crowds.) Oregon has become a battleground over how to protect both jobs and the environment.
(**Clinton:** "I know that you can be pro-growth and pro-environment. What we've got to decide in this election is whether we have the courage to change.")
(**President Bush:** "It is time we worried not only about endangered species, but about endangered jobs.")
Many Northwest timber workers welcome Bush when he warns of environmental extremism.
(**President Bush:** "I will not stand for a solution that puts at least 32,000 people out of work. It will not stand. I mean it." [Applause])
But the issue is being oversimplified. While the owl dispute has cost some jobs, the logging industry was already in steep decline.
(**Clinton:** "The one thing that I can't promise you to do -- I can't promise to make things the way they once were.")
Clinton says it would be short-sighted to weaken laws like the Endangered Species Act.
(**Clinton:** "We spend $100 million of tax dollars a year subsidizing the exports of raw logs, but this Administration has opposed spending $100 million to use the logs here in America, to provide retraining for workers in the Pacific Northwest, to start new industries. They've been against all that." [Applause])
So Clinton, Bush and Perot offer the voters very different options. Bush and Perot say environmental concerns must not be allowed to cost jobs. Clinton says economic change is inevitable, and the role of government is to help people make a transition to the future. **(ABC-13)**

ABORTION/SUPREME COURT

Rather: Just four weeks before the election, President Bush has decided to take a high-risk, flatly anti-abortion stance in a case before the U.S. Supreme Court. In arguments today, the President had his Administration side with groups that claim a right to blockade abortion clinics.

CBS's Rita Braver reports justices were considering whether clinic blockades violate civil rights of women seeking abortions, and whether federal marshals should be called in to protect those women. Operation Rescue, backed by the Bush Administration, says abortion blockades don't violate civil rights.
(**Jay Seculow**, Operation Rescue: "The issue in this case today is: Does opposition to abortion constitute discrimination against women? The answer has to be: No, it does not.")
And though this case is technically about blockades, both sides agree it symbolizes the President's commitment to abolishing the right to abortion.
(**Wayne Codding**, Commonwealth Women's Clinic: "Not only do they not want to do anything to insure abortion rights, they want to make sure that they can chip away so that ultimately there will be no rights.")

Braver continues:
(**Randall Terry**, Operation Rescue: "George Bush has been a faithful ally of the pro-life movement. Therefore, we have a strong vested interest in his reelection.")
Justice Thomas' vote is expected to help the President win. But this close to the election, with the majority of Americans favoring abortion rights, the President's stance could lose him a lot of other votes at the polling place. **(ABC-6, CBS-Lead)**

NBC's Lisa Myers reports Justice Department lawyer John Roberts agreed with Operation Rescue's position, telling the justices that protesters don't oppose women as a class, even though only women can have abortions. However, Debra Ellis, representing the clinics, claimed the protests are part of a nationwide conspiracy to use force to deny women equal protection of the law. Abortion-rights groups claim this case is about much more than clinics.
(**Ellis:** "For the last 12 years, the Reagan-Bush Administration has been trying to strip women of their constitutional right to abortions through the court. Now, they're trying to do it through the back door by supporting a mob.")
If the Supreme Court rules against the clinics, Operation Rescue may find it easier to shut them down. **(NBC-2)**

THOMAS HEARING/ANITA HILL

NBC's Katie Couric interviews Anita Hill.
(**Hill:** "I never dreamed that this would happen. And quite frankly, I don't think I ever would have even done anything deliberately to allow this to happen to my life.")
Immediately following the hearings, an **NBC News-Wall Street Journal Poll** showed that most people believe Thomas by a margin of nearly 2-to-1. But a similar poll taken last month shows public sentiment has changed. Now, more people believe Hill was telling the truth. One year later, some members of the Senate Judiciary Committee are critical of their performance.
(**Sen. Kennedy:** "Certainly, the committee could have done better. And I think individually, I think that all of us feel that we could have made them better.") **(NBC-3)**

POW-MIA/VIETNAM

NBC's John Scott reports on a photograph taken by a CIA spy satellite over northern Laos in 1988. It shows what some Pentagon experts say could be a Vietnam-era distress symbol, indicating the pilot may have been alive after crashing. The question is whether the markings below the symbol resemble a secret distress code.
(**Sen. Grassley:** "These symbols work, and there's evidence that they have shown up since 1973 -- between 1973 and even now -- and the fact that they haven't been adequately followed up on seems to me to be a very important bit of evidence that we have to go through yet.")
An Air Force agency reviewed the photo last summer and concluded the symbol should be considered valid ground signals until proven otherwise. But in recent days, the Defense Department has reconsidered the evidence. Congressional investigators will be examining this and other recent intelligence reports over the next few weeks. But so far, they say they have found nothing that proves American POWs are still alive. **(NBC-5)**

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA/WAR CRIMES

ABC's Sam Donaldson reports the U.N. has concluded that there are so many reports of atrocities in Bosnia-Hercegovina that there needs to be a more systematic investigation. The Security Council voted today to establish its first war-crimes commission ever. But there is no provision for putting anyone on trial.
(CBS-5, ABC-10)

KUWAIT/ELECTIONS

Donaldson reports the opposition has won big in the parliamentary elections. The majority of seats went to those candidates who said they want change. But the ruling al-Sabah family has too tight a grip on the country. (ABC-11)

LOS ANGELES/RIOT AFTERMATH

ABC's Brian Rooney reports President Bush came to Los Angeles five days after the riots and promised to weed out the criminals and seed the economy. Gov. Clinton was here just three days after the riots and returned last month to outline a $6 billion plan for the city.
(TV coverage: President Bush, Clinton touring Los Angeles.)
But many people here complained that after their initial show of interest, neither candidate is giving much thought to urban problems. As Clinton and Bush make promises in other places, many in South-Central Los Angeles believe the candidates' silence about the cities promises more of the same neglect. (ABC-14)

LOS ANGELES/RAIL CARS

Jennings reports the city of Los Angeles, which last year cancelled a deal to buy rail cars from a Japanese company so that American companies would have a chance to bid on the contract, has asked the same company to go ahead with the first 15 cars. No American firms met specifications set by Los Angeles. (ABC-5)

CARJACKING BILL

Brokaw reports the House today passed a bill that would make carjacking a federal crime -- up to 15 years in prison, life if death results. (NBC-8)

-end of B-Section-

EDITORIALS/COLUMNISTS

CAMPAIGN/ENDORSEMENTS

George Bush: Nation's Best Choice For Next Four Years -- "We believe that President Bush has done a creditable job under difficult circumstances, while Gov. Clinton clearly lacks the background, character and constructive agenda to lead the nation.... Clinton's much-touted program of government 'investments' really is little more than the old Democratic tradition of tax and spend.... The prospect of a Clinton presidency chillingly recalls the single-term fiasco of another inexperienced Southern governor, Georgia's Jimmy Carter. The Dispatch endorses the reelection of George Bush and Vice President Quayle." **(Columbus Dispatch, 10/4)**

Clinton: He Offers The Best Hope For Positive Change: -- "Mr. Bush has not been much of a leader for the U.S. Even many whose economic interests the Reagan revolution seemed to serve must question whether the last four years have helped them.... We believe Bill Clinton represents an attractive and persuasive alternative.... He is intelligent and well educated; the notion that he is a blow-dried Bubba who is too much a regionalist to govern well is not borne out by the facts.... It is appropriate that we turn our attention to overcoming our weaknesses and building on our strengths at home. We believe George Bush is poorly equipped to meet that challenge, or even to understand it." **(Detroit Free Press, 10/4)**

IRAN-CONTRA

Here We Go Loop-De-Loop -- "Mr. Bush's position has always reeked of implausibility. A vice president who claimed to be part of the 'inner circle' who once headed the CIA and who had a strong background in foreign affairs would likely be close to the action.... More is at issue here than his candor and credibility. If he knew about, and acquiesced in, a reckless scheme that included bilking the public and Congress, trading with terrorists and disdain for constitutional government, against the advice of the wisest heads in the Cabinet, then his judgment is as much in doubt as his honesty. But he'll revise his story only if dribs and drabs of information that contradict it leave him little choice. That point can't be far away." **(Louisville Courier-Journal, 10/1)**

What's The Truth About Iraq, Iran? -- "If trust is an issue in this election campaign -- and it should be -- then voters must factor in President Bush's dubious explanations of his role in the Iran-contra scandal and his Administration's help to Iraq before the Persian Gulf War.... Mr. Bush is challenging the credibility and truthfulness of his rival, Bill Clinton. The challenge is fair, but the President also needs to come clean on how much he knew about the swap of arms for hostages with Iran, and how much his Administration was involved in helping Baghdad build its nuclear and chemical arsenal." **(Hartford Courant, 9/29)**

-end of News Summary-

POOL REPORT #3

Bilaterals with Salinas and Mulroney
(San Antonio, Texas)

October 7, 1992

The only words spoken at the photo ops at the top of the bilaterals with Mulroney and Salinas came from Mulroney. He was asked whether the NAFTA event would help President Bush's re-election chances.

"This is a very important international event," he answered diplomatically. "Not only is it vital for the Americas, but it also sends an extremely positive signal to the GATT to get off the dime. We have very important multilateral trading questions to resolve around the world. So the leadership we provide by the NAFTA is not inconsequential in helping world trade patterns that develop and settle in. So this is a very, very important day for North America...

Prime Minister Mulroney then was asked again whether the event would help the Bush re-election effort. "You want me to comment?" he replied. "I couldn't even tell you if it would help my re-election campaign. It's got nothing to do with politics. It's got everything to do with statesmanship and leadership."

AT the Salinas bilateral, the U.S. side of the table was occupied by Assistant Secretary of State Bernie Aronson, U.S. Ambassador to Mexico John Negroponte, Larry Eagleberger, President Bush, James Baker and Brent Scowcroft. At the Mulroney meeting, the Aronson and Negroponte slots were taken by Tom Niles and Pete Teeley.

--Jerry Seib, Wall Street Journal

POOL REPORT #2

Kelly Field Arrival, Greeting
(San Antonio, Texas)

October 7, 1992

No news.

Baker finally appeared, following Bush down the Air Force One steps. Scowcroft, Eagleberger followed them. Mary Matalin was also aboard the plane.

Motorcade and arrival at Plaza San Antonio Hotel uneventful. Lining the streets near the hotel stood Bush/Quayle supporters waving signs on one side of the street. Across the street, what appeared to be irate Mexican-American demonstrators hoisted anti-Bush signs in Spanish - some with vulgarities.

Bush greeted first Mulroney then Salinas in the hotel courtyard in front of a gazebo. They posed for pictures, said next to nothing.

Bush was asked what he thought about Clinton's reservations on NAFTA. His reply: "This is an international ceremony today."

Bush seemed so happy to see Mulroney that he clapped his hands. Mulroney answered a baseball question, something about whether is an American past-time.

"For the Toronto Bluejays it is. They're doing well," he said. Salinas had no comments on arrival.

The three next appeared in a meeting room seated at a round table with their staffs. Bush was accompanied by Baker, Eagleberger, Hills, Scowcroft and Reilly. Ambassador Teely was seated discreetly off to the side.

Jessica Lee
USA Today

AIR FORCE ONE XX TO SAN ANTONIO

Sx Oct. x 7, 1992

Marlin was the only one to come back. Information sparse.

He said Bush has not started mock debate prep yet. Probably won't start until Saturday. Thus far, he's con only conducted the regular briefing-book sessions with senior staffers.

He said xhx Bush's goal in the debates is to convince voters xx "that he should be overwhelmingly elected."

Bush did see parts of Ross Perot's ad last night. Marlin said he had no comment on it. But the charts seems too complicated for the press secretary to understand.

Marlin specifically made the point that Bush has xfxx "full confxxxxx fidence in his economic team" after reading the latest installment of Woodward's series in the Post.

He confirmed that Baker is traveling with Bush. Pool sighted Eagleberger.

Lee, USA Today

Bingham, Newsweek

POOL REPORT # 4

Interview with Larry King
(San Antonio, Texas)

October 7, 1992

After going off the air, Bush spoke to the large friendly audience, hand picked by the campaign, and noted that he had worked with some of them since 1964.

He repeated is feelings about "the ugliness" of this political year and said, "I never ever have seen a political year look like this. We took a tremendous pounding."

But now, he said, the campaign is getting in focus. and he attacked Clinton's "sorry" record in Arkansas while "our record is totally distorted." He said the U.S. economy is growing and is the envy of other world leaders such as Mulroney and Kohl.

"I am absolutely confident that when the people go in the voting booth...they are going to ask themselves, who do I trust for four more years?"

Then he said , "I am not going to let the liberal elite drive us away" from holding up family values.

He concluded by asserting, "I really am going to win this election." Then he strode off the stage to the cheers of "Four More Years."

Bush appeared very relaxed during the program. He showed up 15 minutes early so he could sit on stage while Larry King did a teaser for his appearance and sat patiently during the myriad commercial breaks. At one point he took out his wallet to show King his Texas drivers license this on the air in answer to a question about his legal resident--and off the air King extracted Bush's armed forces ID card made out to the "Commander in Chief."

Stuart Auerbach, The Washington Post

10/7/92

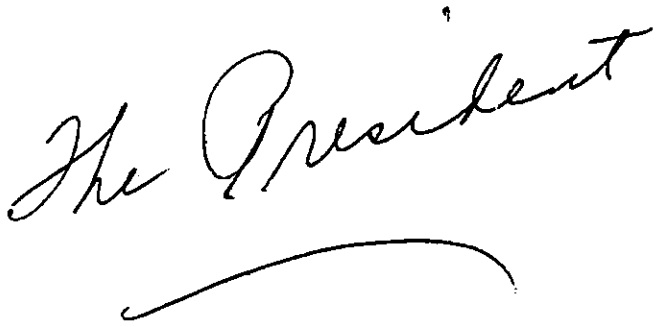
Mr. President

1) Roger Ailes would like you to call him before you go on the Larry King Show tonight. Asked Lisa the number.

2) Mrs. Neuenhahn called with good news. The Ambassador got through surgery. Cancer was contained -- no further treatment necessary. He should be back in D.C. in about a week. Would you pass this on to Secretary Baker also.

Rose

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting



BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

THE PRESIDENT

October 7, 1992

Passport file , travel to Moscow. What is status of FOI requests? Who looks into tampering with files?

VFW endorsement? Bob Currieo "get it on with Nat'l Commander...My own view is no grovelling!!!
we've got good record.. h with 'em.

Shipping Jobs abroad!

Manufacturing jobs down (Perot's graphs)

Broder-does he claim I've never ever said W &S have reservations ... He does use word strongly.

Debate commission only invite Ross to 1st debate??? NO

Clinton repay college loans? how much money etc?

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

The Washington Times
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Bush backers irked at being in Clinton ad

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Five middle-class taxpayers who appeared in a controversial television ad for President Bush urged Democrat Bill Clinton's campaign yesterday to stop airing a reply ad that also shows their pictures.

At the same time, one of the five acknowledged that, far from being just another ordinary taxpayer, he worked in Wisconsin for Republican Gov. Tommy Thompson's campaign and now has a state job under Mr. Thompson's administration.

"I've been involved in politics for some time," said Wyman B. Winston, director of multifamily housing for the Wisconsin Housing and Economic Development Authority.

"I'm disgusted that I'm being used in an ad for the Clinton campaign," Lori C. Huntoon, 30, of West Allis, Wis., a hydrogeologist, said in a telephone interview.

Controversy continued to swirl over the Bush ad, which showed five middle-class Americans and said that under a Clinton presidency, each would pay $1,000 to $2,000 more in taxes.

The Bush campaign aired the ad nationally last week and Mr. Clinton, who has promised to cut taxes for the middle class, almost immediately denounced it — variously calling it bogus, outrageous, disgraceful, blatantly false and a total fairy tale.

"He's the one that raised all the taxes on the middle class, not me," Mr. Clinton said. He ordered his campaign to produce a counterattack ad, which included pictures of the same five persons. The ad did not claim that the five supported Mr. Clinton.

The Clinton campaign produced a reply that included photos of the five persons from the disputed Bush ad.

Yesterday, the five wrote to Clinton campaign chairman Mickey Kantor, asking him to withdraw the Democratic ad, saying: "We are very upset but also not surprised that Gov. Clinton would stoop so low as to use our names and likenesses in his campaign ads without our permission. ... We would never speak on Gov. Clinton's behalf."

Miss Huntoon said she was contacted by Bush-Quayle campaign headquarters in Milwaukee two weeks ago to be in the ad. She said there were 15 other Bush supporters when she arrived at the Federbar Studios in Milwaukee.

All 15 were required to sign releases and promised standard fees for appearing in television ads if their pictures were used. Miss Huntoon said she did not know how much the fee would be because she hasn't been paid yet.

Miss Huntoon's occupation was given in the ad as scientist. Julie and Gary Schwartz were identified as sales representatives and John J. Canes as a steamfitter.

Mr. Winston's occupation was given as "housing lender." There was nothing to suggest that he was a political patronage worker.

The Washington Times
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Debates dominate candidates' agendas

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

With debates on his mind, President Bush stuck close to home and largely offstage yesterday, delivering campaign messages through one television interviewer at a time.

The only technique he prefers more is one-way communication to friendly audiences.

One example of that is the nationwide spectacular arranged for Thursday night when the president, first lady Barbara Bush, former Presidents Reagan and Ford, Vice President Dan Quayle and Mrs. Quayle each will address 35 Victory '92 fund-raising dinners from different locations via satellite television hookup.

As Election Day nears and the punditry becomes more ominous, Mr. Bush is getting down on the press as he has not been throughout his presidency. He continues to shun the national press corps, with which he is openly disgusted.

He hasn't had a press conference since August, when he held No. 140, and hasn't talked to reporters on Air Force One since late spring.

"The media has been rolling down the tracks in their own inimitable way and it's not been very pleasant," Mr. Bush said in words reminiscent of President Kennedy's remark, "I'm reading more and enjoying it less."

At dawn yesterday and again in the afternoon, he sat in the Map Room talking into a television camera that has become a semipermanent fixture there.

He set aside three hours to bone up on briefing books for Sunday's first debate in St. Louis with Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and Texas businessman Ross Perot. He gave up his weekly rest stop at Camp David and plans to do mock debates Saturday with stand-ins who haven't yet been identified.

The Arkansas governor returned to Little Rock last night and is taking today off to rest his voice, raspy after nine days of campaigning. He holds a news conference tomorrow before going to Kansas City, which will serve as his debate headquarters.

Mr. Clinton will speak at a rally Friday in Kansas City and Saturday in St. Louis. On Sunday, he will go to church and then go behind closed doors until the debate.

To prepare, Mr. Clinton has two looseleaf binders — one on domestic policy and the other on foreign affairs, said Clinton campaign director Bruce Lindsey.

Mr. Bush continues to shun the national press corps, with which he is openly disgusted.

Playing Mr. Bush will be Washington lawyer Bob Barnett, who has made a minicareer playing the president during the Democrats' 1984 vice-presidential and 1988 presidential debate simulations, Mr. Lindsey said.

Yesterday, on ABC's "Good Morning America," Mr. Bush brushed off as "Washington Post gossip" a question about reports that Budget Director Richard Darman called his repudiation of the 1990 budget agreement "sheer idiocy."

"They have very little to do about what I'm trying to do for the country, what my answers are on principle, so I can simply say he's got my full confidence,"

Yesterday afternoon Mr. Bush gave separate interviews to the four major Philadelphia TV stations, part of a successful program to get dominant exposure in battleground areas. The campaign designates Michigan, Missouri, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Wisconsin as battleground states that either side could win.

"The president feels it's a good opportunity for him to talk directly to the voters in those regions," Deputy White House Press Secretary Laura Melillo said of the White House invitations to regional TV personalities.

Much of his travel has been geared to capturing favorable coverage throughout those regions, coverage that nearly always holds him in awe and is uncritical.

"There's nothing scientific, but our people out in the field who have a better sensitivity say it's going very well. We have stacks and stacks and stacks of clips from the towns he visits. And it's very positive," Miss Clarke said.

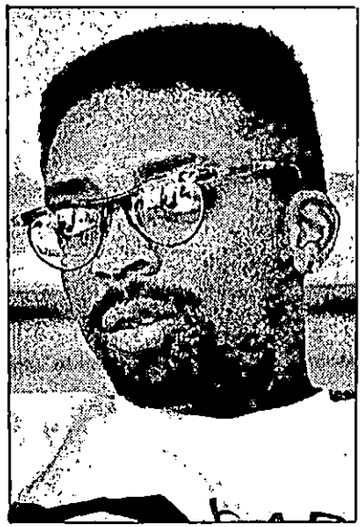
Each of Thursday's dinners in 25 states will have an administration-related speaker and all will hear and see the stars from Houston (President Bush), St. Louis (Mr. Quayle), Los Angeles (Mr. Reagan), Philadelphia (Mr. Ford), New York (Mrs. Bush), Atlanta (Arnold Schwarzenegger) and Washington (Mrs. Quayle, Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole and House Minority Leader Robert Michel).

• *J. Jennings Moss contributed to this report.*

The Washington Times
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

INSIDE THE BELTWAY





David Duke wishes to debate filmmaker Spike Lee on a lively topic.

Slugfest

David Duke, former Klansman and erstwhile political candidate, claims filmmaker Spike Lee is "full of hot air" and challenges the black movie maker to debate "the vital issue of race relations in America."

Mr. Duke, who thinks Mr. Lee is racist, urges the director, who thinks the politician is racist, to contact him for a verbal shootout that he says would electrify the networks.

In making his challenge in last month's Duke Report, Mr. Duke charges that riots may result from Mr. Lee's effort to have blacks take the day off for the opening of his film on the late Malcolm X.

No-fault Terminator

In California, Vice President Dan Quayle complained again about movies that have "too much sex and violence."

But Mr. Quayle excluded Mr. Bush's friend and supporter Arnold Schwarzenegger from this indictment of family-value-free Hollywood.

He's OK. "They just give him a script to follow," the vice president told the Los Angeles Times.

CBS' source?

Floyd Brown, who helped create the Willie Horton ad used against Michael Dukakis four years ago, yesterday accused Bill Clinton's campaign organization of committing a felony.

At a news conference introducing his new book, "Slick Willie: Why America Cannot Trust Bill Clinton," Mr. Brown said he filed a criminal complaint Monday in San Ramon, Calif.

"Mr. Brown did file [the complaint] and it is under investigation," Officer Jon Cox of the San Ramon Police Department confirmed yesterday.

Mr. Brown said the Clinton campaign wiretapped a telephone call he made to a San Ramon woman and then passed a tape recording of the wiretap to a CBS reporter.

"The unathorized tapping of my private conversation was a criminal offense in California, and the disclosure of the tape by CBS, which played it on the evening news July 13, was also a felony in California," Mr. Brown said.

Mr. Brown contends he was acting on the basis of an anonymous letter that claimed the sister of the San Ramon woman committed suicide after becoming pregnant during an affair with Mr. Clinton.

Asked how the Clinton campaign would respond to the complaint, campaign press secretary Avis LaVelle said: "That's easy. There is no truth whatsoever to it. Mr. Brown is a very sick man, and he is hallucinating."

On reflection

Anita Hill, who accused Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment a year ago and ignited a national debate, said she was not surprised her view did not prevail.

"What was involved was a political power play," the Oklahoma law professor said yesterday in an interview broadcast on NBC's "Today" show. "It really had little to do with what I was there to describe."

Four more

Murray Rothbard, the no-surrender libertarian, had spoken with great admiration of Pat Buchanan earlier in the year before finally settling on Ross Perot as the man for our times.

The archcapitalist took the view that "Mr. Perfect" was not running this year and thought the Texas billionaire might be just the candidate to "at least throw a wrench" into the machinery.

But word of another view came with the most recent Rothbard-Rockwell Report newsletter. Reflecting on the "Great Betrayal of the Perotvian movement" in July by its founder, the "little punk from East Texas," Mr. Rothbard now recommends four more years.

Confronted by "two sets of bozos," the great libertarian has chosen to support Mr. Bush for a number of reasons, the most persuasive of which appears to be Mr. Rothbard's fear of "the ghastly spectre of Clintonian Democracy."

Quotable

House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich: "This is a country that is very angry. It knows it's not happy with President Bush. It's already decided it's not very happy with Ross Perot."

Orson Swindle, Perot national coordinator: "[Mr. Perot] won't be going out kissing babies. Mr. Clinton can do that."

President Bush, referring to Mr. Clinton: "He ought to stop attacking me and try to help the good people of Arkansas before he becomes the president."

Polarization

In this age of intense aversion between press and politician that has soared to levels of pain beyond reach of drugs, the following exchange earlier this week is instructive.

House Speaker Thomas Foley: "Good morning. Do you all have your No-Doz today, I hope?"

The press: "We always bring it, Mr. Speaker."

— Alan McConagha

The Washington Times

White House misled panel on MIAs, Senate aides say

By Carleton R. Bryant
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Senate POW investigators, in a memo to their bosses, charge that Bush administration officials misled them about whether the executive branch had ever determined that U.S. servicemen were left behind in Southeast Asia.

The Washington Times has obtained a copy of the three-page memorandum. It is dated Sept. 28 and addressed to the chairman and vice chairman of the Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs.

The memo notes a significant disparity between testimony from Pentagon and State Department officials in November and that of key Nixon administration officials last month.

According to the memo, Kenneth Quinn, deputy assistant secretary of state, said last year that "he was not aware of any judgment at any time in the executive branch that there were Americans left behind in Laos or Cambodia."

The memo notes that Carl Ford, deputy assistant secretary of defense, and Charles Trowbridge, deputy director of the Defense Intelligence Agency's office of POW-MIA affairs, agreed with that assessment.

"This testimony is misleading at best," the memo states, noting revelations last month in hearings on the 1973 Paris Peace Accords, which ended U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War.

"The hearings on the Paris Peace Accords ... established and documented a simple truth — the government left men behind and key officials knew it. Some even tried to do something about it," the memo says.

In those hearings, former Defense Secretaries Melvin Laird and James Schlesinger told the Senate panel they believe the U.S. government abandoned some servicemen in Indochina as it withdrew from the war.

The memo notes that immediately after the Bush officials had testified, senators challenged the validity of their investigators' data on 1,000 MIA live-sighting reports.

But the recent hearings "show that Defense Department officials believed in 1973 that over 1,300 men were left behind in Laos and Vietnam, including some known to be POWs," the memo states.

"The committee is compelled to revisit the [Pentagon data] by way of follow-up to the Paris Peace Accords hearings since any findings based on or influenced by Department of Defense testimony ... have no credibility," the memo adds.

Sen. John Kerry, Massachusetts Democrat and POW committee chairman, was unavailable for comment.

Among the investigators' recommendations to the senators:

- Conduct another hearing into the discrepancies between the November 1991 and Paris Peace Accords testimony.
- Press the Pentagon for answers to questions the committee has submitted on the accuracy of testimony by Defense Department officials.
- Direct Senate investigators to review all sworn testimony for "serious misrepresentation."

In another document obtained by The Washington Times, Sen. Robert Smith, POW committee vice chairman, said he is "very concerned" that Pentagon officials tried to cloud the issue in a recent briefing with committee members.

Duane Andrews, assistant secretary of defense, and Alan Ptak, deputy assistant secretary of defense for POW-MIA affairs, briefed the senators Friday, according to Mr. Smith's Oct. 5 memo to Mr. Kerry.

"In my opinion, the briefing was the culmination of years of double-talk, misinformation and obfuscation by officials responsible for the POW/MIA issue," the New Hampshire Republican wrote, noting the officials' past inaccuracies.

Mr. Smith called for a "thorough investigation" of the DIA and the office of the assistant secretary of defense for international security.

WASHINGTON, D.C. TUESDAY OCTOBER 7 1991

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992 ★

Bush signature gives death penalty new life

By Vincent McCraw
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

It's official. With President Bush's signature on a revised D.C. budget, the congressionally mandated death penalty will be on the Nov. 3 ballot.

But the measure will include one caveat not approved by Congress. It will say, "This following initiative measure has been placed on the ballot by federal legislation."

D.C. Board of Elections and Ethics officials yesterday said they added the line to help voters distinguish it from a citizen-sponsored death penalty measure that has received wide publicity although it is not on the ballot.

A second citizen-sponsored initiative to reform D.C. campaign finance laws will also appear on the ballot.

The federal capital punishment referendum is officially known as Mandatory Life Imprisonment or Death Penalty for Murder in the District of Columbia.

The summary statement adopted by Congress that will appear on the ballot states: "This initiative measure, if passed, would increase the penalty for first-degree murder in the District of Columbia. A person convicted of this crime would be sentenced either to death or life imprisonment without the possibility of parole."

Former D.C. Council Chairman David Clarke said, "This is probably the biggest political blank check any electorate has been asked to write. There are a number of issues in the legislation of which people know nothing about."

Mr. Clarke, who represents a group of ministers called the Committee Against All Killing, said the measure would allow for executions to be contracted to other states.

"We won't have any say over mode of execution or who imposes it," he said.

Under the legislation, the federal marshals would supervise implementation of the sentence as "prescribed by the law of a state designated by the court."

"We're contracting killings to another state," said Mr. Clarke.

Council members, while ex-

see **DEATH**, *page B2*

pressing mixed opinions about the death penalty, were united against the congressional intrusion.

"I am opposed to it for two reasons. I'm opposed to Congress dictating what we should and should not vote on. I'm also opposed to [the death penalty] because I think it's immoral," said council member William Lightfoot.

Council member Linda Cropp said she is uncertain about how she will vote on the initiative.

"I have not quite made up my mind. A while ago I wouldn't have taken this position," she said. "That shows you how the crime problem is affecting me."

Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly, who has opposed the death penalty in favor of life in prison, yesterday said she would be "inclined" to vote against the measure primarily because it was forced on the city by Congress. She also doubts its enactment would deter homicides.

Election officials had said the measure needed to be approved and signed by Mr. Bush no later than Friday in order to make changes in the ballot. The California company contracted to print the ballots must deliver them to election officials by Oct. 16 in time for walk-in absentee voting on Oct. 19.

Had the measure not been approved in time for next month's election, a special election would have probably been held near Christmas, costing the city about $310,000, which Congress hasn't appropriated.

Because the measure is federally mandated and forbids altering the language of the initiative approved by Congress, election officials have decided to provide more public education than what is normally done for citizen-sponsored ballot measures.

"It's not the same process used by the city for an initiative and voters may need a little more information," said Leona Agouridis, spokeswoman for the elections board.

What voters will not see is the 20-page legislative text that stipulates mitigating and aggravating circumstances warranting the imposition of the death penalty or methods of imposing the penalty.

Voters wanting a copy of the legislation can obtain free copies from D.C. public libraries. The full text will also be published in the D.C. Register and four local newspapers.

The latest efforts by the Committee Against All Killing, which in 1991 gained voter approval of a gun liability referendum, include urging their congregations to vote against the death penalty, submitting editorials to local newspapers and asking ministers around the city to preach against the initiative in their sermons on Oct. 25.

Ad folks find presidential pitches pretty pathetic

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton has been marketed better than President Bush, according to a survey of area agency executives.

But respondents overall believe the marketing efforts of both candidates are unfocused and uninspired.

We asked survey participants to grade the marketing efforts of the two presidential front-runners, and here are the test results.

BARELY PASSING: Steve Martin, president and chief executive officer of Richmond's Hawley Martin Partners, gave both candidates' marketing efforts a D.

President Bush's marketing mavens missed many opportunities to "take the high road," Mr. Martin said, citing the many changes that took place during his administration, such as the crumbling of the "evil empire," the tumbling of the Berlin Wall and victory in the Persian Gulf.

The Clinton camp isn't doing a bad job of marketing its candidate, he said. "They've been smart to stay away from getting themselves labeled as a coalition of special interests. They've made a big effort to stick to middle-America-type backdrops."

In terms of marketing advice, Mr. Martin said President Bush's team should point out that his opponent is focused on the special-interest groups that make up the Democratic Party. Mr. Bush has to position himself as a president for all people, Mr. Martin said.

"A LACKLUSTER CAMPAIGN" is how Joe Landy, president of DDB Needham, sees this year's election. He gave the president's team a C-minus to Mr. Clinton's C.

Neither camp has "bitten the bullet" to tell the public how it is going to deal with the country's problems, he said.

The upcoming debates are the first bright light in the Bush team's strategy, said Hal Warner, vice president of Manning, Selvage & Lee.

Mr. Bush should apply the principles of crisis management, suggested Mr. Warner. "He hasn't told us he's the best person to handle the problems. He seems aloof and not very understanding."

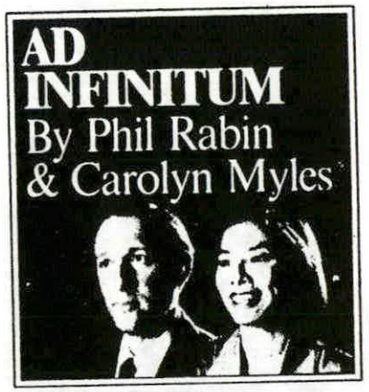
"With the caliber of people the president has, I can't understand why the marketing is so poor. It's almost as if they started out running scared. Now they have a right to be," Mr. Warner said.

Mr. Clinton's team has yet to define him, he added. "He can't be for everything," Mr. Warner said.

Jody Powell of the District PR firm Powell-Tate said the Clinton team must "decide what you want to say and stay with it until you've made an impression."

Mr. Powell warned President Bush's team about the downside of negative ads. "It is hard to make sales" based on a strategy of " 'My soap powder doesn't work, but it's better than my competitor's. Neither will clean your clothes, but I'm less toxic.' "

Overall, Mr. Powell gave the Bush team a B-minus or a C-plus, while he gave the Clinton campaign a B-plus.



Neither camp has "bitten the bullet" to tell the public how it is going to deal with the country's problems.

Steve Rabin, head of the Washington office of Porter-Novelli, said the president's marketing team is "getting its act together" and "doing some smart segmentation now." Overall, he said, they are "selling damaged goods well."

Mr. Rabin rates the overall Bush marketing effort a B-minus, while he gives the Clinton team an A.

DON'T BEAT AROUND THE BUSH: "I'm amazed that President Bush, who has been in so many election campaigns, who knows how to win, and who even brought in the secretary of state to win this one, can be so out of touch," said Frank Mankiewicz, vice chairman of Hill and Knowlton. "They've tried six or eight different themes and nothing's worked. You could have told them ahead of time none of them were going to work."

Mr. Mankiewicz pointed to a "cultural lag" as part of the problem. "[Bush campaigners] think they can do it the way they did in '88. You know what they say about generals: They're experts at winning the last war. The campaigners this year are experts at winning in '88 — but this isn't '88."

Mr. Mankiewicz doesn't give Mr. Clinton's strategists high marks, either. In fact, he doesn't give any grade to the Clinton campaign.

"They haven't had to do anything," he said. "Mr. Clinton has been very adroit at taking advantage of the other guy's mistakes."

WHAT TO DO? Mr. Mankiewicz's advice to George Bush is to "hammer away in the debates; crowd him, give him a lot of punches. Point to [Clinton's] weakness in foreign affairs and bring up the draft.'

But doesn't that amount to negative campaigning, and doesn't that turn off voters?

"Yes, but they don't have anything positive," Mr. Mankiewicz replied. "When you've got people out of work, factories closing, consumer confidence way down — there isn't much you can brag about."

For Mr. Clinton, he suggests emphasizing the poor economy and U.S. policy toward Iraq, which poaches on the president's favorite turf. "Clinton can say, 'We wouldn't have had to fight if you didn't build up Saddam Hussein and then lie about it,' " said Mr. Mankiewicz.

HOT ACCOUNT AWARDED: A one-year, $500,000 public relations contract has been awarded to E. Bruce Harrison Co. by the Global Climate Coalition, a group of 49 trade associations and private companies concerned about global climate changes.

GCC's communications co-chairman Glen Kundert told us the group hopes to have an agreement with the District PR firm "between now and the end of the month."

The delay, explained Mr. Kundert, was due to the coalition process to negotiate the contract. However, he hopes to have the agency launch some projects this month and pursue them in earnest after the contract is signed sometime in November.

Although all the presentations were good, Mr. Kundert said E. Bruce Harrison "showed good knowledge of the subject and has strong media contacts.

"GCC hopes to raise its visibility in Washington as a major player in influencing policy decisions and to ensure its side of the story is told when media covers the issue of global warming," Mr. Kundert said.

The Washington Times
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992 *

MONA CHAREN

What price punishing Bush?

How much is it worth to see the back of George Bush? That's the question anti-Bush voters have to consider.

This doesn't apply to people who are genuinely enthusiastic about Bill Clinton — but there aren't enough of them to elect the governor. If Mr. Clinton is to prevail, he will need the votes of those who have no great love for the Democratic Party but are disgusted with the current incumbent and eager to punish him.

There are plenty of good reasons to want to give Mr. Bush an electoral swat. But is Mr. Clinton an acceptable alternative? If Barbra Streisand's singing voice drives you up the wall, do you trade her in for Roseanne Barr?

The debates notwithstanding, the smart money here in Washington is on Mr. Clinton to win by a comfortable margin. With that in mind, let me offer a foretaste of what may be on our national plate in a Clinton administration.

The trouble with electing a moderate-seeming Democrat as president is that there simply are not enough people like him in the party to fill all the Cabinet and executive posts in the government — to say nothing of the thousands of lower federal offices and judgeships. The party from which Bill Clinton will draw his policy-making officials is firmly left of center and out of sync with the majority of the American people.

Let's look at one key Clinton appointee in the state of Arkansas. Dr. Joycelyn Elders was named by Gov. Clinton in 1987 as director of the Arkansas Department of Health. Has she made a dent in the state's desperately mismanaged child welfare and foster care system? No. Has she improved health statistics in the state? No. But has she made a splash in the national press, including a highly visible appearance on "60 Minutes" as the queen of condom distribution? Yes.

"I tell every girl that when she goes out on a date to put a condom in her purse," Dr. Elders told "60 Minutes," spouting the distilled liberal position on teen-age sexuality. They're all having sex anyway, the reasoning goes, so why not urge

see CHAREN, *page G4*

Mona Charen is a nationally syndicated columnist.

CHAREN

From page G1

them to protect themselves? Toward this end, Dr. Elders has become a tireless advocate of school-based health clinics that will, among other things, distribute condoms to students and offer abortion counseling to pregnant teens.

Is this what awaits the nation in a Clinton administration? Mr. Clinton supports Dr. Elders completely. It is stupefying that in an age when AIDS stalks the unwary and unwed motherhood ruins the lives of millions, mature adults actually advise kids to protect themselves with latex instead of self-control. Even the most optimistic estimates of condom reliability assume a 5 percent breakage rate (much increased during anal intercourse). What responsible parent would tell her child to take a 5 percent gamble with death?

Besides, what sort of signal is a girl who carries a condom in her purse on the first date sending to her escort? And how young are the girls Dr. Elders so counsels? Fifteen? Fourteen?

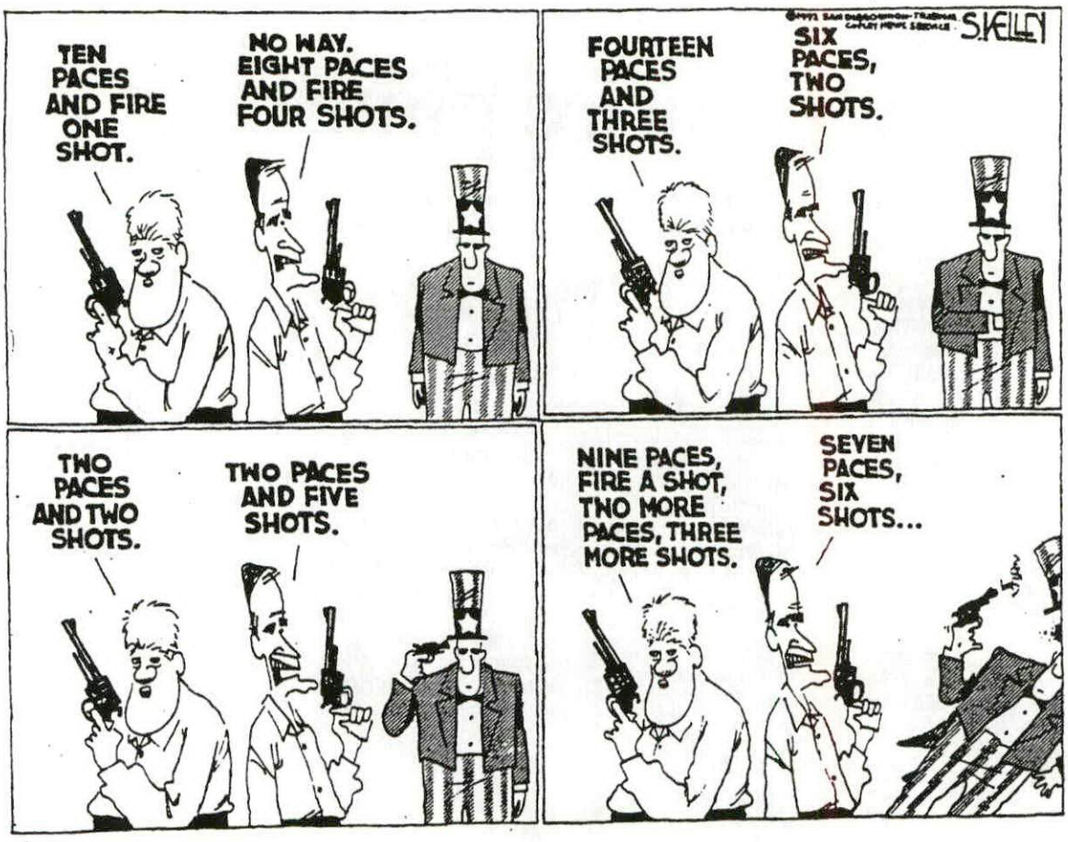
Appearing on the "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour" a few months ago, Dr. Elders offered the astounding assertion that 60 percent of American children are "unplanned and unwanted." She provided no source for this startling statistic and chose not to defend it when challenged by Gary Bauer of the Family Research Council. But what people imagine is often more important than what they know. If Dr. Elders is under the impression that children are so burdensome, it is little wonder that she is such a vociferous supporter of the Freedom of Choice Act that would legalize all abortions, including those in the third trimester of pregnancy, throughout the country.

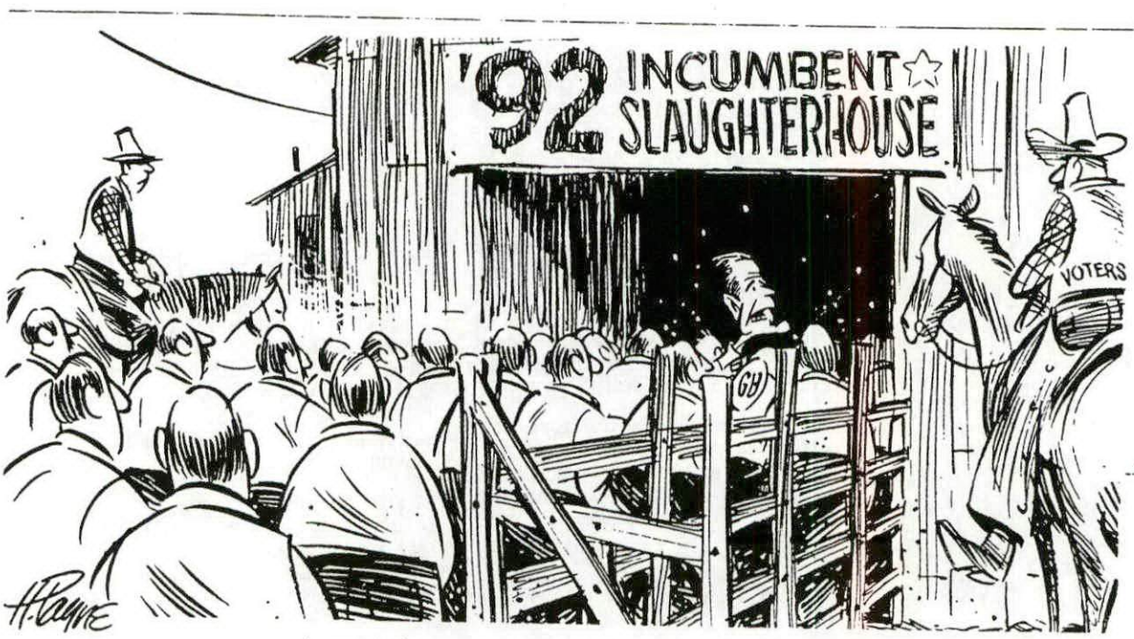
"Moderate" Bill Clinton used to say that he thought abortion was wrong and consequently did not believe that government funds should be used to subsidize it. But he appointed a director of the Arkansas Department of Health who thinks children are a mistake, abortion should be available and subsidized, and condoms are the answer to AIDS and unwed motherhood.

For those who believe that the fundamental solutions to AIDS and teen-age pregnancy are moral and cultural, rather than mechanical, it may be a very, very long four years.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992 ★





"WAIT! THERE MUST BE SOME MISTAKE! I'M THE CANDIDATE OF CHANGE! I SHOULD BE SPARED! HEY!..."

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

BEN WATTENBERG

Taking aim with debating darts

On the surely correct assumption that no one will ask me, I hereby decline to be on any panels in the forthcoming debates. In absentia, I offer some questions for each of the likely players.

For Bill Clinton: Are you a liberal? (The old Michael Dukakis query, which, alas, has fallen off the screen at an important moment.)

Is the Democratic Party liberal? Might a liberal Democratic Congress, and liberal appointees, overwhelm a Clinton administration, as happened to the Carter administration? Gov. Clinton, will your appointees be liberals? What will be the role of the nonliberal Democratic Leadership Council in staffing your administration?

Was the "Willie Horton" position of Mr. Dukakis correct? (That is: Should weekend furloughs be issued to murderers sentenced to life imprisonment with no possibility of parole?) Followups: If "no," why was it wrong for George Bush to use the issue? Why do Democrats keep referring to "Willie Horton" and "Willie Horton issues" as if Democrats were right and Republicans were wrong?

Do you believe that the current economic slowdown (or "recession," if you prefer) will end on its own within the next year or so, if not sooner, just as the eight previous recent recessions have ended, on their own? Followup: If not, why not?

Do you agree with the recent decision, by a Bush appointee, that the admissions procedures at the law school of the University of California at Berkeley foster "quotas" and discriminate against whites and Asian-Americans? Would a Clinton administration try to eliminate quota-style group preferences in American life?

For President Bush: Are you a conservative? Why do so many conservatives despise your views? Followup: If yes, and (as you say) Mr. Clinton is a liberal, who represents us moderates?

When you opposed the landmark 1964 Civil Rights bill during your Senate race from Texas, did you believe in your own position? If not, and your actions only reflected political expediency, how did it feel to speak out against your beliefs?

Mr. President, do you run your own administration? One example: Mr. Clinton says he favors a "Radio Free Asia." You say you do too. Yet your appointees at the State Department vigorously oppose it. Who's in charge, you or them?

What were Republicans trying to say about "family values" at the Houston convention? Do you think values in America have eroded due to liberal policies and ideas? Has this erosion hurt America? If yes, why has your campaign "backed off" the issue rather than explain it? Is it because your campaign manager Jim Baker doesn't believe in it? Have you, and your campaign, been scared off the issue by the liberal media? Why should voters believe that Republicans have any real beliefs, or have the guts to govern?

For Albert Gore: Anne and Paul Ehrlich's 1990 book, "The Population Explosion," calls for cutting Social Security and per capita income, doubling the price of gasoline, increasing foreign aid, and limiting "personal freedom" in choosing family size. The Ehrlichs write: "The world can't afford more Americans" and therefore "any more stuff in the world should not go to the likes of us" and "rich nations will now have to pay for their greed."

Sen. Gore, you endorsed the book, saying: "The time for action is due and past due. The Ehrlichs have written the prescription." Have you had second thoughts?



For Dan Quayle: Present com-

see WATTENBERG, *page G4*

Ben J. Wattenberg, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

WATTENBERG
From page G1

pany excluded, all things considered, on balance, in the future, in the national interest, wouldn't it be better if the presidential nominee chooses his running mate from a pool of candidates who have already had national exposure? Wouldn't it have been better, for you, and for the country, if you had come up through the ranks?

For Mr. Clinton: Was the "Willie Horton" position of Mr. Dukakis correct?

For Ross Perot: You've said you have never attacked Mr. Bush personally, and only said of him "fine man, fine family." Just who was the little Texan with big ears who said earlier this year, many times, that George Bush started the Gulf war "to prove his manhood." Would you care to apologize?

For Adm. James Stockdale: If Ross Perot were not running this year, who would you vote for?

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

TAX BILL IS PASSED BY HOUSE, BUT VETO BY BUSH IS LIKELY

SENATE STILL DEADLOCKED

Measure Includes Aid for Cities and Breaks for Real Estate in 5-Year Revenue Shift

By ADAM CLYMER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6 — Before quitting for the year, the House passed a sweeping tax measure early today, but Republican Congressional leaders predicted that President Bush would veto it. A White House official said a veto of the bill, which includes aid for cities and several revenue increases, was highly likely.

Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the Senate minority leader, said that because of the tax increases in the bill, "I don't think the President dare sign it." Representative Robert H. Michel of Illinois, the House minority leader, said Mr. Bush had no choice but to veto the bill.

But first the Senate had to get to the tax bill, and it made no progress today. Delaying tactics by two Senators, including a nine-hour reading of one bill, took all day. Meanwhile, several important housing and banking measures were held hostage to disputes among irritable Senators.

Senate Passage Isn't Clear

The White House official, who spoke on condition that he not be named, said the Administration was not sure the bill would even get through the Senate. But if it did, he said, "all the tax increases in it" made it objectionable. The bill includes $27 billion in tax reductions over five years, and a matching amount of tax increases, to avoid increasing the deficit.

The measure includes enterprise zones to encourage investment in poor urban areas and breaks for the real estate industry that the Administration supports. The cost to the Government would be met by equivalent tax increases over five years, including additional taxes on securities dealers and a limit of $10,000 on deductions for moving expenses.

Proposed by the Administration

The securities-tax change and several others in the bill were originally proposed by the Administration. But that was months ago. Now Mr. Bush has less room to maneuver because he has again promised to raise no taxes. Moreover, his campaign's attacks on his opponent, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, have described measures like an extended racing season in Arkansas as a tax increase, making it hard for him to define any revenue measure as anything else.

If Mr. Bush rejects the tax bill, he does not have to send it back to Congress with a veto message. Instead he may use a pocket veto by not signing it within 10 days, because Congress may be gone by the time the bill reaches him. The House has already quit for the year and the Senate is likely to adjourn as soon as it passes the tax bill, if it can pass it. The tax bill is not expected to come up before Friday.

The House action came hours after

Tax Measure Clears House But Faces Likely Bush Veto

Continued From Page A1

Congress voted to override President Bush's veto of legislation to regulate the cable-television industry, the first of Mr. Bush's 36 vetoes to be overriden.

When the House adjourned at 12:38 P.M., it left the Senate to wrestle with at least three filibusters and other obstructions before the weekend adjournment it now hopes for.

The first of the filibusters, complete with a rendition of "The Eyes of Texas Are Upon You" by Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, Republican of New York, had already tied up the Senate for about 15 hours. He was trying to keep the Senate from considering the tax bill.

Before he wearily yielded the floor at 1 P.M., he complained that the tax bill omitted a provision he wanted to help a typewriter factory in Cortland, N.Y. His marathon was assisted by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Democrat of New York, and Senator John Seymour, Republican of California, who both asked friendly questions.

After Mr. D'Amato quit, Mr. Seymour began a delaying action of his own, an effort to thwart a measure that would allow California cities to use water that now benefits agriculture in the state's Central Valley. His first move to delay it was to insist that it be read, word for word, a process that took about nine hours.

Ultimately most Senators expect the water measure to be adopted by the Senate, along with the energy bill, on which a vote to end debate will be taken Thursday morning. If Republicans solidly oppose the tax bill, they might prevent a final vote by defeating motions to limit debate.

A Long, Cranky Night

After Monday evening's Democratic exultation at overriding President Bush's veto of legislation to reinstitute regulation of cable television companies, the House slogged through a long, cranky night. It fought over the water bill and then again on the tax measure, before passing bill after bill in a less disputatious legislative torrent.

A few members slept. Others combed their hair and straightened their ties before walking up to the microphones and television cameras.

The water bill pitted rural against urban California. Passage was never in doubt, and the bill was adopted, 244 to 159. Some Republicans warned of a Presidential veto, but the measure has much support among Western Republican Senators because of its projects outside California, some Republicans said.

The tax bill won praise for its urban aid provisions by Representative Maxine Waters, Democrat of California, who said it was "a modest experiment in response to the crisis we face in our nation's cities."

And it was attacked for its tax provisions by Mr. Michel. He said, "I don't see that the President has any alternative but to veto it if it does get to him."

D'AMATO FILIBUSTER

Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato spoke, and even sang, for 15 hours in the Senate, trying to save jobs at a New York typewriter factory. Page B4.

CABLE INDUSTRY WILL KEEP GROWING

Cable television companies will be hurt by price regulation, but it is not expected to stunt the industry's growth. Business Day, page D1.

But the bill barely passed, 208 to 202, at 4:10 A.M. It won the votes of 169 Democrats and 39 Republicans, while 79 Democrats, 122 Republicans and one independent voted against it.

Mr. Dole echoed Mr. Michel's prediction at a news conference this afternoon: "It's got a lot of tax changes, some would say tax increases. I don't think the President dare sign it."

But when Mr. Dole was asked whether the same logic would apply to the energy bill, because it included tax provisions raising about $2.6 billion, he offered a different analysis. Mr. Dole cited excise taxes on ozone-depleting chemicals and increased withholding taxes on gambling winnings but said the bill as a whole should not invite a veto. "That's an environmental vote and he's the environmental president," the Senator said with a smile.

The energy bill is the first of the three most contentious matters likely to come before the Senate. A vote to cut off debate is scheduled for Thursday morning. After that its opponents, led by Nevada's two Senators who object to a provision likely to speed development of a nuclear waste dump at Yucca Mountain, Nev., will each be allowed to speak for an hour, up to a total of 30.

Water Bill Likely to Be First

The water projects measure is likely to come next, on a vote to cut off debate, and to be followed by the tax bill.

Mr. D'Amato's challenge to the tax bill fell far short of the longest individual filibuster in Senate history, and he got more help from allies than did Senator Strom Thurmond, who spoke for 24 hours and 18 minutes against a civil rights bill in 1957.

While Senate rules do not require a speaker to stick to the point, Mr. D'Amato did. Even his excursion into song was part of his argument that when a provision to help a Cortland, N.Y., typewriter factory was dropped, he was let down by Senator Lloyd Bentsen, Democrat of Texas. Mr. Bentsen was chairman of the Senate conference on the tax bill.

Ultimately, he yielded the floor he had held since 9:30 P.M. He indicated one reason was that since the full House had adjourned, leaving only a corporal's guard that could agree only on pro-forma matters, the provision could no longer be put back into the tax bill. But he said "There's an awful lot of people around here who should not feel good about how we are doing the people's business here."

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Bush to Name Convention Speaker To National Commission on AIDS

By PHILIP J. HILTS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6 — President Bush has decided to name Mary D. Fisher, who is infected with the virus that causes AIDS and is the daughter of a prominent Republican fund-raiser, to take the place of Magic Johnson on the National Commission on AIDS, a White House official said today.

Ms. Fisher is best known for making a speech to the Republican National Convention in which she pleaded for tolerance toward people with AIDS and said the Administration needed to do more to combat the disease.

"I bear a message of challenge, not of self-congratulation," she told the convention in Houston. "We may take refuge in our stereotypes, but we cannot hide there long. Because H.I.V. asks only one thing of those it attacks: are you human?"

Mary Fisher, who has H.I.V., is replacing Magic Johnson.

Walking a Fine Line

She recently founded the Family AIDS Network, a group intended to give information and support to families whose members have AIDS. She is a professional artist, a 44-year-old mother of two who contracted the virus that causes AIDS from her infected former husband.

Ms. Fisher worked in the White House under President Gerald R. Ford, and her father, Max Fisher, is the honorary chairman of the Bush-Quayle '92 National Finance Committee.

In a recent interview, she said that to be effective in working on AIDS, she believed she must walk a fine line. She asserted that the Government must put more money and moral weight behind the battle against AIDS. Implicit in that is criticism of the Bush Administration's efforts. Yet she also said that Mr. Bush had "done a lot" on AIDS and that she was confident he would do much more in a second term.

"A lot of people would have me not support the Administration," she said. "What good would that do? We need to have people working within the system to make change."

LIVING WITH H.I.V.

Giving up too soon can rob H.I.V.-infected people of a chance to get the most out of their remaining years. Personal Health, page C13.

Connections Cause Tensions

Jeffrey Levi, the director of government affairs for the AIDS Action Council, a Washington lobbying group, said today that Ms. Fisher "proved in her speech to the Republican Convention that she is an eloquent spokeswoman for all people with H.I.V." He said he hoped that she could succeed where others had failed in spurring the Administration to increase financing for AIDS programs.

Her Republican connections did create some tension last month when she declined to appear at a press conference urging more financing for AIDS programs. Her spokesman, James Heynman, told the AIDS Action Council, which held the news conference, that White House officials had told her not to appear at the gathering.

The event was to have been nonpartisan, with Ms. Fisher and a Democratic campaign worker infected with H.I.V., Robert Hattoy, speaking side by side. Ms. Fisher later said that though she had talked with the council she had not actually accepted its invitation.

Of Ms. Fisher's appointment to the National Commission on AIDS, the panel's chairwoman, Dr. June E. Osborn, said Ms. Fisher was an excellent choice to take Mr. Johnson's place because she was "at least as special as Magic in her own way. She does not see AIDS as a political problem, but as a human problem."

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Campaign Trail

Now Bush Is in Trouble in His 2d Home

And George Bush thought he had troubles in Texas. Now he has to worry about Maine, where he also has a home.

It's been 24 years since a Democratic Presidential candidate carried Maine, but two recent polls by The Portland Press Herald show that Bill Clinton is not only ahead of President Bush in the Pine Tree state but that he is also widening his lead.

And that's not all.

Mr. Clinton is running well ahead of the President even in the southern part of the state, including York County. That's where Mr. Bush maintains a vacation home, at Kennebunkport.

The poll results cannot be broken down enough to determine how the President stands in Kennebunkport itself, population 3,356. But the other day when Mr. Clinton visited southern Maine, Representative Thomas H. Andrews, a Democrat whose district includes the seaside town, told him at the start of a rally, "Bill, you're going to take Kennebunkport."

A footnote: The polls in Maine also indicate that Mr. Andrews will almost certainly win re-election. His Republican opponent is Linda Bean, of the L. L. Bean Inc.

Just for Fun, Pick an Appointee

Maybe it's just great expectations. But with Bill Clinton leading in national polls and the possibility that as many as three Supreme Court justices might retire in the next four years, some of Mr. Clinton's lawyer friends are already beginning to speculate about possible Clinton appointees to the Court.

Most mentioned is Gov. Mario M. Cuomo of New York, whom Mr. Clinton himself once said had earned an appointment. Others often mentioned include Stephen G. Breyer, the chief judge of the Court of Appeals for the First Circuit, in Boston; Senator Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut; Judge Amalya L. Kearse of the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, in New York, and Jose A. Cabraness, the chief judge of the Federal District Court in New Haven.

All are considered well grounded in the law, politically correct for a moderate Democrat like Mr. Clinton and good bets to nudge the Court back toward the left and maybe even tip its balance. As for always-sensitive ethnic and sex considerations, Governor Cuomo is Italian, Senator Lieberman is Jewish, Judge Kearse is a black woman and Judge Cabranes is Hispanic.

Trail Mix: New Creatures

¶There's been another creature sighting out on the trail. First there were protesters dressed as Bush and Clinton chickens. Then came a "Curious George" gorilla. Now, from Daytona Beach comes a report of a duck waddling in.

It showed up at a Clinton rally. The message: the Governor ducked out of the Vietnam draft.

¶In Little Rock, the Clinton campaign headquarters has been offering bumper stickers that read: "I'm from Arkansas. Ask me about my Governor."

Some of the takers are Bush supporters.

¶Southern politicians with a love for campaign zingers like to talk about "putting the hay down where the goats can get it." But at least one Northern politician has a good understanding of the concept.

Tom Kean, the former New Jersey Governor who now runs Drew University, in Madison, N.J., and is a Bush backer, was not on campus the other day when Bill Clinton dropped in for a campus rally. But he left this note:

"I am convinced that our country faces a choice between two outstanding candidates — and right now I am in Newark meeting with the other one."

¶Remember Bill Clinton's musical half-brother, Roger, who performed during the Democratic Convention? He's got a new band out in Los Angeles, where he's doing some television sit-com gigs. It's called "Politics."

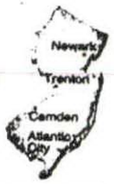
"Life generally is political," he explained.

B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.

The New York Times
NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

'or the Old Republican Reasons, New Jersey Voters Are Leaning to Clinton

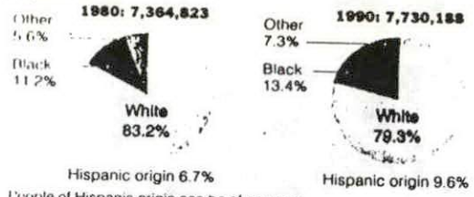
A State of Diversity



New Jersey is a complicated state for a national politician trying to tailor a message. It's topography ranges from seashore to mountains, its communities range from urban blight to farming hamlets and its population ranges from brand-new immigrants to old-line aristocracy. It has two Democratic Senators and a Democratic Governor. New Jersey now has 14 Representatives — eight Democrats and six Republicans — but will lose one seat because of reapportionment.

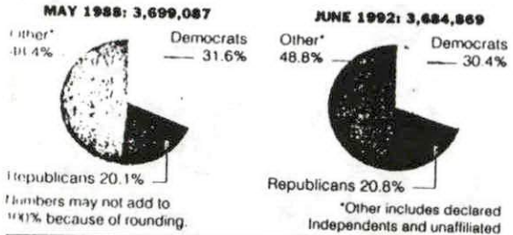
ELECTORAL VOTES: 15

Population



People of Hispanic origin can be of any race.

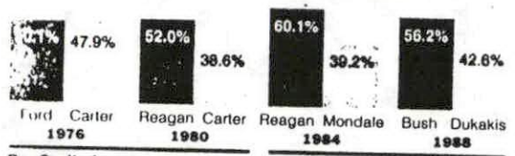
Registered Voters



Numbers may not add to 100% because of rounding.

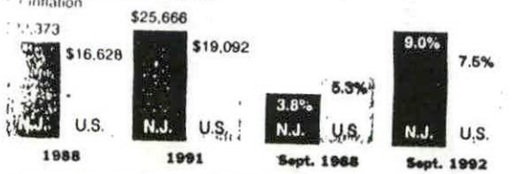
*Other includes declared Independents and unaffiliated

How New Jersey Has Voted in Presidential Elections



Per Capita Income

...figures are the most recent ...ilable and are not adjusted ...inflation



Unemployment

...urces: Census Bureau; New Jersey Division of Elections; America Votes; ...New Jersey Labor Department; U.S. Commerce Department, Bureau of Economic Analysis; ...U.S. Labor Department, Bureau of Labor Statistics

Continued From Page A1

student of the game than Mr. Nixon, who lives in Park Ridge, have suggested that suburban discontent might benefit Ross Perot's recently revivified independent candidacy, and it is true that there are more independents than Republicans or Democrats in New Jersey.

But not a single one of the dozen or so practical politicians interviewed for this article, nor any of the purportedly impartial experts consulted, gave Mr. Perot a chance to make a significant showing here or to affect the outcome.

Mr. Perot's volunteer organization is even shakier here than in most states, the original chairman having been dismissed last month by Dallas headquarters. Besides that, argued Mr. Torricelli, who is a fairly hard-boiled man himself, "Jersey people are too cynical to believe in Ross Perot" after his withdrawal from the race in July.

A poll taken late last month by Political Media Research, before Mr. Perot's announcement but well after speculation about his re-entry began, gave Mr. Clinton a 12-point lead in the state, 43 percent to 31, with 11 percent backing Mr. Perot and 15 percent undecided. A total of 823 likely voters were surveyed, with a margin of sampling error of plus or minus four percentage points.

It is not necessary to read polls to sense that the tides are running strongly against the President in this state.

Noting that New Jersey has a tradition of electoral volatility, and that Gerald R. Ford, among others, had come from far behind to carry it, former Gov. Thomas H. Kean, a moderate Republican who is now the president of Drew University, nevertheless termed Mr. Bush's situation "very serious."

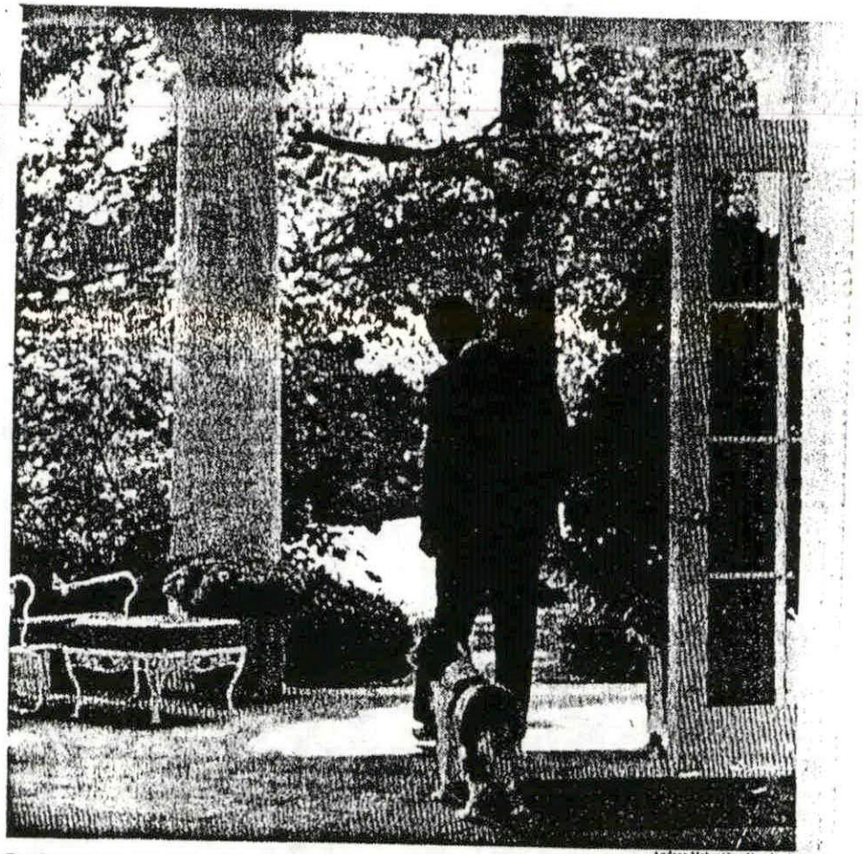
"The President doesn't seem to be able to make any inroads with two groups we've had in the past and don't have now," he said. "On the one hand, you've got the Reagan Democrats, and on the other you've got the white-collar suburban women. They've always been disturbed by the President's stand on abortion, and they're doubly disturbed by the meanness, the real nastiness, that they saw in the rhetoric at our convention."

Convention 'Very Scary'

Mr. Kean was one of the small band of governors from the Northeast who wanted to challenge the platform's absolute prohibition of abortion, but he was persuaded by the party hierarchy to desist.

Hazel Frank Gluck, a former State Transportation Commissioner who attended the convention as an alternate, said: "I found it very scary. They blew the election right there, I'm afraid, with all that exclusionary stuff about family values and traditional families. I'm divorced. I have a daughter who, unfortunately, is divorced. Who are they to tell either of us that we lack proper family values?

"'Let's not embarrass the Presi-



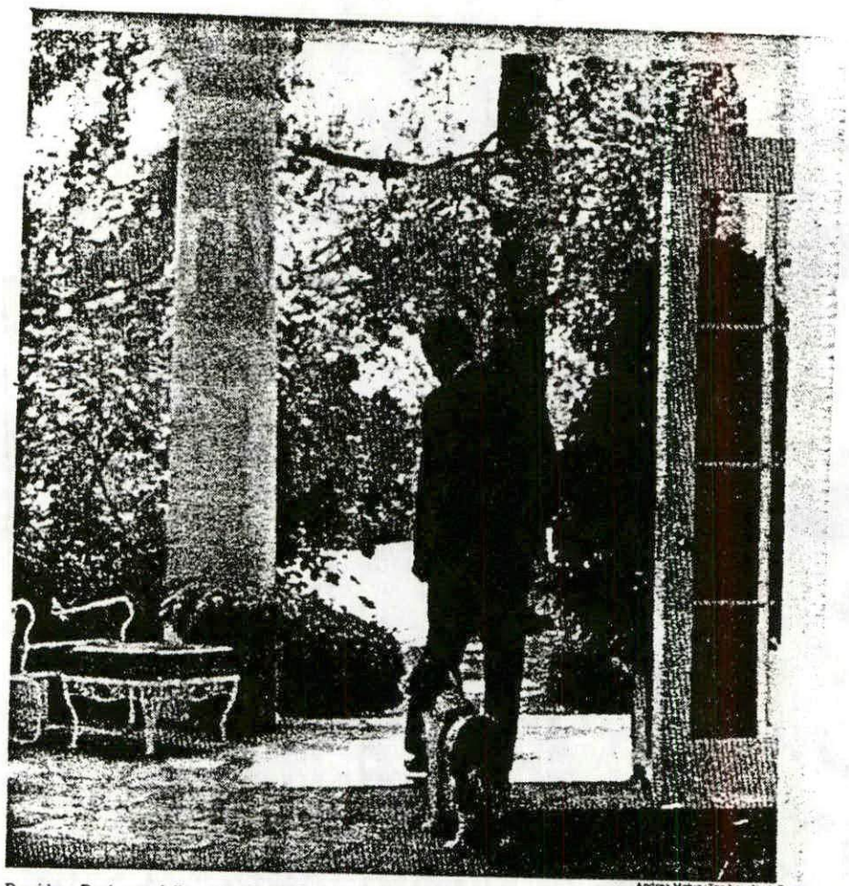
Andrea Mohin/The New York Times

President Bush was followed by a family dog, Millie, as he walked yesterday from the White House Oval Office. Mr. Bush's situation in New Jersey was termed "very serious" by former Gov. Thomas H. Kean.

1 of 2

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992



Andrea Mohin/The New York Times

President Bush was followed by a family dog, Millie, as he walked yesterday from the White House Oval Office. Mr. Bush's situation in New Jersey was termed "very serious" by former Gov. Thomas H. Kean.

dent,' they said. Well, frankly, it's a lot better to embarrass him then instead of later."

She expressed pessimism about her party's immediate future.

"The Bush people have embraced their base, and their base isn't what most of the country is about," she said. "The extreme right, those religious zealots, are going to do to us what the extreme left did to the Democrats for years until Bill Clinton came along."

If the Bush high command in Washington has decided to play down abortion and family values and other issues that have turned many voters, especially women, against the President, it chose a strange and rather clumsy way to send that signal to the voters of New Jersey.

On one his many campaign-season visits to the state, Mr. Bush spoke on Sept. 18 at the headquarters of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company in Basking Ridge. He attacked the compulsory family-leave bill passed by Congress, saying he would veto it because it might prompt employers to discriminate against pregnant women and because it would hurt the economy.

A principal sponsor of the bill, Representative Marge Roukema, a Republican whose district covers the most northerly strip of New Jersey, boycotted the event. That was bad enough political symbolism, but there was much more.

New Jersey has for several years had a family leave law identical to the one the President has opposed. It was sponsored by Donald T. Di Francesco, the Republican leader of the State Senate, it was signed into law by Mr. Kean and it has so far had no noticeable adverse side effects. A.T.&T. executives say they have found it quite workable.

Candidates on Television

The Presidential campaigners have scheduled these television appearances in coming days:

President Bush

TODAY: 9 P.M., CNN, "Larry King Live," live interview, call-in questions.

Gov. Bill Clinton

TODAY: 7:30 A.M., ABC, "Good Morning America." (Channel 7 in New York.)

THURSDAY: 7:30 A.M., ABC, "Good Morning America." (Channel 7 in New York.)

The Republicans are trying their best to get the comeback under way by linking Mr. Clinton to Gov. James J. Florio, the Democrat whose tax increases have left him badly wounded. Rich Bond, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, visited the state last week, called Mr. Florio "the worst Governor in the country," and asserted that he and Mr. Clinton were nothing but "tax-and-spend Siamese twins."

But it is Mr. Florio and Mr. Bush whom voters here tend to blame for their economic troubles, said Michael Aron, the political correspondent for New Jersey public television, because they have been in office during the years when the state's great boom of the early 80's has turned to ashes. One of the reasons voters are so irritated, he suggested, is that neither of the two seems willing to accept any responsibility.

"Florio always talks about the national recession, as if it's all beyond his control," Mr. Aron said, "just the way the President talks about the global recession."

Voters Feeling Powerless

Carl Van Horn, the acting director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University, said that Mr. Bush and Mr. Florio had suffered from the fact that "the crash and burn of the local economy has been so deep and so prolonged, which makes people feel powerless and angry."

Only a few years after the boom days that saw the development of a new residential and commercial Gold Coast across from Manhattan, New Jersey now has one of the highest unemployment rates in the country (9 percent, as against the national rate of 7.5 percent) and a devastated industrial base.

Partly as a result, a number of wealthy businessmen who normally contribute heavily to the Republicans are giving big money to Mr. Clinton this year. Among them, according to officials of both parties, are 10 or so who attended a $50,000-a-head cocktail party given by Finn Casperson of the Beneficial Management Corporation last month, including Allen Bildner, the founder of Kings Super Markets Inc., and Ray Chambers, a former partner of the financier William E. Simon, who was Mr. Ford's Treasury Secretary.

Mr. Florio would almost certainly lose if he were seeking re-election this year. But unfortunately for the Republicans, it is Mr. Bush, not Mr. Florio, who is on the November ballot, and an Eagleton Institute poll in mid-September indicated that a solid majority of the people of New Jersey do not want to see the President re-elected.

2 of 2

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Political Memo

Quayle Speaks Just Fine (With a Script, That Is)

By KEVIN SACK
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 4 — With his speech at the Republican National Convention, and in thought-provoking addresses on everything from legal reform to cultural elitism, Vice President Dan Quayle has gone a long way this year toward disproving the notion, voiced most harshly by his own wife, that he cannot deliver a speech.

But recent moments on the campaign trail suggest that Mr. Quayle is still not sure-footed when he is forced to speak extemporaneously, as he will be in the Vice-Presidential debate on Oct. 13. Next to his convention speech, Mr. Quayle and his aides view the debate as their best opportunity to enhance the Vice President's image, a mission that is crucial to his political future, both this year and in 1996.

Mr. Quayle seems to have the most difficulty with technical questions about Administration policy. Consider a question-and-answer session following a recent health-care speech by Mr. Quayle in Phoenix, where one man asked how President Bush's proposal for medical-malpractice reform would treat damages awarded for pain and suffering.

'Kevin, What Do We Do . . . ?'

Mr. Quayle, an earnest look on his face, began to fidget. "I, I can't tell you exactly what we do on that pain and suffering in the —— " the Vice President said, his voice trailing off as he looked offstage toward Kevin E. Moley, the deputy secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services, who has been coaching him. "Kevin, what do we do on the pain and suffering on our malpractice proposal?"

After listening briefly to Mr. Moley, Mr. Quayle continued. "So, it doesn't address it specifically," he said. "The state — the states could in fact — what we basically do is — try to do — is get the states to come up with medical malpractice legislation. We have, I think it's five criteria in our suggested recommendations. But once they meet the five criteria, then they get a favorable distribution from us if they meet — basically forcing the states to adopt this medical malpractice legislation, and that's the way that you do it."

What Mr. Quayle presumably did not recall is that one of the five malpractice measures would require states to place a cap of $250,000 on damages for pain and suffering to avoid a cutoff of Federal financing.

Some members of the audience at St. Joseph's Hospital did not find Mr. Quayle's response very reassuring.

"If I was standing up there and was supposedly putting forth a policy for something as important as a campaign for President, I would have had that answer on the tip of my tongue, especially if I was a lawyer," said Dr. Jeffrey H. Hill.

Refers to Index Cards

Despite Marilyn Quayle's pronouncement earlier this year in an interview with The Washington Post that her husband "can't read a speech," Mr. Quayle has excelled during the 1992 campaign when reading from a text. His prose was both humorous and elegant, for instance, in a speech two weeks ago in Fort Worth in which he unveiled a top-10 list of Gov. Bill Clinton's flip-flops.

But after almost four years as Vice President and after months of campaigning, Mr. Quayle still refers to index cards when delivering the most standard speech. And while he is capable of handling a technical question adroitly, as he did last week in answering a query on the obscure issue of ethanol production, Mr. Quayle often finds himself sinking when he is without the security of a script.

It does not necessarily happen every day, but it happens often enough to raise questions about the Vice President's facility with both language and subject matter.

On Sept. 20, for instance, on the NBC News program "Meet the Press," David Broder, the Washington Post political reporter and columnist, asked Mr. Quayle about the Administration's opposition to a bill aimed at limiting cable television rates.

MR. BRODER: *Doesn't that sound like a case where the public is getting shafted and there may be a need for local regulation or F.C.C. regulation?*

MR. QUAYLE: Yeah. There is F.C.C. regulation. There is regulation.

Q. *There's not control of rates or service.*

A. That's true, but there is ——

Q. *Well, tell me in simple terms that people can understand: Why shouldn't they be regulated?*

A. O.K., simple terms, here's the choice. Here's the choice in simple terms. Are you going to try to constrain the price increase through regulation or through genuine competition? Our preference is to do it through genuine competition.

Q. *But there isn't genuine competition.*

A. That's right. Because you have — but the cities that grant these things can certainly be more competitive and have more openness if they're ——

Q. *So your suggestion is that they go out and have two or three different companies wire these communities to get competition?*

A. I'm not going to get into the micromanagement of the cable industry.

In the last month, Mr. Quayle has visited a number of hospitals to highlight the Administration's position on health care. But his well-informed audiences have often found his presentations shallow. When a woman at a hospital in Colorado Springs asked Mr. Quayle last week whether Hawaii's universal health-care plan might serve as a national model, Mr. Quayle left it unclear whether he knew anything about the plan. He tackled the question anyway.

Arriving Unprepared

"Hawaii is a unique state," he said. "It is a small state. It is a state that is by itself. It is a — it is different than the other 49 states. Well, all states are different, but it's got a particularly unique situation."

Mr. Quayle also suffers at times from a lack of preparation. In late August he called a news conference while touring a high-technology factory near Detroit to announce that the Pentagon would spend $300 million to upgrade the Army's M-1 tanks at a Michigan plant. But when reporters asked Mr. Quayle how the tanks would be upgraded and how many jobs would be saved, he had no idea.

"I guess you'll have to ask the details to the management," Mr. Quayle said, standing next to Gov. John Engler of Michigan. "I am here. The Governor and I are announcing this today. It was just signed off on by the Department of Defense as something that we have been monitoring, and the Governor obviously has been very involved in this. And we're making this announcement today."

There are times, of course, when obfuscation is deliberate. The Vice President has shown great skill, for instance, in muddying his position on abortion. He has said in recent interviews that he supports the Republican platform, which calls for a total ban on abortion. But he has been careful not to utter the phrase "constitutional ban," and he has said that he also supports Pennsylvania's abortion law, which would simply restrict abortion.

Playing Down the Debate

Aides to Mr. Quayle and to the Bush campaign said they are not concerned about Mr. Quayle's performance in the debate, even though Senator Al Gore, his Democratic opponent, is known for his mastery of policy details. The Vice-Presidential debate will be a minor event compared with the three Presidential debates, they said. And they are confident that Mr. Quayle, who has been reading briefing books for more than a month, will be ready for the challenge.

Mr. Quayle and his staff also believe that the Vice President is beautifully positioned because low expectations could transform a mere draw into a victory. But they recognize that Mr. Quayle will have little margin for error because of the public's perception of him as a bumbler.

"That's the problem with being Dan Quayle," said one aide, who spoke on the condition of anonymity. "Sometimes there's a data download as he's shifting gears. But I think he knows the issues better than most people think."



Associated Press

Vice President Dan Quayle acknowledged applause yesterday after speaking in Los Angeles. Mr. Quayle and his aides see the Vice-Presidential debate on Oct. 13 as their best opportunity to enhance his image.

Questions about Quayle's intellectual grasp.

Great performances with a text.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Campaign Finances

G.O.P. Appeals To Legislators For Donations

Party Seeks War Chests of Retiring Politicians

By STEPHEN LABATON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6 — With their receipts lagging behind those of the Democrats for the third month in a row, Republican fund-raisers in recent weeks have begun asking retiring members of Congress to donate their political war chests to the party to help President Bush's re-election effort.

The new appeal for donations, reported by a significant Republican fund-raiser who spoke only on the condition of anonymity, is the latest sign of the Bush campaign's difficulty in raising money as the President has trailed Gov. Bill Clinton in the polls.

It was unclear how many 26 retiring Republican lawmakers have been contacted or how much any of them has given to the Republican National Committee, but the fund-raiser estimated that $3 million could be obtained from retiring lawmakers.

Big Money Favors Democrats

The fund-raising success of the two major parties is an important, though inconclusive, barometer of their candidates' standing. That the Clinton campaign has raised $44.3 million since the beginning of July while the Bush camp has raised about $26 million in the same period suggests that the big money is betting on a Democratic victory.

Still, the Bush-Quayle campaign will have enough money to continue its campaign, and the fact that the Democratic nominee, Michael S. Dukakis, raised more money that Mr. Bush in 1988 demonstrates that fund-raising prowess alone is not decisive.

Officially, Republican fund-raisers insist that the tide has turned after a summer slump. B. Jay Cooper, a spokesman for the Republican National Committee, said the party had raised $11 million in September, which he said was the second best month in the party's history.

Big contributors seem to be deserting the Republicans.

But privately, Republican fund-raisers concede that there are far fewer large donors than in 1988 and that the party continues to have difficulty because polls have consistently shown Mr. Bush behind Mr. Clinton.

The Democrats meanwhile reported raising $15.67 million in September. About a quarter of that came from direct-mail solicitations, said Rahm Emanuel, finance director of the Clinton campaign.

If the Democrats continue to meet their targets and raise $10 million in October, they will surpass the record of $53 million in party collections set during Mr. Dukakis's general-election campaign.

Decline in Fortunes

Most of the donations being reported are to the parties generally, not specifically to the two Presidential candidates. This "soft money" nevertheless benefits the Presidential contenders by paying for wide-ranging functions like drives to get out the vote.

For much of the year the Republicans had raised more money than Democrats by as much as 3 to 1, but their fortunes began to slide with Mr. Bush's decline in the polls this summer.

Critics of the two parties' multimillion-dollar machines say the contributions make a mockery of the Federal election laws written in the post-Watergate era that were intended to limit the influence of big money in the elections.

Under the rules, candidates agree that in exchange for a $55 million Federal contribution, they will forgo any direct contributions aside from the $10 million that the parties are permitted to spend on the campaigns. But there is no limit to the contributions raised by the parties that are funneled to pivotal states for local candidates, and for voter and registration drives.

Ross Perot is not eligible for the $55 million Federal contribution because Federal election rules make eligible only parties that have received a certain percentage of the vote in the previous election. He has said he would not accept the money in any case because he says it has a corrosive influence on politics. Mr. Perot, whose fortune exceeds $2 billion, has pledged to spend as much of it as he thinks is necessary to win.

Aides to Mr. Clinton said the Governor's money machine had done well enough for him to avoid a heavy fund-raising schedule this month and concentrate instead on the campaign.

But with the Republicans lagging in raising money, Mr. Bush will have to spend more time this month in search of contributions. The party hopes to raise several million dollars on Oct. 8 at an event featuring Mr. Bush and former Presidents Gerald R. Ford and Ronald Reagan; it will be beamed by satellite to party gatherings in more than 20 cities.

Studies of filings with the Federal Election Commission show that the largest contributors to the Democrats this summer have been the television and movie industries. The largest contributors to the Republicans have been the securities industry and oil and gas

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

In Family-Leave Debate, A Profound Ambivalence

By FELICITY BARRINGER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6 — Mary Wendy Roberts, the labor commissioner of Oregon, set out in 1988 to guarantee most of the state's work force — 47 percent of which is women — the right to 12 weeks' unpaid leave when they give birth, adopt a child or need to care for a sick relative. Her strategy: show lawmakers that their own families or friends had a stake.

"We'd say: 'You've got grandkids. Was your daughter able to take time off?' " Ms. Roberts recalled. "The work force has changed so dramatically that people making decisions can't close themselves off from it. Someone, either in their family or among people they knew, would be coming to them and saying, 'Hey, I need that.' "

In Oregon, the politics of the personal worked. In other states, like Florida, with its high proportion of elderly citizens or Utah, despite having one of the highest proportions of working mothers in the nation, mandated family leave has been a nonstarter.

Deep Ambivalence

The fate of this issue, debated for a decade from county office buildings to the White House, reflects Americans' deep ambivalence as they grapple with new patterns of motherhood.

As the ranks of working mothers grow, personal doubts about how best to raise small children have multiplied. This uncertainty has its parallel in the often hesitant responses of government to what many working mothers or single parents say are pressing needs.

In the Presidential campaign, image-makers for both Democrats and Republicans have stumbled while trying to figure out which maternal symbol — often, which dimension of which political wife — best fits the national fancy.

Meanwhile, around the country, a more fundamental debate is going on: whether the new realities of mothers and work, which reflect deep economic and social trends, warrant revising the social contract between government, businesses and families.

Enter Politics

"We've never had the Federal or state support that's necessary to make the new American family work properly," said Edward F. Zigler, professor of psychology at Yale University and a leading authority on child development. Dr. Zigler and many other students of the changing family favor generous leave policies, national efforts to make higher-quality child care more widely accessible and encouragement of more flexible working arrangements for parents. But conservative opponents say measures like these are often best left to the marketplace.

Early in the Presidential campaign, Republicans presented themselves as champions of tra-

Continued on Page A22, Column 1

The Good Mother

Last of four articles:
Searching for a Policy

1 of 2

The New York Times

NEW YORK WEDNESDAY OCTOBER

Ambivalence on Family Leave Thwarts Solutions

Continued From Page A1

ditional family values. At the convention, speakers went out of their way to praise mothers who stayed home with the kids.

When it came to the practical question of family leave, though, President Bush, vetoed a comparatively mild bill that, in principle, would have helped some mothers do just that. The bill required only companies with 50 or more employees to give new mothers 12 weeks of unpaid leave. It was his second veto of such a measure.

Mr. Bush, who says he supports the concept of leave, said he thought it was wrong to impose another government mandate on business and proposed an alternative plan built on tax credits for cooperative employers.

Proposals like the most recent legislation have had mixed success, embraced by some counties and states and shunned by others despite the vast increase of working mothers. Nearly 60 percent of mothers with children under age 6 worked in 1990, according to the 1990 census, as did 75 percent of mothers with children age 6 to 17.

In insecure economic times, Mr. Bush may not pay much of a political price for vetoing a generally popular measure like the Family and Medical Care Leave Act. In a New York Times/CBS News poll earlier this week, 57 percent of those queried said that Mr. Bush should have signed the bill. Another 36 percent said he did the right thing by vetoing it.

"Part of the background for this has always been that family issues are outside of the government domain," said Barbara Willer, Public Affairs Director of the National Association for the Education of Young Children. "As a family member, it's your responsibility to work that out on your own. That's made it more difficult in terms of mobilizing action around this issue."

Women Struggle To Define Interests

As working women drift toward a new status as an interest group, they are struggling to define where their interests lie — when they have time to look beyond the next item on the "To Do" list. Researchers say that, while many would cherish the right to 12 weeks leave, some could not afford to go that long without a paycheck anyway. But proposals to require paid maternity leave, common in many other industrial countries with different social and economic traditions, got nowhere.

And not all mothers agree with the proposition that government ought to mandate family leave. "Family accommodation is crucial," said Merrie Spaeth, a free-market conservative and former aide to President Ronald Reagan who now has a public-relations business in Dallas. "But mandated family leave is a catastrophe to small business. It hurts women and minority-owned businesses most."

Many of those who could benefit most from the law have the least time to push for it. "The very people who are desperate for a national policy to deal with their struggles in juggling family and work responsibilities are the least able to become major advocates," said Judith Lichtman, executive director of the Women's Legal Defense Fund. "They don't have the time or the energy. They're struggling to keep their heads above water."

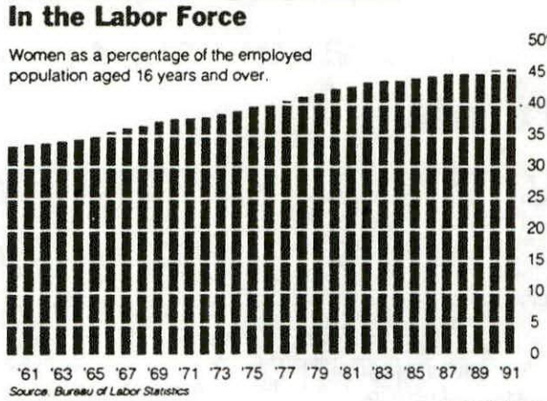
Dr. Zigler said the sheer numbers of women in the workplace had produced new support from another quarter: older men, whose daughters are likely to be working. "It's certainly true in the business community," he said. "These people are being educated. In the case of many business leaders, their wives never worked. But daughters are turning a lot of these people around."

Dr. Zigler, who has pushed for family leave guarantees for 30 years, is puzzled that the United States remains the only industrial democracy without mandated family leave. He marvels at the resistance even to unpaid leaves, when Japan and many European counties offer full or partial salaries.

"Part of it," he said, "has been this tremendous ambivalence in the country. There is a strong, forceful group very unhappy about women in the out-of-home work force," he added, referring to conservative ministers like the Rev. Pat Robertson.

Women's Growing Importance In the Labor Force

Women as a percentage of the employed population aged 16 years and over.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

The New York Times

But the more visible opposition to family leave proposals has come from business, often represented by the Chamber of Commerce. Their view is that many larger employers covered in the proposals — most of which exempt businesses with fewer than 50 employees — already do enough, and that smaller businesses have less flexibility and often cannot bear the financial burden.

In a 1991 survey of Oregon, Rhode Island, Minnesota and Wisconsin, all states with new leave laws, the Families and Work Institute, a nonprofit research group in New York, found that 83 percent of employers had offered at least some disability leave to new mothers even before the law was passed. More than half of 583 employers surveyed found that implementation of the laws was "extremely easy" (33 percent) or "moderately easy" (19 percent). Still, up to 4 percent of working mothers surveyed in those states reported that in previous years they had lost their jobs after taking maternity leave.

Twenty-five states have enacted parental or family leave bills, but seven cover only state or public employees, according to the institute.

In the nation's capital, large majorities of both houses of Congress have passed family leave measures twice, only to see them vetoed. "In any place that gets family leave legislation passed, there's a history of it being introduced and defeated and introduced and defeated and then they eventually win," said Ellen Galinsky, co-president of the Families and Work Institute.

National day-care legislation that eventually became part of the Child Care Development Block Grant in 1990 followed a similar pattern. It began with a 1971 proposal for a Child Development program vetoed by President Richard M. Nixon, who endorsed the goals but said the legislation promised "fiscal instability" and included "family-weakening implications."

When President Bush signed it into law in a compromise with Congress, the measure funneled $2.5 billion to the states over three years, designating it as aid to working parents — in most cases low-income working parents — to subsidize child care. Nationwide about 750,000 children, and their parents, are expected to benefit.

But it remains hard, researchers have found, for many middle-class parents to find child care that is affordable and of high quality. In many day-care centers, staff turnover is high, for example, in part because wages are barely above poverty level. Improving day care on a large scale will be costly, either for parents, government or business.

Assessing Models From Overseas

It is probably no coincidence that many states first passed family leave laws in the late 1980's, when for the first time more than half of all women went back to work inside one year of giving birth.

From 1975 to 1985 the percentage of women who were working or looking for a job rose from 46 percent to 58 percent, according to Federal data, and now, women account for nearly half of all workers in the labor force.

The last time American women flooded into the work force was during World War II, when Rosie the Riveter became a role model. In 1944, 16 million women composed one-third of the nation's work force, according to Meryl Frank and Robyn Lipner of Yale's Infant Care Project. The Federal government opened 3,000 day-care centers for the 1.5 million children of these working women. In 1945, it closed 2,800 of them.

In Europe, social policy took a different route after the war, often oriented toward helping working parents stay home after the birth of a child. Sheila B. Kamerman, a professor at Columbia University's School of Social Work, notes that most European countries, including Austria, France, Germany, Sweden and Finland, now provide paid, job-protected leaves of at least five months. Some offer a year or more. Many give women the right to work part time for a limited period after the maternity leave ends.

Not all observers feel this country needs to follow Europe's lead. "I'm not sure if I like the European model for America," said Burton Y. Pines, director of the conservative National Center for Public Policy Research. "If you say we're being different from Europe, I'd say, 'Good.' We've always had a looser employee system here in America.A conservative would say family leave is between employer and employee."

Not All Women Press for Leave

Women themselves are not all marching shoulder to shoulder with family leave banners waving. When Dade County, the only jurisdiction in Florida with a family leave ordinance, approved the measure — requiring businesses with 50 or more employees to offer 12 weeks' unpaid leave, but exempting higher-paid and executive employees — the only woman on the nine-member county board cast the only "nay" vote.

In the few months since the Dade County ordinance took effect, only three complaints have been filed, said Toni Margulies-Eisner, Chairwoman of Dade County's Equal Opportunity Board. Ms. Margulies-Eisner said she believed this is a sign the ordinance is working.

To some extent, lobbyists for women's groups have taken up family issues like these.

But Ms. Margulies-Eisner said she was not sure how family leave fits in the priorities lists of some women's groups. "I would hope that women as mothers — as opposed to feminists — could be a rallying point," she said. "But we trip over our own best interests for stupid reasons. We ask 'Is it a politically correct thing to do? Is it a feminist activity? Am I aligning myself with the right people?' "

Judith Lichtman of the Women's Legal Defense Fund said: "Women understand that this affects them and that they deserve family leave. But we now have to translate that into the feeling that yes, we not only need it and deserve it — but we can get it, if we hold politicians accountable."

More national news appears on page D19.

The New York Times | CBS NEWS Poll

Support for Family Leave

Do you think George Bush should have signed the family leave bill, or did he do the right thing in refusing to sign the bill?

	Should have signed it	Did the right thing
Total	**57%**	**36%**
Men	51	43
Women	62	31
Bush supporters	31	62
Clinton supporters	77	19
Republicans	36	57
Independents	59	36
Democrats	71	21
Whites	53	40
Blacks	78	12
Income less than $15,000	59	33
$15,000-$30,000	61	30
$30,000-$50,000	56	37
$50,000-$75,000	48	48
Over $75,000	49	47
Working mothers	66	29
Working fathers	52	40

Based on nationwide telephone interviews with 1,252 adults conducted Oct. 2-4. Those with no opinion are not shown.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Presidential Candidates Ignore Banking Problem

By STEPHEN LABATON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6 — Six weeks after the November elections, a new banking law will go into effect that will force the President to confront what will certainly be one of the most unpleasant challenges of his Administration: the plight of the nation's banks.

The insurance fund that protects deposits is already $5.5 billion in the red and is supposed to stand behind $3 trillion worth of deposits. It will be called upon to protect thousands of depositors at hundreds of institutions expected to collapse next year. Yet the Presidential contenders have barely mentioned the issue.

The omission illustrates a classic political calculation: there is no percentage in offering voters a choice between pain and agony.

Against the Grain of Politics

"The art of politics is ostentatious giving and surreptitious taking," said Roger J. Vaughan, an economist who was an adviser to Hugh L. Carey when Mr. Carey was Governor of New York. "Banking reform is ostentatious taking and surreptitious giving."

> Left until after the election: what to do about the failing banks.

On Monday, Mr. Vaughan and Edward W. Hill, an associate professor at Cleveland State University, made public their two-year study of the banking industry. It paints a bleak picture. Even less pessimistic experts concur that the industry's precarious condition will be one of the first huge problems confronting the next Administration.

It is a puzzle to which all the solutions hurt someone. To limit taxpayers' liability by reducing Federal insurance coverage is to expose depositors in weak banks to greater losses. To impose tighter Government supervision of banks is to discourage them from lending, thus further depressing the weak economy. To loosen regulation could mean more bank failures and bailouts — at considerable cost to taxpayers.

The new banking law requires regulators to protect depositors by seizing weak banks, which as the Federal Reserve noted in internal documents six months ago will put regulators "under considerable strain" in 1993. The old law permitted the regulators to wait until the banks went insolvent.

Financial issues in this election year have taken on an almost radioactive aura. Congress is expected to adjourn without providing any new money for the savings and loan bailout, which stalled after its spending authority expired in April. Nor has the White House done any meaningful lobbying for the program. The delay is expected to raise costs by hundreds of millions of dollars.

Why the Issue Is Ignored

Lawmakers, bankers and industry experts give these reasons that the banking problem has been off the Presidential candidates' agendas:

¶The banks in the gravest conditions are in states that hold the largest number of electoral votes — California, Florida, New Jersey, New York and Texas. Bankers from many of those states have lobbied Washington hard to ease up on regulations that would force them to write off bad loans.

¶Further limiting deposit insurance would reduce the Government's overall liability, but the idea has never gained serious political consideration because insurance, like Social Security, is viewed as an entitlement.

¶The banking industry is deeply divided between strong, profitable institutions and weak ones. Aggregate earnings suggest that the industry is far stronger than it really is, since the collapse of only one or a handful of large institutions could be calamitous.

¶For politicians, banking changes are never a winning issue. They involve complex, technical issues that few voters understand, and since virtually all depositors have so far been protected by deposit insurance, most voters have not felt the crisis directly.

¶Both political parties have argued for measures to encourage more corporate lending to fight recession. Those measures are often at odds with tighter banking regulations.

Both Candidates Are Vulnerable

Furthermore, the Bush and Clinton camps both have Achilles' heels. President Bush's Administration woefully underestimated the magnitude of the savings and loan debacle, and his aides wrote the inadequate 1989 savings and loan law. His son Neil was a director of one of the largest failed institutions.

Gov. Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary, have business ties to a failed Arkansas savings association that she represented before a state regulator appointed by her husband. And four of the so-called Keating Five senators, who were investigated by an ethics panel for intervening on behalf of a corrupt savings and loan executive, were Democrats.

As of June, the bank insurance fund was $5.5 billion in deficit, battered by more than 1,000 failures over the last five years, and it is too early to measure the ultimate costs of a banking crisis with further failures.

The study of the banking industry by Mr. Vaughan and Professor Hill concludes startlingly that protecting depositors could cost taxpayers $100 billion over the next decade. The study, published by the Washington Post Company Briefing Books, estimates that one-sixth of the nation's banks are already effectively insolvent.

Los Angeles Times

10/7/92

Quayle, Campaigning in L.A., Raises Issue of Jobs

By ROBERT L. JACKSON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Vice President Dan Quayle, capping a full day of campaigning in the Los Angeles area, told hundreds of Northrop Corp. aerospace workers Tuesday their jobs would be in jeopardy if Democrat Bill Clinton is elected President.

Speaking in a cavernous hangar at Northrop's plant in El Segundo, Quayle said that Clinton, backed by a Democratic Congress, would cut the U.S. defense budget so drastically as to furlough thousands of employees.

"We won't let them do it!" the Vice President shouted as the crowd of 400 Northrop employees roared their approval. "We will continue to build F-18s at this plant as long as George Bush is president."

He added: "We think America is still the best in national security and we'll keep America strong. But security also means job security."

Quayle was emphasizing a theme developed earlier in the campaign when Bush himself spoke in favor of a strong defense industry in an appearance in Orange County. Clinton and his running mate, Sen. Al Gore, instead have been speaking in favor of "defense conversion," pushing conversion of aerospace companies from military production to civilian manufacturing.

At his first public appearance of the day, a Republican breakfast in Encino, Quayle said the Democrats "would slash defense irresponsibly and destroy hundreds of thousands of jobs in the process."

"They talk about putting people first," he said. "But the first thing they'd do is put people on the street. Voters, especially here in Southern California, should know that voting for these defense cuts will turn the aerospace and defense job situation into a wasteland."

Quayle told his breakfast audience, an enthusiastic, partisan crowd of 500, that he wanted to give them "a wake-up call" on what a Clinton victory would mean.

"You would no longer have a gridlock Congress, as we have today," he said. "You would have a runaway Congress and a rubber-stamp President."

He said that for the last four years, "our President has been the safety valve against the big-spending, empower-government attitude on Capitol Hill. A Clinton victory would mean a return of the Carter whiz team that put this country in an economic, military and competitive ditch."

Quayle also visited St. Francis Medical Center in Lynwood and greeted patients in the cardiac and physical therapy wards. Running 40 minutes late at the time, he laughed when a woman shook his hand and said, "Thank you for finally showing up."

He spoke briefly at a fund-raising dinner for the National Republican Congressional Committee before departing for Fresno Tuesday evening.

Competing Plans for Prosperity

■ With the economy the main election issue, presidential candidates are mapping out divergent routes to fiscal health, and they envision different roles for the government.

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

David Fish remembers what it was like when he was younger, when his father worked on the line at Chrysler, and every night rolled up the driveway to their home in the suburbs of Detroit behind the wheel of a 1971 Chrysler New Yorker, a 350-horsepower monument to the majesty of the American auto industry.

"When I was a kid, I thought we were the richest people in the world," Fish said one day last spring, as he sat over a slice of pizza in a Roseville, Mich., shopping mall. "My father's goal was to have enough money to become a Republican."

Today Fish, a beefy, open man in his 20s, isn't sure what went wrong. He went to college, which his father never did, and earned his degree in history. Now he's working nights, as a nurse's assistant in a mental health hospital, and making only "enough to get by."

"It's just not like I thought it would be," he said less in anger than confusion. "In my dad's day, you could go out and start at $25,000, work your way up, raise a family. Now business has you by the *co ones*."

The vast expanse between the economy in which David Fish is struggling and the one where his father prospered is the terrain on which the 1992 presidential campaign is being fought.

Today the median family income adjusted for inflation is slightly lower than it was in 1973—a period of sustained income stagnation unmatched in this century except during the Depression, economic historians say.

The lingering recession has forced into focus anxieties rooted in those numbers about living standards, jobs, upward mobility and America's ability to compete in the global economy. "There's no question voter concern about the economy transcends the immediate impact of the recession," says Democratic pollster Mark Mellman.

In a recent Gallup Poll, nearly 80% of those surveyed said the United States is in an economic decline.

Over two-thirds said they were worried that young Americans would not be able to live as well as their parents.

That unease is dictating the agenda for the men seeking the White House. In this first post-Cold War election, President Bush, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and independent Ross Perot are struggling above all to persuade voters they have the right battle plan to restore America's strength in the global economic competition and resume the growth in living standards that voters like Fish once assumed was their birthright.

Please see PLAN, A7

On some individual issues, such as job training or access to college education, Clinton and Bush offer similar ideas. But the plans the two men have presented diverge at their cores—in their assessment of the nation's economic problem, and government's role in responding to it. Clinton says the United States is slipping behind its foreign competitors and must undertake fundamental reforms to reverse the slide. He pins his hopes for economic renewal on closer partnership between Washington and business, and more spending on what he calls the building blocks of productivity—education, training, research, infrastructure. In all, Clinton wants to carve out for government an aggressive role in promoting prosperity reminiscent of Germany or Japan.

Bush insists the nation's problems are not so bleak. He says Clinton is "absolutely wrong" to maintain the U.S. economy is in economic decline, and condemns his opponent's activist agenda as "social engineering." Bush says the key to long-term prosperity is limiting government, removing regulatory shackles on business and increasing exports by establishing vast new free trade zones, like the one the President will sign today with leaders from Canada and Mexico in San Antonio.

Open Trade Hazards

Though he hasn't fleshed out his views in as much detail, Perot is closer to Clinton than Bush in both his assessment of America's position and his response. If anything, Perot is more skeptical of open trade and more supportive of direct government cooperation with business than Clinton.

Perhaps more than any presidential candidate before him, Clinton has centered his campaign on addressing the squeeze on American living standards. His speeches are studded with comparisons to Germany and Japan, and he rarely leaves a podium without warning that American workers and firms are losing ground.

His response reflects the new consensus in liberal thinking exemplified in writings by such analysts as Robert Reich and Ira Magaziner, two of his closest advisers.

In an increasingly globalized economy, Clinton argues, low-skill workers in industrialized countries face inexorable downward pressure on their incomes because they are competing with men and women in the Third World who will work for a fraction of their hourly wage.

Implicitly, Clinton acknowledges that nothing can be done to protect those highly-paid and relatively low-skill manufacturing jobs—to restore the world in which David Fish's father thrived. "No person running for office can reasonably promise to make the American economy the way it used to be," he said recently.

Protectionism isn't the answer because too much of the U.S. economy now depends on trade, Clinton maintains. (With qualifications, Clinton endorsed the Mexican free trade agreement last Sunday.) Instead, he says, the only way to reinvigorate the domestic economy is to move more workers into high-value manufacturing and services by increasing the incentives for private investment and undertaking dramatic efforts to increase Americans' education and skills.

That philosophy has launched a veritable armada of specific policy proposals from Clinton, in four basic areas:

- To increase skills, Clinton would create a new federal trust fund that would allow all young people to borrow money for college, launch a national apprenticeship program for young people not bound for college and require all employers to spend 1.5% of their payroll training their work force, or pay an equivalent sum into a federal program to provide such training.
- To encourage private investment, Clinton would make permanent an existing tax credit for research and development, offer an investment tax credit and cut capital gains taxes 50% for entrepreneurs who start new businesses and hold onto them for at least five years.
- To increase public investment, Clinton would shift federal dollars from military to civilian research and development and establish a Rebuild America Fund that would spend $20 billion annually to rebuild roads and bridges, develop new environmental technologies and construct advanced computer and communications networks.
- To control health care costs, which he says burden American companies more heavily than their competitors, Clinton would require all employers to insure their workers but impose stringent price controls through a new national health care board.

Looking to sharpen the ideological divide, Bush contends that Clinton's agenda amounts to control of American society by "a new economic elite of the so-called best and brightest."

On the campaign trail, the President emphasizes measures to roll back government. His Agenda for American Renewal cites as the fundamentals for economic growth: "lower tax rates, limits on government spending, greater competition, less economic regulation, sound money, and more open trade . . ."

In the past two months, Bush has promised an across-the-board tax cut, additional tax reductions for small business and a mechanism that would allow Americans to divert up to 10% of their taxes from government operation toward deficit reduction. All this follows his long-standing proposal to cut capital gains taxes almost in half.

Education Reform

Bush has also stressed the need to reform the education system by providing parents with vouchers they could use to help send their children to private schools and thus use the force of competition as a bludgeon for change in the public schools. And he has actively promoted measures to limit lawsuits against American business—particularly product liability cases from consumers claiming they were injured by faulty products—that he says inhibit American competitiveness. He has also promised a one-year moratorium on most federal regulation.

Most sweepingly, he has raised the possibility of boosting exports by extending the free trade zone he negotiated with Mexico and Canada through Central and South America, and eventually into parts of Asia and Eastern Europe.

All of these initiatives are designed to limit government influence over the economy. That's

10/7/92

where Bush wants to draw his line with Clinton: "The most fundamental disagreement between us," the President says, "[is] whether the driving engine of growth is government interventionism or entrepreneurial capitalism."

But at the same time, the President has emulated several Clinton proposals that expand government. He has recently offered a new job training voucher, a new program to help all students obtain access to funding for college and has also promised to extend an apprenticeship program, now being tested in six states, to all 50.

Even on the use of government to direct technological investment—the "industrial policy" which he constantly derides—Bush has sent mixed signals.

His Administration has resisted funding increases for several Democratic initiatives, such as a Commerce Department program that works with business to develop advanced technologies. But on the campaign trail Bush trumpets his support for greater cooperation between federal labs and business. He has also backed substantial increases in federal spending on research in high performance computing, biotechnology and advanced manufacturing research, as well as the creation of a government industry consortium to develop advanced electric batteries. By almost any accepted definition, experts say many of those activities qualify as industrial policy.

"I think there has been a real tug-of-war in the Administration between those who have tried to push the President toward some kind of rational technology policy, and those who have said don't touch this with a 10-foot pole, and the result has been a muddle," said Sen. Jeff Bingaman (D-N.M.), a leading Democratic voice on technology policy.

Investment Capital

Perot actually takes a more traditionally liberal line on many of these questions than Clinton. He has repeatedly criticized the proposed Mexican Free Trade Agreement as a threat to U.S. jobs and called for the United States to toughen its stand in trade negotiations against Japan and other competitors. And he has urged a more extensive industrial policy than even Clinton, calling on Washington to "target and support" new industries.

In his campaign manifesto, United We Stand, Perot writes: "To keep . . . our nation competitive, new industries sometimes need to be fertilized and incubated." Exactly what Perot means by such language isn't clear; but at various points in his career, he has called for the United States to develop its own version of the Japanese government agency—MITI—that works intimately with business to plot strategy and develop new technologies.

Beyond his interest in industrial policy, Perot places most of his chips for economic revival on increasing the availability of capital for investment. In contrast to Clinton's plan, his agenda offers little on improving education or worker skills. He focuses instead on measures to increase national saving and investment; but he also proposes a series of tax incentives to funnel more investment toward start-up companies.

On one point, there is virtually bipartisan agreement about these plans: Both Clinton and Bush come under fire for failing to confront the federal budget deficit aggressively enough. Perot has cited that failure as a principal reason he returned to the race. He has offered an ambitious plan to eliminate the deficit through across-the-board spending cuts, a 50-cent-per-gallon hike in the gasoline tax over five years, a small rise in income tax rates and increased taxes on Social Security benefits.

Not only political but economic dangers loom: Some believe that either Clinton or Bush face the prospect of a revolt in the financial markets next year if they don't revise their plans to more boldly address the deficit.

"The financial markets will bring them to their knees, either by causing long-term interest rates to rise or causing a crisis in the dollar," predicts investment banker Jeffrey E. Garten, author of "A Cold Peace," a recent book on relations between America, Germany and Japan.

Analysts assess Perot's agenda largely by how much importance they place on rapidly reducing the deficit. Those who consider deficit-reduction the cornerstone of long-term economic strategy worry that such substantial tax hikes and spending cuts would further depress the economy for the next several years.

Opinions about the Bush and Clinton plans divide largely along entrenched ideological lines.

Liberals say Bush's promises to revive the economy by again cutting taxes ignores the evidence of the past 12 years. Others question his commitment to expanding federal efforts on job training or access to college, noting he has paid little attention to such concerns before the campaign. And some worry that his sweeping proposals to ring the globe with new free trade zones would make it easier for U.S. manufacturers to shift jobs abroad and greatly intensify the downward pressure on wages for low-skill workers at home.

"He is just going to pit the bottom third of our workers against 60-cents and 80-cents-an-hour workers abroad," says Pat Choate, an author and economic consultant based in Washington. "If you get these agreements you are permanently capping the wages of that bottom third of our workers at the minimum wage."

Conservatives, meanwhile, are skeptical that Clinton's new spending in areas such as education will do much good unless coupled with more system-wide reforms, such as private school vouchers, which he opposes. And many question whether his infrastructure investments will be guided by economic necessity or pork barrel priorities on Capitol Hill. Many business lobbyists say Clinton's tax, health care and environmental proposals will inhibit their ability to compete.

But there are signs this year that these familiar ideological divides are breaking down. For a Democrat, Clinton has secured unusually broad support from the business community, particularly among high-technology companies.

Bingaman says such gestures are a sign that even many business leaders—frustrated by competing with German and Japanese companies working closely with their governments—are ready for Washington to play a more assertive role. John Young, the chief executive officer of Hewlett-Packard Co. and a Republican who chaired a commission on competitiveness for President Ronald Reagan, said as much when he endorsed Clinton in September: "To be successful as a nation, we have to forge a private sector-public sector partnership."

Parting of Ways

But some economists note that it remains a leap of faith to assume that such an interventionist government will strengthen America's long-term competitive position more than the largely laissez faire policies of the Reagan and Bush era.

It is along this border that Bush and Clinton fundamentally part ways. At the bottom line, Clinton believes purposeful government action can make things better; Bush's instinct is that government tends to gum up whatever it attempts, so it is best to attempt little.

"Bush says the U.S. is going to rebound on its own and the right kind of public policy is a minimalist one," says Garten. "Clinton is saying we've got to fundamentally restructure our systems." On that spectrum, Perot comes out nearer to Clinton—though it's still unclear whether he can regain enough credibility to exert much influence on the economic debate.

While that remains an open question, Clinton and Bush agree on at least one point: When voters go to the polls in November, they will be choosing between two very different visions of the road to lasting prosperity, and equally divergent philosophies of government's role in building it.

Los Angeles Times

10/7/92

Increasing Competitiveness: The Candidates' Proposals

Here's a snapshot of the proposals President Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot have offered to increase U.S. economic competitiveness.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY

Bush: Has increased funding for advanced technological research, but he generally resists calls for greater business-government joint planning as misguided effort to pick "winners and losers" in the economy.

Clinton: Proposes creating a federal agency to fund research into cutting-edge domestic technologies, establishing a national network of 170 manufacturing centers to help small companies adopt advanced production techniques, and launching a $20-billion annual investment in rebuilding roads and bridges and constructing advanced transportation and communications networks.

Perot: Calls for government to work closely with business to "target and stimulate new industries, applications and inventions."

TRADE

Bush: Negotiated North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico and Canada; proposes to extend free trade zones through Central and South America, and into portions of Asia and Eastern Europe.

Clinton: After weeks of hesitation endorsed free trade agreement last Sunday but said he would not sign the treaty unless the U.S. reached agreement on additional measures to protect American jobs, and ensure protection of the environment and worker rights in Mexico; promises to toughen stand against Japan but warns against protectionism.

Perot: Criticizes proposed free-trade agreement with Mexico as a potential threat to U.S. jobs and promises a much tougher posture toward Japan in trade negotiations.

ACCESS TO CAPITAL

Bush: Has strongly pushed for across-the-board capital gains tax; recently proposed additional tax cut for entrepreneurs starting new companies similar to long-standing Clinton proposal. Would make permanent existing tax credit for research and development and offer additional tax breaks for new investments in machinery.

Clinton: Would cut capital gains only for entrepeneurs starting new companies; supports tax credit for new business investment, and would also make permanent existing research and development credit.

Perot: Would eliminate capital gains taxes on investments in start-up companies; reduce capital gains for investments in other companies held more than five years; explore other means of increasing savings, such as tax-free personal savings accounts. Also backs investment and research tax credits.

EDUCATION AND SKILLS

Bush: Builds his educational reform agenda around vouchers that would help parents send their children to private schools, would establish a fund from which all Americans could borrow up to $25,000 for college and recently proposed to create job training vouchers worth up to $3,000 for all dislocated workers and expand apprenticeship programs for young people not bound for college.

Clinton: Would fully fund Head Start program and create a national apprenticeship program for non-college bound students; would create a trust fund from which all Americans could borrow money for college, paying back the debt either as a percentage of income over time or through two years of national service; would require all companies to spend at least 1.5% of their payroll on worker training or contribute an equivalent sum into a national program to provide such training.

Perot: Offers no proposals to increase access to higher education or job training in his campaign manifesto, but existing programs would face 15% reductions, as part of his proposed across-the-board cuts in all discretionary federal spending.

—Ronald Brownstein

Los Angeles Times

Clinton Holds Big Lead Over Bush; Perot Fades

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

Heading into the upcoming gantlet of presidential debates, Democrat Bill Clinton holds a wide lead over President Bush, while Ross Perot draws little support, a new nationwide Times Poll has found.

With the election less than a month away, 48% of those polled say they back Clinton, 34% are for Bush and just 9% support Perot, according to the survey. One in eleven voters say they are still undecided.

The poll shows Clinton assembling an especially broad coalition: He leads Bush and Perot among men and women, among blacks and whites and among all income, education and age groups. At the same time, the President is still struggling to consolidate his base: Four years ago, he won 92% of Republicans; in the latest survey, he is drawing just two-thirds.

Perot, who announced his independent candidacy last Thursday, returns to the race under a cloud. Despite his claims to the contrary, more than three-fourths of those polled say they believe that the Texas businessman, not his volunteers, make the important decisions in his campaign. Just 15% of those surveyed have a positive impression of Perot, whereas fully 66% view him negatively; among that latter group, two-thirds expressed very negative feelings toward him.

That level of disdain dwarfs the negative sentiment various polls recorded toward such controversial figures as the Rev. Jesse Jackson, TV commentator Patrick J. Buchanan or even Gary Hart after he returned to the 1988 presidential race amid accusations of extramarital affairs.

Only 23% of those who say they supported Perot before he decided against declaring his candidacy in July back him now. By contrast, 45% of his former supporters prefer Clinton, and 24% prefer Bush.

The Times Poll, supervised by John Brennan, was conducted from Friday through Monday; it surveyed 1,833 adults, including 1,545 registered voters, and has a margin of error of plus or minus 3 percentage points.

Two-thirds of those polled say

Please see POLL, A5

Los Angeles Times

10/7/92

Continued from A1

the presidential debates beginning Sunday night will be important to their decision. But that number may be inflated somewhat by expectations of civic responsibility; in other respects, the poll suggests that support is hardening. Slightly more than three-fourths of Clinton supporters and nearly four-fifths of Bush backers say their decisions are certain, as do nearly three-fifths of those now backing Perot.

Above all, the poll testifies to the continuing power of economic dis-

THE TIMES
POLL

satisfaction as the defining force in the election.

Over the past several months, Bush has repeatedly tried to shift voters' attention away from his economic record—opening a debate about family values, attempting to pin blame for the recession on Congress and raising questions about Clinton's trustworthiness on such issues as his efforts to avoid military service during the Vietnam War.

But the poll suggests that those issues have had little impact on the campaign's basic dynamic. The new poll numbers show that remarkably little has changed since last spring: Americans remain overwhelmingly dissatisfied with the nation's direction and unshaken, so far, in their determination to take out their discontent on the incumbent.

Bush's attempts to make his Democratic rival the issue have had only partial success. Voter doubts about Clinton are rising, the poll found. But such concerns do not appear powerful enough to overcome the unhappiness with the nation's direction—or concerns about Bush himself.

Clinton's favorable-to-unfavorable ratio has slipped to the point where it virtually matches the public assessment of Democrat Michael S. Dukakis at this point in his unsuccessful 1988 campaign against Bush. In the new survey, 40% viewed Clinton unfavorably; that represented a substantial increase from early August, when only 26% of those polled had a negative impression of him. Over the same period, the percentage of voters with a favorable impression of the Democrat edged down from 57% to 54%.

Voters' assessments of Clinton's honesty eroded over that period too: In the latest survey, those polled endorsed his integrity by a 55%-27% margin. In early August, the endorsement had been by a wider 56%-18% count.

But voters' doubts about Bush's integrity *also* have been rising, amid media reports that have raised new questions about his role in the Iran-Contra scandal. Overall, 53% of those polled have a negative impression of Bush, whereas just 45% assess him positively. In the new survey, voters back Bush's honesty by 59% to 34%; two months ago, he posted a more unequivocal 66%-26% mark on that measure.

These twin questions of credibility—Clinton's handling of his draft status and Bush's involvement in the Iran-Contra scandal—appear to be largely neutralizing each other. Three-fourths of those polled say the draft issue will have no effect on their vote; 62% say the same about the Iran-Contra scandal.

That collective shrug is another testament to the voters' focus on the economy. Asked what issues they wanted to hear the candidates address, 66% said the economy or unemployment; 18% said health care and 17% said the federal budget deficit.

As throughout the year, Bush draws his support primarily from those satisfied with the nation's economy and basic direction. But that is a small group.

All year, the percentage of Americans saying the country is on the wrong track has remained at heights reminiscent of 1980, when widespread anxiety doomed President Jimmy Carter to a landslide defeat. In the latest survey, 76% of those polled say the country is on the wrong track. In a gale that strong, Clinton doesn't have to row very hard: 57% of voters dissatisfied with the nation's direction support him, 23% support Bush and 11% back Perot.

Only 17% of the electorate says the country is on the right track. Seven in 10 of that smaller group supports Bush, contrasted with slightly less than one in six for Clinton and less than one in 16 for Perot.

Likewise, half of those polled consider the nation to be in a serious recession: 61% of them support Clinton, contrasted with just 20% for Bush and 10% for Perot. Slightly more than one-fourth call the recession moderate; they give Clinton a slim edge over Bush, with Perot lagging. The remaining one-fourth who consider the recession to be mild—or over—give Bush almost half of their votes.

Hoping to win back voters dissatisfied with the economy, Bush has implicitly asked Americans to judge him primarily on his proposals for a second term. That agenda, though, seems to offer him little advantage.

Half of those surveyed have no opinion on the North American Free Trade Agreement that Bush will initial today in Texas with leaders from Canada and Mexico; the remainder split evenly between supporters and opponents. And by a modest margin, voters say an across-the-board tax cut—as Bush recently proposed—would hurt, rather than help, the economy.

Perhaps most dramatically, many voters appear to have dismissed the GOP's focus on the threat to American families posed by a decline in "traditional values." By a solid 50% to 30%, voters say families are strained more "by an economic climate that makes finding jobs and affordable health care difficult" than by "a moral climate that endangers community standards."

Those who believe that the threats to families are primarily economic back Clinton over Bush by 61% to 22%; those who see moral threats as the most severe prefer the President by 57% to 23%.

That finding tracks with Clinton's overall advantage on measures of economic competence and empathy. The Democrat leads Bush and Perot—44% to 27% to 19%, respectively—when voters are asked which candidate would do the best job promoting economic prosperity. Likewise, Clinton leads Bush and Perot by 49% to 24% to 13% as the candidate most concerned about the problems of average Americans.

On the broadest measure—

Perot's Impact: Clinton Still Holds Big Lead

The entry of Ross Perot has not changed the contours of the presidential race, a Times Poll found. Though he claimed nearly a third of the support in July, Perot now gets only 9%.



If the election were today and the candidates were Bill Clinton, George Bush and Ross Perot, for whom would you vote?

Clinton	48%
Bush	34
Perot	9
Don't know	9

Why do you think Ross Perot entered the presidential race?

To get his program discussed	23%
Doesn't want to be seen as a quitter	17
To help another candidate win	17
Attention seeking/egotistical	13
Sincerely wants to win	6
To shake things up	2
Dislikes Bush	1
Playing a game	1
Other	6
Don't know	14

Do you think Perot has the stable temperament a President needs?

	Oct. 5	July 9
Yes	15%	35%
No	55	25
Don't know	30	40

Do you favor or oppose the free trade agreement between Mexico and the United States?

Favor	23%
Oppose	24
Don't know	53

Sources: Los Angeles Times Poll taken Oct. 2-5 of 1,833 adults nationwide, including 1,545 registered voters. The margin of error is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

Los Angeles Times

How the Poll Was Conducted

The Times Poll interviewed 1,833 adults nationwide, including 1,545 registered voters, by telephone, from Oct. 2-5. Telephone numbers were chosen from a list of all exchanges in the nation. Random-digit dialing techniques were used to ensure that listed and unlisted numbers had an opportunity to be contacted. Results were weighted slightly to conform with census figures for sex, race, age, education and household size. The margin of sampling error for the total samples of adults and registered voters is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For certain subgroups, the error margin is somewhat higher. Poll results may also be influenced by factors such as question wording and the order in which questions are presented.

Los Angeles Times

10/7/92

which candidate "can do the best job bringing the changes America needs"—Clinton's lead is also substantial: 46% give him the nod, 30% support Bush and 13% back Perot.

The unhappiness with Bush's performance has allowed Clinton to make dramatic inroads with groups the Republicans have long dominated in presidential politics.

Since 1952, only one Democrat—Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964—has outpolled his GOP opponent among whites; whites now favor Clinton over Bush by 9 percentage points. Similarly, Johnson is the only Democrat over that period to carry self-described independents; Clinton now leads Bush by 10 points among independents. Four years ago, independents provided Bush with a 13-point advantage.

Clinton even leads Bush narrowly among white men; four years ago, Bush carried 62% of white men, according to network exit polls. Bush carried two-thirds of white Protestants that year—about half the electorate; now they narrowly prefer Clinton.

Is any of this set in stone? The bad news for Republicans is that the remaining undecided voters are no more favorable toward Bush than toward Clinton. Moreover, estimates of the rate of turnout have very little effect on the margin: Clinton holds a comparable lead in models that revise the poll for high and low turnouts.

The sliver of good news for the GOP is that despite the high percentage of voters who say they are certain in their choice, 43% of those surveyed say they "need to know more about Clinton" before deciding whether he would make a good President. On the other hand, an overwhelming 86% say they already have enough information about Bush. That is not helpful for an incumbent when just 34% of those surveyed approve of his job performance—and 62% give him failing grades.

As for Perot, voters are split evenly on whether they need more information about him—but in other respects they appear to have rendered their judgments on the mercurial Texas billionaire. Nearly three-fourths of those polled say he should have stayed out of the race. Just 15% say Perot "has the kind of stable temperament a President needs"; 55% say he does not.

Asked in an open-ended question why they dislike Perot, 37% of those with a negative opinion labeled him a quitter; 18% said he had no plans for the country; 7% called him an "oddball." Those who like him predominantly cited his economic proposals.

At this point, at least, Perot's impact on the race is as slight as his overall vote: He is drawing his support evenly from both of the major contenders.

Perot Knows Power Better Than Bush

The President missed his chance to show that he finally understood his office by refusing to meet with Perot.

By John P. Sears

WASHINGTON

As a politician, I always tip my hat to men who have influence when they are deserving of none. Politics is the art of power and, since power can only be retained by using it, some clever men realize it is available for the taking when those who should have it refuse to do anything with it.

In the last two weeks, Ross Perot, by insinuating himself into a race that had become dormant, laid claim to power available because of the ineptness of the two presidential contenders. Given the opportunity to convince Perot's 51 state coordinators that he should not re-enter the race, both campaigns embraced the offer, sending delegations of considerable status on this fool's errand.

To be seen so easily commanding the response of men who would have us believe they put the welfare of the country ahead of their own political well-being revealed much about the caliber of George Bush and Bill Clinton. In effect, they told the rest of us we should treat Perot more seriously than we might have otherwise. One aspect of power is to be able to tell others, presumed more powerful than ourselves, what to do—and, on this score, both major candidates flunked a rather elementary test about the nature of the office they are seeking.

The last President who understood power was Richard M. Nixon. Faced

Bush's poor political standing is a result of his failure to use his power to address the country's problems.

Split in Louisiana GOP Means Trouble for Bush

By GARY BOULARD
SPECIAL TO THE TIMES

NEW ORLEANS—As George Bush struggles to hold together the "Solid South" that helped seal recent Republican presidential victories, his campaign finds itself facing an especially vexing problem in Louisiana—weaving its way through one of the nation's most intricate and volatile intraparty feuds.

"Historically, the case in Louisiana has always been that the Democratic Party is divided and the Republicans are unified," said Edward F. Renwick, director of the Institute of Politics at New Orleans' Loyola University. "This year, we have the exact reverse—the Democrats are unified and organized, and the Republicans are in serious disarray. I've never seen anything like this before."

Even without party strife, the President faced a struggle laying claim to Louisiana's nine electoral votes. Bush's 10-percentage-point victory in the state over 1988 Democratic rival Michael S. Dukakis represented his smallest margin in the Deep South. And the entrenched economic woes that hurt the Republican cause in the state four years ago have only worsened.

Now, as national GOP strategists survey the Louisiana scene, they confront a party composed of four warring factions. They are:

—The established, upper-crust Republicans who first flocked to the Republican banner as Barry Goldwater supporters in 1964.

—So-called "Reagan Democrats" who joined the Republican Party by the thousands after Ronald Reagan won the White House 12 years ago.

—Evangelical Christians who became party enthusiasts during the same period.

—Activists loyal to the cause of former Ku Klux Klan Grand Wizard David Duke, who came close to winning the state's governorship as a Republican last year.

Duke's supporters have launched an intensive effort to take over the state party, and their interest in helping the President seems minimal.

"We don't give a damn about Bush," said Howell Farrell, a former Duke aide.

Adding to the turmoil is that the one person some might expect to promote unity—state party Chairman William Nungesser—was the only such official in the country who backed Patrick J. Buchanan's primary challenge to Bush.

Despite all of these hurdles—and the additional obstacle of facing an all-Southern Democratic ticket in Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and Sen. Al Gore of Tennessee—many leading Louisiana Republicans remain confident that Bush can carry their state. They note that the latest polls show that the presidential race in this state is a tossup.

Former Gov. David Treen, who heads the President's Louisiana campaign, said, "Bush just has to get out and talk about the benefits of things like the [North American] Free Trade Agreement and Clinton's draft record, which is going to turn out to be a big issue throughout the South."

As in most other states, Ross Perot's decision to enter the presidential race has stirred little interest in Louisiana.

Earlier this year, polls showed him with a large chunk of support. But his decision not to run in July "pretty much ruined him around here," pollster Silas Lee of Xavier University said. "People don't like a quitter and that's how Perot is perceived. . . . Getting back in the race for him is just a way of rearranging his political obituary. One way or the other, he's still dead."

with this demand—"invitations" such as Perot's are demands in the power game—Nixon's refusal would have been immediate, regardless of whether he was ahead or behind. He knew that to be seen allowing others to control your actions renders you powerless and, while neither the people nor the press might immediately recognize this, others doing business with you would grasp the point. No President, or potential President, should so compromise the office.

I was not surprised that Bush did not see the situation properly. His poor political standing is a result of his failure to use his power to address the country's problems; he has continually overreacted to his circumstances for the last year. If he loses, history will blame the economy but, in fact, it is his failure to do anything about it that will defeat him.

He missed an opportunity last week, however, to demonstrate that he finally understood his office. Had he refused to send a delegation to Dallas—and simply said he would discuss the budget deficit with Perot should he enter the race—some of us could at least imagine that he had learned something about power and, on this basis, might be deserving of a second chance at being President.

As for Clinton, we are left to believe that, by electing him, we can look forward to an Administration remarkably similar to Bush's: One in which a President, with suspect credibility at the start, bargains away his power to special interests that he fears control his reelection.

Perot has shown he understands power far better than the two men who tell us they should have it. However, he stands revealed as someone who knows nothing of politics and is unwilling to learn. He may feel that, with his name on all state ballots, the frustration of the vast majority will pour forth and elect him, because he knows about power and will use it in office instead of losing it.

But Americans have now discerned in Perot an arrogance that is not only unbecoming but cannot be rewarded with the presidency. The people will not elect Perot because they sense he has no loyalty. After all, he destroyed the hopes of millions of supporters, people he had encouraged to believe in him, by rising and announcing he would not enter the race. He could thus ignore that he was President of *all* the people once in office. We admire men who understand power, but have no respect for tyrants.

But, whoever wins this race, we have not heard the last of Perot. He has established himself as a man of power and, whether Clinton or Bush is chosen to lead us, the President will have to wonder how Perot will react to what is being done.

John P. Sears, a political analyst, served as campaign manager for Ronald Reagan in 1976 and 1980.

Los Angeles Times

10/7/92

Clinton Lightens Load to Prepare for Debates

■ Campaign: With his schedule reduced, the nominee appears on the Phil Donahue show, engaging in testy exchanges over Vietnam War protests.

By CATHLEEN DECKER
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

NASHVILLE—Boarding his plane en route here from Florida early Tuesday afternoon, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton offered only a cryptic hint of his plans for the countdown days before next week's series of presidential debates.

"Gonna work," Clinton said, then bounded up the steps of his plane with a smile.

This is the season known as "debate prep," where candidates wheel free of their regularly arduous rounds of campaign stops each day, casting their eyes away from voters and television cameras and onto briefing books and videotapes.

They set up fake debate sets at which to practice, hire a quick-minded helper to pose as the opposing candidate and generally try as best they can to replicate the unnerving experience of laying a political career on the line in a nationally televised rhetorical exercise.

Masters of self-confidence most of the time, they now try mightily to underplay the expectations for their performance. Already on Tuesday, Clinton aides were low-balling their man's chances.

"I don't think he has to win this debate or any of the debates," Bruce Lindsey, Clinton's campaign director, said in a classic bit of pre-debate spin.

Then what does he have to do?

"If he's able to convey to the American public that he has a plan and a strategy for America, we'll be successful," Lindsey said.

The debate preparation season was officially ushered in for Clinton Tuesday, when he took part in only two campaign events before closeting himself for most of the next four days.

The second event, an appearance along with his running mate, Tennessee Sen. Al Gore, on the Phil Donahue show, degenerated into a testy exchange between Donahue and Clinton. It occurred when the talk show host suggested that Clinton had played down his involvement in anti-Vietnam War protests for political benefit. During the campaign, actually, Clinton always has made clear his opposition to that war.

Donahue claimed that Clinton had covered up his anti-war passion as part of a pattern of wanting to "impress and be loved by everyone"—a description that drew a heated response from the Arkansas governor.

"You are wrong to ignore my entire public life as you and a lot of others have done and to make up your own characterization of this so you can once again divert people from discussing the things that will affect their lives," Clinton said.

Donahue also questioned whether Clinton had attended a large anti-war rally in London in 1969. Clinton said he had. Donahue asked if Clinton had attended a 1969 meeting in New England which led to the formation of an anti-war coalition. Clinton said he had been there as well, but that the meeting was a reunion of volunteers from Eugene McCarthy's 1968 presidential campaign.

Clinton, who has acknowledged attending a few anti-war marches in his youth, eventually took umbrage at Donahue's accusations. The talk show host acknowledged that his questions, which were delivered in a conspiratorial tone, were asked without benefit of any independent investigation.

"You drew a conclusion that I had somehow tried to have it both ways on the Vietnam War. That's a load of bull," said Clinton, who was repeatedly applauded by the audience.



Associated Press

Bill and Hillary Clinton hug during campaign stop at University of Florida.

One of the program's telephone questioners targeted another element of Clinton's Vietnam history—his draft record—when she asked why he should be President if, as a Los Angeles Times story recently indicated, his family helped to get him out of the Vietnam War draft.

"My family didn't get me out of anything," Clinton said, adding that "if you don't want to vote for me because of that, that's fine with me."

"But that won't have anything to do with the way you're going to live the day after the election."

The pre-debate cycle traditionally ushers in a difficult time for presidential candidates, who can find their momentum slowed as the pace of the campaign plummets and undecided voters freeze their decision-making until the joint appearances. But Clinton, holding a double-digit lead in public opinion polls, heads into the debates with the hope that a good performance will deliver the *coup de grace* to President Bush.

Before flying here for the Donahue taping, Clinton and Gore closed out a two-day Florida bus trip with an address at the University of Florida in Gainesville, where thousands of students crowded into a central quad to listen.

There, Clinton continued to slam President Bush under cover of defending himself, delivering the sort of half-positive, half-negative message that he has warmed to in recent days. Yet his words took on a more mocking tone than usual, with Clinton deriding Bush as a "poor man" who engaged in "sick name-calling."

"George Bush has been here the last two days . . . misrepresenting my record," Clinton said. "The poor man even had to make up a television ad and put it on television. He literally put a television ad on which said I'm going to raise taxes on the people."

Bush partisans in the crowd chanted back at Clinton: "Liar! Liar!"

Later, Clinton added: "The time has come to end all this sick name-calling and division and talk about what we have got to do to lift the spirits of our people. . . ."

Fisher to Replace Magic Johnson on AIDS Panel

■ Disease: The HIV-infected woman's speech telling of her ordeal mesmerized the GOP convention. She is a staunch Republican.

By MARLENE CIMONS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—President Bush intends to name Mary Fisher—the HIV-infected woman who delivered a stirring and poignant address before the Republican National Convention last summer—to replace Earvin (Magic) Johnson on the National Commission on AIDS, sources said Tuesday.

The seat, first held by Belinda Mason, a Utica, Ky., journalist who died of AIDS in September, 1991, unofficially has been reserved for someone with AIDS or infected with HIV, the human immunodeficiency virus that causes the disease.

The 44-year-old Fisher, who was infected by her former husband, reportedly an intravenous drug user, has impeccable Republican credentials.

She is the daughter of longtime GOP fund-raiser and Detroit real estate mogul Max Fisher and is a personal friend of the Bush family. She also once served as a staff aide to former President Gerald R. Ford.

During her convention speech, she moved many in the hall to tears as she described her personal ordeal and her solidarity with those who—unlike her—have been forced to suffer in isolation and without the loving support of family and friends.

She urged her party to lift the "shroud of silence" over the deadly disease and accept the reality that it can strike anyone. She challenged Republicans who touted traditional family values to remember that "we do . . . no good if we praise the American family but ignore a virus that destroys it."

And, with great emotion, she spoke of her prayers that her two sons, Max, 4, and Zachary, 2—neither of whom is infected—would never have to experience stigma as a result of their mother's condition.

"I will not hurry to leave you, my children," she said. "But when I go, I pray that you will not suffer shame on my account."

Although the appointment has not yet been announced by the White House, Bush referred to it earlier this week on CNN's "Larry King Live," describing Fisher as "a very loving person . . . who just mesmerized the Republican Convention."

Johnson quit the panel Sept. 25, complaining that the Administration had ignored the commission's recommendations and was neglecting the growing epidemic.

The next week, he announced that he would rejoin the Los Angeles Lakers on a limited schedule. Johnson had announced his retirement in November after disclosing that he was infected with HIV.

Fisher learned in July, 1991, that she was infected with the virus, but she has thus far been free of symptoms. She lives in Boca Raton, Fla., where she creates artwork with handmade paper. She also has founded the Family AIDS Network, a support group for friends and family members of those who are HIV-infected.



DAVE GATLEY / Los Angeles Times

Mary Fisher addresses the 1992 Republican National Convention in Houston.

News of her pending appointment to the panel was praised by commission members and others in the AIDS network.

Dr. Mervyn F. Silverman, president of the American Foundation for AIDS Research, called Fisher especially "courageous in coming forward to a community that has not been terribly responsive to the AIDS crisis."

He said he hoped that "her presence on the commission will help reduce the denial among those who mistakenly don't see themselves at risk. And perhaps she will have a greater impact on what has been an unresponsive Administration."

Dr. David Rogers, vice chairman of the panel, called her "an extraordinary force who is smart, articulate and passionate about AIDS." As a friend of the Bush family, she has special access to the White House and the "ear of the President," he said.

Jeff Levi, director of government affairs for the AIDS Action Council, agreed.

"We hope she can translate the commission's recommendations to President Bush in a way he finally can be responsive to," he said.

The 15-member AIDS commission was created by federal statute to provide advice on devising a national strategy for dealing with the epidemic. Its members are appointed by Congress and the White House.

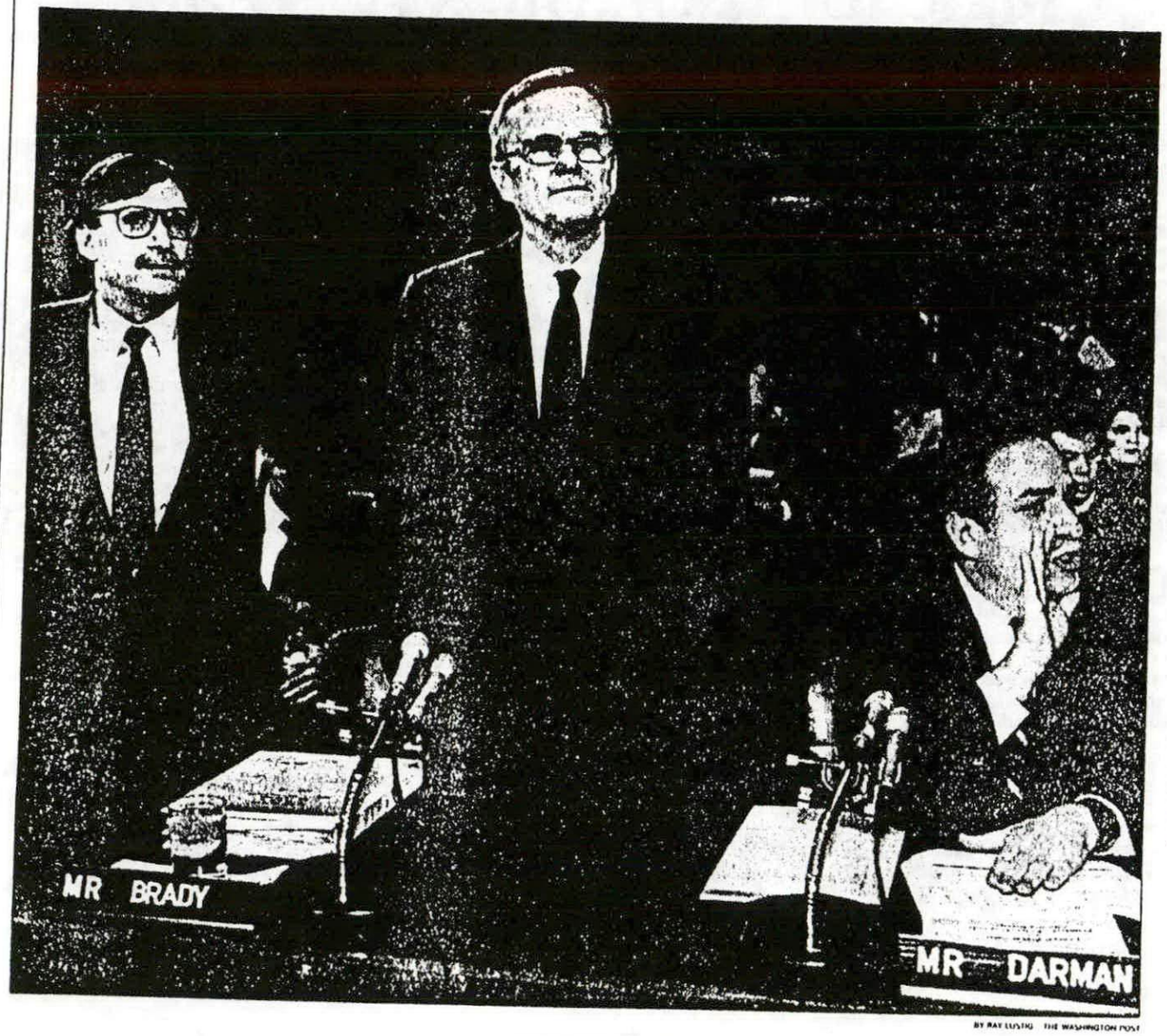
Last July, the panel blasted the Bush Administration in a meeting with Health and Human Services Secretary Louis W. Sullivan for failing to implement any of the more than two dozen recommendations contained in a major report released last September after more than two years of work.

These included proposals for a national AIDS prevention plan, universal health care coverage and significant reforms in Medicaid to extend coverage to all low-income people suffering from the disease.

Los Angeles Times
10/7/92

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992



BY RAY LUSTIG THE WASHINGTON POST

THE PRESIDENT'S FISCAL TEAM



Bush's advisers at a Senate Finance Committee hearing on administration tax proposals in February. from left, Michael J. Boskin, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; Nicholas F. Brady, secretary of the Treasury, and Richard G. Darman, budget director. According to many of their colleagues, the three often have behaved like warring feudal chiefs vying for the attention and favor of the king, jealously guarding their own territory and at times belittling each other in private conversations.

The Washington Post
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

MAKING CHOICES
BUSH'S ECONOMIC RECORD

The President's Key Men: Splintered Trio, Splintered Policy

Last of four articles

By Bob Woodward
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush's top economic advisers have worked for nearly four years without agreeing on an overall philosophy or plan and have been divided by personal animosity and turf fights that are fierce even by Washington standards, according to more than two dozen sources inside and outside the administration.

The bitter infighting has hampered the administration's efforts to diagnose what is wrong with the American economy, explain its economic thinking to the public in a coherent way and then go about addressing the problems, those interviewed said.

Bush has never established a permanent, effective structure for handling economic decisions. Nor has he given a single adviser full authority for coordinating economic policy, in the way he has relied on national security adviser Brent Scowcroft for national security matters.

According to two sources, Bush has complained that it is hard at times to sort out or make sense of the advice he receives from his economic team of Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady, budget director Richard G. Darman and Council of Economic Advisers Chairman Michael J. Boskin.

"This is not like the NSC [National Security Council]," Bush told one adviser this spring, according to one source. "It doesn't come to me [in a decision memo] saying Brady thinks this, Darman that, Boskin disagrees."

The treasury secretary traditionally has served as the chief economic coordinator for the White House, but Brady has never taken or been given full control of the policy-making apparatus and is considered a weak secretary, according to sources inside and outside the administration who have regular contact with him.

At the outset of the Bush administration, Brady headed an interagency group called the Economic Policy Council, which was supposed to help coordinate economic

See ECONOMY, A18, Col. 1



BY RAY LUSTIG—THE WASHINGTON POST

Treasury Secretary Brady has not assumed the traditional role of economic coordinator.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

ECONOMY, From A1

policy. Though it handled a number of important matters, Darman and White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu told others they considered themselves primarily responsible for setting the economic and domestic policy agenda.

When Samuel K. Skinner took over as White House chief of staff at the end of 1991, sources said, he immediately recognized that the economic policy-making process was in chaos. He won agreement from Bush to bring in Clayton Yeutter, the former agriculture secretary and Republican National Committee chairman, as overall economic coordinator and centralize authority in the White House. A policy coordinating group was created, with Bush himself in charge, but it never got off the ground.

Brady clashed with Skinner over Yeutter's new authority, according to sources. Skinner told others that Brady was a "turf-conscious nut."

The resolution, sources said, was a classic example of the disarray. As one source explained, "Brady had to have the lead. So it was agreed that Clayton would be the coordinator, but all working groups on economic policy would be chaired by Brady. . . . So after it was all over, once again, no one was in charge."

Brady's background seemed right for treasury secretary: three decades on Wall Street, extensive knowledge of financial markets, executive expertise as chairman of the investment banking firm Dillon, Read & Co. But his performance has come under heavy criticism—from the business world, Wall Street and the international and central banking communities—since he took office in the waning months of the Reagan administration.

Accounts of Brady's blunders, sometimes involving issues of fundamental economics, are numerous.

For example, in November 1989, Brady gave a description of the federal budget process to district bank officials of the Federal Reserve that left a number of them amazed. "It was so jumbled and incoherent, no one could make any sense of it. It was just stunning to see the treasury secretary unable to work through a description of the budget process in a prepared speech," said one Federal Reserve official who attended.

At a meeting this year on the tight credit market, Brady wondered aloud if the government could somehow penalize banks for investing in U.S. securities rather than taking the riskier course of lending to businesses and individuals.

Many of the Treasury and Federal Reserve officials in attendance were stunned, according to participants. How could the treasury secretary propose that banks be discouraged from buying the very securities that keep the U.S. government financially solvent?

"The suggestion was counterproductive and absurd," said one senior official. A Brady associate said the treasury secretary was just trying out an idea.

Several of Brady's close associates said the treasury secretary is being made a scapegoat for a bad economy and that the White House bears responsibility for much of the administration's confusion and loss of credibility.

"Brady ought not to be left holding the bag for bad politics and bad communications," said one former senior Treasury official. Unlike others in the administration, Brady has made it a practice not to criticize Bush, even indirectly.

His aides said Brady has not received enough credit for skillfully handling important Treasury matters, such as the savings and loan bailout and the Latin American debt crisis. In admiring tones, they described his willingness both to listen and to do battle.

But they also acknowledged Brady's shortcomings. A former Treasury official said, "Brady makes simple mistakes, tends to shoot from the hip, floating ideas that just pop into his head in large meetings that get passed around."

Sources said that Brady has a very mild form of dyslexia, which makes reading difficult, though aides said he is able to get through the large amount of reading the job requires. During Brady's first three years at Treasury, a number of people also noticed that he seemed to have trouble hearing comments and questions during meetings, congressional testimony and news conferences held in large rooms. In July 1991, he began wearing a hearing aid for such events.

Brady's performance so irritates some top officials that they have resorted to ridiculing him in private conversations. Darman, who works closely with Brady, has told others that Brady is a "dolt" who could not pass an introductory economics exam at any American university. According to one source, earlier this year Darman said, "Brady is probably the weakest treasury secretary in the history of the country."

White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III, who preceded Brady as treasury secretary, has apologized to several White House officials for urging Brady's appointment in 1988, according to sources, who said Baker has used scathing language to describe Brady and his performance.

Many administration officials have suggested privately that Brady ought to be moved to another post, perhaps an ambassadorship, more suited to his skills.

But Brady survives, many sources said, because Bush has immense affection for him and believes he has done good work.

Bush feels indebted to Brady, who played a crucial role in Bush's rise to the presidency. After the 1984 Reagan-Bush victory, Bush was dispirited and distraught over his treatment by the media, which he felt had portrayed him unfairly as weak and opportunistic, according to sources.

One weekend after the election, Reagan loaned Camp David to his vice president. The sources said Brady visited Bush, who had been talking about leaving politics after completing his term as vice president and not running for president in 1988. But Brady urged Bush to follow an old Wall Street trading technique: Don't decide until absolutely necessary. Brady then helped set up a campaign organization that was ready when Bush decided to run.

"Friendship," is the main reason Brady stays on, said one close associate of both Brady and Bush. "It is hard to call in a guy who made you, and say I'd like you to go back to New Jersey or Wall Street. . . . Nick is just so affable, so laid back, such a good friend."

Brady has told others that his relationship with Darman is one of the most com-

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

plicated and difficult he has ever had in his life.

Although allies on some issues, including deficit reduction, the two men have clashed from the very outset of the administration.

In November 1988, President-elect Bush asked Brady to stay as treasury secretary and allowed him to approve all selections to the administration's economic team, including Darman's as budget director.

Brady met Darman at National Airport for what amounted to a screening interview in late November, according to sources who described their conversation. Brady told Darman he had heard that Darman sometimes put his own interests first, did not demonstrate loyalty to his superior and could stab others in the back. Could Brady count on Darman to put Bush's interest first at all times?

Brady also set down the terms of their relationship: They would be partners, but Brady would lead the economic team and be the primary spokesman. Though upset at what he considered a dressing down, Darman agreed to Brady's terms, figuring that he could find a way to do what he wanted, sources said.

Brady's friends later told him that when he and Darman testified before Congress or appeared before the press together, Darman would fidget, read papers, and communicate with congressmen or reporters with winks and nods while Brady was speaking.

Brady told Darman that it did not serve the president well to have Darman visibly uninterested while Brady or other administration officials spoke. According to one reliable account, Brady told Darman, "Because I'm the secretary of the treasury, I go first. You get all the time you want and if you'll notice me, I sit quietly while you're testifying, looking like I think you've got something to say."

Darman promised Brady he would pay attention in the future. But soon afterward, a photographer snapped a shot of Darman reaching for some files while Brady was testifying. When the photo appeared in a newspaper the next day, "Brady went bananas," one source said.

Darman's penchant for bad-mouthing his colleagues is no secret in the White House. He has even unleashed his acid tongue in front of the president, sources said. When Darman "runs people down," Brady will "go ballistic" with him, according to one source who says Brady is aware that Darman has ridiculed him.

Brady has told others that Darman is brilliant, but can be immature and self-important. Treasury officials said that Brady has tried to keep Darman's ego in check by pointedly letting Darman know when he is having dinner or spending the weekend with Bush—a tactic that Brady believes helps make Darman more respectful.

For more than a year, Bush's economic advisers have battled over what the president should say about the faltering economy.

In the summer and early fall of 1991, when many economists were predicting a recovery with high economic growth, Sununu and Brady were encouraging the president to "talk up" the economy to give business and consumers a psychological boost. They hoped a resurgent economy would help Bush win reelection, as a similar turnaround did for Ronald Reagan in 1984.

Boskin worried about Bush's rosy comments after seeing hard economic data in September 1991 that showed that the U.S. economy was stalling again. Boskin, who like most economists had not foreseen the second downturn, told Sununu that the president needed to be more careful in his public remarks.

For weeks, Boskin tried to speak to Bush directly, but Sununu rebuffed him. On several occasions, Boskin and Sununu got into shouting matches at staff meetings, according to witnesses.

Boskin also wanted to warn Bush that his remarks were not helping the economy and they were making him look out of touch with the American people, who knew that hard times persisted. If Bush did not change his message, the political consequences could be disastrous, Boskin told others.

Boskin tried to tone down the optimistic language in Bush's statements about the economy when they crossed his desk, generally without success. Sununu, he complained to others, also discouraged him from appearing on TV news programs because Boskin's subdued comments could be construed as undercutting the president.

In late November, Boskin became enraged when Sununu urged Bush to endorse a plan to cap credit card interest rates to provide relief to consumers. Boskin told Sununu the idea was "idiotic," but his counsel did not get to Bush, who publicly endorsed the plan twice, triggering a 120-point drop in the stock market because of worries about the potential impact of the cap on bank profits.

On Nov. 20, 1991, according to White House sources, Boskin issued an ultimatum to Sununu: "I'm resigning today if I don't see the president."

Sununu relented. Boskin told Bush directly that the economy was in worse shape than his other advisers were suggesting and urged him to adopt a more balanced tone in his remarks.

Later that morning, in interviews with NBC television affiliate stations, Bush said the economy was "sluggish," acknowledged "we're in tough times," and said seven times that he knew people were "hurting." He nonetheless added that the economic fundamentals were "pretty good" and times would get better.

After Sununu left as chief of staff at the end of 1991, Boskin continued to complain that Bush was getting bad advice, especially from Brady, sources said. At a Cabinet meeting this spring, as the economy remained weak, Brady struck a markedly upbeat tone during a 10-minute talk, citing a number of U.S. corporations that were reporting increased profits.

According to participants, Boskin seemed astonished by Brady's optimistic forecast. Not once had the treasury secretary mentioned unemployment, a key economic indicator that had tremendous impact on consumer—and voter—confidence.

When Boskin's turn came, he launched into a much gloomier presentation. According to one source's recollection, Boskin said, "Just to get this straight, Mr. President, it's extremely unlikely that we're going to have anywhere near the growth rate that Ford had in '76 and Reagan had in '84. It's extremely unlikely that unemployment's going to come down much, if at all. It might go up."

Some corporations were turning profits by cutting costs and laying off workers—a negative sign for the economy, not a positive one, Boskin pointed out.

Afterward Brady and Boskin had a tense talk, according to sources. Brady told others that Boskin was being excessively cautious to protect his reputation.

At another Cabinet meeting this summer, Brady handed out another forecast that Boskin considered too rosy in light of growing unemployment.

Brady has told others that his optimistic slant is based on 30 years of experience, looking at the markets and talking to people. "I feel it in my bones," Brady has said.

Boskin and others have faulted Brady for precisely this intuitive reading of the economy, arguing that the hard economic statistics must be faced. Relations between the two men now have deteriorated, sources said.

Boskin's relationship with Darman is not much better, sources said. Darman has privately pronounced Boskin "irrelevant" to economic policy-making.

When Sununu was chief of staff, Darman made efforts to exclude Boskin from key economic meetings, according to a former White House official. "If Boskin was overly included in meetings," this official said, "Darman would have a fit."

Sununu had to engage in a balancing act, including Boskin enough to please the Council of Economic Advisers chairman, but excluding him enough to satisfy Darman, the sources said.

Another consequence of the disharmony and disorganization can be seen in how the president's economic team has handled relations with the Federal Reserve Board.

As treasury secretary, Brady is responsible for the administration's dealings with the independent Fed. Brady, Darman and Boskin all agree that the Fed's monetary policy may have a greater impact on the health of the American economy than any action the administration itself can take. All three have urged Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan to lower interest rates faster and further than the

ABOUT THE SERIES

☐ **SUNDAY** — *The evolution of President Bush's "Read my lips: no new taxes" pledge.*

☐ **MONDAY** — *The impact of the pledge on the bipartisan deficit-reduction commission.*

☐ **TUESDAY** — *The decision by President Bush to abandon the no-new-taxes promise.*

☑ **TODAY** — *The making of economic policy in the Bush administration.*

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Fed has so far, and have blamed him and the Fed for not doing more to revive the economy.

Brady has privately called the Federal Reserve a "monastery" with Greenspan an unemotional leader, out of touch with Americans struggling to make ends meet who desperately need lower interest rates to reduce their mortgage, consumer and school loans payments.

Brady and Greenspan have a strained relationship. Greenspan has told associates that he is not sure Brady understands all the important technical issues related to monetary policy and interest rates, which the Fed controls. Until March of this year, they had breakfast together once a week, but Brady has canceled the sessions because he finds a weekly rehash of their differing views serves no purpose.

Sources said that at Brady's urging earlier this year, Bush has in effect taken over the Greenspan account. Some said that Brady was too concerned with his own primacy to let another senior member of the president's economic team handle Greenspan, and so Bush was the only one who could.

Bush now meets with Greenspan periodically to discuss monetary policy and make the administration arguments for still lower rates. Bush and Greenspan have met this year in March, April and June, according to official records.

Although Darman and Boskin, as well as Sununu, all agreed with Brady that Greenspan should have been moving faster on interest rates, the infighting among them prevented them from doing anything about it.

Greenspan's first term as Fed chairman expired in August 1991, and it would have been possible to appoint someone more accommodating to the White House's wishes.

"One of Brady's failings," one senior official said, "was he should have started thinking a year ahead, he should have gone through a full systematic search" for alternative candidates. Instead, the reappointment decision languished, this official said.

Treasury officials disputed this assessment, saying that Brady conducted a quiet, six-month search during which dozens of candidates were considered.

According to one source, relations between Brady and Sununu were so sour when the reappointment was taken up in earnest in the summer of 1991 that neither would call a meeting or go to each other's office to discuss the matter.

Boskin, who worried that the Fed chairman's uncertain status was unsettling the financial markets, finally called a meeting in his office so he, Sununu, Brady and Darman could discuss the reappointment issue. The Wall Street financial community was virtually demanding Greenspan's reappointment, eager for stability at a time when experts were worried about problems in the banking industry.

In addition, no one in the administration had a viable alternative to Greenspan and as the economy seemed to be improving, Bush's economic team recommended reappointment.

Brady met with Greenspan and emerged with what he felt was a virtual guarantee that Greenspan would act to lower interest rates even faster if he were reappointed. Greenspan has denied to others that there was any such commitment. One White House source said, "Brady is the wrong person to have in there to close a deal."

Another source said Darman expressed the view that more explicit commitments should have been received from Greenspan before reappointing him.

Brady, Darman and Boskin all have told others that they have misgivings about the reappointment decision. Several sources noted that once again, Bush was denied a well-prepared, coordinated analysis of alternatives well in advance of an important decision that could affect the economy and his reelection chances.

One close Bush adviser said the president has compared his economic advisers unfavorably with his national security team—Scowcroft at the NSC, Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin L. Powell.

During the Persian Gulf War, this adviser said, "The whole national security team ran [smoothly]." Though they had serious disagreements at times, they were "competent guys" who "got along" and would march in step once a decision was made, the adviser said.

Criticism of the economic team became so widespread that Roger Ailes, the president's former media adviser, came to Bush late last fall and urged a mass firing, sources said.

According to one account, Ailes told Bush that the American public could not understand why the economic threesome was not more like the gulf war team.

"You have a war and you put Dick Cheney, Colin Powell and General [H. Norman] Schwarzkopf in charge of it," Ailes told the president, according to this account. "[The people] don't understand why you don't pick three guys that are like the other three guys.

"To them, it's just one more war. . . . If we went over to Saudi Arabia and started getting our ass kicked, you would change commanders. People are out there saying, 'Where the hell is Schwarzkopf, Powell and Cheney?' "

Researcher David Greenberg contributed to this report.

Bush Says Darman Has 'My Full Confidence'

President Bush expressed "full confidence" yesterday in budget director Richard G. Darman during an interview with Joan Lunden on ABC television's "Good Morning America" show.

Lunden asked Bush about a Washington Post report, published yesterday as part of this series, that said Darman had offered to resign earlier this year after Bush had repudiated a 1990 budget deal with Congress that Darman had helped negotiate.

President Bush replied: "Well, just to say I have full confidence in him. Joan, you get—it is peculiar timing, I will admit, but, you know, you get these inside tick-tock stories. They have very little to do about what I'm trying to do for the country, what my answers are on principle, so I can simply say he's got my full confidence.

"You've got to excuse me. I wake up at 5:00 every morning. I get seven newspapers. I saw that story, but I will honestly tell you I haven't read it, and so it's stupid to comment on it till I have, but Dick Darman's a good man. He's working hard. We're surrounded by a good team, and I think any person on our team—many have said to me, 'Look, if you think I'm hurting you in some way or another, I'm out of here,' and that's the kind of people we've got—principled people. And he's one of them, so I'm not going to get caught up on some Washington Post gossip story."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992



No meeting of the minds: *Brady, right, and Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan at a 1990 hearing. As treasury secretary, Brady is responsible for the administration's dealings with the Fed; associates have indicated that the two have a strained relationship and no longer meet at weekly breakfasts to discuss monetary policy.*

POLITICS

NBC, CBS Won't Let Anchormen Serve as Debate Questioners

You won't be seeing Tom Brokaw or Dan Rather on the presidential or vice-presidential debates. NBC and CBS said yesterday that they will not allow their anchormen or correspondents to serve as moderators or panelists at the televised sessions.

Both networks are protesting the process by which aides to President Bush and Democrat Bill Clinton are selecting the panels. Each side is drawing up lists of acceptable journalists and has the right to scratch off names on the opposing camp's list.

"Debate moderators and panelists should be chosen by independent groups, not political parties," said NBC News President Michael G. Gartner. CBS News, which also took a pass in 1988, said the network is "deeply concerned" about the campaigns "exercising a veto over the people doing the questioning," said Vice President Joe Peyronnin.

ABC spokeswoman Teri Everett said her network would make no decision until it receives an invitation. CNN has said it will participate if anchorman Bernard Shaw is the network's representative. PBS co-anchor Jim Lehrer also is willing.

Covering the debates will cost the Big Three networks a combined $15 million as they bump highly rated entertainment shows, according to the Associated Press.

Real Gains for Women Predicted

■ With a record number of women running for office this year, Eleanor Smeal, president of the Fund for a Feminist Majority, predicted yesterday that for the first time women will make gains in Congress and in state legislatures that are "beyond incremental."

Smeal, who studied races in all 50 states, said she expects there will be at least 50 women serving in the 435-seat House next year; now there are 29. In the Senate, where there are two women, their numbers could grow as high as six, she said.

Women make up 18 percent of state legislatures, and Smeal said that will rise to more than 20 percent after the November elections.

Some states, such as Washington, she said, could reach gender balance in their legislatures. In California there is an 80 percent increase in the number of women running for the state legislature.

The reasons for the increases, Smeal said, include "the legacy of Anita F. Hill." Smeal noted that she was releasing this data on the one-year anniversary of the day that information came out about Clarence Thomas's alleged sexual harassment of Hill.

In addition, abortion issues, redistricting and congressional scandals all have contributed to women's gains this year.

A record 127 women are major party contenders for House seats, 11 in the Senate and 116 in the House, Smeal said. The earlier record of female candidates was 78 in 1990.

Fed up With Florio? Vote for Bush

■ The Bush camp, localizing its tax-and-spend attack on Clinton, is trying to tie the Democratic nominee to New Jersey Gov. Jim Florio (D). Florio has been the target of fierce voter resentment since pushing through a $2.8 billion tax increase two years ago.

A radio ad airing in the state says: "If you're fed up with Jim Florio, don't let Bill Clinton do the same thing to America. Because we can't let Florio and Clinton drag us down with their high taxes and crazy spending. Jim Florio and Bill Clinton: Unfortunately for us, they're perfect together."

Said Florio spokesman Jon Shure: "Bush raised taxes too, so who's kidding who? The people of New Jersey deserve better. If that's the best they're going to get from the Bush campaign, then Bill Clinton's chances of taking New Jersey just increased immeasurably."

—Maralee Schwartz and Howard Kurtz

The Washington Post
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Clinton Gets Testy in TV Exchange With Donahue

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

NASHVILLE, Oct. 6—Bill Clinton engaged in a testy exchange today with talk show host Phil Donahue over his involvement in Vietnam War protests, with the Democratic presidential nominee arguing that the attention to what he did in his early twenties was "diverting people from a discussion of the things that affect their lives."

Donahue said his questions were aimed at discovering if Clinton was trying to have it both ways about his past: "We have another example of you [saying] 'Yes, I'm there but I wasn't there. . . . ' "

"No, you don't," Clinton snapped.

Donahue did not back off: "There is once again evidence that Bill Clinton wants to impress and be beloved by everyone and we are right to ask these questions because we wonder what kind of leadership you will bring to the Oval Office."

This was too much for Clinton. "You are wrong to ignore my entire public life, which you and a lot of other people have done, and to make up your own characterization on this so that you can once again divert people from the things that will affect their lives," Clinton said.

The exchange reflected Clinton's growing impatience with press reports about—and Republican efforts to highlight—his life more than two decades ago.

The verbal battle also demonstrated, once again, the power of television talk show hosts to inject themselves into the middle of this campaign and the potential risk to a candidate of unsubstantiated charges being raised before a national television audience.

The show, which was being taped before a studio audience here, started calmly enough when Donahue prodded Clinton to comment on press reports about his anti-war activism while a student in England.

Clinton said he had been against the war and had gone to anti-war marches, including one at the U.S. Embassy in London.

He also said that while he was an Oxford University student, he had a chance meeting in Oslo with the Rev. Richard McSorley, an anti-war activist whom Clinton knew from

See CLINTON, A19, Col. 1

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992



REUTER

Clinton and Gore shake hands with members of crowd during rally at the University of Florida campus in Gainesville.

Vietnam Protest Questions Raise Clinton's Ire on TV

CLINTON, From A1

his days at Georgetown University, where McSorley taught. But the meeting, Clinton insisted, was accidental and of little import.

"I ran into him in the train station, purely coincidentally," Clinton said. "We went to the university together because he was going there to this peace institute and I was going there to meet a guy from Arkansas who was in school there."

McSorley has written that he and Clinton spent most of the day together, visiting the peace institute and later another peace center founded by two actors. He said the two went their separate ways after having a beer at the end of the day.

Donahue pushed on, asking Clinton about rumors that the Democrat had considered changing his citizenship because of his opposition to the war. "That's ridiculous," Clinton replied.

What about allegedly missing pages in Clinton's State Department file? "I did not know there was a file kept on me or on any other American," Clinton said.

Pressing his interrogation, Donahue asked Clinton if he had attended a meeting of student activists in early 1969 on Martha's Vineyard that preceded the founding of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, which organized large-scale peaceful protests.

"I went to a meeting in Martha's Vineyard of people who were alumni of Gene McCarthy's presidential campaign, which I was not part of; they just wanted another southerner to go," Clinton said. "Some of the same people who were there also organized what became the Vietnam Moratorium in 1970, but I was not one of the organizers of it. I wouldn't have been ashamed to be, but I didn't have anything to do with it."

Clinton's running mate, Sen. Albert Gore Jr., became impatient first. "That's really interesting stuff, Phil," he said dryly.

"This really has a lot to do with the future of this country," Clinton added sarcastically, winning applause from the largely pro-Clinton audience in the studio.

Clinton kept going. "When Admiral [William J.] Crowe came down to Little Rock to endorse me the other day, he said something really perceptive. He said one of the things I really don't like is how people take one or two facts on the flimsiest of evidence and draw some sweeping conclusion."

Donahue challenged: "What is the conclusion I drew?"

"You drew a conclusion that I had somehow tried to have it both ways on the Vietnam War," Clinton replied. "That's a load of bull. I was opposed to it. I was on record opposed to it early on. I never denied it. I said I was not a big organizer of anti-war activities. That is true."

A commercial break calmed everyone down, and for the remainder of the show Clinton mostly got to talk about what he wanted to discuss: jobs, the economy and health care.

ON TV

PRESIDENT BUSH

■ Today, CNN, 9 p.m.
"Larry King Live"
Live interview with viewer questions from San Antonio.

■ Friday, ABC (Ch. 7), 8:30 a.m.
"Good Morning America"
Live interview from the White House on jobs programs.

GOV. BILL CLINTON

■ Today, Thursday and Friday, ABC (Ch. 7), 7:30 a.m.
"Good Morning America"
Taped interview.

■ Today, WRC (Ch. 4), 9 a.m.
"Donahue"
Interview with Clinton and Sen. Albert Gore Jr. taped yesterday.



THE WASHINGTON POST

Politics Online

The Washington Post's political coverage is now available anywhere in the country the same morning that it is published through America Online, a personal computer service. For more information, phone 1-800-827-6364, Ext. 6397.

The Washington Post
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Rehearsing for Showdown

Bush, Clinton Begin Practicing for Debates

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

John H. Sununu is back at the White House.

No, not in his old job as chief of staff—James A. Baker III still has that post. Sununu is playing Ross Perot in the mock debates that President Bush began yesterday morning. As the practicing intensifies before Sunday's first contest, Bush, Sununu and budget director Richard G. Darman, who plays Bill Clinton, will hold their sessions in a re-created debate setting, probably the White House theater room.

Across the country, Clinton will be doing the same thing, using Washington lawyer Bob Barnett as his stand-in for Bush and Oklahoma Rep. Mike Synar as his Ross Perot. Perot's formal acceptance yesterday of the terms set by the two campaigns cleared the way for the three-way debate, but it is unknown what kind of preparation the unorthodox independent candidate will be doing.

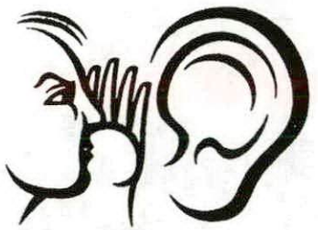
Clinton's main problem seems to be his voice. His aides said yesterday the allergy season is turning the Democrat hoarse and a major part of his debate prep may be drinking water. For his sessions, he has abandoned Little Rock, Ark., for Kansas City, across Missouri from St. Louis, where Sunday's debate will be held.

Bush aides see the first debate as central to yet another scenario in which the president overcomes a 10-point-plus deficit in the polls and moves ahead of Clinton, momentum he has been unable to achieve in any other way.

One aide described it this way: "Clinton makes some big mistake [Sunday] and on Monday we play it out big, maybe do some ads right away. On Tuesday, for the vice presidential debate, [Vice President] Quayle spends his 90 minutes attacking Clinton's mistake and then it's a snowball . . . We pick up

See DEBATES, A20, Col. 1

Democrats Talk And Talk About A Transition



With Bill Clinton leading by double digits in many polls less than a month before Election Day, Beltway Democrats are putting all their energy into one big final push to victory. Right?

Wrong.

They're feverish with gossip over who will be who in a Clinton administration. Call it premature, call it crazy, call it a possible jinx. They can't seem to help themselves.

Out of power for a dozen years, thousands of Democrats have built up a ferocious yearning—and now the tongue-wagging, back-stabbing and scrambling for position are epidemic.

Heard which congressional bigwig is rumored to be headed for Britain as ambassador? Or which friend of Hillary Clinton's is being touted as a sure bet for secretary of health and human services? Who'll be the first on your block to predict the next attorney general?

Campaign officials in Arkansas are horrified by the outbreak, but in Washington the speculation rages unchecked. Wirth for Interior. Babbitt for Interior. Waihee for Interior. To find out how reliable those rumors are; to learn how a person goes about getting mentioned for a plum job; to discover the fear that haunts these otherwise gratingly confident pols . . . see Page A23.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Bush, Clinton Rehearsing For Debates

DEBATES, From A1

some momentum and the numbers start moving again. There's a lot riding on the first debate . . . ."

The Bush forces have long said that Clinton's main job in the presidential debates is to "close the deal" with the voters—to get those who now say they plan to vote for him comfortable enough with the idea of Clinton in the Oval Office to finally and totally commit themselves. Under that scenario, all Clinton has to do is not scare anyone.

Bush has the opposite job—to make voters fear the prospect of Clinton in the White House and say, as a Bush aide put it, "What the heck, Bush isn't that bad . . . ."

While each side has a clear outcome in mind for the debates, the tactical considerations that were part of the negotiations over their size, shape and timing were obscure, even to the negotiators.

According to campaign sources, some hours Friday night and early Saturday were spent debating whether the candidates would be allowed to bring in notes, a demand from the Bush forces that Clinton aides rejected.

Quayle wanted a format for the vice presidential debate Oct. 13 in which the three participants—he, Sen. Albert Gore Jr. and James B. Stockdale—and the moderator would be seated in a horseshoe pattern to create an atmosphere of give-and-take. Quayle also wanted to bring a prop—"Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit," the best-selling book by Gore that Quayle has attacked as extremist.

The Clinton forces rejected the seating format and made a counteroffer: Quayle could bring the book if they could bring a potato, the vegetable that Quayle publicly misspelled last summer.

After haggling that ended at 3 a.m. Saturday, the vice presidential teams decided on what may be the most open format ever for a debate, though without book or potato. After two-minute opening statements, a moderator will question each candidate, who will have 75 seconds to answer. After each round of questions, a five-minute free exchange will occur, with the moderator allowed to interrupt only for cause.

The first presidential debate will have the panel of reporters Bush sought, and the second on Oct. 15 will have the "town hall" format where "real" people will be assembled to ask questions. In the final debate Oct. 19, the first half will be devoted to a single moderator asking each candidate a question. The candidate gets two minutes to reply, followed by the other two candidates for a minute each, and the moderator can then follow up. The other 45 minutes will be devoted to questions from a panel of journalists.

All the arguing over details, one Republican said, "was much ado about not much, but nobody wants to wake up Nov. 4 and feel like Bush could have won if we had pressed this or that in terms of the debates."

The debates are important enough to the Bush team that they will apparently bring the elusive Baker into the open—or close to it. The White House chief of staff has vanished from public view since he left the State Department, eschewing travel with Bush, public speeches or appearances, press briefings or any other public fingerprints.

But Baker is scheduled to travel with Bush to Texas today and accompany him to all three presidential debates. It is unclear whether he will actually be in public view.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

District Sets Death Penalty Vote

Nov. 3 Election Seen As Best Time to Meet Congress's Mandate

By Rene Sanchez
Washington Post Staff Writer

Obeying orders from Congress, election officials in the District said yesterday that voters will decide Nov. 3 whether the death penalty should be used against convicted murderers.

The D.C. election board's decision to rush the death-penalty measure onto the general election ballot sets the stage for a short, emotional campaign on an issue hotly debated in the District for years yet never resolved because city leaders have refused to put it to a public vote.

Nearly all of the District's politicians and many of its prominent ministers have denounced Congress's decision late last month to force a death-penalty vote and have vowed to campaign against it. But neighborhood activists are warning that public exasperation with violent crime could give the measure a good chance of winning approval.

Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly yesterday continued to criticize Congress's lopsided decision to require the vote, saying it comes at a time when there are signs that homicides may be declining. "I just wish they'd have a little more respect for the District," she said.

By yesterday afternoon, 345 homicides had occurred in the District, compared with 365 at this time last year, police said.

If the death-penalty measure passes, Kelly will have the power to commute death sentences, as do governors in states with capital punishment. But the mayor said yesterday that she would not commute all death sentences allowed under the proposed law. "I am going to respect the will of the voters," Kelly said. "It's

See DISTRICT, A22, Col. 1

Ministers Set To Fight D.C. Death Penalty

DISTRICT, From A1

been my experience the voters have the last word."

Elections officials said yesterday they decided it would have been too expensive and impractical to hold a death-penalty vote after the Nov. 3 presidential election, which traditionally draws a high voter turnout in the city. Congress granted the District 90 days to hold the vote. Elections officials said they considered holding a special election for it, but decided against doing so because it would cost the city $310,000.

Elections officials also said that because their policy is to "maximize voter participation" in every election they schedule, Nov. 3 was the most appropriate time for the death-penalty measure to be decided. Voters will be told on the ballot that the death-penalty measure has been placed there by federal legislation.

Sensing that public sentiment may favor the death penalty, a coalition of about four dozen prominent ministers from churches across the city is hastily assembling a campaign against it. The ministers plan to preach against the measure—which they call immoral and unlikely to curb crime—on each of the four Sundays remaining before the vote.

In Southeast Washington's Ward 8, the section of the city that has been hit hardest by violence, former mayor Marion Barry also is launching a campaign against the measure. Barry, who recently completed a six-month prison term on a misdemeanor drug charge, is the Democratic nominee for the Ward 8 D.C. Council seat. A political action committee recently formed by his supporters is planning to put up thousands of posters in the ward in the next few weeks that proclaim "Thou Shalt Not Kill."

"Mr. Barry is indelibly opposed to the death penalty and will be aggressively fighting this," said David Watson, a Barry spokesman. "He believes the Ten Commandments need no interpretation."

No one has been executed in the District since 1957, and the council formally repealed the death penalty in 1981. Since then, the city's liberal-minded lawmakers have resisted every public plea for death-penalty legislation or for supporting a referendum on the issue.

Earlier this year, council members said the most drastic step they would take to penalize violent criminals was to create a sentence of life in prison without parole for first-degree murderers. That legislation passed unanimously.

But Harry N. Singleton, a local Republican leader who had been trying to get a death-penalty vote before Congress intervened, said many city residents believe the council and the mayor have not gone far enough.

Congress's move to force a death-penalty vote in the District began this year with a proposal from Sen. Richard Shelby (D-Ala.) after one of his aides was slain on Capitol Hill. The senator said the city's leaders had responded inadequately to violent crime. Some federal lawmakers originally supported simply imposing the death penalty, but they later agreed to allow District voters to decide.

Staff writer Keith A. Harriston contributed to this report.

U.S. to Aid Russia On Nuclear Storage

Facility Part of Disarmament Agreement

Reuter

The United States and Russia signed an agreement yesterday under which the Pentagon will provide up to $15 million to help Russia design a facility to store safely nuclear material from scrapped bombs and rockets.

The agreement implemented some provisions of a wider deal signed by Presidents Bush and Boris Yeltsin in Washington in June to help Russia safely destroy thousands of nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction.

Yesterday's agreement was signed at the Defense Department by Russian Ambassador Vladimir Lukin and Deputy Defense Secretary Donald J. Atwood.

Congress has authorized the Pentagon to provide up to $400 million in U.S. defense funds to help Russia with the delicate task of disarming as both nations carry out arms reduction agreements over the coming decade.

Defense Department spokesman Pete Williams told reporters that the Pentagon had now committed $191 million of the $400 million to help Russia transport, dismantle and store nuclear and other dangerous weapons.

Nuclear material is extremely toxic and can last for hundreds of years after it is removed from bombs and the nose cones of missiles.

"Today's agreement provides technical assistance to the Ministry of the Russian Federation for Atomic Energy to support design efforts for a facility to store fissile material derived from the destruction of nuclear weapons," Williams said.

"Under the agreement, the Department of Defense may provide technical assistance in such areas as development of design requirements and criteria for the proposed storage facility. . . . The department has designated up to $15 million for this program."

Congress has authorized the Pentagon to provide up to $400 million for the effort.

Other funds committed by the Pentagon so far under the Bush-Yeltsin agreement have included $50 million for nuclear material transport containers, $25 million for destruction of chemical arms and $35 million for science centers in Moscow and Kiev.

The centers would employ scientists who previously worked in the Soviet arms program. They are being set up to dissuade such scientists from going to other countries and spreading their knowledge about dangerous arms programs.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Perot's 10-Week Withdrawal Cools Ardor of Local Volunteers

By Richard Tapscott
Washington Post Staff Writer

Ross Perot's 10-week absence from the presidential campaign exacted a heavy toll on his candidacy in the Washington area, as supporters drawn to him in the spring drifted away by the fall to other candidates or other issues.

In Maryland, where one June poll showed Perot in a statistical tie with President Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, an independent survey released last night put support for the Texas billionaire in the single digits.

The problems are evident in the Virginians still upset about Perot's abrupt July withdrawal, in his search for a new District coordinator and in some Maryland counties where up to a third of his volunteers vanished.

One of Perot's inner-circle Maryland supporters in the spring, who has since dropped out of politics, said the organization and enthusiasm are just not the same. "About 90 percent of it is gone," he said.

Perot supporters were hoping to begin recapturing lost momentum last night with the broadcast of the first of several 30-minute Perot television commercials, which are expected to be the centerpiece of his campaign.

Last spring, support for the unconventional candidate had a "snowballing" effect, said Frank Adorney, a chief of staff for the Maryland Perot for '92 committee in Annapolis. "It hasn't reached that fever pitch yet, but it might after [the TV commercial] and the debates."

Remaining Washington area Perot supporters are keen to recreate the glory days of early summer, when the White House was the only goal in sight and thousands of volunteers flocked in for high-energy petition drives to put the Dallas businessman on the ballot.

But the disappointment and uncertainty of the summer had a price, a variety of Perot supporters in Maryland, Virginia and the District said yesterday. Many Perot backers went off to form a third political party or become involved in local issues.

Some of his supporters, once idealists, have evolved into pragmatists.

"His message is good," said Jim Pope, who is filling in as acting coordinator for Perot in the District while a permanent replacement is found. "Whether he wins or not, the debate has been directed toward important issues."

Adorney, remaining optimistic, said the Texan's campaign in Maryland has picked up 20 or 30 supporters for every one who has called in to remove a name from the list of more than 150,000 gathered on petitions as part of the successful drive to win Perot a spot on Maryland's ballot.

Maryland had been one of Perot's stronger states. Perot, who attended the U.S. Naval Academy, made one of his rare speeches in Annapolis in June. "We were the only show in town then," bragged Joseph H. Walker, a Washington County Perot coordinator.

But a poll commissioned for WJLA-TV (Channel 7) shows that Perot's support has plummeted from 28 percent in June to 6 percent this month. His "unfavorable" rating in Maryland has climbed from 21 percent to 53 percent.

The poll showed Clinton with support from 50 percent of respondents compared with Bush's 34 percent. The poll, conducted by Mason-Dixon Political/Media Research, contacted 809 registered voters from Thursday to Sunday. It had a 3.5 percent margin of sampling error.

Michael E. Rau, an organizer of the Virginia chapter of United We Stand, America, a Perot offshoot, said he and others were "extremely disappointed" after Perot announced in July he would not become an official candidate.

Rau conceded that Perot is a long shot to win but said: "The least we will do is force the political structure in Washington to realize that the American people are watching them and are very unhappy in the way they are running our government."

Another Virginia Perot supporter, Ernest Byfield Jr., of Middleburg, condemned Perot's abandonment of the race in July as a "disgrace." But he remains committed to the Texan.

"A person who's been a success in business like he has is someone who has his feet on the ground," Byfield said.

Some area supporters said they were not disillusioned by Perot's off-again, on-again campaign.

"He saved himself $50 million in advertising by saying he wasn't going to run and then coming back in later," said Walker, 72, a retired businessman in Hagerstown.

In Maryland, Perot chipped in $155,000 to keep his campaign alive, the Associated Press reported. According to Federal Election Commission reports, nearly $2,900 went to his former Maryland state director and $3,000 to a spokeswoman. Nearly $40,000 went for Perot's June 24 arrival in Annapolis, an event that featured a brass band, placards, flags, T-shirts and a flotilla of boats that delivered petitions.

Volunteers in Maryland said reports of supposed volunteers drawing salaries had been "disruptive" but added that no volunteers are on the Perot payroll now.

William J. Weder II, 75, is helping direct the Perot volunteers in Talbot County, on the Eastern Shore.

Weder estimates that he lost 20 percent to 30 percent of his volunteers when Perot backed away in July.

"We're sort of waiting for the next two television ads to change the temperature of things," Weder said. "His numbers will go up. If people think he has a chance of winning, they'll come back."

Staff writer Robert F. Howe contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Perot Ad Hits 'Trickle-Down' GOP Economics

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Wielding a pointer and an array of charts, Ross Perot launched his advertising campaign last night with a broad attack on "trickle-down economics" that made no mention of the painful fiscal measures he advocates.

In a 30-minute commercial on CBS that he described as "our first town hall," the independent presidential candidate offered a grim assessment of America's declining competitiveness and "staggering" debt, mixed with such homilies as "It's pretty simple" and "Let's raise the hood and go to work."

The tone of the 30-minute program, which cost the billionaire Texan $380,000, was a marked contrast to the 30-second attack ads that President Bush and Democratic nominee Bill Clinton have been airing. It was the first of several "infomercials" the independent candidate plans to broadcast; the second, costing $620,000, is scheduled to air Friday night on ABC.

Perot made no direct appeal for votes, closing his lecture by saying, "Pick the president that you believe has the ability to get the job done for you and your children." He cited a 20 percent poverty rate among children as "the reason I'm willing to put my family through all of this. Not a single minute of this is pleasant. There's not a single second of this that anyone would do for fun."

The ad's austere quality was evident as Perot, seated behind a desk, used chart after chart to illustrate the nation's economic decline. Without naming names, he assailed the Reagan and Bush administrations for policies that allowed the rich to get richer while the federal government ran up a $4 trillion debt.



FROM CBS TV

Spending $380,000 for a 30-minute lecture on CBS television, Perot presented a marked contrast to the attack ads being aired by his presidential competitors.

"We were just like little boys playing with money," said Perot, who wrote the script. "It was 'The Bonfire of the Vanities.' It was 'The Predators' Ball.' Guess who picks up the tab." He also managed to mention bank robber Willie Sutton and Marie Antoinette.

Perot promised "solutions" in future programs, but avoided them last night. He spoke of the rising gasoline prices but did not mention his proposed 50-cent increase in the gas tax. He illustrated the growth of entitlement programs but steered clear of his proposal to trim cost-of-living increases for Social Security and Medicare.

Perot castigated the Bush administration on several points. He charged that the administration is planning "a $60 billion surprise" after the election to finance the continuing bailout of ailing savings and loan associations. (The Resolution Trust Corp., which is dealing with failing S&Ls, recently asked for an additional $43 billion.)

Perot said the Republican administrations were filled with dozens of officials who left to become lobbyists for foreign countries, which he called "economic treason." In an apparent reference to the Bush campaign, he said some foreign lobbyists, whom he likened to "Russian spies," are now working for presidential campaigns.

The computer magnate complained that the United States was spending $100 billion a year to defend Europe and Asia. "We're broke and they're rich. Think about it," he said.

Perot also got in some populist digs, saying Washington was a place of "perks and privileges" where top officials had indoor tennis courts, reserved parking spaces and official barbers.

Although the ad, with its simple editing and lack of visuals, broke all the conventional rules for holding viewers' attention, that may have enhanced Perot's "plain talk" appeal. Political analysts said they were impressed.

"What's unusual and frighteningly seductive about a diatribe like this is that for most Americans this is the first economics lesson they've ever had," said Republican consultant Jay Severin. "It could be devastatingly effective. It was broadcast rabble-rousing. Li'l Abner Live."

Democratic consultant Robert Shrum called the program "a devastating indictment of Reagan and Bush, and in that sense very helpful to Clinton. It had low production values and high content—you're not sure whether you're watching him or a [comedian-impressionist] Dana Carvey skit—but the way he did it may have worked to his advantage. It focuses you very heavily on the content."

The ads were made by Murphy Martin, a former Dallas anchorman who has worked with Perot since the late 1960s, when he helped Perot organize an airlift for prisoners of war in Vietnam. Martin said he has also prepared 30- and 60-second and five-minute spots, some biographical and some issue-oriented.

In July, during Perot's earlier presidential campaign, the billionaire dismissed prominent advertising consultant Hal Riney, saying his commercials were too slick and expensive. Days before announcing he would not run for president, Perot asked Martin to shoot some cheaper ads. Martin continued taping commercials throughout the summer, despite Perot's July 16 announcement.

Staff writer Michael Isikoff contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

In Colorado, Perot Gets a 2nd Chance

Cadre of Volunteers Renews Crusade

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer



Volunteers at Perot for President headquarters in Denver discuss a list of phone numbers of potential supporters.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

VAIL, Colo.—In Colorado, at least, the reports of the death, disillusionment or disintegration of Ross Perot's volunteer army are, as Mark Twain said, greatly exaggerated.

On Sunday afternoon, nearly 100 of his unpaid citizen-organizers from counties across the state overcame serious distractions to closet themselves in a basement hotel ballroom for six hours of intensive planning.

Conventional wisdom says they have no chance to put Perot back into the race, even in Colorado, where the Dallas billionaire was leading in public polls before he suspended campaigning back on July 16.

But the earnest Perotistas never looked up from their "buzz sessions" of campaigning ideas, from hand-painted window-shade signs for busy traffic corners to bookmarks with the biography of running-mate James B. Stockdale for insertion in the thousands of paperback copies of Perot's economic manifesto they plan to distribute.

Competing television and newspaper polls last week, on the eve of Perot's reentry, estimated his strength at 2 percent and 19 percent. Kristen French, executive director of the Colorado Republican Party and head of the Bush effort in the state, and Fred DuVall, director of the front-running Clinton campaign, both say Perot's support in the state is at best in the low teens and could be as low as 5 percent.

Both conceded that in an "independent" or "anti-establishment" state like Colorado, Perot initially had strong appeal. Last spring, his backers collected over 150,000 signatures to get him on the ballot—30 times the number needed. And prominent former elected officials—even some well-known lobbyists—lent their names to the effort.

But they dismiss the possibility of a Perot revival—perhaps too quickly, said Gov. Roy Romer (D), a friend and supporter of Bill Clinton. "I think he [Perot] lost a lot of his credibility going in and out," Romer said, "but there's a hunger out there for leaders who will tell it absolutely straight. And there's an innate wisdom in the West that you don't spend more than you earn and you don't eat your seed corn—and that is the cutting edge of the Perot message."

The energy and intensity of the group that met here—and their strikingly personal reasons for continuing the uphill battle—seemingly confirm Romer's hunch that it may be premature, in at least some states, to write off the potential of Perot becoming a significant factor in the presidential race, especially if he comes out of next week's debates looking like the sole purveyor of hard truths.

Meantime, the Perot campaign provides an unusual insight into what motivates people to political activism—even against the odds. Early in the session here, the volunteers were asked to say what the Perot candidacy meant to them:

"A hero."

"A willingness to tell the truth, even if people don't want to hear it."

"Keep the United States a sovereign nation—not part of a one-world government."

"Keep the American spirit alive."

"He inspires us to stop being followers—and be leaders."

"A paradigm shift in how government works."

"America First."

In subsequent interviews, many of those who had been involved early with Perot confessed that they were not immune from the general public resentment when he suddenly pulled the plug on the campaign last July.

Pat Mannion heard the news on his car radio and was so angry he pulled off the road and ripped off his Perot bumper sticker. Now he's handling the interviews with congressional and senatorial candidates who want the endorsement of the revived Perot organization.

Ron Ellsworth, now the state coordinator, said, "It bothered me a lot when Perot said he was getting out because he decided he couldn't win and would only mess up the race. We were on the way to winning this state."

But Ellsworth, a lifelong Republican and fourth-generation cattle rancher, said he hung in "for my children and grandchildren, who won't be able to grab hold of this American dream unless we change the way we're going."

Sharon Simms of Fort Collins, who toured the state with Ellsworth last month helping restart organizations in 53 of the 63 counties, is the only member of the early Fort Collins steering committee still active. Though her only previous political experience was helping a female candidate for the state senate in California, Simms said she finds the Perot movement "a great way to get reinvolved with good, positive-thinking people of all kinds," after the traumas of a prolonged illness, a divorce and multiple moves.

Together with a few score others, they kept the organization alive during the 10-week hiatus between Perot's withdrawal and his reentry.

"It was a very difficult period," said Janet Hubbard, a volunteer from Boulder.

There were fights over who would run the effort and there were departures. But the organization survived, because of people like Hubbard.

"After he withdrew, so many people fell away," she said. "There was real disappointment. But I thought it was more important than ever that we hold the organization together. I have been an independent for 30 years, never active in either party, and I knew that my lone voice had been unimportant. This was the first thing that gave people like me any influence."

And now a new generation of Perot fans is joining up. One of the newcomers at the Vail meeting was Michelle Paul of Littleton, a computer programmer's wife and mother of three young children, a Democratic voter with no prior political experience. She and her husband read "On Wings of Eagles," the account of Perot's rescue of his employees from an Iranian prison, on their summer vacation in Europe, "and I just fell in love with the man."

More recently, she raced through Perot's new paperback manifesto on political reform and economic revival, 'United We Stand, America.' " After that, "I made up my mind I was not going to be a victim any more, just standing passively by while the politicians ruined my country and my children's future. I signed up two weeks ago, and now I'm doing it virtually full time. I feel powerful. It's exciting. I've never been involved in anything like this before."

By Friday, the county coordinators like those who met here will have computerized lists of the 13,000 people who worked actively in last spring's petition drive, a list which Diane Rees, the former Perot spokeswoman, said, "Both parties have been salivating to get their hands on."

The names of the 150,000 petition signers will follow, as soon as enough volunteers have been found to log the names into computers, and the books will be sent out for distribution. And the volunteers will hit the precincts, by phone and on foot.

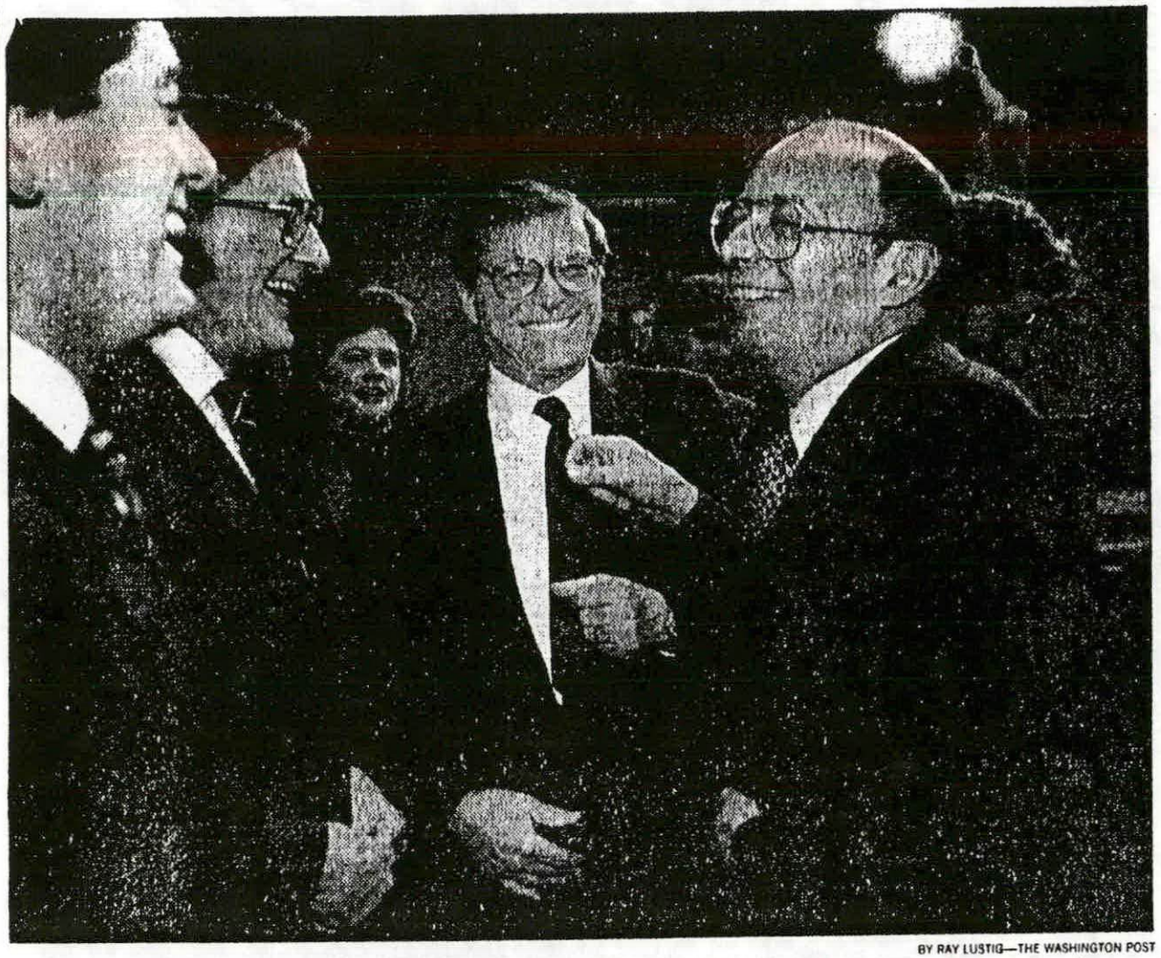
Come Election Day, Colorado and the country will learn how many outside this highly motivated circle agree with words of the pep song volunteer Marie Zerby wrote and sang at the meeting:

"He's a light at the end of the tunnel.

"He's a breath of fresh air.

"H. Ross Perot is the answer to our prayers."

The Washington Post
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992



BY RAY LUSTIG—THE WASHINGTON POST

After ending a 15-hour-plus filibuster, Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.), right, is greeted by James Wholey, left, a former staff worker, and GOP Sens. John H. Chafee (R.I.) and Pete V. Domenici (N.M.), center, in Senate's radio and TV gallery.

Senate Bogs Down On Taxes, Energy

House Passes Urban Aid, Adjourns

By Helen Dewar and Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writers

Reeling from an all-night filibuster, the Senate bogged down over most of its remaining business for the year yesterday amid doubts that a $27 billion tax bill will be enacted.

The House approved the tax bill, which contains a package of urban aid initiatives, before it adjourned, but by an unexpectedly close vote of 208 to 202. The bill then ran into trouble in the Senate, starting with a nearly 16-hour filibuster by Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-N.Y.).

A White House official said last night that President Bush would veto the bill if it reaches his desk and that the president hopes the Senate will not pass the bill before it adjourns.

"If the bill gets to the president's desk, it will be vetoed," the administration official said. "I think the House vote shows a lot of people are very uncomfortable with it, and we aren't going to sign it."

Bush, boxed in by his recent campaign pledge to never "ever" again raise taxes and his criticism of Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton as a taxer and spender, originally favored many features in the bill but has appeared reluctant to sign a bill financed by three dozen revenue raisers that technically could be described as tax increases.

"The tax bill is destined for burial," Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) told reporters after the D'Amato filibuster. Acting House Appropriations Committee Chairman William H. Natcher (D-Ky.) agreed. "It's not going anywhere," he said.

After dealing with the tax bill and approving legislation designed to curb the violent "carjacking" of occupied vehicles, the House shut down at midday. Senate Majority

See CONGRESS, A4, Col. 1

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

CONGRESS, From A1

Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) said the Senate might not complete work on the tax bill, energy legislation and a package of western-state water projects before Monday.

However, the increasingly frustrated and impatient Senate late last night reached agreement on a voting schedule that could result in completion of work on all three bills and adjournment by late Thursday or early Friday.

Official adjournment of the 102nd Congress will not take place until the Senate joins the House in finishing its business.

The tax bill cleared its first hurdle when D'Amato ended his filibuster, which aimed at amending the measure to protect 875 import-threatened factory jobs in New York.

D'Amato held the floor from 9:30 p.m. Monday until shortly before 1 p.m. yesterday, never sitting down or leaving the chamber and pausing only to allow the chaplain to open yesterday's session with a prayer.

D'Amato said he abandoned his filibuster when the House adjourned, foreclosing chances of modifying the tax bill to save the jobs, and because Mitchell served notice that he intended to force the tax bill to a vote by invoking cloture on the measure later this week.

"The tax bill is destined for burial."
—Senate GOP Leader Robert J. Dole

If the Senate fails to force the tax bill to final passage, it will drag down with it a package of urban initiatives—including creation of 50 urban and rural enterprise zones—that was once touted as Washington's response to the Los Angeles riots and the urban crisis.

"Even before it left the House, I figured this bill was problematic," said Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Calif.), whose central Los Angeles district was hardest hit by the riots. Waters said she had given up hope of obtaining assistance from the bill and had shifted her efforts to obtaining housing and community development funding from other sources.

The Senate's self-torturing approach to lawmaking did not end with D'Amato's decision to drop his filibuster.

Moving to the water projects bill, which contains highly controversial provisions diverting water from California farmers, the Senate ran immediately into objections from Sen. John Seymour (R-Calif.), who, like D'Amato, faces political problems and needs to show he can deliver for constituents.

Although reading of bills is normally waived, Seymour, who helped D'Amato with his filibuster, demanded a word-by-word recitation of the 375-page water bill, which went on for several hours before being suspended when negotiations on the voting schedule began.

The energy bill, including a variety of proposals adding up to the most important overhaul of energy programs in a decade, faces delays from Nevada Democratic Sens. Richard H. Bryan and Harry Reid, who object to provisions that could expedite location of a nuclear waste facility at Yucca Mountain, Nev.

The Senate planned no votes through sundown tonight for observance of the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur. It is expected to invoke cloture on the energy bill and force it to a vote, possibly by Thursday, unless the two Nevadans embark on post-cloture delays.

The tax bill began its journey on Saturday evening, when House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) and Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) reached tentative agreement on its provisions.

The bill would provide an array of tax incentives and other spending measures for the enterprise zones; restoration of independent retirement account (IRA) benefits for middle- and upper-income taxpayers, and a number of "economic growth incentives" that Bush advocated.

The five-year bill also would repeal the luxury tax on yachts, private airplanes, jewelry and furs, extend a dozen popular tax credits that expired, and restore the "passive loss" tax deduction to the depressed real estate industry.

House Republicans, who caucused Monday afternoon, found much in the bill they liked, especially the repeal of the luxury tax and an economic growth package they have championed for the past year. Yet most assumed that Bush would veto the bill because it contained revenue raisers that resembled "tax increases," and were reluctant to support the bill.

"I'm really torn," House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) said.

For their part, the Democrats were tepid in their support. Many doubted the bill would do much to help the economy and thought the money earmarked for distressed urban areas was a drop in the bucket. Others, like Budget Committee Chairman Leon E. Panetta (D-Calif.), feared that Bentsen's IRA provisions would drain the treasury in the long run.

House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (Mo.) and other Democratic leaders had made the tax package a top priority, but most of the leadership's attention was focused Monday on overriding Bush's veto of the cable television regulation bill.

By the time the tax bill cleared the Rules Committee and hit the floor, shortly before 2 a.m. yesterday, exhausted and restless House members voiced skepticism about the bill. Some warned that the leadership was asking them to support a complicated bill that might contain overly generous special-interest measures or other "time bombs" that could come back to haunt them.

"Look at this," Rep. Gerald B. H. Solomon (R-N.Y.) said while holding up the voluminous tax code revisions. "You could get a hernia. . . . There isn't one man in this chamber who knows what's in this bill."

By the time the roll call was completed, at 4:10 a.m., 169 Democrats had joined with 39 Republicans to adopt the bill. The legislation was opposed by 79 Democrats, 122 Republicans and one independent.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

D'Amato Mixes Song With Talk in Filibuster

Senator Holds Forth All Night

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

It was shortly after 11 a.m., and Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-N.Y.) had been holding the Senate floor without interruption for nearly 14 hours when Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) arrived to say he heard D'Amato had given a splendid wee-hours-of-the-morning rendition of "The Eyes of Texas."

When was that, Bentsen asked sweetly. "Maybe I could get a tape."

"I've lost track," D'Amato responded jovially. "It must have been about 4:30," he added. He meant a.m., not p.m.

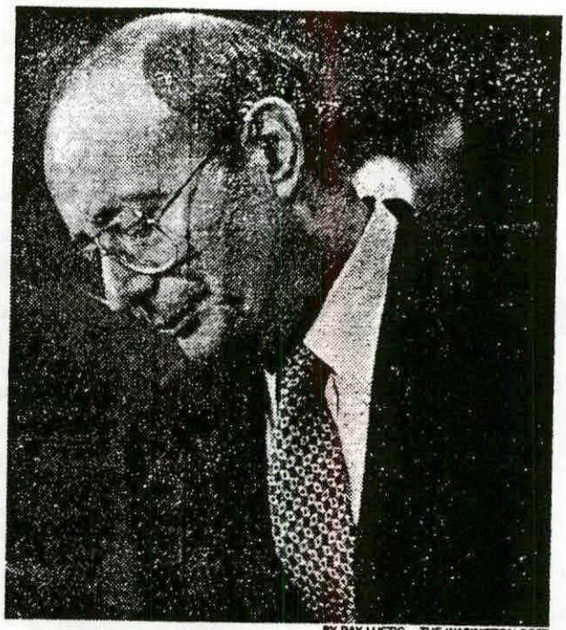
And so it went for hour after hour as the Senate staged something resembling an old-fashioned stand-there-and-talk filibuster, upholding a tradition that is as old as the republic, although it has evolved over the years into something that the founders probably did not have in mind.

By the time D'Amato stopped blocking the tax bill in hopes of amending it to save several hundred New York factory jobs, he had logged less than 16 hours, well short of the record 24-plus hours set by Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) in a 1957 battle against civil rights legislation.

But, by holding the floor in flamboyant fashion, D'Amato had restored some of the old theatrical luster to the now largely trivialized filibuster, which is used so routinely to delay action that it has lost nearly all of its dramatic and symbolic effect.

He probably also helped himself in New York, where a recent poll shows him trailing state Attorney General Robert Abrams (D) in his bid for a third senatorial term in the Nov. 3 election.

Webster's dictionary describes the filibuster as a delaying tactic used by a minority to delay or prevent action by the majority, dating back to the term "freebooter," or more particularly to Americans who fomented insurrections in Latin America during the last century.



BY RAY LUSTIG—THE WASHINGTON POST

D'Amato gives old-fashioned, stand-and-talk performance.

According to Congressional Quarterly, the Senate was only six months old in 1789 when foes of a bill to locate the nation's capital on the Susquehanna River employed delaying tactics that later came to be known as "filibusters."

But the threat of a filibuster has now become so overused that senators no longer even bother to take the floor to show they care. Instead, they send what amounts to an inter-office memo serving notice that they might exercise their filibuster rights, which forces the other side to produce 60 votes to invoke cloture and thus limit debate—a hurdle that cannot always be scaled.

What D'Amato did was to do it the old-fashioned way: on his feet. Not that every senator would agree that D'Amato was speaking on behalf of a great issue of state. He was seeking to save the jobs of 875 workers at a Smith-Corona typewriter plant in Cortland, N.Y., that is planning to move to Mexico because of what it calls product-dumping by a competitor.

D'Amato insisted it was a crusade on behalf of jobs everywhere that are endangered by unfair trade practices.

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at noon.
Committees: none.

HOUSE

Not in session.
Committees: none.

The Washington Post
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Richard Harwood

'The Final Score'

The faint rumbling in the background in these early days of October is no sign that Mother Nature is bilious. It is the press you hear, unlimbering and sighting its guns for the final barrages of the presidential campaign: The Endorsements.

In recent years, the earth has not trembled the way it once did during this period. American newspapers in the 20th century to a considerable extent have depoliticized themselves. As often as not they are spectators rather than participants in our political wars. In 1988, more than half of them remained neutral throughout the George Bush-Michael Dukakis campaign. Even some of our most intensely political sheets—The Washington Post, is a case in point—never left the sidelines in that election. The New York Times fired a token salvo or two in support of Dukakis, but its heart wasn't in it. The Los Angeles Times and the Baltimore Sun were among the hundreds taking oaths of silence or declaring a plague on both houses. We'll see more of that this year.

The Sun has not endorsed a presidential candidate since anointing Jimmy Carter in 1980 and may never do so again. The paper's editorial page editor, Joseph L. R. Sterne, explained for the Sun's readers recently that information overload at this period in our history has made endorsements redundant. "No one needs our guidance," he said. "People can . . . make up their own minds." The Sun's sister paper, the Los Angeles Times, takes essentially the same position. Their common corporate parent is the Times-Mirror Co.

Belligerency, of course, is not entirely a thing of the past. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the Seattle Times and Detroit Free Press have come out for Bill Clinton. The Boston Globe, The Washington Post and The New York Times have made no formal commitments, but it is clear they will declare for Clinton soon. They have been blasting Bush daily for weeks on end.

Jack Rosenthal, editorial page editor at the Times, seems especially fired up for the fray. He will soon move to another executive position at the paper. So this will be his last chance to get in some licks from the editorial firing pit. He has no patience with editors who preach neutrality at endorsement time: "Newspapers tell readers every day what they ought to think about every issue under the sun. If they are going to assume the responsibility—and the arrogance and ambition—to want to call all the balls and strikes inning by inning [during a president's term] . . . don't they have the responsibility to add it all up at election time and give the final score?"

Ernest Imhoff, the Baltimore Sun's reader representative (a k a ombudsman) sides with Rosenthal on this issue. "Voters can't duck votes and editorial writers shouldn't duck such decisions," he wrote. "We should tell readers who the institution thinks should be president; otherwise we're telling readers the institution doesn't know."

The problem here is that in an age of corporate journalism and media conglomeration, institutions speak with many voices; their identities have gotten to be extremely blurred. The Sun, as a case in point, is no longer the autonomous Chesapeake Bay institution of days gone by. It lost that independent identity when it was bought up a few years ago by Times-Mirror, a California-based company. Its editorial board, consisting of a half-dozen or so members, may speak for itself but does not always or necessarily speak for those absentee managers and proprietors who write the checks and own the presses.

This is the condition of most of our newspapers. They are corporate outposts rather than independent entities with distinctive regional or national voices. They become homogenized "products," wearing the same faces and speaking in the same accents from coast to coast and border to border.

Furthermore, the companies to which they belong have for the most part distanced themselves from political involvements. The vice president of Thomson Newspapers, one of the largest chains, said a couple of years ago, "We do not get involved in anything along that line." These executives are not political brawlers. They do not seek public office or raise millions for those who do. They do not manage campaigns or broker political conventions. Some of them don't even vote.

In partisan terms, they tend to be eunuchs, unlike the colorful and passionate newspaper entrepreneurs of the 19th century and the early decades of this one. Horace Greeley of the New York Tribune, one of the founders of the Republican Party, would boast in front-page advertisements that "there is not a slave-trader on this continent who does not know and hate the TRIBUNE; there is not a [whiskey distiller] who does not consider it a very dangerous and immoral paper. . . . [We are part of] that mighty REPUBLICAN movement which . . . is destined to . . . unite the true hearts and strong arms of the free-souled [anti-slavery forces of the United States]." A few years later he ran for president.

There are no Greeleys in newspaper boardrooms today nor in our newsrooms, for that matter. The "professionalization" of journalism in this century has brought with it standards and ethical codes that disapprove strongly of partisanship or propaganda in the news columns. To ensure this state of virtue, psychological (and often physical) walls are erected between editorial page staffs and newsrooms. This sometimes produces situations in which a particular newspaper—the Wall Street Journal is an often used example—seems to be in perpetual conflict with itself. At the least it raises questions about the true voice of the institution: Does it emanate from the news or the editorial pages?

For all these reasons, the artillery of the press is muted this autumn. Some of its guns have been permanently spiked. Others have been beaten into plowshares or put into the service of the spotted owl. The news business has not, as a consequence, lost its social utility. It's just more languid and a teensy bit dull.

The Washington Post
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

David S. Broder

Let's Hear It for Foreign Policy

DENVER—Foreign policy has been the neglected topic most of this presidential campaign, but it is not a question voters can safely overlook when they go to the polls next month. Whether they choose to or not, American presidents end up making fateful national security choices—decisions that advance or diminish the prospects for peace in the world and safety for this country.

This is supposed to be President Bush's great strength, but there are a good many reasons why the choice is not so simple as it first appears.

Clearly, Bush has vastly more experience than his challengers, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot, and seemingly is much more of a known quantity. He has worked at the top level of diplomacy since he went to the United Nations two decades ago. His national security team of James Baker, Brent Scowcroft, Lawrence Eagleburger, Dick Cheney and Colin Powell may be the strongest and smoothest-working since World War II.

Bush's experience shows. When Clinton tried last week in Milwaukee to outline a new approach to foreign policy, he was far less specific in delineating changes than Bush had been in an address to the United Nations 10 days earlier. Perot has said little about foreign policy except to remind people that he opposed the gulf war.

And yet there is a dimension of Bush's record that I find troubling. No foreign policy, however wise, can be sustained for long by the American people without a high degree of trust in the president. Confidence in Bush has been badly eroded by the lagging performance of the domestic economy—a subject on which Bush can do little at this point but argue that Clinton might make things worse.

But Bush's trustworthiness also has been brought into question by his failure to respond candidly to the questions that have been raised about his part in the sale of arms to Iran during the Reagan administration and his policy toward Iraq in the years preceding its invasion of Kuwait.

The first is a subject on which I have written repeatedly. I return to it now because almost every week brings fresh evidence challenging Bush's contention that he was "out of the loop" and essentially passive when President Reagan made his fateful decision to trade arms for hostages. As the issue has gotten hotter, Scowcroft, the national security adviser, has felt prompted to call me and ask me to amplify the previous discussion of his comment on this subject when I questioned him about it on an Aug. 30 "Meet the Press." I am happy to do so.

After citing some of the evidence that has emerged, I asked Scowcroft if he thought Bush's previous denial of any knowledge that then-Secretary of State George Shultz and then-Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger strongly opposed the arms sale "was a truthful statement."

Scowcroft: "I think it's quite possible it was [a] truthful statement."

Broder: "Quite possible?"

Scowcroft: "I see no reason that it would not—that is was not."

Unfortunately, there are now multiple reasons to doubt its veracity. Weinberger immediately challenged it, as we learned recently when a Shultz memo on his conversation with Weinberger became public. And a former National Security Council aide has stepped forward to say he participated in detailed briefings of Bush on the arms sale.

A similar and perhaps even stickier problem surrounds Bush's pre-Kuwait policy toward Iraq, spelled out in a speech last week by the Democratic vice presidential candidate Albert Gore Jr., the senator from Tennessee. Vice President Quayle called Gore's claim that the U.S. government had coddled Saddam Hussein and facilitated his military buildup "nonsense," but the evidence is very strong that the Bush administration did just that—in the face of serious warnings.

Asking Bush to respond to these questions is not rummaging in the past. It is a minimal request that someone who seeks a renewed mandate take steps to restore trust in his judgment by being candid about what he did—and even more important, what he has learned—in these incidents.

Clinton also has questions to answer—more, really, because of the absence of a record in foreign policy. Here are two:

He has claimed he was a supporter of the Bush decision to send forces against Saddam Hussein. But he has never challenged the accuracy of his stunningly ambivalent statement of Jan. 15, 1991: "I guess I would have voted with the majority [for authorization of hostilities] if it was a close vote. But I agree with the argument the minority made." What kind of waffling is that?

A second question: Clinton has criticized Bush for building a foreign policy "more on personal relationships with foreign leaders" than on solid principles reflecting American values.

But Clinton's pattern in domestic politics also displays a great emphasis on personal relationships. He has had an eclectic mixture of people—from dovish McGovern-Carter advisers such as Anthony Lake to hawkish congressional Democrats such as Sam Nunn—review his foreign policy speeches. Doesn't that suggest the likelihood of conflict—and a good deal of dithering by an inexperienced president—if Clinton is elected?

These are matters that cry out for discussion in the coming debates.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

William Raspberry

Ethics For Everyone

What with Dan Quayle and "Murphy Brown" and a sneering press, "family values" has become something of a shibboleth—calculated less to communicate than to divide. The debate, which might have helped us take a new look at what is happening to our society, has instead launched a useless civil war: single-parent households against "Ozzie and Harriett" against working-mother families against gay couples.

How refreshing, then, to have David Kearns say something as sensible as this:

"More and more children are growing up today without the 'nuclear family' that we had. . . . No matter what sort of family they grow up in, all children need to develop good ethics."

The whole thing, you see, is about children: how to educate them, humanize them and give them the tools they'll need to straighten out the mess they'll inherit from us.

That being so, said Kearns, the point is not to argue which sort of family arrangement is best but how best to make sure that our children—all our children—acquire the values they need. He believes he knows how.

"The key to these values," he said in a lecture prepared for 175 chief executive officers assembled by the Washington-based Ethics Resource Center and BusinessWeek magazine, "is education. We are not born with values. They are taught, learned and practiced . . . at home, in school, on the playground and in our neighborhoods; by the way we act as adults, by the way we conduct our businesses and by the way we treat each other."

Kearns, former chairman and CEO of Xerox and now deputy secretary of education, is recovering from cancer surgery and was unable to deliver the lecture last Friday. Diane Ravitch, assistant secretary of education, read it for him.

The lecture (first in a series named in honor of Stanley C. Pace, former CEO of General Dynamics) was an attempt on Kearns's part to pull together certain themes he has been stressing for several years: the need to educate all of our children and to make our businesses competitive—and the importance of ethics to both enterprises.

He dismissed as irrelevant the debate about whether we should teach values (as opposed to teaching *about* values) in the schools.

"The bottom line is that all of our schools already teach values," he said. "They teach them every day in every class and in their halls and gyms." We teach values intentionally, as when, in the wake of the Los Angeles riots, teachers got their students talking about societal neglect and personal responsibility—right and wrong. And we teach them inadvertently—whether by setting solid personal examples or by giving academic credit in spite of skipped classes and indifferent study habits.

"There is no such thing as a value-neutral education," Kearns noted. "Everything is not relative; there are plenty of constants in our American values. Truth is better than dishonesty. Fairness is better than prejudice. . . . If you exclude values from schools, you will only teach that values aren't important. You send the message that the foundation of America isn't worth teaching, and you provide no alternative to what children see on television.

"Yes, children will decide what values are important to them, but they need to know what values are important to *us*, and why."

What is true of schools is also true of companies. As Kearns told his former colleagues, "A company's ethics are reflected in the people it employs, the opportunities it provides them through training and services and the way it conducts internal business. . . . You either promote good ethics or you allow bad ethics to develop."

The "good ethics" he espouses involve not just the avoidance of questionable corporate behavior but also how corporate leadership is solving community problems—including the problem of disaffected, embittered and hopeless children.

"We must restore our communities," he urged. "Communities are about values, . . . people who share common principles, who share respect, responsibility and a sense of belonging. It is here that we must turn to ensure the education of our children. Our communities must agree to come together to take responsibility for the upbringing of our children."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Another Win for the Zealots

THE MOST extreme abortion opponents in the Republican Party scored a final shameful victory Monday when they succeeded in killing a major research bill because of a far-fetched fear that it would encourage abortions. The measure, which had the support of 85 senators, including such abortion opponents as Strom Thurmond, Mark Hatfield, John Danforth, David Durenburger and Dennis DeConcini, was a reauthorization bill for the National Institutes of Health that would have lifted the five-year-old presidential ban on fetal tissue research. It will be the first order of business when the Senate reconvenes in January, but it is possible that the fetal research provision won't even be necessary by then, since Gov. Clinton has promised that if he is elected he will lift the ban immediately.

Because research on fetal tissue transplants shows great promise in treating Parkinson's disease, Alzheimer's, diabetes and spinal cord injury, scientists have consistently urged that the Reagan-era restrictions be removed. A panel of experts convened by the Department of Health and Human Services and including theologians, physicians, scientists and lawyers (some of whom are opponents of abortion) recommended the change and specifically found that allowing research would not encourage abortion. President Bush ignored that report and earlier this year vetoed a bill that would have changed the policy while providing strong safeguards to protect donors and criminalize the use of tissue that has been sold or donated for the benefit of a specific person. Instead, the president announced the creation of a tissue bank that would accept only material from ectopic pregnancies and spontaneous abortions.

Experts in the field believe that these two sources will not produce enough tissue for useful research. Nevertheless, Sen. Edward Kennedy responded with a new bill. Give the president's tissue bank a year to work, he said, and then allow the use of tissue from induced abortions only when the bank is not capable of providing enough material. This was not good enough for the hard-liners, and they began to stall last week. Though 85 senators voted to proceed to the motion to consider the measure, that's merely the first step toward passage; many hours of debate and a second cloture vote were threatened. By Monday, with no word of compromise or encouragement from the White House, the bill was taken down.

This issue is so tangentially connected to abortion, so needlessly tied up in the most unreasonable fears of abortion opponents, that it provides ample evidence of how deeply in thrall to the hard right the president is. Once again, he has capitulated to those on the fringe whose arguments have been rejected even by many of the Senate's most consistent abortion opponents. This disgraceful triumph of hysteria over medical research will be remembered and must be reversed.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

One Last Good Bill

THE UNDISTINGUISHED 102nd Congress set out to reform all sorts of things: the banking system, the health care system, aid to higher education, unemployment compensation, the solid waste disposal laws, its own misbegotten system of campaign finance. Partly for failings of its own and partly because of resistance on the part of the president (who, for example, vetoed a good campaign finance reform bill), it mostly failed.

The Senate, however, still has it in its power to achieve one solid structural reform. It ought to crush a threatened final-hours filibuster on behalf of California agribusiness and adopt a House-passed western water bill. The legislation, while hardly the threat to agriculture that its critics describe, would nonetheless transform the way federal water is distributed in California and, by implication and example, in the western desert generally. Instead of all the water going to agriculture and other forms of development, some would be reserved for environmental purposes. It's a change of policy long past due.

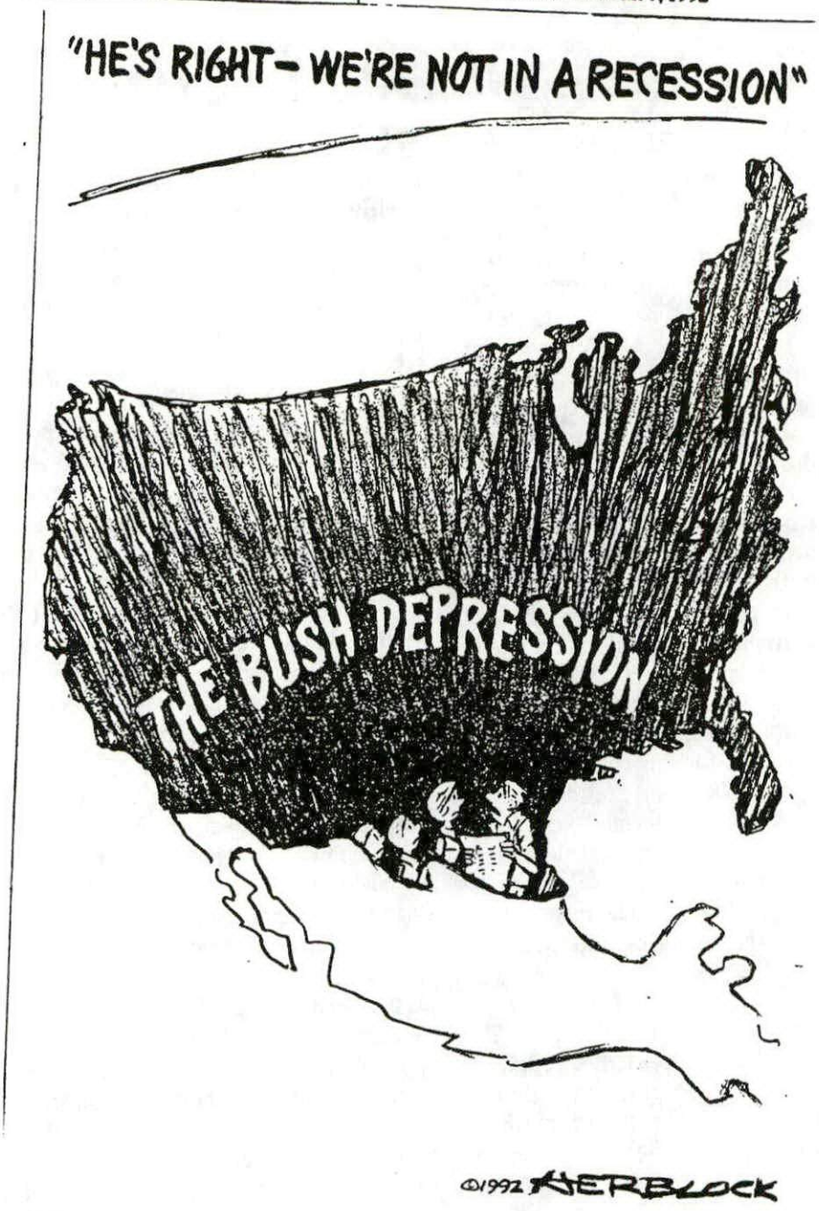
Western water policy was formed when the arid West was empty; the goal was development. The policy was an enormous success, which is one of the reasons it now needs to be moderated. California as ever is the best example. Most of the flowing water in the state is in the north, in rivers that descend from the mountains to converge in the San Francisco Bay and delta. The surface supply has been increased through a series of dams. In one of the great such public works projects in history, the water is then pumped south to irrigate the Central Valley, a major agricultural region, and to supply Los Angeles beyond. The desert has been reclaimed, but at a cost. The pumping has done great environmental damage in the north and in the delta, an enormous wetland and plant and animal breeding area. Entire species of salmon and other fish and wildlife have been placed in jeopardy. Drainage and related problems have begun to take an environmental toll in the valley as well.

The administration has claimed to have no choice but to continue present policy, as the valley growers want it to. As contracts to deliver subsidized water to the growers have expired, it has begun to renew them for another 40 years. In effect that left it up to Congress to change policy. The bill would require the interior secretary to save a minimal amount of water off the top for environmental purposes; help create a market in water by letting valley and other farmers sell their entitlements; and impose a small extra fee on the water to set up an environmental restoration fund.

California Republican John Seymour, behind in the polls in his race for reelection, is threatening the filibuster. Gov. Pete Wilson also opposes the bill, and the administration has threatened a veto. But the legislation containing the California provisions authorizes major water projects all across the West, such that western senators of both parties want it passed and a veto would be hard to cast in an election year. The Senate will apparently have time to take a cloture vote and pass the bill on Thursday. On a number of occasions in the past two years, this Congress has had to step into a policy vacuum left by a reluctant administration. This is one of them.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992



Walsh Seeks Review of Poindexter Case

Independent Counsel Asks Court to Reinstate Iran-Contra Conviction

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writer

Independent Counsel Lawrence E. Walsh yesterday asked the Supreme Court to reinstate the Iran-contra conviction of former national security adviser John M. Poindexter that was set aside by an appeals court last November.

In asking the Supreme Court review, Walsh said that if the 2 to 1 ruling by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia is allowed to stand, it would make most obstruction laws worthless and "frustrate both congressional oversight and criminal prosecution of a substantial range of wrongful conduct."

Poindexter was found guilty in April 1990 on two counts of obstructing Congress, two counts of making false statements and one of conspiring to destroy documents. He was sentenced to six months in prison, at the time the only target of Walsh's basic probe to be given a jail term.

The majority appeals court opinion—written by Judge David H. Ginsburg, who was appointed by President Ronald Reagan—set a new standard for prosecution of individuals who have been given immunity to testify before Congress or other bodies.

Walsh called for reversal of the appeals court ruling that required all of Poindexter's conviction be set aside because witnesses could not prove their testimony was unaffected by having heard Poindexter's immunized testimony before Congress. That finding, Walsh said, "will make almost impossible the prosecution of any case involving public immunized statements that requires testimony by persons sympathetic to the accused, such as co-conspirators or other associates."

Walsh also criticized the finding that language in the obstruction of Congress statute is "unconstitutionally vague as applied to Poindexter's conduct." In his brief, Walsh said the appeals court justices were calling vague a term "that appears in some 18 federal criminal statutes, and declared unintelligible to ordinary persons a provision whose antecedents run back (in something very like its present form) more than 160 years."

He also pointed out that the decision on the obstruction count runs counter to cases affirmed by six other appeals courts and has affected other Iran-contra prosecutions.

U.S. District Judge Royce Lamberth, for example, removed one count in the trial of former CIA spymaster Clair E. George and U.S. District Judge Thomas Hogan last month ordered dropped a key obstruction count in the indictment of former defense secretary Caspar W. Weinberger.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Court Weighs Limits on Antiabortion Tactics

Justices Consider Whether 'Ku Klux Klan Law' Should Apply to Alexandria Protesters

By Joan Biskupic
Washington Post Staff Writer

After affirming last term the constitutional right to abortion, the Supreme Court was asked yesterday how far it is willing to go to protect women trying to exercise that right.

Justices are considering for a second time, after failing to reach agreement last term, the difficult question of whether a federal civil rights law protects women trying to gain access to clinics blockaded by Operation Rescue.

The case of *Bray v. Alexandria Women's Clinic* will become part of the new terrain mapped out by a court that last June upheld the right to abortion, but with restrictions. A new abortion doctrine will emerge as the justices refine the standards of last term's decision in *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey* through subsequent abortion-related disputes.

The *Bray* case involves the highly public and controversial tactics of Operation Rescue, whose members assert that they are trying to "rescue" fetuses. They use their bodies to block access to clinics that perform abortions, often chaining themselves in doorways. Their methods have made great fodder for the nightly news, as police have been forced to carry away their limp bodies, most visibly in Buffalo last summer, and a year earlier in Wichita, Kan.

At stake is whether federal courts—and attendant law enforcement officials—are able to stop the protests. If federal courts do not have jurisdiction, the clinics and women who want to bring a legal action against protesters must rely on varying state laws and the limited resources of state and local police.

The more emotional and political side of the debate took place outside the court yesterday where dozens of protesters clamored for news media attention. The rhetoric had decidedly political overtones.

Noting that Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton supports abortion rights, Operation Rescue founder Randall A. Terry passed out fliers that said: "To vote for Bill Clinton is to sin against God." National Organization for Women President Patricia Ireland opened her statement by saying that the Bush administration, which has joined the case on the side of Operation Rescue, was supporting "vigilante mobs at the clinics."

Jayne Bray of Bowie, the named petitioner in the case and the wife of convicted abortion clinic bomber Michael Bray, defended Operation Rescue after she first told reporters that she is four months pregnant and then detailed the development of the fetus.

The difficulty of the legal issue arises from the test at the heart of the federal law abortion rights advocates have invoked. It requires that parties relying on it show a conspiracy to deprive them of equal protection under the law and a "class-based animus" on the part of the antagonists. The statute, popularly known as the "Ku Klux Klan law," was written after the Civil War to protect blacks from mob violence. The lawyers for the abortion clinic say that Operation Rescue has specifically targeted women, because only women can have abortions.

Operation Rescue officials counter that they are against abortions and are protesting any woman or man involved in the procedure, whether they are running the clinics or seeking to end a pregnancy.

In yesterday's oral arguments, both sides tried to make use of narrow sections of the *Casey* ruling. Deborah Ellis, of the National Organization for Women Legal Defense and Educational Fund, stressed that *Casey* said an abortion right has enabled women to control their own destinies and to achieve equality in the workplace.

To interfere with abortion, she said, is to interfere with equal rights of women. She called Operation Rescue's blockades part of a "systematic, nationwide conspiracy" against women.

Jay Sekulow, representing Operation Rescue, emphasized that the court's opinion in *Casey* said people rightfully disagree about whether a woman should be able to end a pregnancy.

"If men and women of good conscience can disagree, how can opposition to abortion constitute invidious discrimination against women," Sekulow asked. He also noted



PHOTOS BY NANCY ANDREWS—THE WASHINGTON POST

Kye Briesath of the District, left, confronts antiabortion activist Dan Martino of Chattanooga, Tenn., at Supreme Court.

SUPREME COURT CALENDAR

The Supreme Court will hear oral argument today from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. in the following cases:

No. 91-687. *Montana v. Imlay.* Constitutionality of revocation of sex offender's probation because he would not admit guilt in therapy program. (One hour.)

No. 91-7328. *Herrera v. Collins.* Constitutionality of denying a convicted murderer a federal hearing and allowing execution, when defendant may be innocent. (One hour.)

No. 91-990. *Farrar v. Hobby.* Ability of civil rights plaintiffs to win attorneys' fees when the plaintiffs have won only nominal damages. (One hour.)

At stake is whether federal courts—and attendant law enforcement officials—are able to stop the protests.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

The White House Gets the Willies

One Month To Go and the Joint Is Jumpy.

By Martha Sherrill
Washington Post Staff Writer

You are a Republican, employed because of your politics, and lately you've noticed something weird. Your friends outside the party—and you do have a few of those friends—have started tiptoeing around the subject of George Bush. They aren't arguing with you anymore. In better days, they'd whine and complain and bait you. Now they sit quietly, at lunches and luncheons, *trying to be sensitive to your feelings.*

The poll results just sit there on the front page, bordered in black like a new widow's stationery. It's like reading your horoscope: You say you don't believe a word of it, but. You turn on the television and see Bill Clinton walking with Admiral Crowe. You saw Clinton two weeks ago, on TV too, surrounded by CEOs who support him. *How could anybody support that guy?* In Time magazine, you read that Marshall Bush, George's 6-year-old granddaughter, told a classmate in Virginia that grandpa "won't be president much longer." Somebody tells you that they heard Dan Quayle plans to give up politics and move to Arizona to run his family's newspaper. You hear another rumor that Mrs. Bush is discouraged and crabby, but then you see her on C-Span's a couple weeks later at that whistle-stop thing in Ohio—and she looks fantastic. And you feel great! So much better! But *why?* And suddenly, you're not feeling so great.

You are one of 3,000 government workers serving at the pleasure of George Bush, and things are getting just a little bit schizo.

"Oh, today we're very upbeat!" says Sam Skinner, the former White House chief of staff, answering his own phone at the Republican National Committee last Thursday. "But there'll be something else tomorrow," he says. "You'll find it goes way up, and way down."

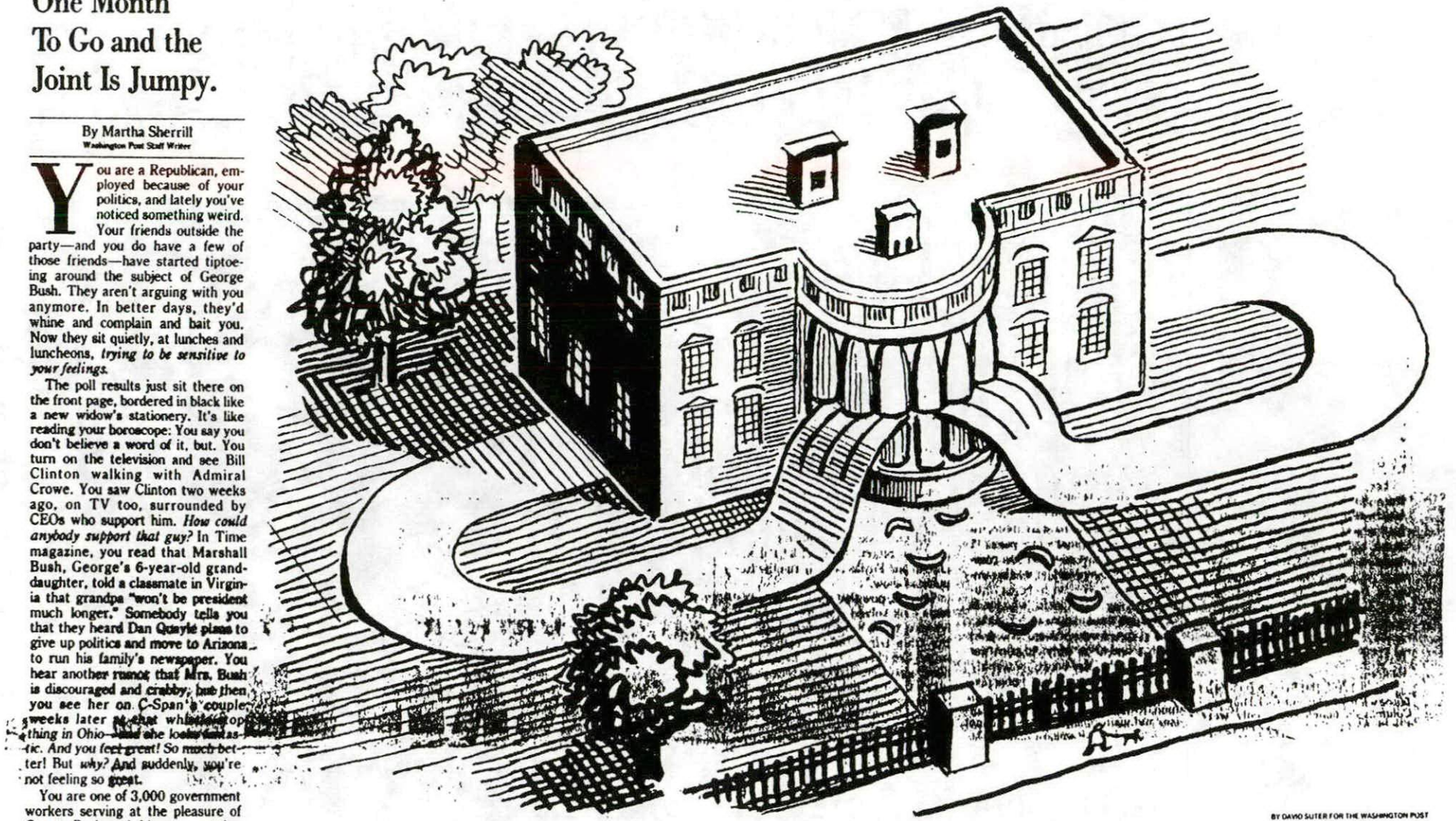
Panic indeed set in last week, followed by a desperate optimism when the news spread that the president wanted to debate Clinton three times before the election on Nov. 3. After Ross Perot announced he was back in—maybe taking votes from Clinton—the Republican mood soared, although precariously. "Of course," whispers one consultant who has grown wealthy off his Republican connections, "the ultimate nightmare is that Perot will bail out right before the election *and endorse Clinton.*"

Mania, then grumpiness. Numbness, then confidence, then doubts. Some of the campaign staff have that tentative, limp look of helium balloons after three days on the ceiling. Late hours, morning headaches, creeping anxiety. White House staffers, making every attempt to seem positive, say they felt "great relief" when James Baker took over as chief of staff—everything, let him take over *everything*—but then another depression settled over the GOP on Sept. 22, when the ABC News/Washington Post poll showed Bush 21 points behind Clinton. Even though some of the staff took comfort in campaign co-chairman Robert Teeter's own polls—which showed the race was considerably closer—it wasn't exactly enough. "Black Monday," somebody whispers, even though it was a Tuesday. "It was really terrible. Huge impact. People were talking about needing new jobs. Phones started ringing."

When Michael Farren, the aide to campaign directors Teeter and Fred Malek, announced he would be leaving Nov. 4 to be the Washington representative for Xerox, other people started worrying about Nov. 4 too.

"Résumé writers are the lowest form of life," fumes Mary Matalin, the Bush campaign's political director. "They've obviously forgotten what they're here for. All that self-indulgence! Once we win this election, I'd like to wipe all those people out of office. Clean house!"

See MOOD, B2, Col. 1

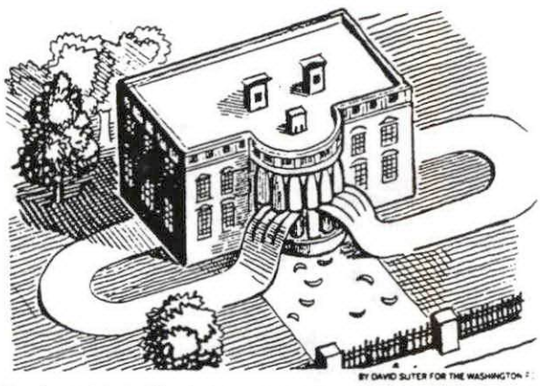


BY DAVID SUTER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

GOP Funk



BY DAVID SUTER FOR THE WASHINGTON P

MOOD, From B1

Getting a little testy? Is there a little problem with . . . mood?

"Mood? My mood hasn't changed one bit," says Matalin. "Anybody who's doing any legitimate work on this campaign is too professional, too busy, too focused, to even *have* a mood."

The day the poll was released, Malek gave a pep talk to staffers—"No more long faces"—that left some people feeling even more depressed. "I've had volunteers on the campaign," says Republican direct-mail strategist and abortion-rights activist Ann Stone, "tell me that they don't even want to go back in the building."

Just one week after this dire mood slump—on Sept. 29—the ABC/Washington Post poll stunned the Republicans again. It had fluctuated wildly. Bush, it showed, was only nine points behind.

"One week in politics," says White House speechwriter Curt Smith, "is like a year anywhere else."

It's Upbeat, I Swear

Since James Baker's timely return—did he change in a phone booth?—and with his SWAT team of efficiency specialists, George Bush himself has seemed more confident, according to Torie Clarke, the campaign press secretary. ("All that has helped Bush's confidence level," she says.) And indeed, Matalin describes the president as "confident, serene, invincible, unstoppable." His exuberance and energy on the road have been at least sporadically contagious:

"It's not too late!" says one longtime political appointee, a Republican veteran who woke up one November morning in 1976 out of a job. "You never stop skating as fast as you can—until the whistle blows."

"I've always been upbeat," says Anita Perez, the First Lady's press secretary.

"I'm upbeat!" says Roy Pfautch, a Republican public affairs consultant. "I'm very positive! Look what happened in England! In Japan!" (In . . . *Japan?*)

"Despite slings and arrows, he will be reelected," says Joseph Verner Reed, former chief of protocol, now an undersecretary general at the United Nations. "But remember, you're talking to JVR and I'm *always positive!* The glass is always half full for me!"

"Upbeat? *Are they really sounding upbeat at the White House?*" asks one Republican appointee, an agency official who was born and raised in Washington. "What planet are these people from?"

Earth, says James Pinkerton. He's the Bush campaign official who penned the Republican Party's New Paradigm.

"Some of us draw sustenance and comfort from history and precedent," says Pinkerton. "You know, the conservatives in Britain, for example. John Major, from the right-of-center party, running for reelection—that's the third consecutive reelection—was behind in the polls, never ahead in the polls, for an entire campaigning season, and he even lost some of the exit polls, but, in fact, went on to win."

Maytag, Maytag!

That sinking feeling came early for some. In winter, a Republican advance man showed up at the Bush campaign headquarters and it was empty. "That worried me," he says. "I looked around and there were four people on the phones. It looked like the Maytag repairman shop."

Second-guessing and scapegoat-hunting have been going on all spring, all summer. Something was broke. Something needed fixing. First, people complained that Sam Skinner was an incompetent chief of staff. Then people began complaining that the president's advance office was fumbling. "They still can't get the right number of chairs on stage for an event," says one aide at the Commerce Department. Says an advance man at another agency: "They are just getting around to figuring out sound and lighting."

Waiting for Bush to start the campaign became another sore point. "I don't know of anybody who was comfortable with the president waiting until after the convention to begin campaigning," says Lou Cordia, who tends the Reagan-Bush alumni association.

Four speechwriters were not fired but "reassigned" in early August ("the Tuesday Night Massacres," somebody calls it), a mood-altering prescription.

The response was mixed, as usual. Some Republicans complained that more White House staff should be fired—"It's a huge welfare state over there," says one campaign aide—but others were happy enough to be cheerful: Decisions were being made! Still others suggest that the firing was brutal and unnecessary. "It's a jarring contrast," says a former Bush aide, "from three years ago when George Bush was talking Polaroids of his staff in the Lincoln Bedroom. All those friendly little notes and gestures. Now it's the White House Shuffle."

People at the White House tend to worry about the campaign people. People at the campaign tend to worry about the White House people. "Everybody blames Skinner," says one White House aide, "and Skinner blames Teeter." A couple of weeks ago, when The Washington Post ran a list of White House salaries on its Federal Page, people at the campaign headquarters couldn't help noticing. They couldn't believe how much the White House staff was making. "Haven't you noticed," says a campaign staffer, "that when you call over there, it's like trying to talk to people who are comatose?"

In July, the White House invited about 200 old Reagan types to a reception in the Old Executive Office Building—to reach out, renew support, all that. The president appeared, and Dan Quayle and Dick Cheney and Sam Skinner and Clayton Yeutter and even old Ed Meese. "All the big hitters," says one of the invited, a Reaganite unused to such attention, and skeptical of it. "They must have been totally panicked."

Skinner spoke for 10 minutes, searching for ways to bond with this group of conservatives, who were upset about the tax increase, the civil rights bill, the refusal to try to use the line-item veto, the failure to control bureaucracy, t squandered 90 percent approval rat "The more I think about this campa Skinner told the group, searching common ground, "the more it rem me of an earlier campaign we were involved in—Goldwater in '64."

"I turned to my friend," says the Reganite, "and I said: *Yeah, real simil We only carried five or six states.*"

By the end of August, people h moved on to complaining about t convention—that the trick of usi Barbara Bush and Marilyn Quayle h backfired, that women voters had be turned off. The polls continued to lo lousy. The convention was unnerving

"It looked like a convention of nut says Ann Stone. "We can't let Pat B chanan and Phyllis Schlafly run the R publican show."

This fall, now that the advance pro lems look solved—longtime Reaga advance types were brought in to c the train trip—and the conventic seems like old news, the griping of p litical appointees has come back to a other favorite old target: Treasur Secretary Nicholas Brady.

"You know how long Nick Brady would have lasted in the Reagan ad ministration with his kind of results" asks an appointee of both presidents "Ronnie would have given him some medal of freedom and said: *And by the way, Nick, don't let the door hit you on the way out.*"

Waiting for the Miracle

Perhaps the greatest symptom o desperation is the ever-floating and ever-changing rumors about Bill Clinton that buzz from Republican to Republican. They are chanted, over and over, to members of the press. Hundreds of women all over the nation, it would seem, are raising Clinton's illegitimate children. Suicides too have resulted from the hearts he has supposedly broken. During Vietnam, Clinton tried to become a Swede, somebody says, to get out of military service. "There's a letter to prove it," he says.

"No, he tried to become a British subject," says somebody else. "And I heard that Prince Charles handed the letter personally to George Bush."

"Yes," somebody else says, "there's *paperwork* on that."

"Go to Moscow for the story," says a Republican fund-raiser. "The Kremlin knows everything."

"I heard," says a campaigner, "that Jim Baker has a letter that he's going to pull out at an opportune time."

"Yeah-right," says a Republican appointee on a federal board. "That letter is sitting in Baker's top desk drawer now. One of the reasons he never leaves his office."

Deus ex machina?

The hand of God?

"No," the appointee responds. "The hand of Jim Baker—more powerful than God."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

"Ohhh," sighs a campaign staffer when the rumor stories come up, "I'm sick of Baker getting credit for everything."

The Wave of the Future?

You drift into fantasy. Every so often, an image of George and Barbara Bush comes into your head. They are standing on the tarmac at Andrews Air Force Base—at the bottom of a flight of airplane steps, about to board. They are waving. Barbara's wearing her wide and bright blue suit. George is smiling and wincing at the same time. They wave again. Their hair is blowing around at Andrews, for the last time maybe, and you're watching them stand there on TV, and then you flip the channel over to the Clinton inaugural parade and you are already feeling bad about it. You are imagining feeling bad for the Bushes. Bad for yourself too. Bad about it all.

Run. Run out of town?

"He'll be Carterized," says one appointee. "He'll be in the company of Jimmy Carter and Herbert Hoover."

"*Worse* than Carterized," says a big-name Republican consultant. "He'll be Fordized, and he'll be opening K marts for $1,500."

The hate comes back—now and again. Clinton . . . ugh. You hate waste and all those liberals and imagine the money flowing out of their paychecks fattening up the government—and watching it expanding, expanding, expanding—way beyond control, beyond the imaginations of any. "It's like I have cancer," says one Bush appointee. "I don't like thinking about it. I wish you wouldn't remind me about it."

Says another, who came to Washington to work for Reagan: "All the crap we've been through over the last 12 years—the negative stories in the media, the countless lawsuits, the effort and heartache and abuse and sacrifice. . . . In four years, Bill Clinton will have this country back to where it was in 1980. You have to ask yourself—was it all worth it?"

"There's been this lovefest between the press and Clinton that makes me sick," says a former White House aide. "The press is so bored by Bush and all the same people. They just want somebody new to write about—then rip to shreds next spring. And just wait, in about five or six months, we'll be stuck with this horrible president that everybody hates."

What else? Anger, resentment, disappointment, the feeling that maybe it's all slipping away quickly—sands of the hourglass and all that. Your life, your advantages, your ideology, your blue enamel cuff links with the White House presidential seal on them. Good seats at the swearing-in ceremony, photo ops, the box at the Kennedy Center, international travel.

All going, all going, all maybe gone.

"I went to a reception last night," says one prominent Republican strategist. "People weren't angry so much as disgusted. This White House has been so smug and exclusionary, and they've been coasting for so long and winning on the same format that they can't grasp that it's not working."

"There are two theories among some conservatives," says a Republican conservative. "One is that maybe Bush ought to lose so after four disastrous years of Clinton, we can regain the White House with a true conservative. The other theory is that, if George Bush wins, all his people are going to be impossible to live with."

A White House aide of four years says: "Ahhh, the White House is such a caldron. The stakes are so high. The stress is so great. All this reminds me of the saying, *I would not want to relive this, but I wouldn't have missed this for the world.*"

By Lois Romano

WE'VE HEARD THAT. . .

Power lawyer **Clark Clifford**, indicted in the BCCI scandal, was released from Georgetown University Hospital yesterday after having fainted at his Rockville home over the weekend due to intestinal bleeding. Health has become a major issue in his court battle as his lawyers and doctors claim the octogenarian's heart can't survive a trial.

■ Campaign boosters of **Al Gore** are wondering why the senator's face isn't being featured in more Clinton TV ads. (We hear Al's wondering too.)

■ The stunning blonde clutching **Robert Redford's** hand at the premiere of his "A River Runs Through It" here Monday night was one of the film's costume designers, **Kathy O'Rear.** No word on whether the two have designs on each other.

■ Former Philippine president **Corazon Aquino**, visiting here this week, told friends she was resuming work on her autobiography, which she hoped would be called "Cory." Aquino had signed to do the book in '86 but had to put it off due to her workload. "I hope Random House is still interested," she quipped.

■ For all of you who can't wait for the new Plum Book of federal jobs to come out next month, **Electronic Publishing** of Fairfax now offers the book on computer discs. How '90s.

■ There's a spoof of a movie poster over at Bush-Quayle headquarters, titled "Slick Willie." It stars **Gennifer Flowers** as the bimbo, **Hillary Clinton** as **Tammy Wynette, Gore** as the Tree Hugger and **Ted Kennedy** as the chaperon. Real knee-slappers, those campaign folks.



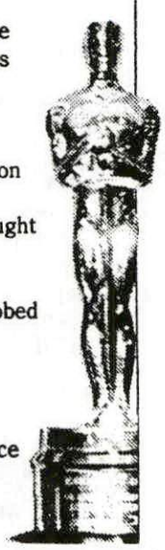
From left, Clark Clifford: in ill health; Al Gore: looking for ad time; Cory Aquino: polishing her words; Jack Danforth: dialing for dollars. Below: Lennon's Oscar.

■ It was a late Friday personal phone call from Missouri Sen. **Jack Danforth** to Anheuser-Busch Chairman and President August Busch III that secured the needed $500,000 guarantee to hold the first debate in St. Louis this Sunday.

■ The National Ethnic Coalition of Organizations in New York is putting its money where its mouth is when it comes to **Sinead O'Connor's** controversial antics on "Saturday Night Live." It'll donate $10 to charity on behalf of anyone who turns in an O'Connor cassette or CD.

■ The Oscar **John Lennon** brought home in 1970 for the soundtrack to "Let It Be" was sold at auction Monday for $110,000 to an unidentified Beatles fan. It had been auctioned in '76, when Lennon donated it to a benefit for a Connecticut school, and brought a mere $600.

■ The mysterious Middle Eastern woman who was robbed of $4 million in jewels and collectors' items from her London home recently has been identified as **Princess Firyal,** who was once married to **King Hussein's** brother **Prince Mohammed.**



The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992



Jayne Bray joins crowd outside court after arguments in Alexandria clinic case.

that the court has rested the abortion right on due process rather than equal protection guarantees.

The 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the women seeking abortions could use the Reconstruction-era statute and said the blockades were an illegal conspiracy to interfere with the women's right to interstate travel. It affirmed a district court's ruling that substantial numbers of women traveled from Maryland and the District to obtain abortions at the Virginia clinic.

When the Supreme Court announced that it was rescheduling arguments in the *Bray* case, it gave no explanation for why it had not been able to reach a decision. But at the time the case was argued last term, the newest justice, Clarence Thomas, was not yet on the bench. The justices may have been deadlocked.

Further complicating the *Bray* dispute last term likely was the unusual voting alliance then in the works on the *Casey* opinion. Justices Sandra Day O'Connor, David H. Souter and Anthony M. Kennedy banded together to uphold an abortion right but also to let stand most of the Pennsylvania abortion restrictions, which include a requirement that women wait 24 hours after being given information about the procedure and that minors obtain parental permission.

Kennedy in earlier cases had opposed an abortion right.

During the oral arguments, Kennedy and Justice Antonin Scalia challenged Ellis's argument extending "class-based animus" to women seeking abortions and comparing the women with blacks trying to integrate schools in the South.

Kennedy termed Ellis's argument "a legal fiction."

Justice Department lawyer John G. Roberts Jr. urged the court to interpret the federal statute narrowly. He said no class-based discrimination is present in the case. He said Operation Rescue has targeted the women who want abortions "not because of who they are but because of what they are doing."

While the clinic protest case is the only abortion-related dispute on the court's current docket, appeals are pending at the court over a Guam abortion ban and a restrictive Mississippi law that imposes a waiting period for abortion.

The Power of Comical Thinking: A Bushie Is Born

■ When **Matt Tolbert**, a California ad exec and syndicated cartoonist, was assigned by Malibu Comics to write about the life of **George Bush**, he promptly called the White House for a bio. "They sent me four pages, nothing but dates and facts!" recalls Tolbert, who was forced to scrutinize reams of other research on the prez. The result is the just-out "Read My Lips! The Unofficial Cartoon Biography of George Bush," illustrated by **Neil Grahame** and **Mark Braun**, which traces the Bush saga with humor but, stresses Tolbert, "doesn't take cheap shots."



A comical Bush.

Thus, while there are plenty of running gags about Bush's silver-spoon upbringing and the many times his family has been uprooted (17 cities, 29 homes), Bush comes off swimmingly. So ultimately taken was Tolbert with Bush that the book wraps with a dedication: "To Poppy and Bar."

"I wasn't kidding," says Tolbert, who fesses up that he's decided to cast his November vote for Poppy. And if **Bill Clinton** wins? "Then maybe we'll do a book on him," he says, "a scratch 'n' sniff. And we'll advise our readers not to inhale."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Prize-winning consumer reporter Lea Thompson has resolved her eight-month contract dispute with Channel 4—she's going to work for "Dateline NBC," instead . . .

As a result of the network deal, announced yesterday, an arbitration—already postponed a month because of the ongoing negotiations with NBC—will be withdrawn, according to her husband and agent, attorney Dirk Thompson . . .

She will join the Tuesday night network program as a correspondent on Oct. 19 and remain in Washington. Her last day with WRC will be Friday . . .

WRC sources yesterday said ABC News's "20/20" had recently made a serious bid for Thompson's services, interest that enabled her to obtain a guarantee from NBC of severance, longevity and buyout rights if she stayed with the network . . .

While she has spent the past 22 years at NBC-owned WRC as a consumer reporter and anchor, she is no stranger to NBC network shows, contributing regularly to "Today" and "NBC Nightly News With Tom Brokaw" . . .

In yesterday's announcement, NBC said Thompson would "contribute reports focusing on a wide range of topics, including those in her areas of expertise—consumer, health and safety issues" . . .

WRC general manager Allan Horlick said yesterday that consumer news will continue as part of News Four, although no reporter has been chosen to succeed Thompson . . .

"We've got a tremendous association with consumer news and consumer reporting," he said. "It's a very strong element in our newscasts and we have a group of people who will maintain it," including the remnants of Thompson's investigative unit . . .

Over the years, Thompson had a sometimes stormy relationship with Channel 4. More than once—to the secret amusement of the staff—she announced her departure, boxed all the files in her office and marched home—only to return again a few days later—usually with a raise or some boost for her investigative unit . . .

Meanwhile, however, she kept piling up the awards with her investigative reports, including two Peabodys, a du Pont-Columbia award, the George Polk award, six Ohio State Awards, a Headliner, 23 Washington Emmys and many more . . .

But last February's blowup was the most serious yet. WRC had recently cut an investigative producer from Thompson's prize-winning unit, and when her contract expired at the end of the month she was informed that the producer would not be restored. Moreover, because of the economic situation and NBC policy, she was due not for the nominal raise she had expected, but for a major cut in salary (which was believed to be about $325,000 a year—high for her specialty but not unusual for a longtime anchor and reporter) . . .

The Thompsons wanted to negotiate the size of the cut—if it had to be made—but the station broke off talks and on Feb. 26 Thompson said she was going to leave the building and was not going to return unless WRC paid her at the former rate. When the station directed she return to work, she did so under protest (a substantial severance payment was involved), she filed a grievance with her union, and the arbitration process got underway . . .

As the Thompsons perceived it, a dispute had been simmering for some time. "It was evident," Dirk Thompson said yesterday, "that Four was cutting back on support for Lea and there was a change in philosophy at the station—things were not going to remain the same" . . .

He declined to discuss financial details of the new three-year contract but said, "I don't believe there would have been a new contract unless the money issues were satisfactorily resolved—let's just say she's been made whole" . . .

Thompson would say only that his wife had been considering offers from other networks "but for lots of reasons elected to stay at NBC" . . .

In a statement yesterday, GM Horlick said in part, "All of us at WRC-TV wish Lea continued success and are especially delighted that she will remain within the NBC family" . . .

Now This

Fox Broadcasting announced yesterday it will broadcast the three presidential debates live this month but will forgo the vice presidential debate, scheduled for next Tuesday night . . .

Fox, carrying the debates for the first time in a Monday, Sept. 28, appearance by Ross Perot on King's show did a 4.2/6 (or 2.55 million cable homes) . . .

TV Ratingzzzz

Following are the top 20 network primetime shows last week, ranked according to the percentage of the nation's 93.1 million TV households that watched, as measured by the A.C. Nielsen Co. A share represents the percentage of actual sets-in-use tuned to a particular program when it aired.

	Rating		Share	Network
1	23.2	Roseanne	35	ABC
2	21.5	Murphy Brown	31	CBS
3	20.3	Country Music Awards	32	CBS
4	20.0	60 Minutes	35	CBS
5	19.1	Coach	29	ABC
6	18.4	Murder, She Wrote	28	CBS
7	18.3	Northern Exposure	29	CBS
8	17.3	Home Improvement	26	ABC
	17.3	Love & War	26	CBS
10	17.2	Hearts Afire	26	CBS
11	17.0	NFL Raiders vs. Chiefs	29	ABC
	17.0	Cheers	27	NBC
13	16.3	Evening Shade	26	CBS
14	15.9	The Danger of Love	26	CBS
15	15.6	Hangin' With Mr. Cooper	25	ABC
16	15.5	Full House	26	ABC
17	15.0	Unsolved Mysteries	25	NBC
	15.0	Fresh Prince of Bel-Air	24	NBC
19	14.7	Child of Rage	24	CBS
20	14.6	Rescue 911	24	CBS

CBS is off to a strong start, winning its second straight week in the 1992-93 primetime race with a 13.5 rating and a 23 share, compared with an 11.7/20 for ABC, a 10.6/18 for NBC and a 7.6/13 for FOX . . .

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

its five-year history, will air Sunday night's broadcast from St. Louis, starting at 7 p.m.; the Thursday, Oct. 15, debate from Richmond at 9; and the Monday, Oct. 19, debate from East Lansing, Mich., starting at 7 (even though Fox does not normally broadcast on Monday nights, it will feed the telecast to its affiliates) . . .

And Fox News president Van Gordon Sauter yesterday announced that CBS News executive David Corvo has been named executive producer of the primetime news magazine series that should debut sometime next year on Fox . . .

Corvo is currently vice president of public affairs programming at CBS News, which means he supervises "60 Minutes," "48 Hours" and "Street Stories." He's been with CBS in one guise or another since the 1970s, which means Sauter, twice a president of CBS News, was his boss at some time. Corvo will join Fox after the elections. Sauter's move yesterday reminded us of what Uncle Airwaves always used to say: A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step . . .

That barn buster from Philadelphia Monday night on ABC between the Eagles and the Dallas Cowboys registered a 22.3 national Nielsen rating and a 36 share between 9 and 11:54 p.m. That was "Monday Night Football's" best count since Dec. 3, 1990, when the Giants played the 49ers for a 26.9/42 . . .

Locally, the game did a Redskins-like 30.5/51 on Channel 7. Each local ratings point represents 18,514 TV homes . . .

Next Monday night at 9, Channel 20 will air "What About Tomorrow? Battling Breast Cancer," a one-hour special with "practical lifesaving information" about the disease . . .

The program, hosted by "L.A. Law's" Susan Ruttan, examines medical issues, early detection and treatment, and how women with the disease are taking control of their lives. During the broadcast, viewers can call the American Cancer Society's toll-free number, 1-800-ACS-2345, for additional information . . .

Marilyn Quayle will be the guest Thursday when Faith Daniels is at WRC to tape a show for her NBC series. Free tickets for the taping, which begins at 2:30 p.m., will be available at the station, 4001 Nebraska Ave. NW, during business hours today . . .

NBC has ordered nine more episodes of "Secret Service" and "I Witness Video," making full season orders for both Sunday night shows . . .

And CBS in one of those inscrutable moves involving two low-rated series—and Saturday night series on CBS are about as low-rated as you can get right now—will flip-flop "Brooklyn Bridge" (now 8:30) with "Frannie's Turn" (now at 8) on Oct. 24 and 31 . . .

Tomorrow night—from Hollywood—NBC Washington bureau chief and "Meet the Press" moderator Tim Russert will be a guest on "The Tonight Show With Jay Leno" . . . along with super-model Cindy Crawford! . . .

The appearance of President Bush Sunday night with Larry King in a CNN special averaged a 3.2 rating and a 5 share from 9 to 10, representing about 1.9 million cable homes . . .

Monday night, on CNN's "Larry King Live," Gov. Bill Clinton and Sen. Al Gore attracted a 4.2/6 (2.56 million cable homes). By comparison,

HIGHLIGHTS

- Afternoon and evening baseball playoffs on WUSA.
- And the conclusion of "Realms of the Russian Bear" on WETA.

Sports

Baseball (CC). National League playoff Game II: Pittsburgh at Atlanta (Channel 9 at 3 p.m.).

Baseball (CC). American League playoff Game I: Oakland at Toronto (Channel 9 at 8 p.m.).

Public Broadcasting

Evening Exchange. With Edward Alvarez, the first POW of the Vietnam War (Channel 32 at 7).

Nature: Realms of the Russian Bear (CC) explores the frozen forests of Siberia and the Kamchatka Peninsula (Channel 26 at 8).

Los Ruegos de Andres. A depiction of a Salvadoran immigrant's first year in the United States; in Spanish with subtitles (Channel 26 at 10).

Here to Stay: Young Immigrants From El Salvador. A look at Salvadoran teenagers living in Washington (Channel 26, 10:30).

Series

Unsolved Mysteries (CC). A report on a convicted police killer who walked out of an Oklahoma prison (Channel 4 at 8).

Beverly Hills, 90210 (CC). Fear of gang violence cancels a football game (Channel 5 at 8).

The Wonder Years (CC). Kevin steals some wedding champagne and makes the moves on an older bridesmaid (Channel 7 at 8).

Doogie Howser, M.D. (CC). After being robbed at gunpoint, Doogie envisions himself as a gun-toting vigilante (Channel 7, 8:30).

Seinfeld (CC). Jerry gets lost in the mountains while trying to visit a sickly fan (Channel 4 at 9).

Home Improvement (CC). A pulled groin muscle ruins Tim's plans for a romantic evening (Channel 7 at 9).

Mad About You (CC). Paul and Jamie fail to make the most of their Sunday (Channel 4, 9:30).

Laurie Hill (CC) struggles between her roles as mother and doctor (Channel 7, 9:30).

Law & Order (CC). A college student is killed by her boyfriend after she rejects him (Channel 4 at 10).

Civil Wars (CC). A cellist sues her conductor husband for having an affair with an oboe player (Channel 7 at 10).

Star Trek: The Next Generation (CC) (R). Picard refuses to return a human boy to his alien father (Channel 20 at 10).

Late Night

The Arsenio Hall Show (CC). With Ed McMahon (Channel 9, 11:30).

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With Tony Bennett and Malcolm-Jamal Warner (Channel 4, 11:35).

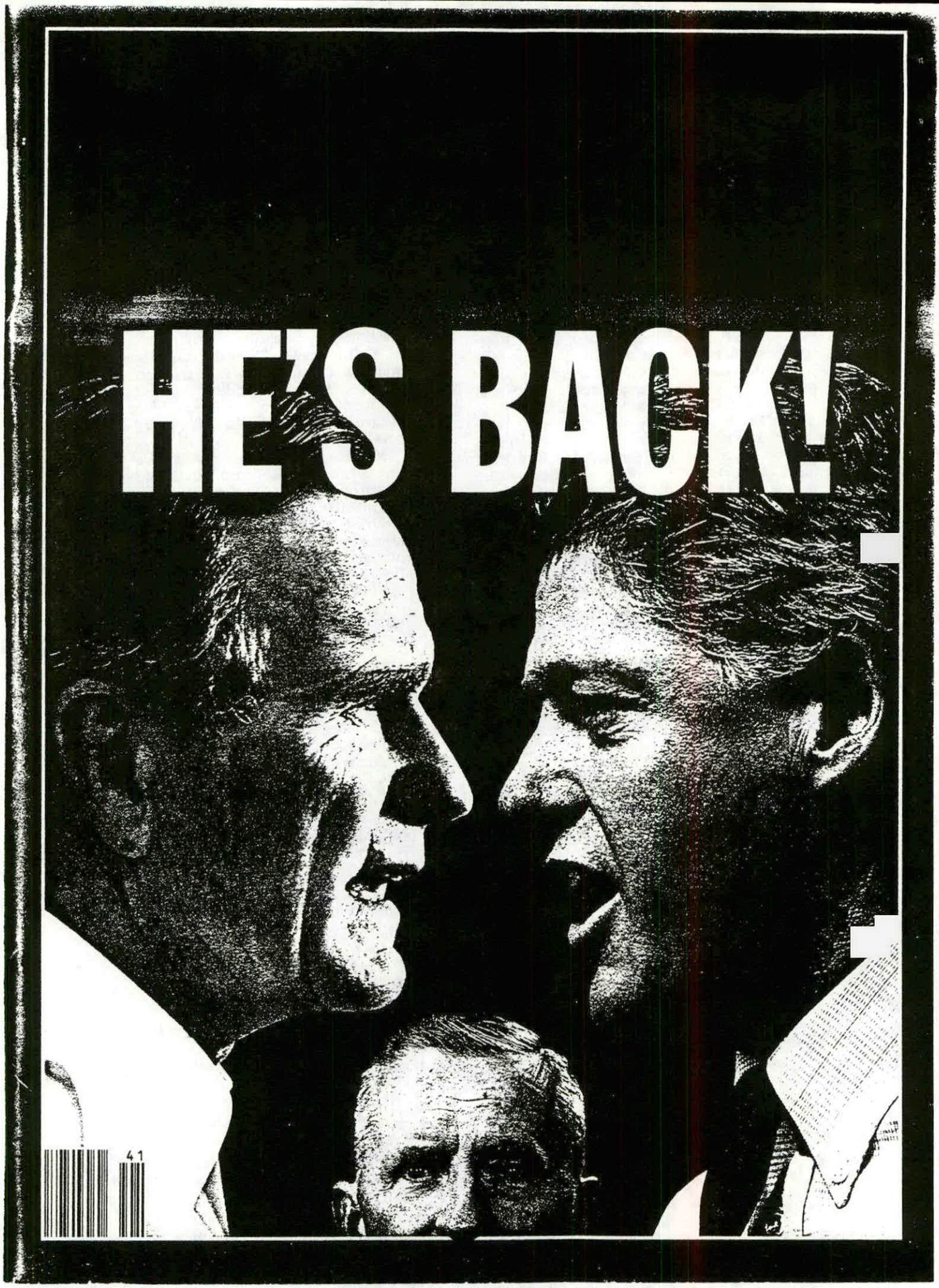
Late Night With David Letterman. With Jimmy Aleck (Channel 4, 12:35 a.m.).

Thursday Morning

Today (CC). A segment on the RU-486 abortion pill (Channel 4 at 7).

Good Morning America (CC). Gov. Bill Clinton discusses education and welfare reforms (Channel 7 at 7).

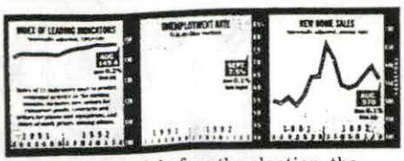
CBS This Morning (CC). An interview with Anita Hill (Channel 9 at 7).


HE'S BACK!

TIME

OCTOBER 12, 1992 THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE VOL. 140 NO. 15

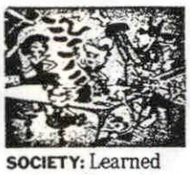
THE WEEK 24



NATION: A month before the election, the economic indicators flash yellow



WORLD: Brazil celebrates the impeachment of its President as a victory for democracy



SOCIETY: Learned cartoon characters



HEALTH: Tilting at sacred cows

34 COVER: Drama in the Homestretch
The return of Ross Perot and a tantalizing series of debates have reheated the presidential race and may resuscitate Bush's hopes for re-election

38 Good Plan, Bad Timing: Perot's brutally honest proposal could be too strong for the weak economy

43 Perot's Team: Welcome to amateur hour

44 Head to Head: The economic advisers square off

48 The Political Interest: Why Bush welcomes Perot

57 Environment: The green factor

61 MIDDLE EAST: The Naysayers Come Forward
Why some Palestinians are plotting to upset the peace talks

62 THE BALKANS: Incident at Ugar Gorge
A Muslim survivor recounts a horror tale of executions

64 AMERICA ABROAD: A Greek Tragedy in the Making
Greece is reminding the world that it too is a Balkan country

66 SOCIETY: The Fight for Research Dollars
How AIDS groups have inspired others to wrestle for funds

70 HEALTH: Casualties of the Keyboard
The digital age brings a flurry of hand injuries—and lawsuits

73 SMUGGLING: The King of Diamonds
Smuggled gems flood the market; can De Beers ride the tide?

74 BUSINESS: Gone with the Wind
Hurricanes and other disasters take a toll on insurers

76 MONEY ANGLES: The Real Price of Smoking
Tobacco addiction is a major economic handicap

77 IDEAS: The Magistrate of Morals
Critic Michael Medved is the movies' Martin Luther



TOMAS MUSCIONICO—CONTACT FOR TIME

Why is this man smiling? Look at the attention he gets.

78 FOOD: A Passion for Peppers
America is having a heat wave, fired by the ubiquitous chile

81 MUSIC: The Magic of Charlie Haden
A new album from the jazz world's pre-eminent bassist

82 ART: Master of Baroque Realism
Jusepe de Ribera was the star of Neapolitan painting

REVIEWS

CINEMA In *Glengarry Glen Ross,* salesmen sweat out loud **84**

THEATER *Of Thee I Sing,* in revival, mocks today's follies **84**

MUSIC Andrew Davis' opera about Malcolm X is a study of rage. **87**

BOOKS Daniel Boorstin's cultural history is disappointing **88**

Irrelevance spouts rampantly in *Et Tu, Babe* **88**

DEPARTMENTS

PUBLISHER'S LETTER **4**

LETTERS **8**

GRAPEVINE **23**

MILESTONES **33**

PEOPLE **93**

ESSAY **94**

COVER: Photographs for TIME: Bush by Diana Walker, Clinton by Steve Liss, Perot by Shelly Katz—Black Star

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly for $61.88 per year, by Time Inc. Principal Office: Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y., 10020-1393. Reginald K. Brack Jr., Chairman, CEO; Don Logan, President; Joseph A. Ripp, Treasurer; Harry M. Johnston, Secretary. Second-class postage paid at New York, New York, and at additional mailing offices.

© 1992 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and in the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to TIME, P.O. Box 30601, Tampa, Florida 33630-0601. **For subscription queries, call Customer Service at 1-800-843-TIME (8463).**

GRAPEVINE

By JANICE CASTRO



MISSING IN ACTION: Chief of staff Baker is about as common a sight around the White House as a Democrat

SCORECARD

ROSS PEROT's imperial re-entry brings to mind others who have been overstaying their welcomes lately:

JOHN MC LAUGHLIN The screechy Church Lady routine is tired.

SPIKE LEE Gag me with a spoon.

THE ROYALS After the Fergie movie, even *The Pat Robertson Story* sounds good.

DR. KEVORKIAN Is this some kind of grisly game?

NIKE ADS Too perky, too '80s.

MICHAEL DOUGLAS Infiniti was better off with rocks and trees.

MADONNA Put it all *on*, please.

MURPHY BROWN Get back in the TV set!

DAN QUAYLE You know you're in trouble when your spokesman has to explain you were joking.

STEPHEN KING O.K., O.K., we're scared.

ROBERT DORNAN Only reason to avoid C-SPAN.

Don't Want to Talk About It

BEFORE CONSENTING TO BE INTERVIEWED ON SEVERAL NEWS shows lately, **PRESIDENT BUSH** has demanded that reporters not ask him about his involvement in Iran-*contra*. *Good Morning America* agreed to ask only about crime, health care and taxes; Bush appeared three times last week. *Meet the Press* refused to agree to any limitations and has yet to land an interview. Says Tim Russert, moderator of *Meet the Press:* "We just can't let the President set the ground rules for an interview."

Pork-Barrel Defense Policy

WITH THE ELECTION JUST FOUR WEEKS AWAY, DEFENSE SECRETARY Dick Cheney, Acting Secretary of State Larry Eagleburger and Army Secretary Michael Stone have handed their Commander in Chief a leg up in the pivotal states of Michigan and Ohio. By lobbying hard, they persuaded their friends in **KUWAIT** to agree to buy 236 heavy M1A2 Abrams tanks. The tanks are made by General Dynamics in Warren, Michigan, and Lima, Ohio. The $1.5 billion Kuwaiti deal could mean thousands of jobs. And since it has been consummated just in time, maybe thousands of votes.

Where's Jimbo?

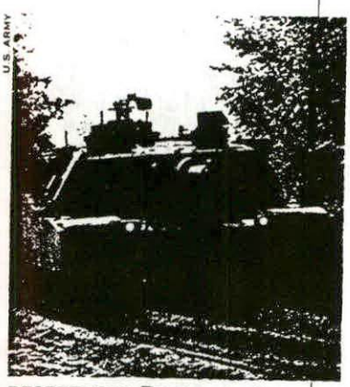
AS GEORGE BUSH'S EXTREMELY RELUCTANT SAVIOR, WHITE House chief of staff **JAMES A. BAKER III** has made himself all but invisible since coming back to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. In fact, he's keeping such a low profile that West Wing staffers post notices of rare "J.A.B. III" sightings. Says a top Bush campaign official: "We're beginning to think the next time we see him, it will be on the side of a milk carton."

Are You Out There, Ross?

NOW THAT ROSS PEROT IS BACK IN THE RACE, SUBSCRIBERS TO the **PRODIGY** computer-network service want to know when he will go on-line. Since August, Prodigy has been running an electronic town meeting in which Bill Clinton and George Bush chat with its 1.75 million subscribers. Members have flooded the candidates with more than 150,000 questions. Clinton answered 50 queries, all in a folksy tone, signed "Sincerely, Bill Clinton." Bush, who signs his more formal electronic notes simply "President George Bush," has replied to only about 25 queries so far. Neither side, though, has been willing to answer one of the most popular questions: "If you win the election, will you stay on-line?"

As GM Goes . . .

MEMBERS OF AN EXTREMELY PRIVATE, INVITATION-ONLY NEW York investors group called AEA thought it was a hoot when they persuaded former General Motors chairman **ROGER SMITH** last year to take over as CEO of one of their investments, a tidy little group of rubber-and-plastics manufacturers with operations in Ohio, Virginia and Georgia. Before long, though, the company was declining fast. Since nobody can bear to fire Smith, investment bankers say the owners are now quietly trying to peddle the firm for far less than they paid for it. ■



U.S. ARMY

DESERT VOTE: By agreeing to buy lots of tanks, Kuwait will make Michigan and Ohio voters happy

Film At 11

The Russian Foreign Intelligence Service (once known as the KGB) is starting its own newsmagazine. The first issue bristles with articles about espionage, the Russian mafia and the infamous Lubyanka prison, which some of the editors probably know firsthand. Called *SB*, the monthly also includes profiles of KGB spies. With pictures.



VOX POP

Is the 500th anniversary of Columbus' voyage to America an event the country should celebrate?

YES	NO
57%	35%

From a telephone poll of 1,400 American adults taken for TIME/CNN on Sept. 22-24 by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman. Sampling error is ± 2.5%.

SHORT TAKES

MAGAZINES

New Menu at Tina's Place

WE HAVE JUST HEARD FROM OUR OLD friend the Magazine Maven. "The **NEW YORKER,**" he writes, "is the journalistic equivalent of a restaurant under new management. The new maitresse d' is Tina Brown, lately of *Vanity Fair,* where she offered a heady mix of roadhouse and haute cuisine. She has replaced Robert Gottlieb, whose fern-bar ambiance left customers hungry for less. Brown's detractors have been hoping for the soufflés to fall and the drinks to be watered at Tina's Place, but her debut last week will disappoint them.

"True, there is James Wolcott's ghastly hype-hop prose: ' "Going to Extremes" . . . mentholates the senses like a Club Med ad.' Plus some slipshod editing: two Dan Quayle 'potatoe' jokes. But broken columns, boxed poems and spots of color and photographs enhance rather than vulgarize. Pieces are shorter than before but cut deeper—especially 'News from Hell,' concerning the events in Sarajevo by new contributor Anna Husarska. Yet tradition has not been entirely scrapped: see Roger Angell's valedictory to Fay Vincent, recently decapitated commissioner of baseball. Miraculously, after a long arid spell the cartoons are funny again—particularly those by Lee Lorenz, Danny Shanahan and Leo Cullum ('This is my husband, Greg, and Greg's jacket from a previous marriage').

"John Updike, who has served under three *New Yorker* managements, contributes 'Playing with Dynamite,' a poignant tale of aging in the '90s. Its last six words might describe the current situation at the *New Yorker:* '. . . between chaos and an airier pantheon.' It is too early for a prediction, but I'd bet pantheon."

MUSIC

The Royal Cello

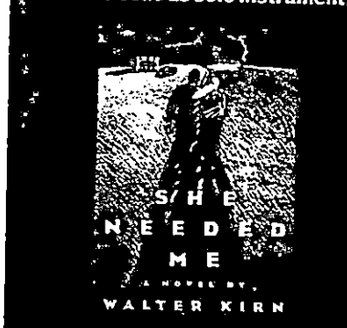
THE GREAT CATALAN CELLIST **PABLO CASALS** is rightly credited with elevating the cello to its royal status as a solo instrument, so it is only fitting that Pearl records pays him homage by beginning its six-CD set, *The Recorded Cello: The History of the Cello on Record,* with his evocative 1915 performance of Schumann's *Träumerei.* Among the 74 other masters represented here are Enrico Mainardi, whose version of Dvorak's *Concerto in B minor* is stately and deeply hued; and Gregor Piatigorsky, playing variations on Paganini with heart-skipping joy. All the tracks demonstrate the delicate timbres and subtle nuances that make the cello one of the most majestic of all instruments.



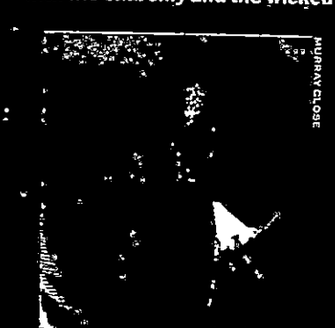
MAGAZINES: In a departure, this week's cover portrays Malcolm X



MUSIC: Casals' genius set the stage for the cello as solo instrument



BOOKS: A shrewd novel plays fair with the churchly and the wicked



CINEMA: Davis and Garcia, caught in the flow of contradiction

BOOKS

Lifesaving Instruction

HERE IS THE UNLIKELIEST GOOD NOVEL of the year. The wambling hero of Walter Kirn's **SHE NEEDED ME** (Pocket Books; $20) is a pale young fellow named Weaver Walquist, who, becalmed and lacking direction, joins the antiabortion protest squad of an evangelical church in St. Paul, Minnesota. He collides with a pregnant young woman named Kim during a protest at an abortion clinic, and at first is attracted to the idea of saving her fetus and her soul. Then, faintly—a puff of wind ruffles the calm—he is attracted to *her.* Kirn, author of a 1990 story collection, *My Hard Bargain,* plays fair with both the churchly and the wicked—middling people in an everyday predicament. His story is shrewd and wryly amusing.

CINEMA

Heroic Deeds

IN THE NOT-SO-BRAVE NEW WORLD according to **HERO,** it requires two men to equal one classic Frank Capra protagonist of the Deeds-Doe-Smith variety. There is small-time thief Bernie LaPlante (Dustin Hoffman), who unaccountably rescues victims of a plane crash. Then there is homeless John Bubber (Andy Garcia), who gets the credit for so doing and becomes a media dream. Geena Davis is the ambitious TV reporter caught in the contradictory flow of this dark, quirky, excellent comedy. Writer David Webb Peoples *(Unforgiven)* overturns the clichés of genre and character, and director Stephen Frears *(My Beautiful Laundrette)* ingeniously twists Capra-esque imagery to create an exhilarating meditation on gallantry as it is practiced and perceived today. ■

PEOPLE

By GINIA BELLAFANTE

Magical Comeback

Savvy sports fans had seen it coming since the Summer Olympics in Barcelona: **MAGIC JOHNSON,** the world's most recognized basketball player, would make a triumphant return to the N.B.A. And last week that's just what he did. After less than a year in retirement, Johnson, who'd announced he was infected with HIV, says he is ready to come back to the court. The much loved Magic plans to play 50 to 60 of the season's 82 games for his team, the Los Angeles Lakers. He has got the green light from doctors and received nothing but support from former teammates, fans and friends. Topping all the warm wishes: a hefty $14.6 million extension on his contract.



GIBOUX—GAMMA LIAISON



FRANK MICELOTTA—SHOWTIME

Rock for Relief

WHOOPI GOLDBERG SANG *SHOUT,* ANDY GARCIA banged a drum none too slowly, and a crowd of 60,000 showed up. The place was Miami's Robbie Stadium, and the purpose was to help victims of Hurricane Andrew. In just three weeks, Miami music maven **GLORIA ESTEFAN** organized a star-studded concert-and-comedy event that produced $2 million for the relief effort. Says Estefan: "We needed a party after all that tragedy."



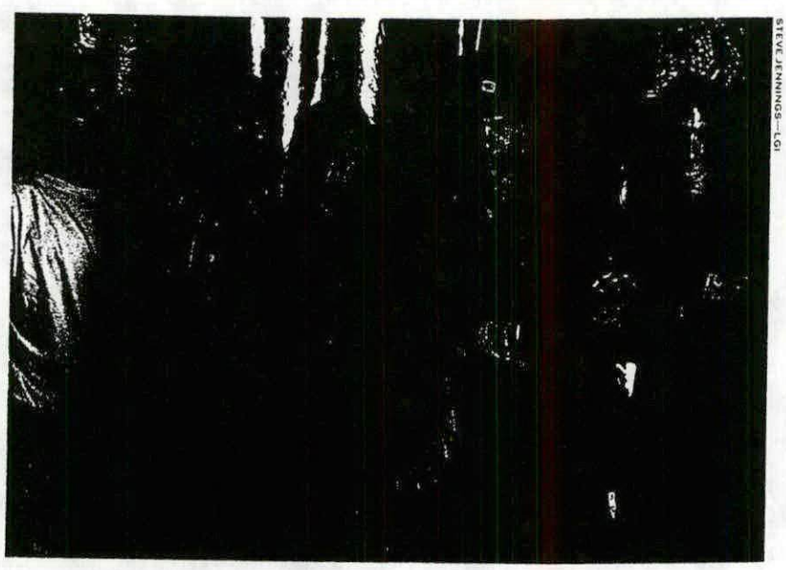
GALE ADLER—CBS

Ire Afire

MEET GEORGIE ANNE GEYER, A feisty foreign correspondent who has turned her tape recorder on Khomeinis, Gaddafis and kings. She's smart and sophisticated, tough and tenacious. She would make a great character on a hip TV show. Now meet Georgie Anne Lahti, the wily ex-journalist played by **MARKIE POST** on the new CBS sitcom *Hearts Afire.* Both Georgie Annes are hard driven, both live in D.C., and both penned books about Fidel Castro. Coincidence? That's what *Hearts* creator Linda Bloodworth-Thomason claims. But the real-life reporter doesn't buy it. "I'm not pleased. It's an appropriation of my persona," says Geyer, 57, who has fired off a letter to the show's producers via her attorney. According to Bloodworth-Thomason, the breezy TV Georgie is instead loosely based on brassy Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci.

Hip, Hot and Humble

RISING ROCK STARS SEEM GENETICALLY predisposed to an ugly affliction. Clinical name? Swollen Ego. But Eddie Vedder may be an exception. At 26, the poet laureate of the wildly successful Seattle band **PEARL JAM** remains refreshingly self-effacing. "I wish we weren't on MTV, man. I just feel silly talking about our band all the time," says Vedder, a contemplative sort who locked himself in a windowless basement to produce the pensive lyrics on Pearl Jam's debut album, *Ten.* Not surprisingly, the songs depict a world spinning uncontrollably on an axis of alienation. So far, the music has sparked love cries from the *Sassy* set and raves among critics. Last week *Ten* hit No. 2 on the charts. Meanwhile, Vedder, a grungy Adonis (second from left), remains astounded by the band's popularity boom. "Every day something amazing happens."

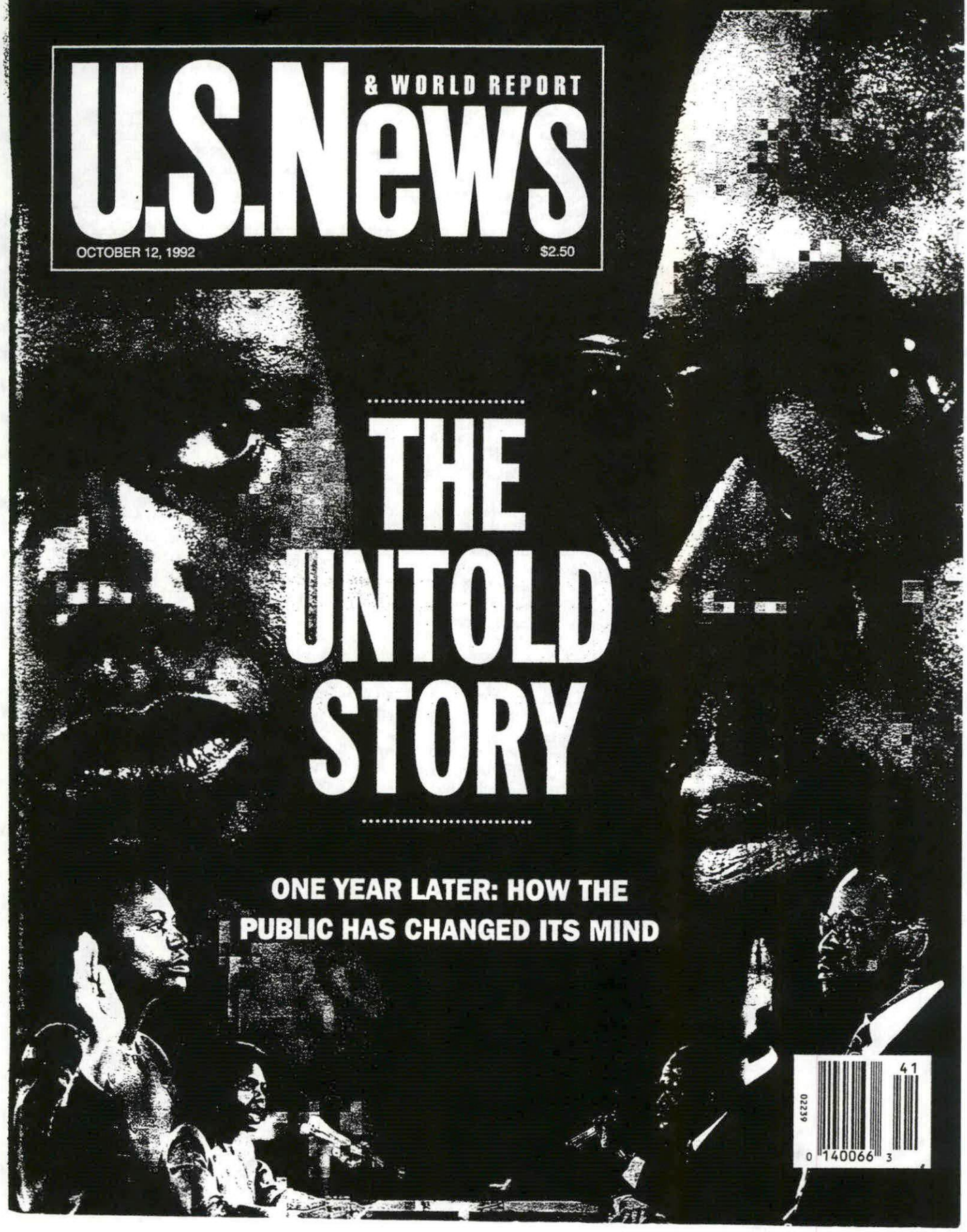


STEVE JENNINGS—LGI

ISSUES '92: HOW TO JUMP-START AMERICA'S JOBS MACHINE

U.S.News & WORLD REPORT

OCTOBER 12, 1992 $2.50



THE UNTOLD STORY

ONE YEAR LATER: HOW THE PUBLIC HAS CHANGED ITS MIND

41
02239
0 140066 3

EYE ON THE ISSUE:

Here are the positions of the presidential contenders on an issue discussed in this week's magazine:

Judicial appointments (story, Page 28) Regardless of the outcome of the November election, one of *George Bush's* lasting legacies will be the conservative makeup of the federal courts.

Bush has denied using abortion as a litmus test in naming judges, but his appointees are behaving much like those named by Ronald Reagan, who have supported abortion restrictions 77 percent of the time.

Bill Clinton vows to restore "balance" to the courts. He says his first Supreme Court nominee would meet a litmus test of upholding abortion and privacy rights.

Ross Perot has not indicated whether he would use *Roe v. Wade* as a litmus test, although he personally supports abortion rights.



DATABASE

Justices who have served on the Supreme Court since its beginning in 1789: **106**

Nominees who have been rejected by the Senate: **28**; nominees rejected in this century: **6**

Percentage of Bush's judicial appointees who are millionaires: **33**; of Reagan's: **21**; of Carter's: **4**

Blacks appointed to the federal bench by Carter: **37**; by the last four Republican presidents combined: **26**

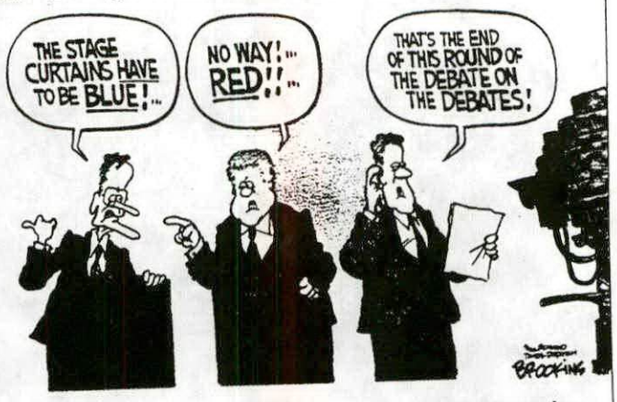
Percentage of all current federal judges who were appointed by Reagan or Bush: **68**

Women named to the federal bench by Bush: **35**; number appointed since the Thomas-Hill hearings: **12**

U.S. NEWS

BUSH TO CLINTON: 'LET'S GET IT ON—SORT OF'

George Bush demonstrated rare boldness when he proposed four Sunday-night debates with Bill Clinton, finally prompting serious negotiations that will now lead to face-to-face encounters. "Let's get it on," Bush said, taunting Clinton. But chances are, Bush's audacity won't last. After governing for 12 years and winning handily in the last three elections, the Republican high command seems close to burnout. "They all want Bush to win," says a GOP strategist close to the campaign, "but the fire is gone."



Bush does have an action faction, which includes Housing Secretary Jack Kemp, former Education Secretary Bill Bennett, campaign counselor James Pinkerton, Rep. Vin Weber and William Kristol, Vice President Dan Quayle's chief of staff. But the president and his top advisers rarely pay attention to the faction's suggestions. Last week, the more aggressive aides urged Bush to reject Ross Perot's invitation to court his supporters in Texas, preferring that the president condemn Perot's plan to impose steep middle-class tax increases. The high command's answer: too risky. In mid-September, the hustle team urged Bush to use his executive powers to order immediate indexing of capital-gains taxes to keep pace with inflation. Too inflammatory, said the senior staff.

Along with Bush, the leading naysayers are the campaign chair, Robert Teeter, and none other than White House Chief of Staff James Baker. In fact, the former secretary of state is turning out to be a disappointment to those who thought he would shake up the campaign, showing less imagination and more caution than his press clips might have suggested, say campaign insiders. The bomb throwers are passionate about winning while their seniors aren't. Few of Bush's graybeards, in fact, want to serve in a second Bush term. Teeter and campaign manager Fred Malek plan to return to lucrative businesses. Senior strategists Charles Black and James Lake also want to return to the private sector. To some campaign insiders, the Bush high command seems bored by power.

Meanwhile, Clinton's team desperately wants to govern. That passion may make all the difference in the final weeks of the campaign. □ BY KENNETH T. WALSH

SPIN OF THE WEEK

Here are the presidential campaigns' best efforts last week to control the public's understanding of the news:

"If Ross Perot runs, that's good for us, and if Ross Perot doesn't run, that's good for us." — *Dan Quayle.*

"There is nothing more un-American than trying to get Americans to not watch the World Series for politics." — *Clinton aide Paul Begala* on Bush's initial debate proposal.

"I love you guys." — *Ross Perot* to reporters at a press conference.

ILLUSTRATIONS: JENNIFER HEWITSON FOR USN&WR; CARTOON: BROOKINS—RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

ties. At the very time Rabin is seeking to convince right-leaning religious voters that Israel can take prudent security risks for peace, Aloni has alienated the same people by portraying them as little more than Neanderthals. Shas, the only religious party that has bolted Shamir's right-wing coalition, thereby providing Rabin's Labor Party with its slim governing majority, is now threatening to leave.

It is too early to tell whether Rabin can overcome the obstacles and succeed in his quest to change the way Israel thinks about its neighbors and itself. Preliminary polls suggest that a people fatigued by war and conflict wants change. On the eve of the Jewish New Year last week, a Pori Institute survey showed that by a 49-to-11 margin, people believe the upcoming year will be better than the last.

The Arab response. Of course, nothing is more critical to Rabin's success than the attitudes and behavior of the Arabs themselves. If Syria and other Arab states agree to normalize relations with Israel, Israelis will understandably feel less besieged. But the Arab boycott of Israel continues, and so far there has been no concrete Arab response to Rabin's actions and proposals. If Arab governments refuse to budge at the peace table, and if Arab terrorism continues in the occupied territories and in Israel itself, Rabin's campaign for a kinder, gentler Israel may be doomed from the start. And while the Bush administration has quickly reciprocated Rabin's new approach, the president's decision to pull Secretary of State James Baker out of the Mideast peace talks to take over Bush's faltering reelection campaign may mean there is less American pressure on the Arabs to compromise at a critical moment for Rabin and for the peace negotiations.

Nevertheless, argues political scientist Shlomo Avineri, if anyone is capable of transforming Israeli thinking, it is Rabin. Rabin's ability to get tough is unquestioned: He was chief of staff during the 1967 Six-Day War, and as defense minister he ordered Israeli troops to "break the bones" of Palestinian stone throwers when the *intifada* broke out in the occupied territories. "He is Israel's de Gaulle," Avineri says, alluding to the center-right French general who ended French rule in Algeria because he believed France's most pressing problems were at home. "Rabin's career symbolizes the spirit of the country. He is seen as not being partisan to any cause or having any ulterior motive beyond serving the state. His priority is security, and therefore people trust him." ■

BY DAVID MAKOVSKY IN JERUSALEM

■ WORLD REPORT

Reconcilable differences

U.S.-Israeli relations are thawing, but budget cuts and strategic shifts may bring new chills

What a difference a year makes. In September 1991 a furious George Bush took his long-running feud with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir public, threatening to veto any congressional action to provide housing-loan guarantees to help Israel absorb hundreds of thousands of Russian immigrants. In a sound bite that the president would regret only slightly less than "Read my lips," Bush complained darkly about pressures from "powerful political forces" and described himself as "one lonely little guy" up against a thousand pro-Israel lobbyists. His comments suggested to many of Israel's supporters that Bush had a double standard for lobbyists: It was acceptable for others to press their cases, but not for Israel.

Last week, an eager George Bush waited, pen in hand, for Congress to approve those same loan guarantees. American and Israeli negotiators, meanwhile, were putting the final touches on a package of new military aid and technical cooperation with Israel—including top-of-the-line Apache attack and Black Hawk transport helicopters—intended to help ensure that Israel's military retains a "qualitative edge" over its numerically superior Arab neighbors. And despite growing pressure from last-minute candidate Ross Perot to attack the federal budget deficit, the president's advisers were also considering whether to issue a symbolic commitment to maintaining Israel's current $1.8 billion annual military-aid grant.

Election ploy? While the contrast is dramatic, how serious and long lasting is the change in America's relations with its closest Mideast ally? Is Bush's turnabout merely an election-season conversion aimed at winning back Jewish votes or at least preventing a wholesale stampede to the Clinton camp? Or have Shamir's defeat in Israel's elections last June and Bush's fear of defeat next month helped put America's "special relationship" with Israel back on track?

DARRYL HEIKES—USN&WR



Happy together. *Bush and Rabin meet in Maine.*

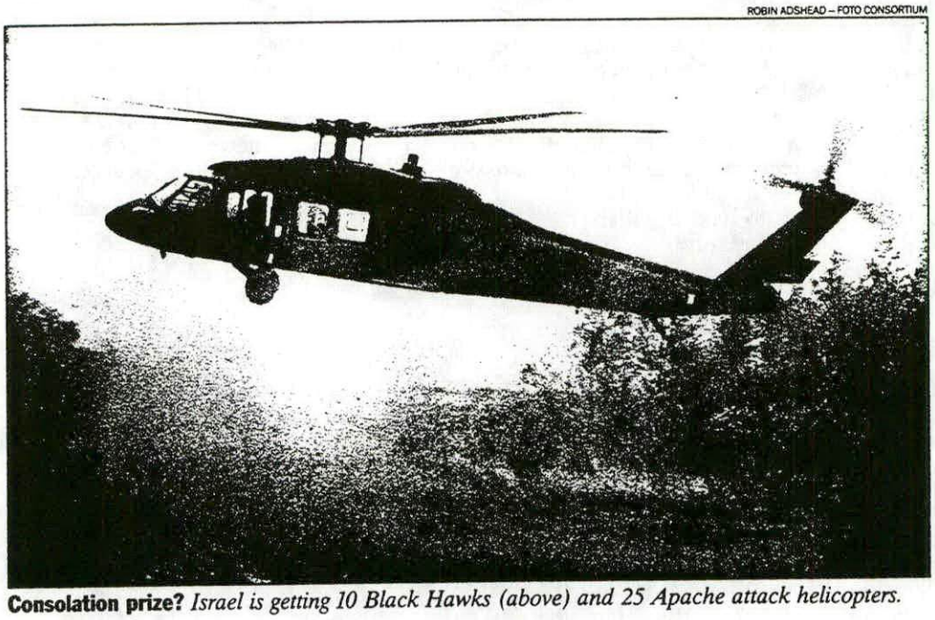
In the heat of an election campaign that is passing out Air Force bases, defense contracts and other goodies, Israelis have a right to be skeptical. The American helicopters are largely a consolation prize to compensate Israel for Bush's earlier decision to sell 72 advanced F-15 fighters to Saudi Arabia, and if the White House was pandering, it was to American defense workers, not Israel's supporters.

In the past, moreover, neither Bush nor former Secretary of State James Baker, now the White House chief of staff and Bush's campaign major-domo, shrank from pressuring Israel to adopt policies more congenial to Washington. Today, shrinking American budgets and shifting strategic priorities are raising

serious new questions about America's future dependability and largess.

Despite these legitimate doubts, however, the improvement in U.S.-Israeli relations appears to be both real and durable. The most fundamental cause of the change is Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's election last June 23. Unlike his predecessor, Shamir, Rabin harbors no deep-seated suspicion of America and the West, and since taking office he has bent over backward to prove his commitment to both the Americans and the U.S.-sponsored peace process, doing everything from slowing the pace of Jewish settlement in the occupied territories to slapping down the most vocal of Bush's pro-Israel critics. In the past, American plans to sell AWACS aerial-surveillance planes and other advanced weapons to the Saudis touched off pitched political battles, but Rabin's protest over the F-15 sale was so mild that it was dismissed as *pro forma*.

ROBIN ADSHEAD – FOTO CONSORTIUM



Consolation prize? *Israel is getting 10 Black Hawks (above) and 25 Apache attack helicopters.*

Traumatized. American politics, too, suggest less turbulence ahead. Both President Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton are determined to avoid a replay of earlier U.S.-Israeli shoving matches. "Bush was traumatized by his experience with Shamir, and Clinton sees direct pressure on Israel as counterproductive," says UCLA political analyst and Clinton adviser Steven Spiegel.

While denying any post-traumatic stress, Bush aides are clearly delighted with Rabin's election. "There is very little we wouldn't do for Yitzhak Rabin," says one senior administration official. "Look at all that he's done for us." Clinton aides, who support the peace process but criticize Bush harshly for trying to bully Shamir, say their job would be far easier with Rabin in power. "No American president would want to go through what Bush has gone through with Israel," admits a top Clinton aide. "And with Rabin in power, we may never have to."

But how far will gratitude go when times are tough at home? Both Bush and Clinton are publicly committed to maintaining Israel's current $3 billion in annual aid. But with budget problems and an American public fed up with foreign aid, that commitment could prove hard to keep—even for the most sincerely pro-Israel president.

"The time may well come when that money is no longer available," says Henry Siegman of the American Jewish Congress. "I think the Israelis understand that—I'm just not sure they're doing anything to prepare for it." Like Shamir before him, Rabin has pledged sweeping privatization and economic reform to help reduce Israel's dependence on foreign aid, but he has yet to take any concrete action.

Meanwhile, Israeli defense planners, who long argued that Israel was a reliable Western ally against the Soviet Union and its Arab clients, have been searching for a new strategic rationale for the U.S.-Israeli relationship. The ideas being promoted range from prepositioning billions of dollars' worth of U.S. military equipment in Israel to employing Israel as a "strategic platform" to cope with potential conflicts from Iraq and Iran to the Balkans and even as far afield as Central Asia. "I think the U.S. was premature in writing off Israel as a strategic asset," says one senior Israeli official. "Communism may be dead, but there are many other threats—from Islamic fundamentalism in Iran to ethnic conflict in Azerbaijan. Israel and the U.S. are natural allies in those fights too."

A more ambitious strategic alliance, however, is unlikely. "What Israel has to do with Azerbaijan is beyond me," says one senior U.S. official, who argues that even strategic relationships with Panama and South Korea are no longer secure.

While all sides predict the current era of good feelings will last beyond November's election, the relationship will not be trouble-free. Disagreements over both Israeli and American arms sales could mount—especially with the two countries' budget-strapped defense industries competing for customers.

Ties that bind. America's warming relations with Israel's Arab neighbors also may generate friction. Bush officials argue that those ties, even with thuggish leaders such as Syria's President Hafez Assad, are essential to progress toward peace. Clinton aides say their candidate is likely to be more chary, particularly of Assad, but is unlikely to do anything to jeopardize Bush's and Baker's considerable progress in the peace negotiations.

The peace talks will remain the most important area for both progress and pain. With Baker off running the campaign, the United States is notably absent from the game, which may help explain why progress has slowed. But whoever wins next month will have to jump back in swiftly. And despite their common interests, America's and Israel's ideas of a compromise are apt to diverge.

Issues such as the future of Jerusalem and the strategic wisdom of a partial Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights could become very prickly. Of all the parties at the table, only Israel will be required to make territorial concessions. And no matter how attractive a promised peace agreement, "that last step will never be easy," says UCLA's Spiegel. "Any U.S. administration is bound to be impatient."

BY CARLA ANNE ROBBINS WITH DAVID MAKOVSKY IN JERUSALEM AND BRUCE B. AUSTER

BY DAVID GERGEN
EDITOR AT LARGE

EDITORIAL

WHY THE DEBATES MATTER

With luck, the coming presidential debates could mark a key turning point for the campaign—and for the country. While the twists and turns of recent months have made this an intriguing year, the substance of the campaign itself has been terribly mushy. Voters have only the vaguest sense of what the next four years will bring, and many are dispirited. As one citizen put it recently, "If God had intended us to vote, he would have created candidates we could vote for."

Bill Clinton and George Bush should prepare for these debates by taking a leaf from history. Looking back, they will see that the last good election in this country occurred in 1980. That's because the candidates, Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter and John Anderson, all provided clear, distinctive road maps into the future. Voters were able to make a conscious choice. More to the point, Reagan then had a *mandate* to govern. Everyone knew what Reagan stood for—lower taxes, less spending, less regulation, more defense—and Congress had to march to his drum. The succeeding few years were the last time Washington has had a functioning government.

'The man who is to be our next leader must have more than a victory at the polls. He must have a mandate to govern as well.'

Compare that experience to the next two elections. In 1984, Reagan made a crucial mistake by campaigning on the past, not the future. His message was a nostalgic look at "Morning in America." It was good politics (he won 49 states) but lousy governance (his second term was mostly a bust on the home front). In 1988, Bush made the same mistake, providing no clue to what he hoped to accomplish. Without a mandate, Bush had no leverage against Congress, and Washington has been deadlocked ever since.

Within both the Bush and Clinton camps, there is welcome talk about seeking a mandate in this election, but so far, neither man has taken that challenge seriously. While Bush has finally provided an economic plan, it may be a blueprint written with disappearing ink. *U.S. News* reported recently that Bush has been telling aides that the *real* agenda for his next term will only come after the election, when he has a clearer sense of the economy and the Congress. As for Clinton, he has long had a plan, but he risks making the same mistake Carter did as president—talking about so many issues from so many shifting perspectives that one loses the forest for the trees. Neither man has said to voters: "Here are my top three goals for my presidency. Here's what I expect Congress to do; here's what I expect you to do—and let's be very clear, we will all need to sacrifice." Without plain talk, the next president will have no mandate.

Debate coaches in both camps will tell the candidates that the most important objective now is to win the election and forget about governing until after the election. That's fine for political consultants—they can take their money and run—but it's a horrible way to run a country. The candidates have already pandered far too often. Early in the year, when he was on the ropes, Clinton drove Paul Tsongas from the race by attacking all of the modest tax increases that the former senator was so courageously seeking. This fall, after promising leaner government, the president ran all over the country doling out federal money in major battleground states. Then last week, both campaigns looked silly sending their high-ranking advisers to kiss the ring of Ross Perot, a doomed exercise.

In the upcoming debates, Bush and Clinton will be tempted to tell voters all the nasty things they *won't* do in the next four years. No more taxes on the middle class. No tampering with Social Security. No harmful cuts in Medicare and Medicaid. No big changes in veterans' benefits—the list, long and familiar, is undoubtedly popular. But what voters need to hear is what each candidate *will* do as president: How will he stimulate the economy to create new jobs while also bringing down the deficit? How will he extend health protection to the uninsured and tame costs without creating chaos and a loss of services? What will he do to protect families and children, especially in cities where violence takes an ever bloodier toll?

The man who is to be our next leader must have more than a victory at the polls. He must also have a mandate to govern. The debates provide the last and best opportunity to build a strong presidency. ■

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

© 1992 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

This Inane Campaign Gives Me a Pain

By Herbert Stein

Possibly in my old age I have become too impatient with childishness, especially with the childishness of adults. But this year's campaign talk about the economy strikes me as particularly empty and irritating. Each side appeals to irrelevant "principles" and misleading or untrue "facts." And the other side delivers a response that has about as much cogency as, "So's your old man!" – a favorite expression of my youth.

How Mr. Perot will affect the quality of the campaign is still unclear. He is a puzzling mixture of world-class superficiality and simple-mindedness with some flashes of courage and practicality. My suspicion is that his presence will drive the campaign further up into the stratosphere.

The campaign talk – it can hardly be called discussion or debate – has proceeded at three levels: ideology or "philosophy," pocketbook appeal and alleged "facts." Messrs. Bush and Clinton have each been claiming a big difference of ideology and philosophy from the other. Mr. Bush is here to defend us against an administration that would combine the features of Marx, Lenin, Harry Hopkins and Oxford-trained social engineers. (George Wallace in 1972 was more stylish; he was going to defend us against "pointy-headed intellectuals.") That is, Mr. Bush is going to defend us against the institution of a government-planned economy.

Mr. Clinton is here to rescue us from an administration that combines the features of William McKinley, Herbert Hoover and Ebenezer Scrooge (as he was before his dream). That is, he is going to rescue us from an administration that believes in doing nothing except taking from the middle class and giving to the rich.

No Radical Changes in the Offing

This talk is all overblown. Mr. Bush is not going to abolish the welfare state and Mr. Clinton is not going to establish a planned economy. We have, and will continue to have, a predominantly free economy, in which government has responsibility for moderating unemployment and inflation, for providing defense and certain other services, for redistribution of income and the opportunity to assist the poor, and for regulation where there are major, clear cases of failure of free markets to yield socially beneficial results. How best to do these things, and how far to go with them, are proper questions for discussion. But within the range of options likely to be considered none of the choices would add up to radical change.

From my standpoint Mr. Clinton seems to be too willing to interfere with the market system, as evidenced by his flirtation with "industrial policy," his ambiguity about protectionism and his implied proposal for price and output controls in the health industry. But Mr. Bush is hardly virginal in this respect. In fact, he seems quite prepared to intervene in the economy as long as the intervention can take the form of a preferential tax abatement, as in the case of enterprise zones, family leave and small business promotion.

From my standpoint Mr. Bush is too determined to defend the not-poor part of America against any increase in their taxes or loss of government benefits, and too unconcerned about the poor. But his difference from Mr. Clinton is not great, and relates mainly to the treatment of a tiny minority of upper-income individuals.

The pocketbook issue boils down to two worries. Each candidate seeks to push the hot button of a certain part of the electorate. Mr. Clinton appeals to those who are worried about their jobs, their before-tax income and the value of their main asset, their homes. Mr. Bush appeals to those who are worried that more of their income will be taxed away from them.

But neither side has a credible cure for the worry to which it appeals. Mr. Bush's no-tax-increase pledge is said not to be credible because he broke a similar pledge in 1990. That is not the point, however. Mr. Bush's "Read my lips" promise was not credible when he made it in 1988, any more than Mr. Reagan's was credible all through the 1980s, when he raised taxes in almost every year of his presidency. Such promises are not credible because in the real world conditions arise in which a tax increase is the only sensible and prudent policy. To promise never to raise taxes is like promising never to send American troops to fight on foreign soil.

Board of Contributors

Bush's current no-tax-pledge is said not to be credible. But it was not credible when he first made it, any more than Reagan's was credible through the 1980s, when he raised taxes.

Mr. Clinton's talk about jobs and incomes is no more edifying. He has no program for accelerating recovery, and doesn't even talk about that. And for the longer run his emphasis on investment hangs in the air since he does not face the necessity of curbing private consumption.

Into this pudding of talk about economic philosophy and goals each candidate inserts a few plums of facts, presumably as evidence of realism. I will give two as examples. One of Mr. Clinton's favorite "facts" is that President Bush has the worst economic record in 50 years. But any college sophomore can find many measures by which that is untrue. Unemployment was higher at times in the Ford and Reagan administrations. The drop in employment was greater in recessions of the Truman, Eisenhower, Nixon-Ford and Reagan administrations. Probably the worst measure of economic performance during the Bush administration is that total output was no higher in the second quarter of 1992 than 13 quarters earlier, when Mr. Bush was inaugurated. But by that standard the 13 quarters spanning the end of the Carter regime and the beginning of Reagan's were even worse. Anyway, to call the economic performance of the years 1989 to 1992 "President Bush's record" is naive or devious. The performance of the economy is the result of innumerable forces of which the president is only one and not the most important.

Mr. Bush for his part likes to point out that from 1980 to 1992 we raised the national output (GDP) from about $3 trillion to about $6 trillion. He uses that as evidence that with his guidance we can achieve a national output of $10 trillion in a decade. He does not recognize that while the national output in nominal terms doubled, the increase in real terms was only 30%. The rest was inflation. At that rate more than 20 years, not 10, would be required to reach the goal of $10 trillion GDP in real 1992 dollars. And Mr. Bush, like Mr. Clinton, exaggerates the influence of presidents. The "we" who raised the national output from 1982 to 1992 were not mainly Messrs. Reagan and Bush but the workers, savers, investors, teachers, inventors and other actors in the economic story.

Does the Campaign Even Matter?

One can make a case that campaign rhetoric does not really matter. One of these candidates will be elected, and whoever it is will not depend much on his campaign. Economists and political scientists seem to do pretty well in explaining the outcome of past elections by referring to such things as the increase of real per capita incomes, the inflation rate, incumbency and approval ratings as they were before the campaign got into full swing. Probably the only campaign action that ever had a major effect on a presidential election was the failure to put makeup on Richard Nixon's face for the 1960 debate with John F. Kennedy. That mistake, at least, no one will make this time around.

But even if the campaign does not affect the result of the election, one can complain that it is terribly boring. It is like watching a Super Bowl that is full of dropped passes and offside penalties. There are, however, more serious consequences in an inane campaign. One is the miseducation of the president. All presidents come into office believing a lot of things they said during the campaign. This is especially so for a newcomer but is even true for a re-elected incumbent. For him to begin his term with his head full of irresponsible ideas generated by opportunistic handlers during the campaign would be too bad.

There is also an effect on the education of the public. Probably the two or three months before a presidential election are the period in every four years when the public is most open to learn, even eager to learn, about serious issues. This opportunity is a terrible thing to waste. And it is being wasted. There is one bright spot in this picture. I have the impression that the media, both print and broadcast, are trying harder than usual to present an informative analysis of major issues, especially of budget policy. But they are having a hard time getting attention above the noise emanating from the campaign.

Mr. Stein is the author, with Murray Foss, of "An Illustrated Guide to the American Economy" (AEI Press).

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

© 1992 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Tax Cuts Excavated

We'll be darned. We read in the New York Times last week that the Reagan tax cuts didn't widen the income gap between the rich and everybody else after all. It also turns out that redistribution through the tax code really isn't a good way to boost the poor and middle class *"as the current political debate seems to imply."* (The italics are ours.)

Could this be the start of a trend? Bill Clinton somewhat more than less endorsed NAFTA over the weekend and he's spoken sympathetically of indexing capital gains. Though the "richest Americans" still come in for regular bashings on the stump, Mr. Clinton has gone out of his way lately to be seen with venture capitalists and corporate CEOs. Then he tells the next audience about his new corporate friends.

Whatever the reason for this latest turn, we hope it finally closes out a debate memorable for its sterility. We mean the "fairness" debate, in whose name Congress had to forgo a jobs-creating tax cut because the wrong people report capital gains. Maybe now politicians can again worry about incentives to work and invest without being pilloried as advocates of "trickle-down" economics. With luck, we may even avoid a detour back through the 1970s.

The national income, as the Times' Sylvia Nasar has rediscovered, is not a pie baked in Washington and served up hot to the country, with Congress deciding how to apportion the slices. The pie is a product of the private sector, and redistributionist policies only discourage the most productive bakers without doing much for anybody else.

This wasn't even controversial a few years ago. The respected Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) said in the mid-1980s: "The income tax system is certainly a less effective tool for achieving equitable income distribution than are full employment and well-functioning social policies."

We've never understood why an envy standard should be the measure of social progress anyway. As David Altig of the Cleveland Fed recently wrote, "I would gladly see you gain a zillion dollars of real income if doing so would obtain a billion for me, even if the distribution of our incomes becomes more unequal in the process." Adjust for hyperbole, and that's what happened during the "greed decade": thousands of new millionaires *and* 18 million new jobs.

In any case, as we've noted before, the much-bemoaned rise in inequality during the 1980s turns out largely to be a mirage once the data incorporate social mobility, changes in household size and the drastic setback suffered in President Carter's last year. The gap between the richest and poorest fifths becomes less impressive still when the two groups are compared according to how much they consume rather than how much income they report.

If Democrats want some inequality to wring their hands over usefully, they should ponder the widening gap between the earnings of highly skilled workers and the earnings of workers with low skills. Therein lies the true challenge to policy makers – how to create good jobs and prepare people to do them in the face of global competition and technological change.

This is a debate worth having. We believe the answer isn't to prop up low-skilled wages with trade barriers, nor to throw taxpayer money at industries "targeted" by a pork-barreling Congress. It's futile. Global capital will decide which jobs are done where.

Instead, we should focus on making America a better place in which to live, work and invest for people who increasingly have a choice about these things. Among our top goals would be good schools, safe neighborhoods, a healthy environment, an efficient safety net, and a tax code hospitable to strivers and investors. This is actually much less than our government tries to do now, which is why it does nothing very well.

So before piling more taxes on the "rich" or anybody else, Washington should deliver value for the money it's already getting. In a world where talent and capital are becoming more mobile by the day, that's the kind of "fairness" successful governments will be known for.

You can find much of this in George Bush's recent speeches, and some of it in Bill Clinton's. We're still prepared to consider the possibility that, despite his election-year antics, Mr. Clinton understands what the global economy would require of him as President. We wonder, though, if he could find enough like-minded Democrats to staff the White House.

President's Campaign Stance On Increases in Levies Appears to Doom Bill

By JACKIE CALMES
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON – A broad tax bill that includes many of President Bush's business incentives, as well as tax increases to pay for them, is doomed to his waiting veto.

Despite bipartisan criticism, the administration declined again yesterday to state clearly its plans for the tax bill, plans that it usually discloses for major legislation. But a White House official said, "It's a traditional, old-time Christmas tree tax bill, and it's unfocused and misdirected in too many components to be signed by the president." Separately, congressional Republican leaders predicted Mr. Bush will veto the bill, given his recent anti-tax rhetoric on the campaign trail.

That would kill the bill, as Congress is about to adjourn for the year and won't vote on an override.

The package includes variations on Bush initiatives to give tax breaks to businesses that invest in "enterprise zones" in blighted areas, corporations subject to the alternative minimum tax and the real-estate industry. The bill also would expand the tax benefits of individual retirement accounts, revive a tax credit for business research and repeal luxury taxes. But to comply with budget law and make up the lost revenue, projected at $27 billion over five years, the bill also would raise taxes from a variety of sources, many of them proposed at one time by the administration.

The growing certainty of a veto contributed to the House's near-defeat of the bill in an all-night session, as it rushed to adjourn. The vote early yesterday morning was 208-202, in contrast with the House's 356-55 passage of its original bill in July. Republicans, only six of whom opposed the bill then, overwhelmingly voted against it yesterday in view of Mr. Bush's hardened stance. They were joined by several Democratic vote-switchers, who, facing election fights, didn't want to be open to GOP attacks for raising taxes.

House GOP Leader Robert Michel of Illinois, who, like many Republicans, supported the measure yet voted against it in deference to Mr. Bush, said afterward that the House vote "was just a useless exercise" given the president's expected veto.

In the Senate, meanwhile, a final vote on the bill was delayed when GOP Sen. Alfonse D'Amato of New York mounted a 15-hour filibuster through the night to protest the deletion of his provision to aid Smith Corona Corp., in hopes of preventing its planned move from New York to Mexico. The bill faces other obstacles as the Senate scrambles to adjourn this week, including potential parliamentary objections and time-consuming fights against unrelated energy and water-project bills.

...Bush and Reagan ...On the Economy

By TIMOTHY NOAH
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON – Ross Perot kicked off his advertising campaign with a devastating critique of the economy under Presidents Bush and Reagan.

The Texas billionaire, who re-entered the presidential race last week, notably didn't ask viewers to vote for him, instead urging them to "pick the person you respect and trust."

In the half-hour ad, aired last night on CBS television, Mr. Perot talked viewers through a series of charts showing, among other things, the growth of government debt, federal spending, inequality of incomes and child poverty. He cited the last as the reason he was running for president, even though "there's not a single second of this that anybody would do for fun." He said he would address solutions to these problems in coming broadcasts.

Mr. Perot took care to criticize the Democratic-controlled Congress as well as the Republican White House. But he spoke with particular scorn of the Republican doctrine of supply-side economics and said that economic growth during the Bush administration was the worst in four decades. He also made a veiled, unflattering reference to two high-level Bush campaign aides whose companies represent foreign interests.

The aides, James Lake and Charles Black, weren't mentioned by name. But in denouncing the revolving door between government and foreign lobbying, Mr. Perot said, "They've got these people on leaves of absence working now on presidential campaigns." Mr. Lake's firm, Robinson, Lake, Lerer & Montgomery, represents Japan's auto parts industry and the Abu Dhabi Investment Authority, while Mr. Black's firm, Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly, represents Kenya and Nigeria as well as Unita, the Angolan rebel force.

Separately, the Miami Herald reported that the Federal Trade Commission was investigating complaints by former Perot volunteers that the campaign had looked into their personal credit records. The FTC wouldn't comment.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

© 1992 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

Senate GOP Leader Robert Dole of Kansas said the tax bill will eventually pass in the Senate, which originally approved its version 70-29. But, he added, "I don't think the president dare sign it."

That calculus is based on the fact that Mr. Bush, on the defensive for breaking his 1988 no-new-taxes vow, has reiterated his anti-tax position repeatedly and criticized Democratic rival Bill Clinton for raising scores of minor taxes in Arkansas. Gov. Clinton this week said Mr. Bush would be "inconsistent" now to sign a bill with several dozen revenue-raisers.

The tax bill wouldn't raise individual or corporate income tax rates. It would raise revenue, at least in the short term, in myriad ways, such as expediting returns from corporations and individuals who file quarterly, mandating that securities firms raise the taxable value of their inventories lengthening the period for depreciating commercial real estate and taking steps to enforce compliance with existing taxes, among other approaches.

The measure's likely death is a turnabout from its initial prospects last summer, when the president and congressinal Democrats shared a bipartisan interest in seeing such a package become law. Each wanted to provide urban aid after the Los Angeles riots and to approve some breaks for special interests. The sponsors, Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D., Texas) and House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D., Ill.), adopted a number of administration initiatives.

But the president's anti-tax rhetoric after the August GOP convention, and his administration's unusual refusal to get involved in the tax bill's evolution, frustrated both parties. "In retrospect," Sen. Bentsen said in a statement "the friction of the Reagan years proved to be far more productive than the vacuum of the Bush years."

The D'Amato fight for Smith Corona illustrated the cross-pressures for the bill. The senator was joined at times by fellow New York Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat on the tax-writing Finance Committee. But the bill includes many other provisions that would benefit their state, thanks in some cases to Sen. Moynihan. It would, among other things, lift a cap on tax-exempt bonds to aid private New York universities eager to finance expansions, make permanent a tax break for those who donate appreciated property to institutions such as universities and museums, help the United Nations expand in New York City rather than move offices to Germany, and provide aid to depressed areas of the city.

Citizens in Rockford, Ill., Microcosm of the U.S., Voice Deep Disaffection for the Bush Presidency

By JOHN HARWOOD
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

"A presidency can shape an era — and it can change our lives."
— George Bush, announcing his 1988 presidential campaign

ROCKFORD, Ill. — If President Bush were looking for a verdict on his performance over the last four years, he might want to avoid this all-American city.

For what he would find here is a far cry from the "growing, optimistic America" he promised when he visited Rockford during his last campaign. Instead, in a traditional Republican stronghold that backed him in 1988, Mr. Bush would discover an anxious community struggling with everyday problems that have deepened during his presidency — schools squeezed in an ever-tightening financial vise, rising crime fueled by an increasingly violent drug trade, health care inflation that has doubled hospital costs and a local economy that has generated more joblessness than jobs.

CAMPAIGN ★92

People in Rockford may not blame Mr. Bush for all these problems, but neither do they believe he has done much to solve them. "I just don't think he has done anything," says Curt Scribner, who runs an office-supply store in Rockford's modest downtown. "Not a lot went on while he was president. Not a lot of action, not a lot of results."

Then and Now
How some things have changed in Rockford, Ill., over the last four years:

	1988	1992
Unemployment rate	7.3%	10.2%
People employed	140,848	145,569
Cost of one-day hospital stay	$730	$1,600
Reported serious crime	13,722	15,250*

*1991
Sources: Illinois Dept. of Employment Security, Rockford Board of Education, Rockford Memorial Hospital, Rockford Police Dept.

Such dismal evaluations hardly mean this city of 140,000 is thrilled with Bill Clinton or Ross Perot. Even Mr. Scribner leans toward supporting Mr. Bush in November, as he did in 1988, because of fears the other candidates would be even worse. Others credit Mr. Bush for skillful international leadership, particularly during the Gulf War, and say Congress shares responsibility for problems.

Sweeping Indictment

But in interviews in wood-paneled executive suites and spartan local charity organizations, in City Hall and union halls, community leaders and ordinary citizens alike deliver a sweeping indictment of Mr. Bush's domestic leadership. Their complaints illuminate the Main Street underpinnings of the deep national dissatisfaction with the incumbent that has shaped the 1992 electoral landscape.

Rockford is as apt a place as any to measure the effects of Mr. Bush's stewardship on ordinary Americans. It boasts such a representative demographic mix that one marketing firm lists it among the 10 most typical cities in the nation. The 52% of the vote that Mr. Bush received here in 1988 closely approximated his showing in the state and nationwide.

The foremost concern here, as elsewhere, is the economy. After the brutal recession of 1981 and 1982, when local unemployment at times topped 20%, Rockford recovered smartly during the years of Ronald Reagan's presidency. Local manufacturers, with cooperation from labor unions, slimmed down and began looking to export products such as machine tools and auto parts. The airport authority, believing commercial air service might give the city a boost, raised $5 million to build a new terminal. Though the city lost more than 8,000 jobs in the 1980s, unemployment had receded to 7.3% by the end of 1988.

A Step Back

But during Mr. Bush's term, Rockford's economy has taken one step back for every one forward. The number of jobs in the metropolitan area has grown by some 4,700 since 1988, but the ranks of the jobless have swelled by even more. Unemployment for 1992 is averaging more than 10%.

Local retailers are hurting, and some cautious manufacturers are deferring expansion plans. The downturn has forced some idle trade workers into retail jobs, at half their former pay levels, and turned others into itinerants driving around the upper Midwest in search of union work.

Mr. Bush's labor secretary, Lynn Martin, who represented Rockford in the House throughout the 1980s, attributes much of the local discontent to the continuing impact of world-wide economic changes. But she acknowledges that Mr. Bush's initial attempts to lift public confidence by emphasizing positive economic news led some to conclude he didn't understand their problems. "The connector was missing," she says.

Local business leaders had their hopes up early this year, before Mr. Bush's State of the Union speech. But "most of us were decidedly disappointed," says Harry Stonecipher, chairman and president of Sundstrand Corp., a high-technology aerospace and industrial products company that is Rockford's largest employer. "And I think the results since then have indicated that there is no plan." Mr. Stonecipher is trimming his work force by some 250 this year through layoffs and attrition, because of shrinking defense contracts and general economic sluggishness. He still plans to vote for Mr. Bush.

Not all sectors of the local economy are in trouble. The real estate market is healthy, buoyed by affluent professionals who can buy far more house for the money on Rockford's fast-growing east side than they could in other towns or suburbs closer to Chicago. But even that bright spot carries a cost: Home values that have risen at a 10% clip since last year have lifted ownership beyond the reach of some. "We don't have any $35,000, $40,000, $45,000 starter homes for young couples," says Mayor Charles Box.

Housing Crunch

Further down the income scale, the problem is especially acute. Four years ago, social service agencies would ask the Rockford Housing Authority to place two to four homeless families each month. Nowadays, the authority is looking for subsidized apartments for 30 families.

Health care is another problem area. The federally subsidized Crusader Clinic, which provides primary care for the needy, saw 23,300 patients in 1991, up from about 15,000 in 1988. At Rockford Memorial Hospital, the cost of a day's stay has shot up to

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

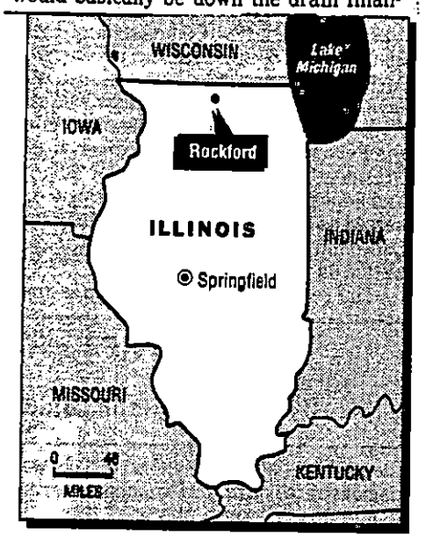
© 1992 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1992

$1,600 from $730 in 1988. Tom DeFauw, the hospital's administrator, says the hospital increased charges to cover what the government won't pay for its treatment of Medicare and Medicaid beneficiaries.

Although Mr. Bush once pledged to be the "education president," local schools have experienced little Washington-directed change. Rather, they have been buffeted by state aid cuts and a distracting desegregation lawsuit. This year, the school system can't afford to purchase a single new textbook, and the money crunch precludes fundamental reforms, such as Mr. Bush's "school choice" plan, which would provide subsidies to families who want to send their children to private, instead of public, schools.

"One little blip and the school district would basically be down the drain financially," says Fred Wham, the school board president.



The Bush years have brought some good news to education in Rockford: The number of children in its Head Start program is up to 410 in 1992 from 284 in 1988, thanks to a near-doubling of federal aid that Mr. Bush has supported. Parents and guidance counselors also report somewhat diminished drug and alcohol use by teen-agers in school.

Crowded Jails

Yet that improvement is offset by escalating crime problems in the city's poorest neighborhoods. The proliferation of high-quality guns has forced the police department to rearm its officers to keep pace. The county jail is so jampacked — built for 177 prisoners, its average occupancy is now at 316 — that officials sometimes release burglars and car thieves early to make room for violent criminals. From 1988 to 1991, auto thefts doubled to 1,290 from 565, the new menace of drive-by shootings emerged, and serious crimes overall were up about 10% to 15,250 from 13,722.

In his last campaign, Mr. Bush vowed that "my administration will be telling the [drug] dealers, whatever we have to do we'll do, but your day is over, you're history." Police Chief Bill Fitzpatrick says neither such talk nor ensuing actions had much effect. "Politicians create . . . the expectation that something is going to happen, and then nothing is happening," the chief says.

Praise on Family Issues

Mr. Bush is not without defenders in Rockford. "His overall traditional family message has been consistent," says Don Lyon, pastor of a 1,000-member evangelical church called Faith Center. The Rev. Lyon sees "a greater sensitivity to spiritual values" in the community, and credits Mr. Bush for keeping faith with local anti-abortion activists.

Mr. Bush has emphasized volunteerism in response to social problems, and such efforts have expanded here, from the Hunger Connection, which will distribute some $2 million of donated food to local charities this year, to the Rockford Neighborhood Redevelopment Corp., which fixes up houses for the poor.

But the Redevelopment Corp.'s David Stocker, who was recognized by Mr. Bush as a "Point of Light" and flown to Disney World for a celebratory banquet last year, says the president is "in a state of denial. You can't just take all the problems of society and say, 'Let's get a bunch of volunteers to fix them.' "

In recent weeks, the president has sought to provide a clearer picture of his second-term agenda. So far, at least, it hasn't made much of an impression here — and Rockford is running out of patience.

Bev Kingsley, who runs the Small Business Development Center at Rock Valley Junior College, sees the anxiety in the faces of laid-off workers seeking advice on how to make a fresh start working for themselves. "People always get scared when there's nobody to lead them," Ms. Kingsley says. "We've done as much as we can do. We have talked, we have planned. It's time that we got some direction from above, and I don't mean God."

THE WHITE HOUSE

MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

Saturday, Sunday, Monday October 7,8,9,1992

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

NEWSDAY

11-5-92

. . . Endings



Reuter

THE LINE Bush concedes with a vow for a smooth transition.

CONVERSATION

GOODBYE TO ALL THAT. *Richard Ben Cramer spent four years researching the 1988 election for his definitive 1,047-page chronicle, "What It Takes: The Way to the White House." Cramer spent months interviewing the Bush family and associates. Last week, he speculated about the Bushes' post-election mood:*

George Bush gave it his all. The presidential race is totally draining, whether you wind up with the euphoria of victory or with this punishing rejection. Losing the presidency is different because it's you out there voters are judging—not your party, not your positions—but you. It is especially true of Bush that everything is personal. Remember, there is a human being in that suit, not a grand calculating machine.

Barbara will take it harder than he will. It must be terribly hurtful to her how the country has turned on him. The most hurtful thing is the friends who didn't support him as hard as in 1988. When the GOP candidates for the Senate and House—guys you raised money for, went to the wall with, campaigned with over and over—have other commitments and stop showing up with you, that hurts. Barbara keeps score. Even if you disagree with George Bush or disappoint him, he can still figure out how to share some common ground with you. But once you're on Bar's shitlist, you're on it for good. While he may feel crushed today, he is a pretty healthy guy, not a self-flagellator. He'll spend time with the inevitable "what if" questions, but he won't spend years at it. Give him a boat and a golf course and he's pretty happy. His speed will pick up when he swings into full-time recreating.

CHICK HARRITY—USN&WR



NEWSDAY
11-5-92



Quayle, left, the Bushes and Bush grandchildren wave from a White House balcony on their return to Washington yesterday. AP Photo

Bush returns to cheers in D.C.

By Saul Friedman
WASHINGTON BUREAU

Washington — In a gray drizzle that matched the mood around him, President George Bush returned to the White House yesterday and told a cheering, flag-waving crowd of friends, admirers and administration officials, "Let's finish this job with style."

If he was dejected by his decisive defeat at the hands of Democrat Bill Clinton, the president seemed lifted by the heartfelt greeting on the South Lawn from about 2,000 men and women from the White House, the military, government agencies and the Congress.

In a brief ceremony like that for visiting heads of state, the military color guard stood at attention and the Marine band struck up "Ruffles and Flourishes" and "Hail to the Chief," which will be played for Bush for only a few more months.

Bush, whose helicopter landed at the Pentagon, drove by motorcade across the Potomac to the White House for the organized but nevertheless genuine outpouring of affection. And he and Vice President Dan Quayle alighted from their limousine to walk through the crowd on the grass, pausing to greet old friends who have helped them over the years.

Mounting the podium with first lady Barbara Bush, Quayle and his wife, Marilyn, the president quipped, "Hey listen . . . maybe you didn't read the election returns. It didn't work out quite the way we wanted."

Bush, who remained graceful in defeat, thanked those who had supported him over the years. And Bush said, "Let's get the job done, cooperate fully with the new administration. The government goes on, as well it should, and we will support the new president and give him every chance to lead this country into greater heights."

Bush had special words of praise for Quayle: "We are so grateful . . . for everything he did. Hey, the guy, he almost killed himself out there. Hard work, day in and day out."

Quayle did not speak, but he signaled in a television interview yesterday that his political career is not over. He praised Clinton by suggesting their views were "compatible" on many issues. "We have a lot of tough challenges, and I think he [Clinton] may be calling on Republican help from time to time," said Quayle on ABC's "Good Morning America."

Asked about his political future, the 44-year-old Quayle would not rule out another run for elected office. "Look, there's life after public service," he said. "I've enjoyed public service, and who knows?"

Reuters news service described Bush as puffy-eyed as he left Houston and reported that he seemed overcome at times as he hugged and kissed close friends waiting to say goodbye at the steps of Air Force One. During the journey, as if underscoring his campaign position, Bush vetoed legislation to provide aid to Los Angeles and other urban areas because it included several tax increases.

But even as his spirits were lifted by the crowd at the White House, which included members of the cabinet, there were tears among his closest and oldest friends. And there were signs of bitterness: One official glared at reporters and muttered, "Are you happy now?" But Bush told the faithful, "It's been a wonderful four years, and nobody can take that away from any of us."

George E. Jordan contributed to this report.

NEW YORK NEWSDAY, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1992

Sat 7-Nov-92 0:21 EST
By HELEN THOMAS
UPI White House Reporter

WASHINGTON (UPI) _ President Bush was relaxing this weekend at Camp David in the aftermath of his election defeat by President-elect Clinton and winding down from the demanding position he has held for nearly four years.

The president, who flew to the rustic presidential retreat in the western Maryland mountains Thursday with his wife **Barbara**, caught up on his sleep and began calling friends "to thank them for helping on the campaign," White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said Friday.

Bush planned to fly to Boca Grande, Fla., on Wednesday to try out the new fishing reel he purchased on Election Day in Houston, and he seemed to be preparing for a more leisurely way of life.

Mrs. Bush, who will travel south with him, is already beginning to think about building a new home in Houston, Fitzwater said.

Bush taped a radio address Friday for airing on Saturday. Fitzwater said it "looks ahead" and "puts the campaign behind."

In an interview with United Press International, Fitzwater said that Bush is "not one for divisivness," while acknowledging there is always a tendency "to assign blame" after a re-election defeat.

"Anyone who knows George Bush knows he wants the transition to be a cooperative and amicable period," Fitzwater said. "We want to get new spirit in the party.

He said most of the top people in the administration are committed to staying until Inauguration Day on Jan. 20 and will carry out their professional responsibilities, " Fitzwater said.

Despite the initial trauma of losing a hard fought campaign, he said "everyone seems to be in a good mood."

Fitzwater described the atmosphere as "cleaning up" and not a time for assigning blame.

Told that the Heritage Foundation had put a replica in rubber of Bush's head on a platter at a post-election party, Fitzwater looked pensive and said "in this kind of situation, there are always a few incidents of totally incredulous behavior."

The presidential spokesman, who has worked at the White House for 10 years, including service as spokesman for President Ronald Reagan, said he has no plans. He has received some inquiries "from people talking about different possibilities.

"I'm looking forward to a new career. It's a turning point..with a different set of objectives."

Fitzwater, 49, is mulling over whether he will seek a job in the corporate world or go into the field of public relations.

Sat 7-Nov-92 12:17 EST
By HELEN THOMAS
UPI White House Reporter
WASHINGTON (UPI) _ President Bush Saturday took "full responsibility" for his defeat at the polls and selected Transportation Secretary Andrew Card to handle the transfer of executive power to President-elect Bill Clinton.

In an eloquent radio address taped Friday for airing Saturday, Bush compared his position to that of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, who said after his post-war election defeat in 1945, "I have been given the Order of the Boot."

"I admit that is not a position I would have preferred, but it is a judgment I honor," said Bush. "Having known the sweet taste of popular favor, I can more readily accept the sour taste of defeat, because it is seasoned for me by my deep devotion to the political system under which this nation has thrived for two centuries.

"There must be no finger-pointing, no playing the 'blame game," ' he said, speaking of his election loss to Clinton.

"New ideas will flourish, and that is good," Bush said. "But as for what has passed, I can only say that it was my administration, my campaign _ I captained the team _ and I take full responsibility for the loss. No one else is responsible. I am responsible."

Press secretary Marlin Fitzwater announced Saturday that Bush had chosen Card, familiar with White House operations as a former deputy chief of staff, to head the administration's transition team.

Fitzwater also said that chief of staff James Baker will meet with Vernon Jordan, newly named head of President-elect Clinton's transition team, in Washington Wednesday evening.

Fitzwater said Card, a longtime associate of the president, having worked with him and on his political campaigns, "will have overall responsibility for the transition."

Bush has called on his top aides to carry out the transition "in style" and Fitzwater said most of them are committed to staying to perform their professional responsibilities until their successors are sworn in.

Meantime, Card planned to meet sometime next week with representatives of Clinton's transition team to pave the way for a smooth transfer of the presidential reins to Clinton on inauguration day.

As is traditional, Clinton will pay a call at the White House to meet with Bush later this month or in early December, but no date has been set. Hillary Clinton also will visit **Barbara Bush** to look over the White House family quarters.

Fitzwater said that he had not heard any discussion of a possible pardon of former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and other Iran-Contra defendants by Bush before he leaves office.

The Washington Post said Saturday that some White House aides and senior Republicans were pushing a pardon for Weinberger and other former Reagan administration aides. Weinberger has been indicted on five counts of perjury in the scandal.

Fitzwater said that "somebody is obviously trying to plant the seeds" in the Post for a pardon.

Another aide said a pardon would have to be recommended by the

1-0

Justice Department before Bush could act. The president was reportedly bitter over the injection of the Iran-Contra affair in the final days of the election campaign, particularly in terms of his denial that he knew the transaction involved a swap of arms to Iran for release of the American hostages in Lebanon.

Bush's campaign manager Robert Teeter listed the Iraq-Contra affair as one of the leading factors leading in the president's failed bid to win re-election.

Bush, going into a post-election reflective mode at Camp David, has been calling friends who took part in the campaign, and making plans for the day when he leaves the White House, Fitzwater said.

"On January 25th, Barbara and I will head back to Texas," the president said in his radio address. "For us, there will be no more elections, no more politics. But we will rededicate ourselves to helping others, because after all that is the secret of the American spirit."

And the president expressed the hope that history will record that his administration "had served America well."

He also said in his broadcast that "defeat can be divisive," but he urged the Republican Party to be "as constructive on the outside of executive power as it has been for 12 years on the inside."

He was proud of his Cabinet, staff and campaign team, he said, who "put together a tenacious, spirited effort in a difficult year."

"When you win," he observed, "your errors are obscured; when you lose, your errors are magnified. I suspect history will take the edge off both interpretations.

"One thing I know for sure," he added, "my supporters should go out with their heads held high."

Bush said that during his rigorous, maraton campaign across the country, he had the chance to talk to many people and felt the anxiety that accompanies a time of change, but he also saw "the resiliency of the American spirit."

"President-elect Clinton needs all Americans to united behind him so he can move our nation forward," he said.

"There are no magic outside solutions to our problems," Bush warned. "The real answers lie within us." He urged everyone to do their part "to forge a brighter future for this country."

Bush planned to relax at Camp David until Sunday. On Wednesday he planned to head to Boca Grande, Fla., north of Fort Myers, on a fishing trip.

Bush: The Fingers of Blame

In the postmortem flurry, Baker is a key target



JOHN FICARA—NEWSWEEK

The president just wants out: *The First Couple on their way to Camp David last week*

BY ANN MCDANIEL

Talk about faint praise: by October, Republican operatives were saying openly that the best politician in the White House was Barbara Bush. She looked at her husband's campaign and smelled disaster —and a whiff of betrayal. Even James Baker, George Bush's closest friend and political *consigliere*, was running for cover. Why, Barbara asked a friend last month, had Baker "squirreled" himself away inside the White House instead of publicly defending her husband? Was he more interested in protecting his own reputation, she asked in a biting tone, than in helping her husband get re-elected? She told her pals that if she started pointing fingers she might never stop. Bush refused to listen to her complaints about Baker, but when a top adviser telephoned the president just hours after his defeat and suggested he had not been well served by his staff, Bush barked, "Don't get me started on that."

Even as the First Couple declined to go public and point the finger of blame, the rest of the Bush administration was doing little else. Cabinet secretaries attacked Bush's manipulative budget chief Richard Darman, nicknaming him "Dick Dahmer, the man who cannibalized the Bush presidency." Vice President Dan Quayle publicly blasted the campaign staff (translation: chairman Robert Teeter) for never developing a campaign strategy. Jim Pinkerton, a former White House staffer who spent years peppering officials with new ways to address social problems only to be ignored, blasted his colleagues for being intellectually "bankrupt." The voters fired Bush, Pinkerton charged, because the administration was "conservative enough to be suspicious about big government, but we weren't smart enough to figure out how problems could be solved."

Other loyal Bushmen were either mournful—this wouldn't have happened if Lee Atwater were still alive—or all too delighted to stick a knife into Jim Baker's deflated rep. The bill of particulars: he ran a reactive campaign, never seizing the agenda for Bush, his heart wasn't in it, he was overrated to begin with. They mocked his suggestion that Bush hold up his "Agenda for American Renewal" at every campaign stop. "Baker seemed to think that if voters *saw* a few pages called an economic plan, they'd suddenly believe Bush was committed to reforming the economy. Does he really believe the American people are that dumb?" asked one top administration official.

Such chatter wounded Baker, who never wanted the job of Bush's savior in large part because he did not believe the president could be saved. Now he watched and fumed as his accomplishments as secretary of state were buried in the rubble of a Democratic victory. Baker's friends struck back, quoting him as saying it wasn't his fault that Bush had so little to say about the economy. Every economic proposal from "Read my lips" to "I'll never, ever raise taxes again" was a mistake, according to Baker.

There is, of course, plenty of blame to spread around. But there is really only one answer to the question "Who Lost the White House?" and that is Bush himself. True, Teeter and Baker ran a lousy campaign. But in the end, Bush was defeated by his failure to govern. After the gulf war, the president ignored polls that showed that a majority of Americans believed the country was on the "wrong track." Bush thought there was little government could do to correct social and economic problems, so he did virtually nothing. "The administration simply miscalculated the degree of sentiment for change," says Bill Kristol, Quayle's chief of staff.

Polishing résumés: Kristol, who scored high points for helping Quayle slightly improve his image, will soon have his pick of academic or think-tank jobs. But many Bush aides face grimmer prospects. Last week they polished their résumés and waited for the phone to ring. They were worried. Not only were they losing the trappings of power, but they were about to discover what the questioner who stumped Bush in the second debate was talking about: how did the recession affect you? Friends called with condolences, but for most senior officials early job offers were few and far between.

Bush just wants out—out of Washington and out of the spotlight. He's told aides his main priority for the rest of his administration is to make sure the transition is handled with "style and dignity." Some top officials want Bush to grant presidential pardons to Caspar Weinberger and other Iran-contra defendants on the ground that their indictments were politically motivated. But Bush is said to be hesitant, fearing that the pardons would be interpreted as an effort to cover up his own role in the scandal. He and Barbara will seek refuge in a Florida fishing trip this week. Mrs. Bush plans to house-hunt in Houston later this month. The Bushes are not ones to look back, but they do hold grudges. It will be a long time before they forgive the aides they blame for the president's defeat—if they ever do. ■

Bush applauds Cabinet, leaves for Camp David

WASHINGTON (Reuters)—President Bush flew off into the gloom of a rainy Thursday to the comforting seclusion of Camp David to spend a long weekend licking his wounds and recovering from the nightmare that was his 1992 campaign.

The Marine One helicopter carried Bush and his wife, Barbara, through fog and a misty rain, from a White House gripped by disappointment to the presidential retreat tucked away in the nearby Maryland mountains.

He is expected to return Sunday, then possibly go hunting or fishing next week.

Before leaving, he and Vice President Dan Quayle wore wan smiles as they sat across from each other for a meeting of Bush's lame-duck Cabinet.

To his left sat Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, one of the architects of the Persian Gulf victory, and to his right acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger. Chief of Staff James A. Baker III, Bush's old friend who was unable to lift him to victory as campaign mastermind, was shooting game birds at a ranch in south Texas.

Spokesmen said later that Bush told the Cabinet officers he was proud of them and they should cooperate fully with the transition to the incoming Democratic administration.

Baker's deputy, Robert Zoellick, is heading Bush's side of the transition team.

Bush was described as in good a humor, or as about much humor as one could expect after suffering such a defeat. He was the fourth elected president this century to be turned out of office after only one term. The others were William Howard Taft, Herbert Hoover and Jimmy Carter.

It was Bush who rallied the spirits of family members and his inner circle alike during the low moments of his campaign, and aides said he was trying to fill the same role now.

But the pain and disappointment of the loss and the end to 12 years of Republican control of the White House was apparent throughout the mansion. Some staff members were still dog-tired from the frenzied pace of the campaign stretch drive. And they were thinking ahead to job prospects.

"We've got five paydays left—not that anybody's counting," said one.

The presidential transition will sweep thousands of Bush appointees out of office by inauguration day, Jan. 20.



AP photo

President Bush spots some members of the White House staff Thursday as he and his wife, Barbara, prepare to leave for Camp David.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
11-6-92

President heads off to Camp David



REUTERS PHOTO

President Bush and his wife, Barbara, leave the White House yesterday, heading a weekend getaway to Camp David.

Leaves D.C. gloom for retreat's comfort

REUTERS

WASHINGTON – President Bush yesterday flew off in the gloom of a rainy day to the comforting seclusion of Camp David, to spend a long weekend recovering from his unsuccessful reelection campaign.

He is expected to return Sunday, then possibly go hunting or fishing next week.

Before leaving, Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle, wore wan smiles as they sat across from each other at a big table for a meeting of Bush's lame-duck Cabinet.

After answering a couple of questions – no, he doesn't want a trade war with Europe and, no, he doesn't plan to go to Moscow – the president ended the give-and-take with reporters the way he has a thousand times at these "photo ops:"

"Hey, what do you want, make this into a press conference instead of a photo opportunity?"

To his left sat Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, one of the architects of the Gulf War victory, and to his right Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger.

Chief of Staff James Baker, Bush's old friend who was unable to lift him to victory as campaign mastermind, was shooting game birds at a ranch in South Texas.

Spokesmen said later that Bush told the Cabinet officers he was proud of them and that they should cooperate fully with the transition team of the incoming Democratic administration.

Baker's deputy, Robert Zoellick, is heading up Bush's side of the transition team.

Bush was described as in about as good a humor as one could expect after suffering such a defeat. He was only the fourth elected president in this century to be turned out of office after only one term. The others were William Howard Taft, Herbert Hoover and Jimmy Carter.

Bush rallied the spirits of family members and his inner circle alike during the low moments of his campaign, and aides said he was trying to fill the same role now.

But the pain and disappointment of the loss and the end to 12 years of Republican control of the White House was apparent.

Some staff members were still dog-tired from the frenzied pace of the campaign stretch drive. And they were thinking ahead to job prospects.

"We've got five pay days left – not that anybody's counting," one said.

The presidential transition will sweep thousands of Bush appointees out of office by Inauguration Day, Jan. 20.

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS
11-9-92

BUSH ON DEFEAT

Acknowledging "the sour taste of defeat," President Bush said yesterday he has no one but himself to blame for losing the election.

In Arkansas, President-elect Bill Clinton met with aides, golfed and watched a University of Arkansas football game.

Bush, in a radio address, said, "I hope history will record that the Bush administration has served America well."

He said that he and his wife, Barbara, will return to Texas on Inauguration Day and "rededicate ourselves to helping others."

"Having known the sweet taste of popular favor, I can more readily accept the sour taste of defeat," Bush said.

He named Transportation Secretary Andrew Card to oversee the White House transition team.

Clinton, still hoarse but in good spirits, golfed with Webb Hubbell, a law partner of Hillary Clinton's, at Chenal Valley Country Club outside Little Rock.

The Associated Press

The Republicans

Bush Seems Unsure About His Plans

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8 — When President Bush last chatted with architects about his proposed Presidential library in College Station, Tex. the premise was that the archive would open at the end of his second term, in late 1996.

"We may want to speed that up," Perry A. Atkinson, the executive director of the library project, said Saturday. That, and more.

Mr. Bush leaves office in 73 days. But to where, and for what, apparently is a mystery, even to him. Aides and friends say he has no firm plans for retirement beyond getting "very active in the grandchild business and in finding ways to help people," as he told a Houston crowd Tuesday evening in his concession speech. Indeed, the President and his wife, Barbara, do not even have a permanent place to live.

Their 26-room seaside mansion in Kennebunkport, Me., is not fully winterized. Their legal residence, in suburban Houston, is but a hotel suite. The declared site of their retirement home — 9 West Oak Lane South, in Houston's upscale Post Oak neighborhood — is a postage stamp of a vacant lot, and most associates doubt that Mr. Bush intends to build a home there.

Focused on Campaign

It is not that Mr. Bush does not feel the need to plan, those associates say, but rather that he was so focused on his campaign — and so stubbornly resistant to the prospect of defeat — that he did not devote much thought to his options.

"I don't think he's focused on any of that at all," his son Jeb said in a telephone interview on Friday from Miami. "He's still President of the United States, and public opinion notwithstanding, the world's still a dangerous place. There are still things that require more than just his passing attention."

In fact, one of Mr. Bush's first acts after conceding the election appears to have been to hand his wife the task of finding a new home. Mrs. Bush will travel soon to Houston to begin looking, said her press secretary, Anna Perez.

Other aides said the White House will probably begin scouting the city soon for an office suite Mr. Bush can occupy during his segue into retirement, much as former President Ronald Reagan has kept a desk in an office tower in suburban Los Angeles.

Going Fishing

"That's probably the kind of thing he'll think about when he goes fishing," Jeb Bush said. And others agree that Mr. Bush probably will delay any serious thought about his future until this week, when he leaves town for five days of fishing on Florida's Gulf Coast.

Nobody expects Mr. Bush to make detailed plans until he has had a chance to unwind from the rigors of office. "He'll probably regroup with his friends," said Senator Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming, who is one of the President's closest allies on Capitol Hill. "He'll take off and, by God, get in a boat and drive it and enjoy it. It's something he couldn't do before, for fear it would appear on the front page of every newspaper in America. And he'll probably go out and shoot a bobwhite and not worry about the animal rightists along the parade trail. All that has had a very limiting effect on him."

The President will face no shortage of options.

The day after his defeat, Mr. Bush's name was already being floated to succeed Benno C. Schmidt Jr. as president of Yale University, Mr. Bush's alma mater and the premier institution in his boyhood home of Connecticut. The Yale Daily News, the student newspaper, said at least two alumni had recommended him for the post.

Academia Seen as Unlikely

But Yale did not even give Mr. Bush an honorary degree during his tenure as President, and most associates interviewed for this article said they thought the life of an academic would be too confining for such a peripatetic man.

Others, noting Mr. Bush's stint on Yale's baseball team, suggest he might be interested in the vacant commissioner's post in Major League Baseball, a job coveted in the past by some of the nation's most powerful and respected leaders, from senators to academicians.

But even if he were tempted, skeptics say, the job has two strikes against it: its authority is somewhat less than Presidential, given the effective dismissal of its last occupant by team owners, and Mr. Bush's adviser, chief of staff and friendly rival, James A. Baker 3d, turned it down a few years ago himself.

In the President's immediate future is a fishing trip in Florida.

Mr. Bush, they say, would never go slumming in a job that his old friend had rejected.

Memoirs, Speeches and Service

That leaves the obvious: memoirs, which everyone agrees Mr. Bush will plunge into; corporate boards, in which they suspect he will dabble; speeches, and public service, in which he has expressed interest.

Peter Teeley, an old adviser and friend who is now the American Ambassador to Canada, said Friday that he has not talked to Mr. Bush since the election, and has no firsthand knowledge of his plans. "But I do have the feeling that he may involve himself in some sort of educational effort," he said, "and that he may get involved in foreign affairs from an academic standpoint," perhaps through a foundation or research organization.

In the end, friends and aides say it is unlikely that the President will pursue either of the extremes followed by his most recent predecessors as ex-Presidents, Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter and Gerald R. Ford.

Mr. Carter has made his mark as a diplomat-without-portfolio and as a humanitarian, traveling the world in the cause of democracy and human rights and helping the poor at home. By contrast, Mr. Reagan and Mr. Ford were widely accused early in their retirements of trying to cash in on their fame: Mr. Reagan accepted millions of dollars in speaking fees from Japanese companies only months after leaving office, and Mr. Ford was criticized for hitting the commercial speaking circuit, at a reported $10,000 to $15,000 a speech, and accepting lucrative directors' posts on a number of corporate boards.

Mrs. Bush, Moneymaker

The real moneymaker in the post-Presidential Bush family may be Mrs. Bush. The First Lady, who netted nearly $1 million in royalties for a book that she wrote about the family dog, Millie, is said to have another book in waiting that could well make even more.

That book, if it is ever written, would be based on diaries that Mrs. Bush has scrupulously maintained for at least 20 years of life in Washington. "It could be one of the great Washington memoirs," her press secretary, Ms. Perez, said.

Jeb Bush said: "My mom is probably the second-most organized person on the planet, next to my dad. So it would probably be easy for her to convert it to a book."

And lucrative as well: Unlike the fees from "Millie's Book," which were funneled to a foundation that promotes literacy, the proceeds from Mrs. Bush's memoir would be hers to dispose of as she chooses.

SETTLE RECH NEW

Caretaker: From here to uncertainty

Bush will be remembered as a transition figure

Two weeks before the election, a friend walked into White House Chief of Staff James Baker's office and found a defeated man. "We can't get over 39 percent," Baker said disconsolately, tossing a sheaf of polling data on the table. "Nothing is working." Baker wasn't alone: Virtually the entire high command of George Bush's re-election campaign agreed that defeat was inevitable. It was Bush, ever the competitor, who wouldn't give up. Ordering aides not to show him any more overnight polls, he discarded his prepared notes in speech after speech and attacked Bill Clinton as unfit for office. He argued that his experience, character and conservative ideas entitled him to a second term. He declared that the pollsters and the pundits would be mortified on Election Day when he swept to victory. But in the end, Baker was right. Nothing worked.

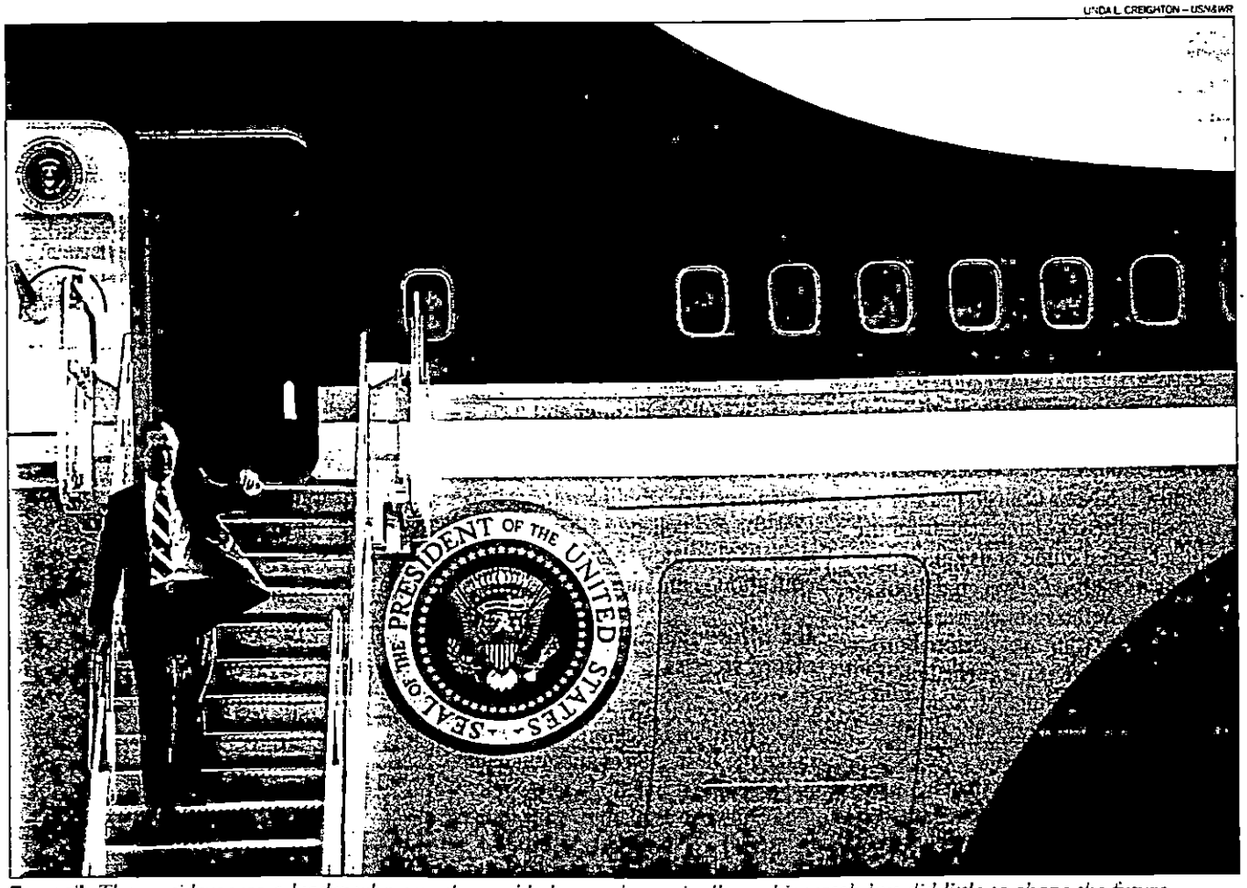
Bush's loss with only 38 percent of the vote was a harsh repudiation of the past four years. For most Americans, the Bush era amounted to little more than a transition presidency, a caretaker's bridge from Ronald Reagan's conservatism to a future Bush did not define. Robert Teeter, Bush's senior strategist, told aides that Bush had developed a "tonal" problem with the electorate: He never inspired Americans to feel confident about themselves or what lies ahead. That, he said, was Bush's undoing.

WHILE AMERICA YEARNED FOR INSPIRATION, GEORGE BUSH DISDAINED THE BULLY PULPIT.

No agenda. In fact, the problem went much deeper. Bush left virtually no ideological or political footprints, just as his adversaries always predicted. His presidency was defined by what it was *not* – not aggressive, not imaginative, not particularly memorable. No style of leadership or governing slogan bears Bush's name, no comprehensive agenda bears his imprimatur, such as Reaganomics, the New Frontier or the New Deal. His few remarkable phrases either became embarrassments ("Read my lips, no new taxes") or rang hollow (the "new world order," his amorphous framework for the post-communist era). "He never had a governing theme," says Stuart Eizenstat, domestic adviser to Jimmy Carter.

And if Bush did not remake the presidency, he felt no need to try. That, under his Brahmin credo of personal humility and minimalist government, was not his job. Instead, Bush let events "sort themselves out." He marginalized

LINDA L. CREIGHTON – USN&WR



Farewell. *The president was a leader who saw the world change dramatically on his watch but did little to shape the future.*

1-4



A passion for foreign affairs. *Bush chats with Joint Chiefs Chairman Gen. Colin Powell and Defense Secretary Dick Cheney.*

the presidency, removing it, by his disdain for government activism and lack of new ideas, from the center of national life. It was a quintessentially conservative concept—and completely out of synch with the times.

While America yearned for decisive leadership and some measure of inspiration, Bush disdained the bully pulpit. But his problem was not that he was a total failure as a communicator. He showed during the gulf war that he could rally the country to his goals. Instead, friends say, he had a near-total disinterest in the proselytizing aspect of the job. When aides would write dramatic or moving passages into his speeches, he would excise them with the handwritten notation: "That's not me."

DURING THE GULF WAR, HE SHOWED HE COULD RALLY THE COUNTRY TO HIS GOALS.

As the economy went sour, his longstanding refusal to be scripted began to hurt. What had once seemed a mildly endearing goofiness fueled a growing perception that he was indifferent and disdainful. His jaunts on his speedboat, his "speed golf," horseshoes, tennis, fishing, hunting—all struck recession-battered Americans as evidence of a man who was out of touch with everyday life. When a hyperactive Bush got sick and collapsed during a controversial visit to Japan in January, the shocking images seemed a metaphor of his presidency.

As the rest of the world changed in dramatic and historic ways, Bush responded with his innate caution, avoiding rash actions but also allowing many opportunities to slip through his fingers. "He was the implementer of policies begun under Ronald Reagan," says a former Reagan aide who advised Bush. "He was never the driving force behind global change." Bush had always thought of the world in terms of monoliths—fighting fascism during World War II, then battling communism and the Soviet empire. When the monoliths dissolved, Bush seemed adrift. This most accommodationist of presidents hedged many times on his principles. In China, he tolerated a brutal crackdown on democratic reformers at Tiananmen Square rather than risk isolating the Beijing regime from the international community. In the Soviet Union, he failed to see how far Mikhail Gorbachev had fallen from favor—much as Bush could not see his own fall from grace at home. And he did not provide much help to the shaky reformist regime of Boris Yeltsin's—a decision that has contributed to a dangerous right-wing resurgence in Russia. In the Middle East, he coddled Saddam Hussein, then declared war when appeasement failed. And although Bush succeeded in restarting the Mideast peace process, Hussein seems destined to outlast him in office.

Worldwide pals. Yet if he failed to develop any path-breaking new initiatives, Bush did bring some innovations to the conduct of international affairs. His cultivation of other world leaders on an unprecedented scale made it easier to find common ground, especially during the gulf war. "It used to be unheard of for a president to just pick up the phone and call several world leaders in a day, just to chat," says a senior U.S. official. "But George Bush made it a way of life."

During Desert Storm, Bush used such diplomacy to cajole his paligarchy into joining the anti-Iraq coalition. There were bizarre results. Once, Bush took a call from Ruud Lubbers, prime minister of the Netherlands, and talked with him politely for an hour. After he hung up, the president wondered why Lubbers was not up to speed on some important issues. It turned out that it was an impostor. From then on, aides insisted that the president call back other world lead-



No big picture. *The "environmental president" negotiated a new clean air law but often substituted stylish photo ops for policy.*

ers who wanted to talk—after verifying who was really on the line.

Enthralled by foreign affairs, where he could operate with minimal interference from Congress, Bush left domestic issues largely to the arrogant duo of John Sununu, his first White House chief of staff, and Budget Director Richard Darman. They adopted a laissez-faire approach. By mid-term, Sununu declared that the House and Senate could go home because there was nothing the administration wanted them to do.

Budget disaster. Without many legislative successes, Darman and Sununu were eager to show progress on reducing the deficit. They convinced Bush that the deficit had become a crisis so severe that he had to break his word about never raising taxes. The resulting 1990 budget deal turned into Bush's domestic Waterloo. It not only destroyed Bush's credibility, breaking his most sacred promise, it also failed to lower the deficit, ruining his image as an effective pragmatist. His modest domestic achievements—notably the Clean Air Act and legislation to protect the disabled—paled in comparison with this failure.

As the recession deepened, Bush listened to Darman, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady and other advisers who told him the downturn would be short and shallow. His own instincts told him not to do anything "dumb" that could make matters worse, so he did nothing. He seemed especially cavalier when he denied that the recession even existed as he prepared to tee off at a posh golf course. He even opposed an extension of unemployment benefits until polls showed that it was hurting him badly. Last February, when Republican challenger Patrick Buchanan captured 37 percent of the vote in the New Hampshire primary, Bush finally woke up. But by then, the impressions of a president who was out of touch and out of ideas had sunk in.

WITH HIS POPULARITY AT ITS POSTWAR PEAK, HE FAILED TO SET A CLEAR COURSE.

Bush might yet have averted defeat if he had shown clearly that he stood for something and was willing to fight for it. But time and again, he failed. After the Los Angeles riots, Bush rushed to the smoldering city but lost interest in his urban agenda after the disorder subsided. He kept promising to announce a domestic agenda—in his January State of the Union address, in March when his self-imposed deadline expired for congressional action on his programs, in his August acceptance speech at the Republican convention. But in every case, Bush declined to strike a spark with new initiatives. His "agenda for American renewal," announced at the Detroit Economic Club on September 10, seemed to be the comprehensive economic blueprint voters were demanding, but Bush did not make it the focus of his campaign.

Looking back on his presidency, many friends and advisers say the most telling moment came immediately after Bush's triumph in the gulf. Advisers urged Bush, as his popularity soared, to set a clear course with a full domestic program. Instead, he gave a speech to Congress, declared victory and asked for a minimalist domestic program centered on anticrime legislation and a transportation bill. "That's where he lost it," says an old friend. Bush had wasted his presidency—something voters, in the end, could neither forget nor forgive.

Yet a week before the election, Bush's unmerciful attacks on Clinton appeared to be, finally, raising deep doubts about the Democratic nominee. Private GOP polls showed Clinton's lead among likely voters down to 4 percentage points. But even so, it was clear

that only a miracle could save the president because Bush was far behind in the megastates of California and New York and had little prospect of catching Clinton in battleground states such as Illinois, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Desperation. Bush advisers discussed running an ad showing photos of Clinton as a bearded antiwar activist during Vietnam and Bush as a uniformed pilot in World War II. Senior aides decided it looked too desperate. The campaign also tried to persuade retired Army Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, hero of Desert Storm, to film a pro-Bush, anti-Clinton ad at Normandy, to appeal to military veterans and conservatives. Schwarzkopf balked. At one point, staffers at the 12th-floor Bush headquarters in downtown Washington cheered when they heard a rumor that a television network was about to show film of Clinton burning an American flag as an antiwar protester. The film never turned up. There were no miracles.

Instead, the Friday before the election, special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh revived charges that Bush knew far more than he had revealed about the ill-fated arms-for-hostages deal with Iran in the 1980s. The allegations undermined Bush's claim to the nation's trust. He also veered too far into "attack mode," deriding Clinton and running mate Al Gore as "bozos." Aides admitted privately that such assaults were demeaning.

Bush's crushing defeat will have serious consequences for his party. One prominent GOP activist predicts a "death struggle"—a state-by-state fight for the party's soul among Republican centrists, deficit cutters, supply siders and the religious right. For their part, the Democrats are sure to portray Bush as a latter-day Herbert Hoover who nearly ruined the economy.

'I WORKED MY HEART OUT,' HE TOLD A FRIEND RECENTLY, 'AND IT DIDN'T MATTER.'

On a personal level, friends say Bush is shattered. He blames his loss on pro-Clinton bias in the news media and, more important, on the accident of fate that caused a lengthy recession at the worst time for his re-election. He complains that the public didn't care about his efforts. "I worked my heart out," he told a friend recently, "and it didn't matter." Most bitterly, friends say, Bush blames Buchanan, his challenger in the primaries, for skillfully laying the groundwork for Clinton's attacks on his economic record.

Sons Jeb and George W. Bush tell friends they have never seen their 68-year-old father so exhausted; they want to "bring him back around" with a lengthy fishing trip. Bush also will spend more time with his 12 grandchildren, finding solace, as always, in his family and his beloved retreat in Kennebunkport, Maine. But he is unlikely to re-enter public life. "He never took control of his party, his office or his country," a friend says. "He just doesn't represent any larger concepts or ideology."

Those who know him best say Bush will behave much like Gerald Ford, another caretaker president. He will spend his time fishing, playing celebrity golf and tennis and serving on corporate boards. He also will devote considerable time to charity work. As he shifts to "retirement mode," George Herbert Walker Bush will fade quietly and graciously from public consciousness—and so will his transition presidency. ■

BY KENNETH T. WALSH



One more chance. *Bush rushed to smoldering Los Angeles after the riots but quickly lost interest in a new urban agenda.*

41-4

LOS ANGELES TIMES

11-8-92

Bush Appoints Card His Chief for Transition

By ROBERT L. JACKSON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—President Bush named Transportation Secretary Andrew H. Card Jr. on Saturday to head his Administration's transition team and to act as chief liaison with the incoming Clinton Administration.

White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater said Card would have "overall responsibility" for assuring a smooth transfer of power to President-elect Clinton and would meet with Clinton's representatives next week.

White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III also will meet Wednesday with Vernon E. Jordan Jr., newly appointed chairman of the Clinton transition team, Fitzwater told reporters. On Friday, Clinton named Jordan, a Washington lawyer and former head of the National Urban League, to oversee the transition and appointed Los Angeles attorney Warren Christopher as day-to-day director of the changeover.

Also on Saturday, Bush told a national radio audience that "I hope history will record that the Bush Administration has served America well.

"I am proud of my Cabinet and my staff," said the President, who was spending the weekend at his Camp David retreat in the Maryland countryside. "America has led the world through an age of global transition. We have made the world safer for our kids.

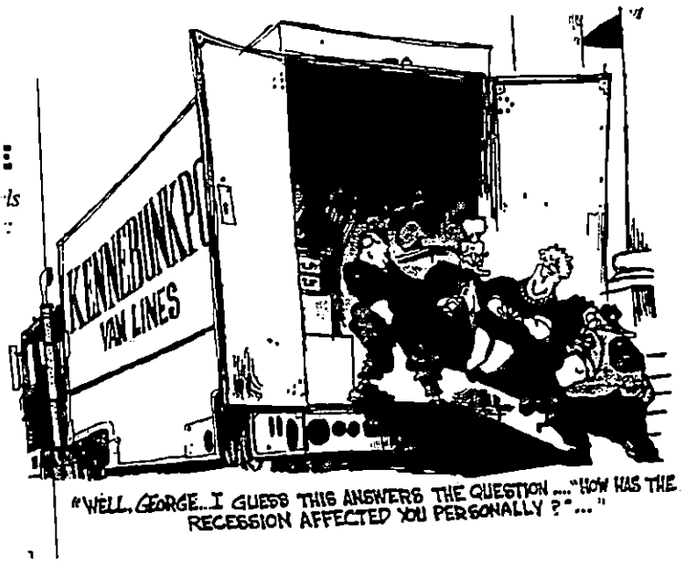
"I realize that defeat can be divisive. And I want the Republican Party to be as constructive on the outside of executive power as it has been for 12 years on the inside. There must be no finger pointing, no playing the blame game. New ideas will flourish, and that is good.

"I take full responsibility for the loss. No one else is responsible."

Along with First Lady Barbara Bush, the President will take a brief vacation next week at Boca Grande, an island off the west coast of Florida, where he plans to fish and relax, Fitzwater said. The Bushes will fly to Florida on Wednesday and return to the White House on Sunday.

In selecting Card for the liaison post, Bush noted that he had been deputy director of the Bush Administration's transition in 1988 and later served as deputy White House chief of staff. Card was named to head the Transportation Department a year ago.

Robert Zoellick, who earlier was designated by Bush to assist the Clinton team, is Baker's deputy and will help Card when needed, the White House said.

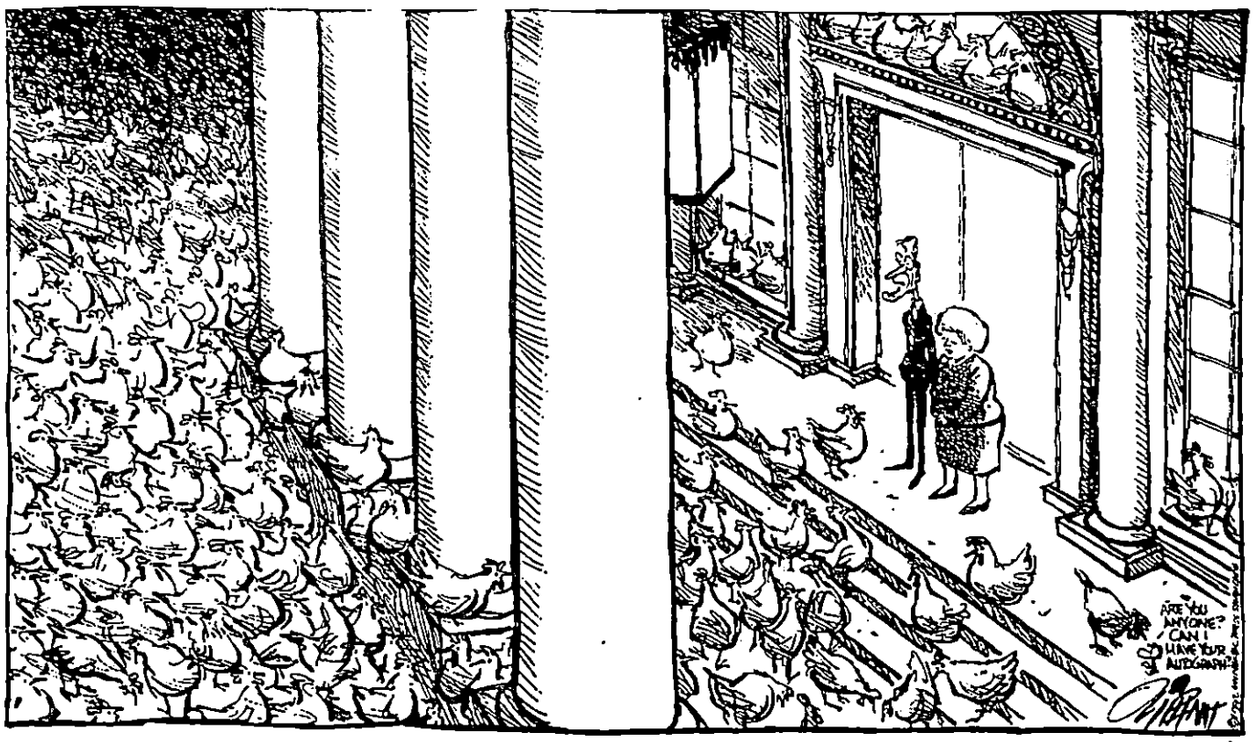


BY AMY BERNSTEIN, ELIZABETH PEZZULLO, BETSY WAGNER, WARREN COHEN AND GLORIA BORGER

U.S.NEWS & WORLD REPORT, NOVEMBER 16, 1992

LOS ANGELES TIMES

11-5-92



"Either all our chickens came home to roost, or this is the Arkansas transition team."

NEW YORK TIMES
11-8-92

George Bush Gets His Wings

It's a Wonderful 2d Term (Apologies to Mr. Capra)

By MAUREEN DOWD

WASHINGTON

OF all the reasons why George Bush unravelled, the one most often cited is the 1990 bipartisan budget deal that broke his "read my lips" pledge. Lyn Nofziger, the former Reagan aide, called it "the wound from which all blood flows."

With a little humorous license, it is possible to imagine what would have happened in the Bush Administration if the President had, at the last moment, just stood up to John Sununu and Richard Darman, his aides who worked out the deal, and said: "Can't do it. Can't break my promise to the American people. Wouldn't be prudent. Might lose in '92."



Tom Bloom

In a variation on Frank Capra's revisionist 1946 fable "It's a Wonderful Life" starring Jimmy Stewart, here is what might have been:

Although Mr. Bush does not like to fire people, he is put on the spot when Mr. Sununu and Mr. Darman, the "Raging Bulls" of the White House, paw the earth and threaten to quit if he does not sign the tax pact. He accepts their resignations, names Dick Cheney chief of staff and installs Phil Gramm, the conservative Texas senator with a Ph.D. in economics, as budget director.

The new advisers escape what they regard as a trap set by Democratic leaders, and, after a 16-day Government shutdown noticed by few Americans, get Congress to agree to a package of spending reductions without tax increases.

Concerned about internal polling numbers that show 75 percent of Americans think the country is "on the wrong track," the new team refocuses the entire Administration on domestic affairs.

Mr. Bush asks Peggy Noonan to write a speech for the George Bush-Puts-America-First Bus Tour and, at her urging, huddles with Housing Secretary Jack Kemp. "My friends, in small towns and big cities all over the country," he says, "what's past need not be prologue. We must remake economic policy and change the flow of money in America so the government gets less and the people get more. Message: I care about the economy."

Instead of recommending that Republicans running in mid-term Congressional elections distance themselves from Mr. Bush, Ed Rollins, the party's strategist, recommends that they cleave to the President, because he is on the right track. The appreciative Mr. Bush then cleaves to Mr. Rollins, who finds it impossible to defect to a tart-tongued Texas billionaire named Ross Perot.

Pat Buchanan decides not to run for President, because the conservatives, while never content, are not grumbling too much about Mr. Bush. He even says nice things about Mr. Bush on his television show, "Crossfire."

At the end of the gulf war, Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf calls the President and recommends that the allies push on into Baghdad. Mr. Bush, confident of his domestic base and less anxious about a long entanglement, decides to go for it. Baghdad falls the next day, and Saddam Hussein is carted off by vengeful Kurds. Everybody forgets the word wimp.

In less need of conservative approval, the President and his wife, Barbara, spend 15 queasy minutes watching the Anita Hill testimony to Congress. Mr. Bush calls Judge Clarence Thomas and suggests that he withdraw his name.

Cruising at a 97 percent popularity rating at the beginning of 1992, President Bush decides he feels smothered by rich, white, middle-aged males, and reaches for some younger blood to run his re-election campaign: the Vice President's chief of staff, Bill Kristol, the State Department's Margaret Tutwiler and James Pinkerton, the junior White House aide. The President goes on MTV. "Message: Rock the Deficit," Mr. Bush raps.

On "Larry King Live," Ross Perot grudgingly gives credit to Mr. Bush for getting under the hood and tinkering with the engine, for dealing with that crazy aunt in the attic, the deficit. Says he won't run himself.

Before the Houston convention, after a lunch with Mr. Bush, Dan Quayle announces he's bored with politics and has decided to take a job as the chairman of the United States Golf Association. Mr. Bush takes Gen. Colin Powell as his running mate.

With the conservative base intact, the convention emphasizes Lee Atwater's inclusive "big tent" and showcases uplifting moderates like Education Secretary Lamar Alexander; Tom Kean, the former New Jersey Governor and Gov. William F. Weld of Massachusetts. Pro-choice night gets the biggest TV ratings of the week. Coming out of the convention with a big bounce, the President feels no need to insist G-O-D is on the Republican side.

Instead of slouching back to run the campaign, Secretary of State James Baker stays in the Middle East, works out a comprehensive peace deal and wins the Nobel. The 35-year sibling rivalry between George and Jimmy intensifies.

In Little Rock, Ark., Bill Clinton's strategists decide it will be hard to get any traction on the economy, so they tack up a sign at their headquarters that reads "Social Justice, Stupid!" and with this theme alienate Reagan Democrats. They worry, since Mr. Bush has kept all his major campaign promises, that the Republicans may have success using the character issue. And they worry that Mr. Bush will be able to successfully attack Congress, since he never made any cozy deals with them.

Mr. Bush wins, taking larger percentages of the black vote, the women's vote and the youth vote than any Republican in history. In his second Inaugural Address, the President calls himself an agent of change and becomes the first President to (almost) quote Bette Davis. "My fellow Americans, fasten your seatbelts," he says. "It's going to be a bumpy ride."

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS
11-9-92

Ex-lover a low-key heavyweight

By JAMES ROSEN and FRANK LOMBARDI
Daily News Staff Writers

Joy Silverman isn't a woman who flaunts herself.

Despite being a formidable Republican fund-raiser with close ties to President Bush and other heavyweights, she prefers to work behind the scenes, letting her Rolodex do the talking.

"She's very nice," said one Republican politician. "She's hardworking, good-looking and low-key."

The sources, like others who know both Silverman and Chief Judge Sol Wachtler, were dumfounded by her emergence as the woman behind the stunning arrest Saturday of the state's chief jurist.

Wachtler, 62 and married 41 years, is accused in a federal complaint of waging an obsessive terror and extortion campaign against Silverman after she purportedly broke off their affair and began seeing other men.

Silverman, 45, has been estranged for several years from her husband, Jeffrey Silverman, a wealthy businessman who also has been a leading Republican patron. He is chairman of Ply Gem Industries, which makes home-improvement products.

A Fortune 500 firm

Ply Gem cracked the Fortune 500 list last year with annual sales of $585 million, and Jeffrey Silverman was named to the American Express board of directors.

Until now, the Silvermans' only brush with notoriety occurred in 1989 after President Bush nominated Joy Silverman as ambassador to Barbados. The controversial nomination was squelched by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee after critics raised a hue and cry that her only qualifications were the huge contributions she and her husband had made to Bush.

Democratic Sen. Paul Sarbanes of Maryland complained that Silverman had "no other achievements, no other accomplishments, than this political fund-raising." He added: "There are no qualifications for this lady. There's nothing there."

The Silvermans were both members of "Team 100," Republican fat cats who had given $100,000 or more to the national party. Between 1987 and 1989, they reportedly donated about $300,000 to GOP campaigns, mostly on the national scene.

Cleaned up last Nov.

Last November, Joy Silverman was a leading organizer for a New York luncheon for Bush that took in $2.2 million. She was credited with raising at least $100,000.

The Joy Silverman-Bush alliance goes back to his days as vice president. Silverman, a full-time senior fund-raiser in Bush's 1988 campaign, held a dinner for Barbara Bush at Silverman's Southampton, L.I., house.

Silverman invited 48 friends who contributed $135,000, and raised another $100,000 in postdinner solicitations.

New York State GOP Chairman William Powers yesterday called Silverman a "major national figure" in Republican money circles.

NEW YORK POST

Portrait of powerful man gone seemingly crazy with passion



MIKE McALARY

A JUDGE'S face peered out at you from behind the window yesterday. He sat in the storefront window, his white hair sitting like an ice cap on a mountain of black robes, studying Park Avenue. All crimes committed on this stretch of New York City — and they are few — are committed under the unblinking gaze of the judge.

This judge is oil where he should be flesh. It is the body and the mind and the uncontrolled passion that disappoints you in these stories. The ransom payment was supposed to be left in an alley next to the building where a portrait of retired Supreme Court Justice William Brennan sits sentry. The frightened women and her daughter live on the other side of the alley, in the corner building at 983 Park Ave. The person who delivered the threatening ransom notes — including the one reading: "I should be back in the fall . . . I'll tell you how much it will cost you to get me out of your life" — had to walk past the judge. That is the worst part of all this, that a judge went crazy, apparently, under the watchful gaze of a judicial icon.

And yesterday, while standing outside a business called Portraits Inc. and studying a painting of Brennan, I wondered if Sol Wachtler had ever looked into the judge's blue eyes. Did New York's top judge — once mentioned as a candidate to replace Brennan on the United States Supreme Court — ever look back over his shoulder at the retired judge on his way into Joy Silverman's apartment? The stop sign is sitting right there in the window, on Park Avenue between 83rd and 84th streets, and Sol Wachtler, a man possessed by uncontrolled wanting, walked right through it.

"Commission your own portrait," read an advertisement in the window yesterday, even as a demonic picture of Judge Wachtler was being painted in the newspapers.

The street was quiet yesterday morning. Crime does not ordinarily live on this block. The flowers — they look to be impatiens — on the

See **McALARY** *on Page 19*

New York Post mail subscription information: For all orders, changes of address and inquiries, contact the Kingston Newspa

PORTRAIT OF A POWERFUL MAN GONE SEEMINGLY MAD WITH PASSION

McALARY *from Page 4*

traffic island separating Park Avenue are still in bloom. Dead leaves chased worshippers into Sunday-morning services at St. Ignatius Church. No one paid any mind to the photographers on the corner.

"I can't tell you anything," said the doorman at 983 Park, who is named Ramon. Then he hurried past to flag down a taxi for a waiting tenant.

In a state where it sometimes seems there is a monster on every corner, and there are too few courtrooms to handle the monsters, it now appears that one of the biggest monsters in the state is the judge who was put in charge of handling the 5,000 judges who must handle this state's monstrous caseload.

A lot of terrible things can happen between a man and a woman, even ones that are married to a different set of people. But a timebomb ticks in each of these relationships. Sol Wachtler has heard hundreds of cases arising from these irresponsible relationships. Assault cases. Extortion cases. Murder cases. But in the end, the most fantastic case of all was the criminal complaint revealed in federal court Saturday night, the one reading: "United States of America vs. Sol Wachtler."

The children suffer the most in these cases. And the 14-year-old daughter of Joy Silverman suffered supremely in this one. According to the FBI, Sol Wachtler mailed obscene letters and a condom to Silverman and her daughter. The judge's alleged crime of maddening passion and stupidity included a threat to kidnap the child, and a $20,000 ranson demand.

The girl's mother is also a relative — the family tree reads "stepcousin" — of Judge Wachtler's own wife.

Joy Silverman can count George and Barbara Bush amomg her political friends. A member of something called "Team 100" — contributors who donated at least $100,000 to Bush — Joy Silverman and her estranged husband gave a total of $248,000 to Republican causes in the late 1980s. Silverman threw a party at her Hamptons home for Barbara Bush in 1988. When George Bush tried to name Silverman the United States ambassador to Barbados, the nomination of a woman without a college degree or employment history was shouted down by a Democratic senator.

"There's no there, there, " remarked Maryland Sen. Paul Sarbanes of Silverman, referring to the lack of substance in her resume.

George Bush withdrew the appointment but never forgot his supporter. When Bush announced to a gathering of friends in August 1991 that he was going to run for re-election, Joy Silverman was sitting in the room at Camp David. When the president came to New York for a Bush-Quayle fund-raiser last year, he sat at the dais with Joy Silverman and thanked her publicly.

Being Park Avenue rich and Republican certainly had its upside. Silverman got to know William Sessions, the head of the FBI, on a first-name basis. She also got to know the darling of the New York Republican Party, Sol Wachtler. Ultimately, sources said, she was able to sic the FBI on the apparently sex-crazed judge.

It is the child you think about in this moment. Her name is Jessica. In April of 1990, as Sol Wachtler prepared to come up with a theme for Law Day, the judge set a pen to paper and started writing. No one knew then that the chief judge of New York was having an affair with Jessica Silverman's mother. So the judge, a fairly sinister fellow if the indictment is to be believed, decided to have some fun. He wrote an 800-word article to be published in the May 1, 1990, edition of the New York Law Journal.

The story was headlined: "Yes, Jessica, there are 'Good' and 'Bad' lawyers." The title is paraphrase of a famous editorial in the New York Sun to a 9-year-old Manhattan girl named Virginia, who wondered about the existence of Santa Claus.

Here is how Sol Wachtler, the chief judge of the state of New York, began his own article on the morals of men involved in judgment.

Twelve-year-old Jessica Silverman visited the Court of Appeals recently and, after viewing the proceedings in the courtroom, wrote to me: "The cases on Tuesday were pretty good, I mean, I thought they were fine . . . Maybe it is because it was my first and I don't know the difference between a good lawyer and a bad lawyer."

This year's Law Day theme, "Generations of Justice," reminded me of Jessica's note, not only because of her youth, but also because of her difficulty in separating "good" lawyers from the "bad" lawyers . . . Her confusion in that respect is shared by many — even many lawyers.

Increasingly, it seems, lawyers are employing tactics that would have been unthinkable a generation ago, all in the name of victory . . . The race to the gutter may be inevitable.

I do not think that Sol Wachtler is laughing about this article now, but it must have been fun to write at the time. Joy Silverman was the judge's little secret then. And here he was putting the name of his lover's daughter in a newspaper. Maybe Wachtler wrote the kid's name into the newspaper on a dare. Maybe he did it to win the kid over to him. Maybe it was exiting to him in some way. With all that allegedly follows, however, this article may be the first outward expression of the judge's insanity.

The FBI said yesterday that within two years after this article was written, Judge Wachtler was writing obscene letters to Jessica Silverman and even threatening to kidnap the child. In the end, you realize, the child has a pretty good idea of what a bad lawyer looks like. He doesn't look like Judge William Brennan. He looks and sounds, apparently, a lot like Sol Wachtler.

NEW YORK POST
11-9-92

CINDY ADAMS



Joy Silverman was well-known on the political cocktail-party circuit. In a world where most wives wear size 14 flowered polyester, Joy stuck out.

In terms of the GOP she stuck *way* out. A major fund-raiser and $100,000 fund-*giver*.

In the 1987-1988 campaign, Mr. & Mrs. Silverman personally gave over $300,000 to Republican causes.

Take April '89's Hugh O'Brian annual Youth Foundation event honoring Barbara Bush. A triple-A evening. Barb's coif had been done specially by her personal hairdresser, and she sported real pearl and diamond earrings to accompany those junk pearls.

The dais was a series of four round tables-for-eight on a raised

See **CINDY** *on Page 10*

Lovely, rich, glamorous . . . and with a little problem

CINDY *from Page 5*

platform. At one, Barbara Walters. At mine, Argentina's richest human, Amalia Fortabat who, being chilly, tucked a napkin around the cleavage of her $20,000 gown and $200,000 pearl necklace. And Joy Silverman with Jeffrey.

Joy was obviously a devoted mother. She talked to me about how she'd soon be named ambassador to Barbados. She'd already formulated her plans. She said their daughter, 11, would enroll in school in Barbados, their son would continue college up here.

And about her good-looking businessman husband who was chairman of a home-improvement company called Ply Gem?

"Oh, he's very much in favor of this happening for me. He actively supports this career move for me. We have a good relationship and we've always been close.

"When the post comes through, my husband will commute. He is very unselfish where I'm concerned."

I thought she was stunning. I thought this woman had the whole world wrapped up. She was always up close at every Bush party. She had her picture taken with VIPs like Sen. Alfonse D'Amato. She was on mayoralty committees. She was clearly in with the right people, was at all the right functions.

She gave parties. She had a Park Avenue apartment, a Southampton house, an absolutely perfect manicure, enough money to get what she wanted plus a fairy-tale marriage. A man who adored her.

I thought how wonderful to have such an unselfish husband.

Then it all began to unravel.

CINDY ADAMS



■ She wasn't happy with the envoy's mansion in Barbados, which sat on a bluff and had its own swimming pool, but, she said, she'd use her own money to fix it up.

■ This government housing problem affronted Senate Foreign Relations types who complained Joy's major qualifications were her wallet.

■ Result? She didn't get the appointment.

■ Then came the chip-a-little-talk-a-lot gossip.

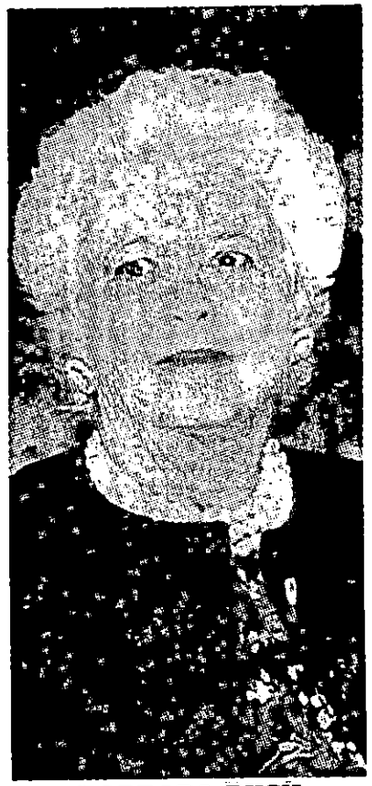
Rumor: Her unselfish husband was straying.

Rumor: She was "seeing a lot of some bigshot who is very high up."

And then some tasty hush-hush dish got passed around that she and Judge Sol Wachtler were — to quote that Sinatra tune — "too close for comfort."

■ Next came the separation of Jeffrey and Joy Silverman.

I'd heard the gossip but didn't really believe it. Wachtler was longtime married. Four children. The state's top judge. Morally correct. I mean, he was Sol Wachtler! And he *wouldn't* be seeing a stepcousin of his wife on the sly. (Sources tell me Joan Wachtler's dad, Leon Wolosof, is the brother of Joy's stepdad, Queens builder "Bibs" Wolosof.)



BARBARA BUSH
Feted at fund-raiser.

And I liked her. Seemed to me she was only trying to go and be and do what everyone would go and be and do if they could.

And she was not uppity. She was always friendly. Always trying to be helpful.

Then I heard more gossip. But one always heard gossip around Joy Silverman. She engendered it. She was glamorous. She ran with the top pack.

I heard she'd inherited a sizeable sum. Her family, always awash in big money, had left her a bundle. The number which I'd never bothered to confirm because — until yesterday — who cared, was $10 million.

I also heard she was channeling that new-found windfall to the Republicans. Only recently she gave substantial money to GOP State Chairman William Powers.

I also heard she'd fallen deeply in love. His name was David Samson. A handsome New Jersey lawyer in his late 40s. It wasn't a secret. He was seen with her at parties.

I also heard she'd dropped Sol.

That's as far as those of us might know anything, know. From here it's what we *don't* know.

Like we don't know why the feds would arrest the state's top judge on a highway. The scenario in such cases is for authorities to knock politely at the VIP's door one morning and, hat in hand, say, "Excuse us, air, but there's a routine matter we'd like to discuss. Could you please accompany us to headquarters?"



WILLIAM POWERS
State GOP head.

Like we don't know what caused a streetwise woman who's been around, who's no kid, who knows how to wheel and deal, to panic and call the cops.

As one heavyweight Republican put it: "This is a tough lady. She wouldn't have a guy arrested on a stake-out just because he harassed her with a few phone calls.

"Maybe her new boyfriend had something to do with it."

For right now the answers will have to wait. Joy Silverman's telephone is going unanswered.

I do know that the minute this story hit the headlines, my phone rang. The judicial community. They knew exactly about Wachtler and Silverman. They didn't know of this latest tragedy. But they did know of its earliest beginnings.

One of this state's political biggies, male, wrapped up Joy Silverman with this one phrase: "Vivacious. Attractive. But not someone . . . I don't think . . . a guy should go nuts over . . .

"But, then, you know what they say . . . when that little thing gets hard that big thing gets soft."

© 1992 Cindy Adams

daily 10/7

PLEASE ATTACH A COPY
OF "AGENDA FOR
AMERICAN RENEWAL"

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ms. Rita E. Downey
11024 Old Frederick Road
Thurmont, Maryland 21788

THE PRESIDENT

October 7, 1992

Dear Rita,

Thanks for your wonderful letter. I appreciate the offer to host an event, but I am not sure that we will be able to take you up on that generous offer -- the schedule is pretty well locked, and I will be at Camp David very little if at all.

I had seen the Young endorsement and the Packard rebuttal.

I thought you might like to see the attached "Agenda for American Renewal." It is so much better than Clinton's plan. Many thanks.

Sincerely,

GBL

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 9-6-92

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO: Ron Kaufman

cc: Kathy Super
JAB III (FYI)

The attached correspondence isself explanatory. The woman offers to host an event near Camp David. She sounds dynamic.

CB

Just FYI:
10/13

Ron Kaufman has talked with Rita and has informed her that the President will not be able to do a drop by, but the Campaign would like to get her involved in other ways.

She's satisfied.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/14

Sir,

This is the woman you called in Thurmont, Md for her op-ed in Frederick News.
Attached is your phone conversation with her.

Document Originally Attached to Following Page

Type plus

Dear Rita,

Thanks for your wonderfulletter. I appreciate the offer to host an event there but I am not sure that we will ebbale to takle you up opn that generous offer- the schedule is pretty well locked ,and I will be at Camp David very little if at all.

I had seen the Young endorsement and the Packard rebuttal.

I thought you might liwk to see the attached Agenda for Amrican Renewal. It is so much be that Clinton's plan.

Many thanks. Sicnerely,

Attach Agenda.

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO:

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

September 27, 1992

President and Mrs. George Bush
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President and Mrs. Bush:

Your call to me yesterday, September 26th at 8:05 A.M. was both exciting and inspiring. There was so much I would have liked to have said to you, but did't, so I'll say it in this letter to you.

First of all, the very thought of Governor Clinton being the next President of the United States scares me to death. With the unsettling domestic climate which is starting to turn around and the international unrest, I simply cannot imagine how someone so inexperienced could possible lead America. He has promised to deliver goodies to every special interest group; promises we all know he cannot keep. The media for some reason wants Governor Clinton to be the next President, and they are going full steam ahead at selling his promises and ideas. Perhaps the newspapers, magazines and T.V. feel they will have more to report if Clinton gets elected.

President and Mrs. Bush, I feel there are several things you CAN DO in the next few weeks that will help you get re-elected. I know you have no reason to listen to an obscure lady who lives in Thurmont, Maryland, but I must try to make you see what is clear to me.

I have worked for HP for almost 14 years, working my way up from Secretary to a Government Affairs Specialist, and now back down to a Secretary. In the 7 years I worked on legislative issues, (mostly Employee Educational Assistance and human resource legislation) I worked closely with Hill staffers. When HP pared down in 1991 from 92,000 to 89,000 employees, my job was cut and I felt lucky to stay on in any capacity. I miss selling important issues to congressional staffers and being instrumental in obtaining cosponsors for good legislation. But I saw the way Congress spends taxpayer money and their blatant disregard for taxpayers, in particular, and the country, in general. Many times I heard staffers say they couldn't wait for you to break your promise of "no new taxes" so their bosses could get their pet projects through Congress.

As you know, HP's CEO John Young has endorsed Clinton for President. There are several reasons that this happened, one of which is that he retires on Nov. 1, 1992 and he has not been popular with the Chairman and founder, Dave Packard. I've enclosed the articles from the San Jose Mercury newspaper with some of the particulars. Mr. President, you MUST try to get your message out to California. There are still many people out there that support you and you must not ignore them.

You also need to travel to the state of New York. There is a small business on Long Island that manufactures satellite earth stations that is leaning towards Clinton but could be won over by you. The president of this company, STS's Dave Hershberg, is a close personal friend. He feels abandoned by the Administration, but a visit would make a big difference. You have been championing small businesses, and now is the time to visit them. Also, please get the word out, over and over again, about why you are against the "Family Leave" bill. Your credit makes more sense, but we know Congress won't do it. You need to tell the voters why your ideas and proposals have not been voted into law. The first home buyer credit is another conspicuous example of how the Congress does not want the economy to turn around until after the election. Liberal Congress cares only for their own interests and not the interests of the nation. Somehow that is very clear to me, but the average American is not getting the real picture. You must repeat it OVER and OVER, exactly the way Clinton is doing with his message.

My husband and I, our 8 children and 15 grandchildren would be honored to host a rally at our 8 acre farm in Thurmont, and bring in our neighbors who are farmers and rural Americans to meet with you. We are only 10 minutes from Camp David, so please consider it! I'm working on another "letter to the editor" stating why we must re-elect Bush. What else can we do to help?

Thank you again, from my heart, for your telephone call. It was one of the biggest thrills of my life. God Bless You.

Sincerely,

Rita E. Downey

Rita E. Downey
11024 Old Frederick Road
Thurmont, Maryland 21788
(301) 898-9285

THURSDAY
SEPT. 17, 1992
San Jose Mercury News

Packard rebukes execs for endorsing Clinton

BY BARRY WITT
Mercury News Staff Writer

David Packard, one of Silicon Valley's founding fathers, rose to President Bush's defense Wednesday, accusing industry executives who endorsed the Democratic presidential ticket of getting "caught in the updraft of (Bill) Clinton's hot air balloon."

Highlighting the fracture within a traditionally Republican constituency, the chairman of the board of Hewlett-Packard Co. accused his "good friends" in the industry's executive ranks of overlooking "the fact that the Democratic Party has been the party of socialism since President Roosevelt's term."

Packard commented in a letter to the Mercury News after a group of prominent high-tech executives — many of them Republicans — announced their support for Clinton on Tuesday. The statements of the leaders — who run some of the nation's most advanced and innovative companies — were described by some Republican officials as a serious blow to the president.

As a new Field Poll showed the Bush campaign trailing by 19 percentage points in California, a senior administration official, Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander, also countered the executives' endorsements during a San Jose stop. He argued that the Republican ticket advocates "competitive entrepreneurial policies" and maintains wide support among valley leaders.

Praises Desert Storm

Packard, 80, undersecretary of defense during the Nixon administration, attacked Clinton's military experience as having been "limited to calling up the National Guard in one of our smaller, less important states." He further argued that Desert Storm, which he described as "the greatest military victory in the history of the world," could not have taken place if Democrats had been in charge of the nation's defense for the past 20 years.

Packard also accused the Democrats of being "indentured" to union labor, specifically teachers unions.



'The Democratic Party has been the party of socialism since President Roosevelt's term.'

— *David Packard*

Among those backing Clinton when the Democratic nominee visited San Jose on Tuesday was John Young, Hewlett-Packard's chief executive officer.

Clinton called centrist

Young declined through a spokeswoman to comment on Packard's letter. But Dave Barram, an Apple Computer Inc. vice president who helped organize the endorsements for Clinton, defended the Democratic nominee as a centrist who is taking the party in a new direction.

"I grew up in business in Hewlett-Packard and I'm a huge David Packard fan," Barram said. "And yet I think he's just missed the point completely, and I'm sad. . . . Bill Clinton has defined a different place in the Democratic Party."

The executives Tuesday praised Clinton for outlining a private sector-public sector partnership to reinvigorate the nation's technological industries and accused Bush of failing to show how he could help.

But Alexander lumped Clinton with a Democratic Congress that has refused to reduce taxes on capital gains, a popular issue in the electronics industry.

"I cannot imagine a valley full of entrepreneurs going for a presidential candidate who is for higher taxes, more regulation, taxing small business and whose friends in Congress have blocked capital gains (tax cuts), the investment tax credit and education and tort law reforms," Alexander said in an interview with the Mercury News editorial board.

Education plan

Alexander later spoke to a small group of local executives on Bush's "America 2000" education reform package, which focuses on promoting competition among schools by providing money to parents to help pay for either private or public education.

On that subject, valley executives expressed their doubts about the abilities of the self-proclaimed "education president."

"I was anticipating that more would be done in the period of time that Bush has been in office," said Judith Hamilton, an education reform advocate and president of Dataquest, which hosted Alexander. Hamilton said she remains undecided between Clinton and Bush but voted for Bush in 1988.

State Assemblyman Charles Quackenbush, R-Cupertino, who appeared with Alexander, said in an interview that Tuesday's endorsement of Clinton by the industry executives "was a disaster for the president." Those business leaders, Quackenbush said, represent the president's "natural group, that's his base. Those people should be solid (with Bush) all the way."

THURSDAY
SEPT. 17, 1992
San Jose Mercury News

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Executives for Clinton have blundered

I am very disappointed that John Young, John Sculley and many of my other good friends in the Silicon Valley industry have been caught in the updraft of Bill Clinton's hot air balloon.

I share their concern about the platform of the Republican Party and the influence of right-wing deviates centered in Orange County.

My friends have overlooked the fact that the Democratic Party has been the party of socialism since President Roosevelt's term in the Great Depression of the 1930s. I was there, and I recall vividly the NRA (National Recovery Administration), which was referred to as "nuts, raspberries and applesauce."

The great contribution of free enterprise, including scientists and engineers under the leadership of Vannever Bush during World War II made America the strongest nation in the world.

Roosevelt's disastrous agreement with Stalin at Yalta was a clear signal that he fundamentally supported socialism rather than freedom.

Gov. Clinton's military experience is limited to calling up the National Guard in one of our smaller, less important states.

If Pat Schroeder, Barbara Boxer and many other leading Democrats had had their way during the past 20 years, the United States, under President Bush's leadership, could not have undertaken Desert Storm, which was the greatest military victory in the history of the world.

The Democratic Party is indentured to union labor and has expressed opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement, which will generate millions of jobs in Canada, the United States and Mexico in the years ahead.

The Democratic Party is also indentured to the teachers' union. As long as the teachers' union places survival ahead of the need to have knowledge about t' a subject being taught, there is no hope of improving American's educational system.

These and other similar evaluations of well-established Democratic Party positions convince me that my friends, who have defected to support Clinton, are making a serious strategic mistake.

— David Packard
Chairman of the Board
Hewlett-Packard Co.

** TOTAL PAGE.002 **

Q1: Is it true John Young is endorsing Bill Clinton?

A1: Yes.

Q2: Hasn't Young been a lifelong Republican?

A2: Yes, and his decision to endorse and vote for Clinton was made only after a serious study of the nation's economy, its threats and prospects.

Q3: Why will he endorse Clinton?

A3:
- Young said he was impressed with Clinton's plan to create a bi-partisan coalition to address Americans' concerns.
- The Clinton organization aggressively sought his suggestions on ways to make the U.S. more competitive and that Clinton adopted many of the suggestions offered by the private Council on Competitiveness, which he founded in 1986.

Q4: Has Young met Clinton?

A4: Yes, several times. And John also has talked at length with several of Clinton's economic advisors, including Roger Altman and Ira Magaziner.

Q5: Is HP endorsing Clinton?

A5: HP doesn't endorse candidates -- Clinton or Bush.

Q6: Was Young offered a post by Clinton?

A6: No, he was not.

Q7: Would Young accept a post if he were offered one?

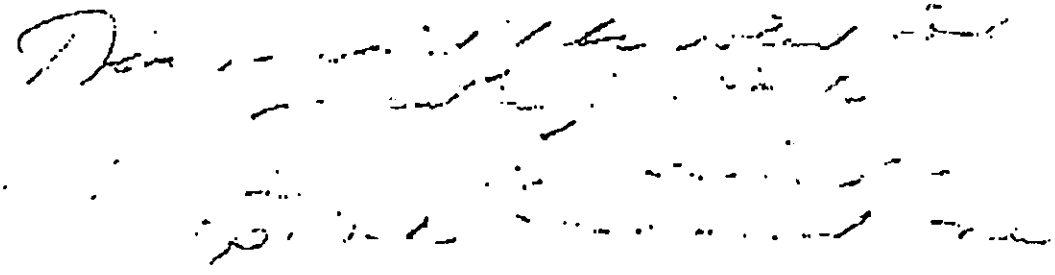
A7: He said he has a policy of not turning down jobs he hasn't been offered.

Q8: Does Young endorse Clinton's platform in whole?

A8: No. There never has been a candidate for office that was a perfect match with John's own views.

Q9: Where does Young differ with Clinton's platform?

A9: John told me he wasn't interested in getting into specifics. He may yet get to lobby his ideas personally.



Two Books given to you from Mulroney
The World of Robert Bateman
The Art of Robert Bateman

RZ
D Thank you
D Beware of bird feces

CANADA
PRIME MINISTER – PREMIER MINISTRE

October 7, 1992
San Antonio

Dear George

This is an historic day, achieved in large measure as a result of your vision of the Americas, generations hence

With congratulations and warm good wishes

Sincerely,

Brian

NAFTA
Signing San Antonio Texas

OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO 070CT92 OV P036686 -014