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Handwritten: J. Bush
GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

October 15, 1992

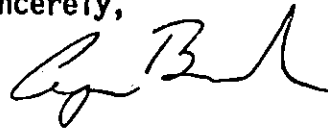
Dear Jo Ann and Victor,

Thanks so much for the phone message. I appreciate your calling in your support.

Hastily off to Richmond for another Presidential debate. Only 19 more days to go, but I remain confident.

Our best wishes and family love to you both, and thanks for all you're doing.

Sincerely,



GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

Mr. and Mrs. Victor J. Hancock
2009 Nantucket
Richardson, Texas 75080

Thursday, October 15, 1992 (1144)

PHONE CALL FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Victor Hancock

Just wanted to leave a message for you. No need to return call.

He and Jo Ann are pulling for you. Says the Texas polls he has seen don't match up with what he's been hearing.

Said to tell Rose Zamaria "hi" too.

Bush urged to pull a Quayle in debate

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

With the clock running out and the polls looking grim, Republican leaders around the country are giving President Bush this blunt advice on how he must handle himself in tonight's second debate with Bill Clinton:

Be as tough with Mr. Clinton as Dan Quayle was with Al Gore in Tuesday night's vice presidential debating brawl in Atlanta.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Now is the time to "take the gloves off," said Florida GOP Chairman Van Poole, who wants the president to "get tougher" with the Arkansas governor on the character and trust issues that Mr. Quayle relentlessly hammered in his debate with the Tennessee senator.

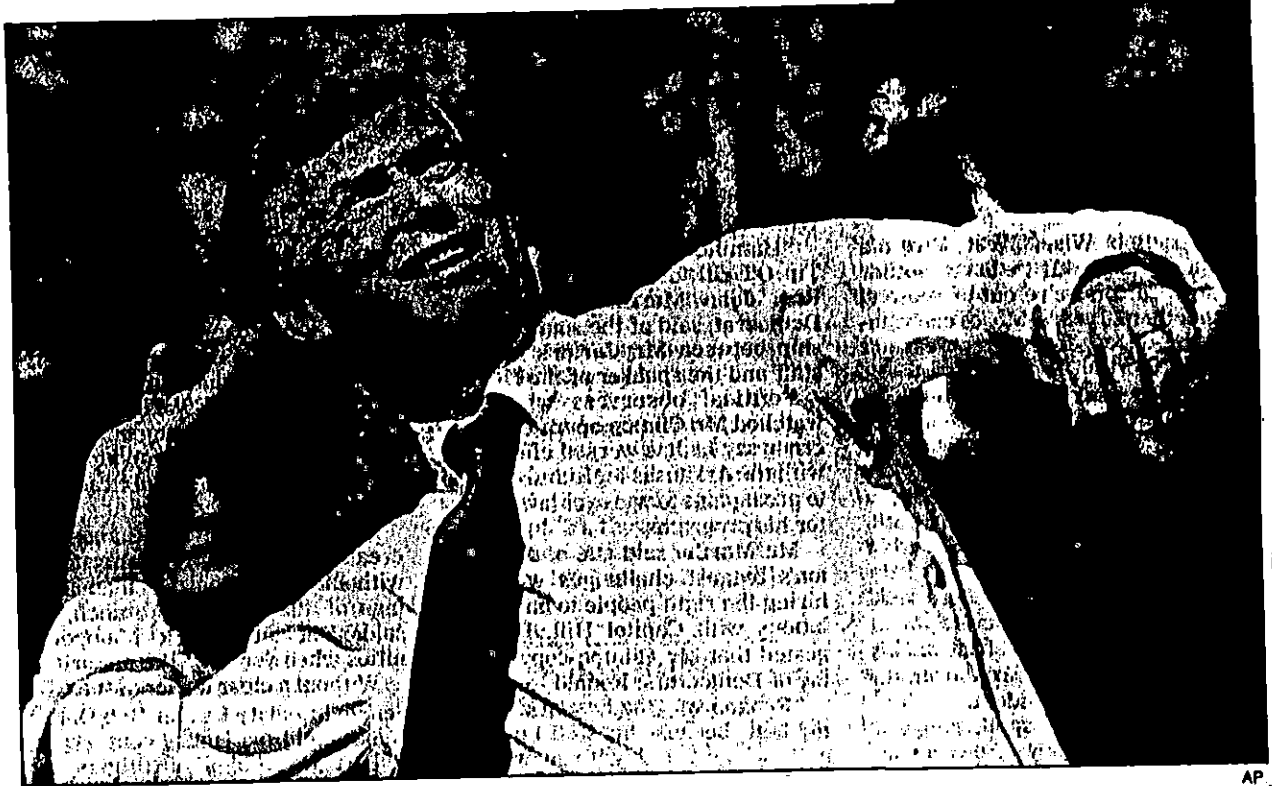
"The vice president's performance really set the stage" for what Mr. Bush must do in tonight's face-to-face debate, Mr. Poole said. "If I were coaching him, I'd say he needs to continue [hitting Mr. Clinton] on the trust and character issues, his economic plan to raise taxes, and his own dismal record in Arkansas. . . .

"Clinton would have come apart if Quayle had debated him last Sunday," Mr. Poole said, reflecting the consensus among party leaders that the president lost the first debate because he was too easy on the governor. "If Bush comes even close to what Quayle did to Gore, Clinton will get rattled."

"If the president is more aggressive and makes Clinton squirm, it will help him," said Kansas Republican Chairman Kim Wells, who said the race was tightening up in his state.

"I'd like to see him take the debate to Clinton and tie it into the credibility issue — using the laundry list of [Clinton] contradictions and flip-flops that Quayle used," he said.

Mr. Wells said GOP leaders he



Vice President Dan Quayle tosses a softball to Auburn University students during a campus rally yesterday.

talked to all say "the tone of the next debate is going to have to be more aggressive" on the president's part.

With just 19 days to go in the campaign, and with the polls showing Mr. Clinton maintaining a strong lead, Mr. Wells said his message to Mr. Bush is "you have nothing to lose by being more aggressive."

"I hope he comes out swinging," said Mississippi GOP Chairwoman Evelyn McPhail. "People want that. They want him to call a spade a spade."

"We need to be blunt. People down here understand when you say he lied, but don't say he was 'less than honest.' We need to say what this guy is," Mrs. McPhail said. "People want a reason to vote for George Bush because they don't trust Bill Clinton."

Bush has to give them that reason."

Texas GOP Chairman Fred Meyer agreed and said, "I think he will be more aggressive" because the less structured format of the debate will give him more freedom to move back and forth to the issues he wants to stress. "I'm looking for a real free-for-all," he said.

Alixé Glen, a spokeswoman for the Bush campaign, hinted yesterday that the president was going to do what his party chairmen are urging him to do in Richmond tonight where the candidates, including independent Ross Perot, meet for the second of their three nationally televised debates.

"The president will be himself but he will be very aggressively pointing out the differences," Miss Glen said,

something that she said the journalist-panel format did not allow him to do Sunday night.

"The president wants to call Clinton on his record but [under Sunday's format] it was sort of difficult for him to go back to something that was said 10 minutes earlier after the others had had their say," she said.

Tonight's format, which allows audience questions, "will lend itself more to directly challenging the other candidate," she said.

"The president will hammer away on the wide differences on a number of issues as well as the credibility and character of Governor Clinton," she said. "It is fair game for the governor's numerous flip-flops and waffles to be part of this discussion" and, she said, "they will be."

10/15/92

Clinton won't repay retirees taxed illegally

By Nancy E. Roman
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Bill Clinton has refused to repay about \$40 million owed to Arkansas retirees who were taxed illegally, despite an Arkansas Supreme Court ruling saying the state had an unqualified obligation to repay them.

"Because if he paid them back, he wouldn't have been able to balance the budget, and then we wouldn't be able to go around making these campaign statements he's been making," said Eugene O. Duffy, a lawyer representing New York retirees who say they are owed similar tax refunds by their state.

The Clinton administration has argued that mandating refunds would create a financial hardship, that the money was collected in good faith for state projects, and that it didn't know it was doing anything wrong.

The Arkansas case has been appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

On the stump, Mr. Clinton often says he has balanced the state's budget 11 times. Arkansas law mandates a balanced budget.

"For at least the last three years, the Arkansas budget has been balanced in substantial part at the expense of elderly

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TAXES.

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retirees because Mr. Clinton refuses to comply with an unambiguous statute," said a memorandum circulated by New York lawyers representing federal retirees in that state.

"It's unfair because he's deprived us of money that is due us," said Nelson Don Lane, a retired Air Force major in Little Rock who stands to get \$3,800 back. "But, of course, you can see what his interests are about the state now with his running for president and all."

Federal retirees in 20 other states, including Virginia, demanded tax refunds after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1989 that states could no longer tax the pensions of federal employees while exempting the pensions of state employees.

In states without tax-refund laws, state courts have often ruled against the retirees. In some states, including Virginia, where as much as \$500 million is at stake, retirees have argued that the 1989 Supreme Court ruling should be retroactive regardless of state laws providing for refunds.

Arkansas is among eight states with laws requiring refunds when

taxes are overpaid. Administrative tribunals or courts in seven of those states ruled that retirees were entitled to compensation, and in the eighth, Louisiana, Gov. Edwin Edwards agreed to repay retirees.

In every state but Arkansas, retirees have been repaid or are being repaid with interest in installments.

In Arkansas, after a trial court ruled for the retirees, the case was appealed to the state Supreme Court, which upheld the ruling.

"Clearly, if the members of this class are not given the relief they have prayed for, they will be treated inequitably in that they will have paid an unconstitutional tax," wrote Allen Bird II, special chief justice of the Arkansas Supreme Court.

Mr. Clinton refused to accept the ruling and urged state Attorney General Winston Bryant to petition the U.S. Supreme Court for another review.

Jim Pledger, director of the Arkansas Department of Finance and Administration, said an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court is standard procedure in Arkansas.

"It has been the policy in Arkansas prior to Governor Clinton that any case that required a tax refund should be appealed to the highest court," he said. "We have consis-

tently followed that philosophy."

Arkansas' 33,000 federal retirees are waiting, and the interest on their refunds keeps growing. In the 3½ years that Arkansas has fought the case, the amount owed has grown from \$32 million to \$40 million.

According to the state's brief to the Supreme Court, "Arkansas could be required to refund in excess of \$50 million" before the litigation is over.

In a gubernatorial campaign debate in Jonesboro, Ark., in September 1990, Mr. Clinton was asked about refunds for Arkansas retirees. He said money had been set aside in the state's budget to pay back retirees but had not been released because of a dispute over whether the state had to repay one year of illegally collected taxes or three years' worth.

"The Supreme Court has ruled that when state laws are struck down, if the state moves quickly to correct the error, and if there was no intention to discriminate at the time it was done, then no refund is owed," Mr. Clinton said during the debate. "It would be wrong for us to give up three years of money when the federal law plainly says that we acted in good faith."

In Arkansas, lawyer Carrold E.

Ray, who argued the retirees' case before the trial court, said Mr. Clinton is being dishonest. The only money that has been set aside is \$150 million that the state budgets every year for income tax refunds, he said.

And Mr. Ray said Arkansas has never attempted to repay even the taxes collected in 1989 two months after the Supreme Court outlawed such taxes.

"In fact, what they have done in their litigation is say they shouldn't have to repay any years," Mr. Ray said. "There is a bit of a contradiction there. If one year is not in dispute, why haven't they agreed to refund it?"

He said the state Supreme Court ruling requires Arkansas to pay back three years of taxes, although they were illegally collected for 19 years.

Mr. Pledger said the state may not have to pay the money back.

"We have consistently told the federal retirees that we were under the impression that we were operating within the framework of the law," he said. "As soon as we found out that we were not, we changed it."

Mr. Pledger said the Arkansas legislature in 1989 amended its law to tax both federal and state pensions.

Bush set to hit Clinton hard on character

By Paul Bedard

THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Armed and energized by Vice President Dan Quayle's debate attacks, President Bush in tonight's debate plans to pour salt on Bill Clinton's character wounds in what Democrats scorn as a "panic" strategy to score an upset victory in 19 days.

"He's got to be aggressive. It's on the line," a senior White House aide said of Mr. Bush's performance in Richmond tonight.

"We've got to see a narrowing of the gap going into the third debate," scheduled for Monday in East Lansing, Mich., said a senior administration official who requested anonymity. "I think we have an opening on the character issue because of Quayle's attacks."

Mr. Clinton has a few surprises of his own, according to aides. Mr. Clinton plans to rebuff shots at his character by claiming the Republican strategy is a desperation ploy. He is also expected to heighten charges that Mr. Bush mishandled relations with Iraq leading up to the Gulf war.

Hopeful some of Mr. Quayle's aggressiveness in Tuesday night's vice presidential debate will rub off, Mr. Bush held an unexpected welcome-home party for his running mate late yesterday at the White House.

"I'll try my hardest to do as well as he did," Mr. Bush said. "I've got to go in and get a few lessons."

About 100 workers from the Old Executive Office Building came over to meet Mr. Quayle holding signs reading "Way to go Mr. VP," "Quayle 1, Gore 0" and "Tell the truth Bill."

"Every issue could be turned into a character issue because on every major issue Clinton has changed his position. We couldn't think of a ques-

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tion where there wasn't a character issue," said David Beckwith, Mr. Quayle's press secretary.

Instant polls said Democratic vice presidential candidate Al Gore won the debate, but political analysts and many voters gave the nod to Mr. Quayle, who focused on three issues: trust, taxes and crisis management.

NBC showed Mr. Gore outscoring Mr. Quayle 50 percent to 32 percent, with Adm. James Stockdale, Ross Perot's running mate, registering a victory with 2 percent of those polled. ABC showed a closer contest, with Mr. Gore, Mr. Quayle and Adm. Stockdale capturing 38 percent, 35 percent and 7 percent, respectively. Both polls had a margin of error of plus or minus 3.5 percent.

In a CNN pre-debate poll Tuesday, 61 percent of the respondents expected the Tennessee senator to win, as opposed to 19 percent for the vice president.

In a speech in Alabama and in interviews on ABC, CNN, NBC and CBS yesterday, Mr. Quayle continued to attack Mr. Clinton, noting, as he did in his final debate statement, that Mr. Gore never defended Mr. Clinton's character.

Mr. Gore "couldn't find anything good to say about the integrity of Bill Clinton" in the 90-minute debate, Mr. Quayle said to cheers from a large Auburn University rally.

"Time and time again I said to the American people that Bill Clinton has trouble telling the truth and not once did Senator Gore deny that, because Bill Clinton does have trouble telling the truth."

Mr. Gore, also giving campaign speeches and appearing on the morning talk shows, again refused to defend Mr. Clinton against Mr. Quayle's charges that the Democratic presidential candidate can't tell the truth.

On NBC's "Today," Mr. Gore said, "He can say I didn't answer it, but that doesn't mean I didn't answer it." He then gave a long statement calling Mr. Clinton a successful governor and "the best-prepared candidate I've ever seen run for president."

On "CBS This Morning," Mr. Gore again walked around the question, turning his answer into an attack on the Republicans. Asked if Bill Clinton has "a credibility problem," Mr. Gore answered:

"No, of course not. Bill Clinton has provided the kind of leadership this country needs. He has responded to all questions. You know, when the Republicans, like Quayle and Bush, just continually repeat something over and over and over again in such a shrill, demagogic way, that doesn't make it true."

Mr. Gore focused instead on a report in The Washington Post yesterday alleging that the Bush administration had conducted an "unusual" search for State Department files related to Mr. Clinton's years as a graduate student in England, when he was active in the anti-war movement.

The search was conducted by State in response to Freedom of Information Act requests by several media organizations. Mr. Gore charged that "it was 'very disturbing, even outrageous, for George Bush to use the State Department to rummage through the personal files of an American citizen for political purposes.'"

Mr. Quayle countered: "This is responding to a media's request, using

the Freedom of Information Act, which the media does. If Senator Gore wants to repeal the Freedom of Information Act, that's fine."

Yesterday, after huddling with Mr. Clinton, top Clinton-Gore aides said Mr. Gore's soft touch in the debate was planned.

He "responded with real solutions on the economy ... not to the wild charges of an attack chihuahua," Clinton aide George Stephanopoulos said as the Democratic nominee studied at a Williamsburg lodge for tonight's debate with President Bush in Richmond.

Mr. Gore, echoing earlier comments by the campaign about GOP challenges of Mr. Clinton's character, said the White House is desperate. "I think this administration is unraveling. ... George Bush is in a political panic," he said.

Mr. Clinton said he was pleased with his running mate's performance. "Gore did well. I'm proud of him," he said after a 30-minute morning run through Colonial Williamsburg.

Despite Democratic evaluations of the vice presidential debate, Bush-Quayle officials said Mr. Bush will follow his vice president's lead tonight.

"It's no secret that Vice President Quayle was successful driving home two points—you can't trust Bill Clinton and he will raise your taxes and increase spending," said Bush-Quayle campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke.

Looking to tonight's debate with Mr. Clinton and independent candidate Ross Perot, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said, "The overall strategy is to be strong and presidential and forceful and to win by 40 debating points."

• Frank J. Murray in Washington and Ronald A. Taylor in Williamsburg contributed to this report.

10/15/92

GOP wary on Baker speech's timing

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker's much-anticipated speech to explain economic shake-up plans for a second Bush term was postponed, marked canceled and revived — all on the eve of the second presidential debate.

Concern was growing that if Mr. Baker spoke as planned yesterday, Democratic nominee Bill Clinton would have two debates to ridicule his new role and, in the worst-case scenario, demand to know why he was not doing the debating as well.

"We never had anything very firm," White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater told reporters after Mr. Bush finished his second mock debate in two days.

His coaches were anxious for him to duplicate the triumph the president celebrated with pats on the back for Vice President Dan Quayle — after his tenacious debate performance Tuesday — and kisses for Marilyn Quayle.

"I'll try my hardest to do as well as he did," Mr. Bush told reporters outside the Oval Office, where 100 or so screaming White House employees held balloons and banners praising the blushing Mr. Quayle.

"I've got to go in and get a few lessons," Mr. Bush said, speaking for himself and his prize debater.

He brushed off further questions at his first public appearance with Mr. Quayle since a rally in Gulfport, Miss., on Aug. 21, the day after conclusion of the Republican National Convention.

Earlier in the day, Mr. Fitzwater said of Mr. Baker, "He may not even give a speech." Then he reconsidered, saying a speech now was likely next week, although he said only a page or so would be devoted to the economic and domestic changes under Mr. Baker's stewardship.

Yesterday's 90-minute practice debate was held in the top-floor the-

ater of the Old Executive Office Building.

Budget Director Richard Darman again took the role of Democratic nominee Bill Clinton, and former White House Chief of Staff John Sununu was the stand-in for Ross Perot. Among the fake audience members throwing questions to Mr. Bush — simulating the format for tonight's second of three debates — were his unofficial image consultant Roger Ailes, Mr. Baker, Baker aide Dennis Ross, campaign chairman Robert Teeter, Communications Director Margaret Tutwiler and Mr. Fitzwater.

"We don't want to give anything away," Mr. Fitzwater said as he refused to discuss whether Mr. Bush will be tougher tonight after Mr. Quayle's attack strategy against Democratic vice presidential nominee Al Gore Tuesday night in Atlanta.

One official predicted Mr. Bush would battle more in the mold of Mr. Quayle but would not say that was the reason. "The next two debates will probably be more combative because of the nature of their rules, the format."

"The overall strategy is to be strong and presidential and forceful and win by 40 debating points," Mr. Fitzwater said.

He was again at a loss to end speculation over Mr. Baker's new role — assailed by Democrats as a "copresidency" or "vice president in fact" — which was announced Sunday by Mr. Bush during the first debate in St. Louis.

Democrats were merciless:

- Clinton Communications Director George Stephanopoulos asked whether Mr. Baker planned to announce any role for Mr. Bush in a second term.

- During the vice presidential debate, Mr. Gore said: "James Baker is going to be in charge of domestic policy. ... What's your role in this going to be?"

- Democratic gadfly Jesse Jack-

son said, "Clearly, Mr. Bush sees Jim Baker as his vice president, in fact."

Mr. Baker's task was portrayed as replacing Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, Mr. Darman and economic adviser Michael Boskin, all of whom have been under heavy criticism.

10/15/92

Campaign affects Clinton's health

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP) — Gov. Bill Clinton's doctors said in letters released yesterday that he is in good health but is bothered by allergies, weight gain and voice trouble related to a rugged campaign schedule.

Six pages of letters from four doctors were made public by the Democratic presidential campaign after reporters requested Mr. Clinton's health records. Less-detailed letters were released in June.

Mr. Clinton's history includes allergies, a strained ligament in his left knee in 1984, "mild hearing loss" and hemorrhoids eight years ago. He takes the prescription antihistamine Hismanal for the allergies, the doctors said.

No heart problems were found by an Aug. 27 electrocardiogram. A colon exam in 1984 found no evidence of tumors, nor did a recent throat exam. A chest X-ray last year found no abnormalities.

A doctor said there was a "mild elevation" of Mr. Clinton's "total serum cholesterol at 227" in 1991.

"A low-fat, weight-reduction diet and an increase in exercise were advised," wrote Dr. Susan M. Santa Cruz of Little Rock.

Mr. Clinton told her he had gained 20 pounds in the previous three years.

He weighed 226 pounds, had a heart rate of 78 beats per minute and blood pressure of 118/70 in September 1991, Dr. Cruz wrote.

This year Mr. Clinton's cholesterol was measured at 184.

Dr. Kelsy J. Caplinger of Little Rock said allergy skin tests on Mr. Clinton showed moderate reactions to dust, mold spores, cat dander, weed pollen, grass pollen, beef and milk. She said he also reacts to certain other foods.

The doctor said Mr. Clinton had difficulty breathing through his nose in 1991 and that congestion made his running routine difficult. But she said Mr. Clinton showed "satisfactory improvement" in a Sept. 30 exam.

"The allergies for which he is being treated are common ones, and his prognosis is very good for control of his symptoms," she wrote.

Dr. James Y. Suen of Little Rock blamed Mr. Clinton's voice problems on "nasal allergies, mild esophageal reflux and especially overuse of his voice." Esophageal reflux is a form of heartburn.

The doctor said Mr. Clinton has "been on a diet to eliminate certain foods and caffeine, medications to decrease gastric acid production, antacids, and sleeping on a wedge."

He said no evidence of tumors or malignancies in his larynx have been found, although his vocal cords have shown some swelling.

"His primary treatment consists of trying to control the overuse of his voice with all the demands of his speaking schedule," the doctor said.

Mr. Clinton drinks socially but does not smoke, one of the doctors wrote.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1992

Quayle and Gore Each Claim Victory in Debate

Vice President Is Cheered at White House; Democrat Assails 'Personal Smear Campaign'

By Guy Gugliotta
and David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writers

On the morning after their fierce Tuesday night debate, Vice President Quayle bragged that his opponent, Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.), could not defend the integrity of Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton. Gore said Quayle's charges were part of a "big lie technique" that deserved no rebuttal. But later in the day, the Clinton camp unloaded a ton of documentation against the Quayle attack.

The vice presidential candidates left Atlanta yesterday, bloodied but re-energized by their Georgia Tech debate and clearly intending to continue their grudge by other means.

Both sides claimed victory, with the Republicans dramatizing their boast at a Rose Garden welcome for Quayle led by President Bush, who grabbed his running mate for an Oval Office tactical discussion of tonight's second presidential debate in Richmond.

In a round of morning television interviews and at a short pep rally at Auburn University in Alabama, Quayle boasted that Gore "never once defended" Clinton against the Quayle accusations that Clinton "changes his mind all the time" and "just has trouble telling the truth."

"For 90 minutes Al Gore refused to defend the character and integrity of his running mate," Quayle said in a CNN interview. "I will tell you right now that George Bush is one of the most honest people I've ever met. Al Gore cannot make that statement about Bill Clinton."

"Al Gore did a good job of defending himself," Quayle said, "but he did not defend Bill Clinton. . . . The character issue is clearly on the table."

For his part, Gore said he was "very pleased" with his performance and condemned Quayle for focusing on a "personal smear campaign" against Clinton because "they have nothing to say about the most important issues of the day."

Gore told interviewers that he did not directly respond to Quayle's attacks against Clinton because they were "so shrill they collapsed of their own weight." Clinton, he added, "is by all odds the most qualified person to run for president in my lifetime."



Quayle, left, and Gore with James Stockdale, center, before Tuesday night debate.

On NBC's "Today" show, Gore said no response is necessary or desirable to Bush and Quayle's "Johnny one-note" campaign trying to impugn Clinton's character. This, he added, is part of a "big lie technique," but "just because they repeat it again and again doesn't mean it's true."

But as it turned out, the Clinton campaign did not want to leave it at that. In Williamsburg, Va., where Clinton was preparing for tonight's debate, reporters were handed a 14-page document detailing alleged distortions by Quayle.

It was the latest example of how the development of data bases and modern computer technology has enabled both campaigns to locate, retrieve and distribute a dizzying array of information to back up its claims and rebut the assertions of the opposition.

Put together overnight, the document assailed virtually everything Quayle said during the debate, with more than 75 citations of counter-information that were culled from 36 separate sources, including newspapers, magazines, news service reports, television broadcasts, books and government documents.

"Dan Quayle lobbed grenades all night but none hit," the document declared. "So Dan Quayle resorted to old Republican tactics—he lied."

Briefing reporters in Williamsburg, George Stephanopoulos, the Clinton campaign's communications director, said the thoroughness of the response was not an indication that the campaign was dissatisfied with Gore's debate performance or a reaction to the

perception that Gore failed to confront head-on Quayle's repeated charge that Clinton "has trouble telling the truth."

"I think Al Gore won that debate last night," Stephanopoulos said. "He was the only person on that stage last night who credibly looked like a president." He added that during the debate Gore "responded to what the American people care about."

Quayle was pressed repeatedly on whether Bush would be as aggressive in the second presidential debate this evening as the vice president had been in Atlanta, but made no predictions. Privately, aides said they hoped the relatively open structure of the Richmond format, plus Quayle's example, would encourage Bush to take the attack to Clinton.

When Quayle arrived at the White House to be cheered by several hundred employees of the Executive Office and the Bush-Quayle headquarters, Bush told reporters, "I'm going to try hard to do as well as he [Quayle] did."

Regardless of what Bush does, Quayle clearly counted Tuesday night as a moment of vindication for his political reputation.

"I felt very good about the debate," the vice president said on "Today." "I don't think anyone can

The Washington Post

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continue to write those caricature stories about me they wrote the last four years. They saw the real Dan Quayle last night."

In a brief report last night, CBS News said Clinton holds a 13-point lead over Bush in a poll conducted after Sunday's presidential debate. CBS did not provide any specific polling data or indicate whether independent Ross Perot was included in the survey.

Stephanopoulos told reporters in Williamsburg that the Clinton cam-

paign is not concerned about Perot's standing in public opinion polls. The Texas businessman "takes an awful lot of votes away from George Bush and doesn't change our margins," Stephanopoulos said. "In fact, in some ways he probably increases our margins."

Gugliotta is traveling with Gore, Broder with Quayle; staff writer Edward Walsh contributed to this report from Williamsburg.

INGTON POST

"THIS TIME YOU CAN REALLY TRUST ME"



The Washington Post

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1992

Aide Sought Prompt Search Of Clinton File

*State Memo Called
Data 'Time Sensitive'*

By Michael Isikoff and Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writers

A State Department official responsible for processing Freedom of Information Act requests last month sought to accelerate the search for documents on Bill Clinton's passport and citizenship files, calling them "time sensitive" because of the impending presidential election.

In a Sept. 28 memo obtained by The Washington Post, Yvonne P. Evans, a processing manager in the State Department's FOIA office, alerted officials within the office to three FOIA requests seeking material on the Democratic presidential nominee's years as a Rhodes scholar studying at Oxford University. One of those requests arrived in Evans's office two days earlier.

"Due to the presidential election on Nov. 3, these requests are time sensitive," Evans wrote.

The FOIA office has a backlog of more than 3,000 requests, department officials said, and the vast majority take six months or longer to process. According to department regulations, the requests are handled on a "first-in, first-out basis" and may only be expedited when "an individual's life or safety would be jeopardized" or to protect "substantial due process rights" of the requester.

The Evans memo surfaced after disclosures that Elizabeth M. Tampusi, assistant secretary for consu-

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The Washington Post

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Aide Sought to Expedite Clinton Data

PASSPORT, From A1

lar affairs, this month called U.S. embassies in London and Oslo requesting a thorough search of their files for material on Clinton. The Tamposi telephone calls, made on Oct. 1 to London and Oct. 2 to Oslo, occurred as congressional Republicans and Bush-Quayle campaign officials were sharply escalating their attacks on Clinton's draft history and antiwar activities while he was in Britain.

Department spokesman Richard Boucher adamantly defended those actions yesterday, saying they were part of an overall department effort to be responsive to legitimate FOIA requests from the news media and to ensure there was no improper interference in the handling of sensitive files.

Tamposi, a political appointee who formerly headed a real estate firm and was a Republican state legislator in New Hampshire, declined to talk to reporters yesterday. Boucher, however, said she consulted with no higher officials in the department about her phone calls. He said her interest in making the calls was "to see that the search was properly conducted. . . . There was no instruction to speed it up, there was no instruction to slow it down."

Boucher acknowledged that Tamposi does not "normally" get involved in the handling of FOIA requests. But he said Tamposi decided to call the embassies after she learned on Sept. 30 that Clinton's passport files, retrieved that day by her office from the National Records Center in Suitland, may have been tampered with, a suspicion that the FBI later said was baseless.

"I absolutely feel that there is no inappropriate behavior at all in this," Boucher said, adding: "The actions of the department's officials were directed at carrying out the law . . . in a responsible and a prudent manner."

Evans yesterday refused to comment on her memo. Asked about the speed with which the department processed the requests about Clinton's records, Boucher said: "Obviously, we're aware of the fact that journalists are asking for this and they obviously don't want to get it in March."

But congressional Democrats, including Clinton's running mate, Sen. Albert Gore Jr., yesterday accused the State Department of a politically motivated attempt to dig up damaging information on the Democratic candidate.



In Atlanta, Gore accuses White House of using State in bid to smear Clinton.

"This goes way beyond a Freedom of Information request," Gore said. "The White House is politically using the State Department in a blatant attempt to politicize the entire bureaucracy in a failed effort to try to discredit Bill Clinton."

Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) called for the use of congressional oversight authority "to seek a full explanation of these events as promptly as possible."

In the House, Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (Mo.) and three other Democrats asked acting Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger for the department's cooperation in a congressional investigation of the matter.

Freedom of Information experts said yesterday the department's actions on the Clinton files appeared to substantially deviate from its usual procedures. One key issue was the decision, made in Tamposi's office, to retrieve Clinton's passport files despite privacy protections that expressly forbid the release of such files without the written consent of the individual.

Boucher said yesterday that department "policy" for the past year has been to retrieve such files anyway to protect itself in the event of court challenges. Despite requests from reporters, the department was unable to locate a written copy of that policy yesterday.

Tom Blanton, executive director of the National Security Archive, a research group that has filed more than 3,000 FOIA requests over the past five years, said his group rou-

tinely gets form letters back from the department on its requests on individuals. Those form letters, copies of which he released to reporters, state that the department will not "proceed" until it receives "an original signed, notarized statement from that individual authorizing the Department of State to release the information to you."

Meanwhile, a CIA official confirmed that Rep. Robert K. Dornan (Calif.) and three other Republican members of Congress had filed an FOIA request on Oct. 5 for a search of the intelligence agency's files for a specific list of information relating to Clinton. A similar request was sent to the FBI.

The CIA would handle the Dornan request "according to its normal procedures of taking them in the order received," one official said.

The four GOP congressmen have led the charge in attacking Clinton's antiwar activities and criticizing his sightseeing trip in late 1969 and early 1970 that included visits to Moscow and Prague.

A spokesman for Dornan said the FOIA request to the CIA was not generated by his office and was supposed to have been kept "on close hold." An aide to Rep. Duncan Hunter (R-Calif.), who also signed the letter, referred a reporter yesterday to the House Republican Research Conference where a staff member said the GOP congressmen wrote the letter because "of a genuine interest in getting all the information to the media and public."

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BY RICH LIPSKI—THE WASHINGTON POST

Bill Clinton takes a break from a morning run in Williamsburg, Va. He was given a clean bill of health in a medical report his campaign released. Story, Page A18.

Inventing Clintonomics

Spectrum of Advisers Debates Goals, Priorities

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

If Bill Clinton seems familiar with President Bush's assaults against his economic plan during tonight's debate, it will be no accident.

Clinton has already heard the case for and against his ideas from a diverse group of economic advisers who have argued with each other over everything from taxes and spending to trade and exactly what the government should do to promote economic growth.

A mix of old friends and new intellectual soul mates, Clinton's advisers are united on many key propositions, the most important being the desire to cast aside much of the last 12 years of economic policy.

They also agree that America's economic problems are "structural," and not merely the fruit of a short-term slowdown. As a result, all of them favor a more activist government, especially in the areas of ed-

ucation, job training, transportation and communications.

Finally, all of them insist that what they are most interested in is not new spending simply to redistribute income, but new approaches to spur growth.

"We're Democrats, which means we have concerns about social justice," said Ira C. Magaziner, a

The presidential debate will be broadcast live at 9 p.m. today on ABC, CBS, CNN, C-SPAN, Fox, NBC, PBS and National Public Radio.

consultant and writer who is a Clinton friend from their years together at Oxford University. "But when you have an economy that's growing at seven-tenths of one percent per year per person, it's hard to solve the other problems."

But there are also differences, some of which got hashed out in frequently pointed discussions sur-

See ADVISERS, A12, Col. 1



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Clinton Economic Team Agrees on Principle, Not Always on Priorities

ADVISERS, From A1

rounding Clinton's rewrite of his economic plan in June. The revision of the proposal that Clinton had carried as his banner of seriousness through the primaries made the plan more specific on matters of taxing and spending. It was spurred by the threat of Ross Perot's candidacy and his raising of the deficit issue.

While much of the original plan remained in place, the advisers argued over whether there should be specific spending targets, whether Clinton should drop his call for a middle-class tax cut (Clinton kept it, but pared it down), and over how important deficit reduction should be in the plan (he called for spending cuts, but decided not to promise a balanced budget anytime soon.)

The areas of agreement and difference reflect two fundamental facts about the Clinton team. On the one hand, it includes no ideological conservatives; everyone criticizes "trickle-down economics." But it does represent the full range of economic thinking inside the Democratic Party, from the business-oriented center-right, which sees deficit reduction as crucial, to the more Keynesian center-left, which is more concerned with spurring growth through stimulative government spending.

Many outside the Clinton inner circle—and some within it—predict that if Clinton wins, this diversity could lead to a battle royal between the anti-deficit wing and the stimulus wing.

As president, Clinton's immediate problem would be to figure out how to spur the economy without bearing the financial markets by suggesting he is not serious about reducing the deficit.

"You have to combine fiscal stimulus with long-term deficit reduction and the art to it is to make the deficit-reduction part credible," said Robert E. Rubin, a key Clinton business adviser and co-chairman of Goldman-Sachs, who is convinced that the problem can be solved.

Virtually to a person, Clinton's advisers argue that efforts to divide them neatly into "left" and "right" camps can be misleading. Thus, Derek Shearer, an old Clinton friend, a professor at Occidental College in California, and a veteran of left-of-center politics in the 1970s, is doing everything he can

CLINTON'S ECONOMIC CIRCLE

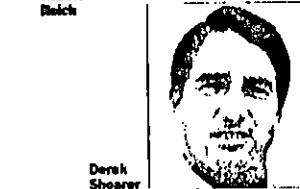
PUBLIC INVESTMENT HAWKS



Ira C. Magaziner



Robert Reich



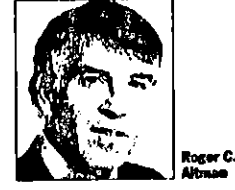
Derek Shearer

Clinton's advisers agree broadly on the need for a more active government. They differ in emphasis: Ira C. Magaziner, Robert Reich and Derek Shearer are more concerned about new public spending and stimulating the economy, and Roger C. Altman, Robert Shapiro and Robert E. Rubin stress addressing the deficit.



Bill Clinton

DEFICIT HAWKS



Roger C. Altman



Robert E. Rubin



Robert Shapiro

to fight the notion that he is some kind of leftist. Angered by some recent news reports that he said distorted his views, Shearer these days sounds thoroughly pragmatic and even speaks of the importance of accommodating Wall Street's worries.

"You have to be concerned with how the markets view the president," Shearer said. "And one of their talismans is how serious you are about the deficit."

Roger C. Altman, an assistant treasury secretary in the Carter administration and an investment banker, is seen as being on the deficit-reduction side of the argument, but he, too, dismisses reports of divisions as "a crock."

Whatever future arguments might loom, the current blend of advisers and ideas seems to serve Clinton well as a candidate, since a lot of their thinking is politically popular right now.

Much of the economic music—the broad themes that one hears over and over again on the stump—has been scored by Robert Reich, a lawyer and former Federal Trade

Commission official. Reich and Clinton first became friends years ago when they were Rhodes scholars together at Oxford.

Reich's most recent book, "The Work of Nations," may be the closest thing to a "Clintonomics" primer. Especially important to Clinton's world view is Reich's argument that in a global economy, jobs and capital can be exported but people can't be. To succeed in the global marketplace, countries have to improve the education and skill levels of their people. Or as Clinton says almost every day on the stump: "What you earn depends upon what you learn."

Clinton's ambassadors to Wall Street—and Wall Street's ambassadors to the Clinton campaign—are Altman and Rubin, whose reassurances to investors have helped the Clinton campaign raise what are, for a Democrat, unusually large sums from investment circles.

Altman and Rubin have an intellectual ally in Robert Shapiro, vice president of the Progressive Policy Institute, the think tank of the centrist Democratic Leadership Coun-

cil (DLC). A Capitol Hill and Dukakis campaign veteran, Shapiro got to know Clinton when the Arkansas Democrat served as DLC president, and his proposals formed the heart of the Clinton program in the early primaries.

Shapiro has been central in arguing that there are ways for Democrats to cut programs out of the federal budget without getting in the way of their overall objectives of growth and greater equity. In his campaign speeches, Clinton often cites one of Shapiro's favorite proposals—a call to cut the administrative cost of government by 3 percent per year—as proof that he is no tax-and-spender.

Magaziner, a consultant who has long argued for a larger government role in promoting economic transition, is another Oxford friend of Clinton's with relationships to other members of the Clinton camp. He was co-author of a book with Reich, for example, and served on a commission with Hillary Clinton that issued a report—reflecting Magaziner's ideas and work—that echoes daily in Clinton speeches.

The report, "America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages," spoke of the dangers unskilled workers faced in the global marketplace and highlighted one of Magaziner's major concerns: the need for post-high school training and job apprenticeship for students who are not college-bound.

Shearer met Clinton while visiting Strobe Talbott, now a Time magazine columnist, at Oxford. Talbott, Clinton's roommate, was then dating Shearer's sister Brooke, now Talbott's wife.

Shearer's left-wing image stems in part from his activism in his home of Santa Monica, Calif. His wife, Ruth Yanatta Goldway, served as mayor in the early 1980s when a progressive alliance took over the city council. But Shearer insists that even in those days, his energies were devoted to encouraging the left to search for practical programs.

Shearer jokes that one of his main intellectual functions is as Clinton's major "supplier" of new detective fiction. One of his policy roles is to serve as a house skeptic about an ideology of pure free trade, and he was one who helped shape Clinton's recent speech on the North American Free Trade Agreement.

A classic in the Clinton genre of declining to be pinned down by other people's categories—Clinton's critics see this as waffling—the speech demonstrated how Clinton can force a consensus from the disparate advice he gets. The speech combined an endorsement of the treaty with a critique of Bush's trade policies and a call for much more government help for displaced workers.

The core group, which heavily influenced Clinton's economic plan, is supplemented by key members of the campaign staff.

Gene Sperling, who worked on the Dukakis campaign, has a reputation for working 19-hour days and for being an instant number-cruncher whenever a Bush attack needs to be answered. Bruce Reed, deputy campaign manager for issues, is, like Shapiro, a veteran and partisan of the DLC. He is an adviser-of-all-trades and one of the main Clinton speechwriters.

Among the economists whom the Clinton camp frequently draws on are Nobel laureate Robert M. Solow, Paul Krugman, Alan S. Blinder, Fred Bergsten, Robert Eis-

ner and New York investment banker Felix Rohatyn.

In their hopeful moods, Clinton's advisers have ambitions of turning "Clintonomics" into a successful conventional wisdom that would depart from "Reaganomics" in seeing government as contributing to, rather than retarding, economic growth. They also sometimes talk about "trickle-up" economics, in which a more skilled work force—rather than simply the captains of industry and investment—would serve as the motor for a new round of economic growth.

But there is still the nagging problem of what should be done in the short term, which could force Clinton to make agonizing choices between the wishes of his core constituency and of Wall Street, between his desire to create new programs and the need to balance the budget.

But talk to his advisers about these choices, and they happily turn to one of their favorite metaphors: Clinton's similarity to Franklin D. Roosevelt in sharing a love of conflicting advice.

"He likes animated discussion; he likes people to express themselves; he's a totally active participant," Altman said. Given his mix of advisers and the problems he will face if he wins, a President Clinton could count on many such discussions, early on, very late into the night.

Timing and Subject Of Baker Speech in Flux

Will he or won't he? White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III, designated by President Bush to serve as a kind of economic and domestic czar if Bush is reelected, said he would have more to say on the subject in a speech "sometime this week."

First, it appeared that the speech would come yesterday, then Friday. But yesterday morning, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater told wire service reporters "we never had anything firm" on speech plans, and added: "He may not even give the speech."

Later in the day, Fitzwater revised and extended those remarks to say that there would be a speech after all, but not until next week. A White House official said the speech would not concentrate on the economy but on "why the president is the best person to lead the country" for the next four years.

MARY McGRORY

Quayle on the Offensive

ATLANTA

Dan Quayle is the Republicans' October surprise. No longer a deer caught in the headlights, he made a startling appearance in his debate with Albert Gore Jr.

Primed to his blond eyebrows with numbers, cheap shots, jostling putdowns—"Take a breath, Al. Inhale"—the former fall guy set upon his adversary as if he had found him trifling with the lock of his car.

The Clinton-Gore camp had gotten wind of strenuous assertiveness-training sessions and chief strategist James Carville and communications director George Stephanopoulos hurried from St. Louis, site of the first presidential debate Sunday, to armor their tiger. The result: a nasty opening statement spiked with references to previous Quayle embarrassments—Vietnam War service, Jack Kennedy comparisons and old debate fiascos.

The presence of Ross Perot's running mate, retired vice admiral James B. Stockdale, gave Gore the occasion for a smarmy, needling reference to "those of us who served in Vietnam"—Quayle's National Guard Service has fueled a thousand late-night-show yaks. The admiral was the perfect foil for the two glossy, programmed politicians who flanked him. Stocky, blunt and more sincere than informed, he showed the ravages of 7½ years of North Vietnamese imprisonment—the memory of which may have caused some viewers to wince every time Quayle fatuously pronounced himself to have been "tested."

The old sea dog, who has a game leg from the crash of his Navy bomber over Vietnam, paced back and forth behind his lectern. He offered a few lapidary declarations on abortion and gridlock in Washington. But on policy questions he was at sea. Perot had put him in an impossible position.

He probably sank his old pal, who chose him last spring as a stand-in vice president. Aside from offering tentative, halting answers to questions on health care, the budget and other public matters—while the audience ached to help him—the old hero differed from the boss on several political points. He had missed the fact that Perot is trying to

a question. It is history's first example of a participant tuning out a national debate. But it may have been self-preservation rather than a comment on the proceedings. Imagine the tumult in his head as the amplified shouting roared through. He may have felt that a motorcycle club was meeting inside his skull. He simply shut out the festival of rudeness.

The studio audience in the Georgia Tech Theater for the Arts was no better. In spite of kindly admonitions from the moderator, Hal Bruno of ABC News, they clapped, jeered, gasped, growled and hissed, prompting Bruno to make one of the evening's few restrained statements. Of hissing, he said, "I do think it is discourteous."

Gore, although he did his share of interrupting and "did-didn't," has naturally a more formal manner, and his partisans said he was "more presidential" in his bickering. Quayle waved his arms around like a Sicilian fisherman. He crooked his thumb over his other bent fingers and held it out like a gun at Gore. His nonstop gesticulating prompted Democrats to hope that home viewers might turn down the sound and see only the "out of control" Quayle.

Gore's strenuous opening attempt to derail Quayle seemed momentarily to succeed. Quayle looked rattled, blurted out an incoherent interruption—"Do you remember the last time someone compared themselves to Jack Kennedy?" But he righted himself and was soon reunited with his script. "He is a disciplined message-deliverer," said Rep. Dennis E. Eckart (D-Ohio), who took the part of Quayle in rehearsals.

Quayle's message: Bill Clinton is a liar who cannot be trusted and has no qualifications to be president. Gore kept promising to answer the charges, but never did. He relentlessly steered the talk to the only demonstrated voting issue, the economy. Herbert Hoover was the name he dropped most.

"Full of sound and fury, signifying nothing" may suffice to summarize the lamentable, fast-paced fun. Some took it seriously. Republican spinners stormed the press center to taunt the scribblers to write "at last a good story about Dan Quayle." Bush-Quayle deputy campaign manager Mary Matalin pronounced him "beyond wonderful." Even the implacable

Pamphlet Labels Vote For Democrat a 'Sin'

Antiabortion Activist Is Mailing Fliers

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Randall Terry, the founder of Operation Rescue, is distributing pamphlets to ministers and antiabortion activists that warn: "To vote for Bill Clinton is to sin against God."

Terry, who hosts a syndicated radio show aired in 60 markets, said he has mailed out 27,000 of the pamphlets and plans to distribute another 170,000 over the next week. The flier includes anti-Clinton comments from the Rev. Lou Sheldon, chairman of the Traditional Values Coalition; Joseph P. Scheidler of the Pro-Life Action League; the Rev. Keith Tucci, director of Operation Rescue National; and conservative Rep. Robert K. Dornan (R-Calif.).

The flier alleges that Clinton, a Southern Baptist, "actively promotes rebellion against the Ten Commandments and other laws of the Bible." It urges Christians who are considering voting for the Democratic presidential nominee to "repent."

Torie Clarke, spokeswoman for President Bush's campaign, said, "We have no association with Randall Terry and no comment on his pamphlet." Terry also said he was not working with the Bush campaign.

Avis LaVelle, Clinton's press secretary, called Terry's pamphlet "sort of scary," adding: "The people who come under his sphere of influence aren't going to vote for us anyway."

Terry, who first gained nationwide publicity by leading efforts to blockade abortion clinics, clearly hopes to mobilize the religious right against Clinton. He said he had commitments from clergymen in Cleveland, Houston, New Orleans and Buffalo to denounce Clinton from their pulpits Sunday and that "this will be catching on like wildfire."



RANDALL TERRY
... seeks to mobilize ministers

Asked why ministers should take sides in a presidential election, Terry said: "The integrity of the church is in question here."

The pamphlet distorts Clinton's record on several issues, saying he "endorses same-sex unions" and "children divorcing their parents." It describes Clinton's support of abortion rights as promoting "child-killing."

Margeaux Farrar, a spokeswoman for Operation Rescue National, said her group supports Terry's effort because Clinton "stands for an anti-God agenda" and "is forever misquoting the Bible."

The pamphlet quotes Sheldon as saying, "We are contacting thousands of ministers across America.... The shepherds must warn the sheep not to vote for the wolf, Bill Clinton."

Separately, People for the American Way, a liberal advocacy group, is running an ad in today's New York Times and Los Angeles Times, charging "the Radical Right" with "poisoning the election campaign with hate-filled messages." The ad features pictures of Pat Robertson, Patrick J. Buchanan and Phyllis Schlafly.

The Washington Post

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Debate Format Due for a New Test

Single Moderator to Referee Clash of Presidential Candidates Tonight

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

After years of recommendations that presidential debates should be refereed by a single moderator, Americans got to see the wide-open format in Tuesday night's vice presidential faceoff.

It wasn't pretty. The exchanges seemed incoherent at times as Vice President Quayle and Sen. Albert Gore Jr. kept hurling accusations and shouting over each other. But no one can say the candidates didn't have a chance to engage one another.

The single-moderator format moves to Richmond tonight, when ABC's Carole Simpson will host the second debate among President Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot. Most of the questions will come from a studio audience preselected by the Gallup Organization. The

THE AIR WARS

final debate Monday in East Lansing, Mich., is to be divided between a single moderator and a panel of reporters.

One clear advantage of Tuesday's format is that it gave Quayle and Gore ample opportunity to press each other about distortions and exaggerations. It also demonstrated that the third candidate, James B. Stockdale, was not up to the give-and-take.

"I was not prepared for how aggressive they were going to be, especially Quayle," the moderator, ABC's Hal Bruno, said yesterday. "I realized I'd have to get them to back off a little bit because they weren't giving each other time to talk. I was very concerned about Admiral Stockdale getting his fair time, but then I realized he didn't care."

Other journalists and news media analysts said voters could judge for themselves whether the candidates were too strident in the rough-and-tumble format. "In terms of showing viewers all sides of a candidate—the way they think on their feet, the way they defend themselves—I've yet to see anything to equal it," said Timothy Russert, moderator of NBC's "Meet the Press."

There was no shortage of verbal



Quayle leaves an Atlanta hotel yesterday for a campaign stop in Auburn, Ala. ASSOCIATED PRESS

jousting. On abortion, for example, Quayle said: "Answer my questions. On the 24-hour waiting period, do you support that?"

"I have had the same position—" Gore said.

"Do you support that?" Quayle said.

"I have had the same position on abortion in favor of a woman's right to choose," Gore said. "Do you support a woman's right to choose?"

Los Angeles Times critic Howard Rosenberg gave the program a rave review, saying: "Bring these guys back and serve popcorn." But some critics viewed the session as an undignified spitball fight with the flavor of the "McLaughlin Group." Bruno frequently had to plead, "Let him talk, Mr. Vice President," or "Let's stick with the question."

"They come in loaded up with the one-liners that they're determined to get off," Bruno said.

The first presidential debate may have been more dignified—the format was more like that of a joint news conference—but reporters had almost no opportunity to pin down the candidates. There were numerous set-piece answers—Clinton

used the word "change" seven times, and Bush used variations of "tax and spend" seven times—and few spontaneous exchanges.

Boston Globe reporter John Mashek, a questioner in Sunday's debate, said the panel format "gives the candidates license to say just about anything they please, with no chance of interrupting or asking a follow-up." Bush, for example, had to wait until a question about tax policy to respond to Clinton's earlier charge that the president had unfairly questioned his patriotism.

Mashek said the panel decided in advance "not to ask 'gotcha' questions. Someone said I should have asked, 'Governor Clinton, you've cheated on your wife, you've cheated on the draft, why won't you cheat on your country as president?' That's not what we're out there for."

Jim Lehrer, the PBS co-anchor who moderated Sunday's debate, said the importance of the various formats is overrated. "These are not journalism exercises," he said. "This is a candidates' forum. If they choose to come on strong and fight, it turns out that way. They set the tone, and that's the way it ought to be."

The Washington Post

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THE WASHINGTON POST

CAMPAIGN '92

Politics of Abortion Shift in Missouri

Webster Plays Down Issue in Drive for Governor

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

ST. LOUIS—Republicans in Missouri once could count on two issues to break up the Democratic coalition: abortion and busing.

But not this year.

William L. Webster, known in the ideological politics of Missouri as the "young knight of the right," is taking steps in his bid for the governorship to distance himself from abortion, the issue that made him a national figure. Webster, Missouri's attorney general, represented the state before the Supreme Court in the 1989 case *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*, which expanded states' powers to regulate abortions.

Instead, the Democratic gubernatorial nominee, Mel Carnahan, a supporter of abortion rights, is raising the abortion issue.

At the same time, Carnahan is arguing, without serious damage to his campaign, that it is time for the state to acknowledge defeat and cut its losses in its continuing battle with the federal courts over Kansas City and St. Louis busing orders that have cost Missouri taxpayers \$1.4 billion.

But with Webster running for governor, the most striking development here lies in the changing politics of abortion.

"On November 4 [the day after the election], you are going to see a major flip in the national Republican Party on the issue of abortion," a key GOP source said here.

In Missouri, as well as in a number of other areas where antiabortion forces held the edge, the political balance of power has been shifting.

The shift is most apparent in big-city and suburban, heavily Catholic congressional districts. These districts are electing increasing numbers of abortion rights candidates; in some cases, efforts to pressure antiabortion incumbents to change their position have intensified.

Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), who has opposed abortion, has felt the heat in his state. "Early this year, the one thing that struck him as a problem was the abortion issue," an aide said. "People, who is to say women, in the lake wards, came up and said repeatedly,

'You're a good guy, et cetera, et cetera, and we just want you to know that we can't vote for you as long as you have taken an antiabortion position.'"

In the heavily ethnic and working-class districts of metropolitan Detroit, virtually all the Democratic House members have favorable ratings of at least 60 percent from the National Abortion Rights Action League.

And in a new Ohio district that weaves around the southern and eastern suburbs of Cleveland and into Lake County, the Democratic congressional nominee, Eric Fingerhut, won the nomination as the candidate most strongly supportive of abortion rights. He is currently favored to win the general election.

In Illinois, Richard Phelan, president of the Cook County Commission, was elected in this heavily Catholic county on an abortion rights platform. Since taking office, he has ordered a resumption of taxpayer-financed abortions at Cook County Hospital. Phelan, who has ambitions to be governor, clearly is banking that his controversial stand will be supported both in Cook County and statewide in the likely event he runs for governor.

Webster's namesake Supreme Court case was the first significant setback in the courts for abortion rights forces, and the consequence has been to encourage the political mobilization of an abortion rights movement that in the past had been able to take comfort in a sympathetic Supreme Court.

In much the same way that the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision establishing a constitutional right to abortion produced a sustained mobilization of antiabortion forces, Webster has produced a counter-mobilization.

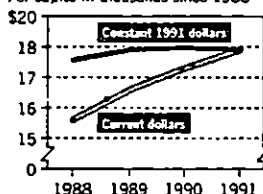
Webster, whose major political troubles are rooted in a scandal over a special workers' compensation fund under his jurisdiction, is far behind Carnahan in his bid for governor. Instead of turning to the abortion issue to revive his flagging candidacy as might have been expected in a different kind of year, Webster is playing down his abortion views.

"Bill has not been an activist on this particular issue," said Webster campaign aide Tony Feather. In an assessment that would seem to run

MISSOURI: AN ECONOMIC SNAPSHOT

PERSONAL INCOME

Per capita in thousands since 1988



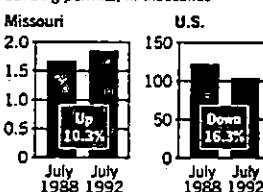
JOB CREATION

Job growth from July 1988 to July 1992 in nonagricultural industries

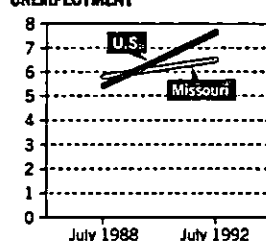
	Missouri	U.S.
Mining	-14.5%	-11.2%
Construction	-9.9%	-10.6%
Manufacturing	-5.5%	-5.7%
Transportation and public utilities	+0.3%	+3.6%
Retail and wholesale trade	-2.8%	-0.1%
Finance, insurance and real estate	-1.1%	+0.2%
Services	+9.4%	+12.3%
Government	+6.9%	+7.3%
OVERALL	+1.0%	+2.7%

HOME CONSTRUCTION

Residential units authorized in building permits, in thousands



UNEMPLOYMENT



SOURCES: Bureau of Economic Analysis; Census Bureau; Bureau of Labor Statistics

counter to Webster's aggressive pursuit of the abortion issue in the 1989 legal case.

"This is not the arena in which either side wants this to be fought," said Rich Galen, Webster's campaign spokesman. But in fact, Carnahan relishes the discussion of Webster's antiabortion role. "Finally, we are getting some vocal support for the pro-choice position," Carnahan said.

For antiabortion forces, the prospect of a poor showing by Webster has become worrisome.

"To be honest, it doesn't look good," said Ceil Callahan, director of the Missouri Right To Life PAC, referring to the likely victory here of Carnahan and of Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton, each of whom leads his GOP opponents in polls by more than 15 percentage points. "It could set us back quite a ways..."

In contrast to Webster's situation in Missouri is the high-profile use of abortion rights stands by candidates in Minnesota and Ohio, for example,

to counter their political problems resulting from scandals.

In Ohio, Sen. John Glenn (D), who is on the ropes because of his ties to Charles H. Keating Jr. and the savings and loan scandal, has made aggressive use of television commercials attempting to define his contest with Rep. Michael DeWine (R) as a battle between an abortion rights Democrat and an antiabortion Republican.

In Minnesota, analysts have concluded that an abortion rights stand turned out to be more important than 697 bounced checks in Democratic Rep. Gerry Sikorski's uphill struggle to win renomination.

In a state known as a birthplace of the antiabortion movement, "for the first time in a primary, abortion rights supporters demonstrated the same kind of organizing skills and zeal in the political arena that abortion opponents have displayed for about 20 years," Dennis J. McGrath wrote in a Minneapolis Star-Tribune article.

Clinton Given a Clean Bill of Health in Detailed Medical Report

By David Brown
Washington Post Staff Writer

Gov. Bill Clinton is healthy and afflicted with nothing more serious than allergies and occasionally strained vocal cords, according to information from doctors released by the campaign yesterday.

In unusually detailed accounts, four Little Rock physicians described their examinations and treatments of the candidate over the years and outlined the results of various diagnostic tests, including blood work done earlier this week.

The reports supplement terse statements attesting to the candidate's good health that were released by the Clinton campaign in June. In recent weeks, several news organizations have requested a fuller accounting.

"I believe the American people must be assured that candidates for the presidency are physically sound . . . as Election Day draws near, I believe it is necessary to provide more details," the candidate said last week.

Clinton has no evidence of heart disease, has normal blood pressure and has lowered his cholesterol from the "borderline" to the "desirable" range during the last year. Although he has had four treadmill stress tests in the last eight years, none was "clinically indicated" and each was normal, according to the reports and interviews with his doctors.

After an episode of rectal bleeding in 1984, the Arkansas governor underwent colonoscopy, an examination in which the large intestine is visually inspected with a fiber-optic instrument. No polyps or other abnormalities were found, and the bleeding was attributed to hemorrhoids.

His only troublesome health problem is "allergic rhinitis," commonly known as allergies. He is sensitive to house dust, mold spores, cat dander, weed and grass pollens, beef and milk. Every week or two he gets an allergy shot containing extracts of some of those substances to help desensitize his immune system, according to a report from an allergist. The practice is a common treatment for severe allergies.

Clinton's frequent hoarseness is the result of a stuffy nose, overuse of his voice during the campaign and mild "esophageal reflux," a condition in which acid from the stomach occasionally rises into the

In fact, the candidate, in Williamsburg, Va., preparing for tonight's debate, was resting his voice yesterday. Pointing to his throat, he declined to talk while on a morning jog.

"He is probably overworked right now, but his physical condition is fine," said Andrew G. Kumpuris, a 43-year-old cardiologist in private practice in Little Rock who has examined Clinton periodically since the early 1980s.

Although the reports released yesterday did not mention the subject, Betsey Wright, a Clinton aide, said the candidate has no history of psychiatric or emotional illness. He has never received counseling other than family counseling that was part of his brother's treatment for drug addiction, she said.

Wright also said that both Clinton and his wife, Hillary, were tested for the AIDS virus in February 1990 as a requirement for new life insurance policies. Both tested negative.

Clinton has never smoked, and drinks only occasionally. He used to be a heavy coffee drinker, but has switched to decaffeinated beverages, according to a report by Susan M. Santa Cruz, an internist who last examined the governor in September 1991.

At that time, Clinton was taking the drug Hismanal for his allergies. One of a new class of "non-sedating antihistamines," Hismanal was the subject of a warning by the Food and Drug Administration in July after heart rhythm abnormalities—including cardiac arrest—were reported in a few patients taking higher-than-recommended doses. Wright said yesterday the governor no longer takes Hismanal, though she was unsure when he stopped.

"Governor Clinton was a well-developed, well-nourished white male," Santa Cruz wrote in her description of the 1991 exam. The "well-nourished" reference is standard medical boilerplate, and unlikely to be a euphemistic reference to the candidate's large appetite and tendency to gain weight. Nevertheless, the physician did note that Clinton told her he had gained 20 pounds in the previous few years. She recorded his weight as 226 pounds.

Campaign officials yesterday said

the 6-foot 2½-inch candidate's weight was 215 pounds. Earlier this month they reported he'd lost 20 pounds gained during the primary season.

Clinton's cholesterol in the September 1991 exam was 227 milligrams per deciliter of blood, a reading that falls within the "borderline high" range of 200-239 milligrams per deciliter established by the government's National Cholesterol Education Program. Santa Cruz wrote that she recommended a "low fat, weight reduction diet and an in-

crease in exercise." Blood drawn in Philadelphia on Monday had a cholesterol count of 184—well within the government program's "desirable" range of under 200.

The Democratic nominee has had four treadmill tests since 1984, the last in August 1991 as he prepared to run for the presidency. None showed any evidence of coronary artery disease, according to Kumpuris.

"I never asked him or suggested he have them. He just wanted to have them," Kumpuris said. Clinton

has never had any indications for stress testing, he said.

In the test, a person walks on a treadmill that moves progressively faster and ultimately tilts upward for a period of up to 15 minutes. The patient gets an electrocardiogram during the test and is monitored for symptoms such as chest pain.

Treadmill testing is useful in diagnosing coronary artery disease in people who have had suspicious symptoms, such as chest pain while exerting themselves. Nevertheless,

treadmill tests are frequently given to apparently healthy people, especially middle-aged men, as a form of "screening."

Clinton's blood pressure at an exam in August 1991 was 135/70, and at another a month later was 118/70. Readings in previous years were 135/70, 120/70, 130/70, 110/75 and 125/70, Kumpuris said. All are in the normal range. Most physicians do not become concerned until blood pressure is higher than 140/85.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1992

The Character Issue

THE WONDROUS aspect of the vice presidential debate was to have Vice President Quayle raising the so-called character issue in supposed favor of George Bush and against Bill Clinton, character being defined for these temporary purposes as consistency of view (no waffling) and a willingness to speak the truth. The president in whose behalf this standard of steadiness was invoked has been the ultimate chameleon in all his years in national politics—perhaps the greatest dodger of them all—and not on trifling issues, either.

This is the man—George Bush—who in 1980 contemptuously branded Ronald Reagan's promise to balance the budget while cutting taxes and increasing defense spending "voodoo economics"—then switched when Mr. Reagan offered him the vice presidency to become a born-again supply-sider and slavish adherent to Mr. Reagan's views. He is the man who, having watched Mr. Reagan add \$2 trillion to the national debt in eight years, nonetheless decided for political advantage in 1988 to say, "Read my lips; no new taxes"; who then abandoned that pledge two years later in one of the few strong moments of his presidency; and who then reversed himself again as another campaign approached and called this reversal itself a mistake he would never "ever" repeat. To which his spokesman, Mr. Fitzwater, immediately added, that this should not be taken as a "pledge."

He is the president who, having added another \$1 trillion of his own to the debt, nonetheless chides his opponents for resisting a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution that he supports to mask his own failure not merely to propose such a budget, but even to point the likely way to one. He speaks instead of cutting taxes even further, but while he appropriates the label of fiscal responsibility, he refuses to spell out how he would offset the lost revenue except by spending cuts to remain unannounced, of course, until after the election.

He has repeatedly tried to appropriate labels in this fashion without the content or even much of the container. The president who threatened to veto last year's civil rights bill until even the senators of his own party threatened in turn to desert him now claims credit for its passage. He claims credit (with some cause) for the passage of a strong clean air bill that his vice president has since made a near-career of weakening at the regulatory level. The man once known as a Planned Parenthood Republican who used to think an antiabortion amendment to the Constitution would be a bad idea now thinks along with the right wing of his party that "America needs a human life amendment."

Nor has the expedient habit of duck and straddle been confined to domestic affairs alone.

George Bush both did and didn't know the details of the Iran-contra affair; it depends which day you ask him. His policy before the Persian Gulf war was to coddle and strengthen the same Saddam Hussein he called Hitler during the war. The aid to the former Soviet Union that he said the other night was "something that I got through the Congress" was in fact something that he had to be urged to propose by policy critics ranging from congressional Democrats to Richard Nixon. The vice president made much of the fact in the debate that the president has been tested in office. Indeed he has—and that's the problem.

Thanks to public and media expectations, these debates, a super idea in principle, often become a kind of cross between TV game shows and gladiatorial combat. The public is primed in advance for a disaster—a mortal "gaffe" or undermining slip of some kind. And the candidates in addition to avoiding these are also expected to show total mastery of all subjects. All this mandates rigorous preparation and a great degree of care. Whereupon, the viewers and media critics observing the candidates responding to the rules of the ordeal that have been set for them (no ignorance of the issues, no mistakes) complain that these game-show contestants have been "programmed." It's a lose-lose kind of situation.

Of course, the candidates also come into these events determined to follow a line, and they tend to stick to it no matter what the question asked. Dan Quayle, who shamelessly bent the truth out of recognizable shape himself more than once in the course of the proceedings, kept saying that the issue was that Bill Clinton (not he) just couldn't tell the truth. Al Gore, often set and stiff, just kept coming back to the failures of the Bush administration. Our own view is that the debate made perfectly awful viewing. But finally Sen. Gore argued more coherently than Vice President Quayle and displayed a solidity and temperament that suggested a man who would be competent to take over if necessary as president. Mr. Quayle continues not to be a reassuring figure in that regard; he seems to us no more substantial or grounded a figure than he did four years ago. Admiral Stockdale is a valiant man, a scholar and a true hero, who should not have been put in the awkward position in which he found himself the other night. He was candid and plain-spoken but in the wrong match.

Viewers were left in little doubt by Mr. Quayle's performance as to how the campaign is now likely to go, and press stories reinforce the impression. It is programmed for ugly because that's the only way, it seems, the White House thinks it can win—even though ugly has been a loser so far.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1992

George Kenney

Sarajevo 911

When the telephone lines to Sarajevo used to work, at least a couple of times a week, our U.S. Embassy in Belgrade would talk to a man who lived in the suburb of Dobrinja, near the Sarajevo airport. Mario witnessed many atrocities, which he reported to us. Serbian tanks, for example, rolled through Dobrinja firing systematically at apartment houses at point-blank range, to reduce them floor by floor to rubble, with the residents trapped inside.

But last month the U.S. government left out Mario's story when it sent a report to the United Nations "providing substantiated information on violations of humanitarian law, including grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions being carried out in the territory of the former Yugoslavia." In all of its reports, the United States provided accounts of only 31 violations. In a section called "deliberate attacks on noncombatants" the United States reported only one incident. The omission of Mario's story is unacceptable. We know much, much more.

From the time the fighting really got started in mid-April, the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade has sent to Washington at least one cable per day on the Bosnian situation. In summarizing developments, each cable reported atrocities—perhaps a minimum of two or three up to a maximum of several dozen. I am familiar with those daily cables because the embassy gave me, the Yugoslav desk officer, an early version of them by phone every morning.

The vast majority of those cables were not accorded a "national security classification"—confidential, secret, or top secret—but instead were classified "limited official use," a designation meant to reduce the distribution of their contents but not necessarily prevent it. In short, the U.S. sources and methods of procuring that information are not in any way so sensitive that the U.S. government could not share the information.

When the telephones worked, there were many Marios throughout Bosnia—in Mostar, in Tuzla, in Banja Luka. I estimate that during the past six months, embassy cables have passed along from those sources reports of between 500 and 1,000 atrocities—all in State Department files. Yet the U.S. government submitted only 31 reports of human rights violations to the United Nations.

Mario was a professor of American literature at the University of Sarajevo. He had translated more than 50 books, from Walt Whitman to Kurt Vonnegut. He had worked on cultural exchange programs with our embassy for years. He knew Sarajevo well. He was an excellent contact. Although I did not know him personally, he was a friend. And he was a good man. As he put it, he had not been brought up to hate, and he didn't hate anybody.

Mario's reports were credible, as were those from many other prominent local citizens who were known well and favorably to the embassy: local government officials and political leaders, local and international relief workers and charities, international human rights groups, such as Helsinki Watch, experienced Western journalists and many others.

From a vantage point outside the State Department, it is hard for most people to understand, if the U.S. government has all this information, if national security is not jeopardized by releasing it, if the United Nations called for information to be compiled and the United States provided a report, how the U.S. report could be so inadequate.

Isn't a U.N. effort to catalogue evidence for possible war crimes trials important? Couldn't senior managers at the State Department put several officials to work looking through the files to pull together a solid report? Couldn't officers who were familiar with the files have contributed to the effort? None of that happened. The highest levels at State made the decision not to publicize more information for fear that it would prompt further public pressure on the administration to intervene.

Intervention—that is what the White House strongly instructed the State Department to avoid. But despite political pressure, the State Department has a great professional responsibility regarding a foreign policy crisis of this magnitude. Pulling a coverup is stupid, especially if the United Nations wants information for possible use in war crimes trials. The U.S. report to the United Nations demonstrates that the Department of State, institutionally, lacks the ability to resist political pressure to do the wrong thing.

Nobody knows whether Mario is still alive in Dobrinja, but I wonder whether he has any idea what happened to the information he passed to American diplomats. For the sake of him and many like him, it is time for some real structural reforms at the State Department.

The writer, a consultant to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, recently resigned as acting chief of Yugoslav affairs for the State Department.

Jim Hoagland

On the Trail of the Iraq Coverup

The Iraq Coverup is unraveling with stunning speed as the Bush administration dissolves into warring clans more worried about staying out of jail than promoting the reelection of President Bush.

The surprise call yesterday by Sen. David L. Boren for an independent counsel to investigate potential government wrongdoing in the Iraq scandal is a clear sign of how rapidly—and in what direction—things are moving. As recently as Tuesday afternoon, the influential Oklahoma Democrat was still undecided as to whether seeking a special prosecutor was a good idea.

For one thing, he wanted to give FBI Director William S. Sessions a chance to make good on his pledge that the bureau would conduct an independent and thorough investigation of the possibility that the Justice Department was managing a cover-up on Iraq. For another, Boren's innate caution inclined him to wait until after Nov. 3 to make any announcement, so he could not be accused of partisan meddling in a presidential election.

But the disclosure late Tuesday that Justice has begun a criminal investigation of Sessions on tax matters shattered Boren's determination to wait. "That just seems too coincidental," Boren told me in a telephone interview from Tulsa last night in explaining his change of heart.

He is right. It is hard to see how an FBI director being investigated by the Criminal Division at

Justice can be expected to investigate that same division.

The infighting on the Iraq Coverup marks the *fin de regime* for the Bush presidency. This administration is not simply living out its final unhappy days in power. This is a total collapse, in which officials flee to escape being buried in the wreckage.

The Iraq scandal crosses so many geographic and bureaucratic frontiers that there will not be a single unraveler like Judge John J. Sirica of Watergate fame. But Atlanta federal Judge Marvin H. Shoob and Boren have combined to stop the Justice Department from pinning the rap for a broad international conspiracy on the Atlanta branch manager of the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro.

Boren, the chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, has been brought into the case by his oversight role over the CIA, which Boren portrays as having been set up as a patsy by the Justice Department.

Boren's natural instinct is to protect the reputation of an agency he has helped reform with internal checks on abuses of power. But he seems angry enough about agency bungling, and skeptical enough about CIA chief Robert M. Gates's performance, to let the chips fall where they may. But Justice is in his sights now.

Gates remains strangely detached from the Iraq scandal. He was, in a famous phrase, out of the loop

as Justice and CIA officials discussed deceiving the public and the Atlanta prosecutors about the existence of CIA cables on BNL. He did not know about the discussion or the misleading letters it produced, which Justice and CIA blame on each other.

So Gates said in response to a letter from Boren this month demanding to know what the devil was going on. As the scandal mushroomed last week, Gates left Washington on a trip to Eastern Europe, where Boren tracked him down by phone to demand that the CIA director begin paying attention to an affair that can damage the agency's credibility.

Boren's staff will be taking sworn depositions over the next three weeks as he pursues his request for an independent counsel. Here are questions that Boren's staff and an independent counsel should concentrate on:

(1) As early as September 1989, the CIA station chief in Rome cabled to Washington detailed allegations about the BNL's Rome headquarters knowledge of Atlanta's fraudulent loans to Iraq. Did the FBI office in the Rome embassy not know the same information and transmit it to Justice and Treasury?

(2) Why was that September cable withheld from Boren until a few days ago? "It is disturbing that the earliest cables, and the ones that contain the best description of what was happening, are the ones we get last," says one congressional source.

(3) Were bank regulators told from 1987 until 1989 to turn a blind eye to BNL's obviously irregular borrowing and lending habits because BNL's operations were a "national security" operation, perhaps involving the CIA?

(4) Why have the CIA and U.S. law agencies been so relaxed about finding Safa Habobi, a key Iraqi go-between indicted in the BNL case? A fugitive from American law, Habobi has been traveling between Baghdad and Tunis to reestablish an Iraqi arms purchasing network. If U.S. authorities are interested in finding Habobi, let me give them a tip: He is in Amman Surgical Hospital, Room 203, recuperating from a Sept. 26 auto accident.

(5) Finally, a future Sirica has to turn this case on its head. Discount the theory that Justice, State and CIA are merely trying to spare embarrassment to the Italian government, which owns BNL. It is more likely that American officials induced, or conspired with, Italy to use the Atlanta branch to funnel loans to Iraq, at a time when the policy of the Reagan and Bush administrations was to help Iraq arm itself to fight Iran.

The United States did not arm Iraq. Washington got others to do that, in different and covert ways that turned into disaster. That is where the heart of this scandal lies.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1992

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The President's Unchanged Position on Iran-Contra

The Post missed the mark in reporting the president's comments on the Iran-contra affair to Katie Couric on NBC's "Today" show.

The president did not "insist that he was not present at a key January 1986 meeting on the Iran initiative attended by Secretaries George Shultz and Caspar Weinberger." The president did not even mention the January 1986 meeting. The two meetings the president had in mind were a meeting George Shultz had with President Reagan on Aug. 6, 1985, at which he expressed strong opposition to the initiative, and a meeting on Dec. 7, 1985, in which both Secretaries Shultz and Weinberger expressed their vehement opposition. The president has always ac-

knowledgeed that records show he attended the Jan. 7, 1986, meeting.

Moreover, the president's comments did not alter his stated recollection that he did not fully recognize that the Iran initiative had deteriorated into straight trading of "arms for hostages" until December 1986, when he learned details emerging from the Senate Intelligence Committee's initial investigation of the Iran-contra affair. The president told Katie Couric, "I said all along that I knew about the arms going, and I supported the president. I gave speeches." This is correct, and completely consistent with the president's acknowledgment that he knew about and supported the Iran initiative. Later in the interview,

after the president reemphasized that he had no knowledge of the diversion of funds from the arms transfers to support the contras, Katie Couric asked if he "knew about the arms for hostages." The president thought her question referred to his knowledge of the Iran initiative, and reiterated his previous answer: "yes, and I've said so all long; given speeches on it."

The fact that the president himself referred to his previous public statements on both of these matters would certainly warrant seeking clarification before asserting—quite erroneously—that he had changed his position.

C. BOYDEN GRAY
Washington

The writer is counsel to the president.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1992

Charles Krauthammer

Schoolyard Debate ...

At the vice-presidential debate, it was James Stockdale who inadvertently delivered the epitaph of the Bush campaign: "I'm out of ammunition on this." Stockdale was talking about his own lack of ideas about health care. But he at least had the rather clumsy dignity to admit it. The Bush campaign, also out of ideas, carries on regardless. On Tuesday night, Dan Quayle used and reused every bit of Republican ammo against Bill Clinton's character. When he ran out, he simply carried on with spent bullets.

Now, there is nothing wrong with making character an election issue. Indeed, as Stockdale correctly observed, a presidential candidate's character is more important than the sum total of his issues. The media constantly harp on the fact that Bush raises the character issue as a way to distract from the economy. True. But no more true than the fact that Clinton keeps raising the economy—does anyone really believe either candidate's economic "plan"?—to distract from questions of character.

The Republicans' problem is not that Clinton's character is an illegitimate issue but that they have nothing new to say about it. The Moscow innuendo was simply preposterous. As for demonstrating against one's own government abroad, that is a legitimate question, but complicated and, in any case, marginal. The only real character issue raised by "Oxford"—raised also by Gennifer Flowers and the draft—is Clinton's propensity for shading and shaving the truth.

Unfortunately for the Republicans, on all of these issues both the facts and the evasions are known. Quayle tried to cure this problem with simple, numbing repetition. That helped give the debate its schoolyard quality. Among 7-year-olds, repetition passes for argument. It did Tuesday night. Things got particularly absurd when Quayle charged Gore with having proposed a huge foreign aid plan for the environment. Gore denied it. Quayle asserted it. Gore denied it. One kept waiting for a grown-up to come and break it up.

There is a modern journalistic convention that when a charge, particularly a personal charge, surfaces against a presidential candidate, it gets one chance to destroy him. If the candidate escapes with his life, as Clinton did on the infidelity and draft issues back in the spring, it is considered bad form to keep repeating the charge in the absence of new information.

It is a reasonable rule. It assumes that once the people are given the facts, they can make up their own minds. If they decide—during a heated primary season, for example—that the charge is not fatal, the candidate is considered inoculated.

Undaunted by this convention, Quayle pressed on with a relentless

But with just three weeks to go, he would allow no distractions from his ticket's steady drumbeat on the economy.

The big loser in this debate, apart from spectator-participant Stockdale, was the one-moderator, no-holds-barred format. Politicians are already held in (only partly warrant-



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

repetition of old charges. The performance was shrill and annoying. Yet one must admit it was nervy. His party facing annihilation, his colleagues deserting, his ammunition gone, Quayle seemed determined to go down fighting. It was a display of frantic combativeness that verged on courage. Such a performance does not add dignity or gravitas to his public persona, but it does add guts.

Gore by contrast was steady, stolid and smooth. He stuck to his script—"the worst economic performance since the Great Depression"—and would not be deterred. He allowed himself none of the originality that 10 years ago led him to a highly intelligent approach to arms control—the single-warhead missile—at a time when his party was swooning for the nuclear freeze. He allowed himself none of the independence that led him two years ago to vote to authorize the gulf war at a time when his party had lost its nerve.

His job now, however, is to display not nerve or initiative but discipline. Gore played his role well. He engaged Quayle in some excited tit-for-tat as dictated by the format.

ed) low esteem. Putting them in a forum that invites aggression—if you are not allocated floor time, you are required to fight for it, and that always looks petty—is an invitation to shallowness and theatrics.

Television already invites both. That is why Ross Perot, glib and deeply out of his league, was hailed as the consensus winner of the first presidential debate. Clinton, meanwhile, received some criticism for actually hesitating a few seconds before answering his questions. He was apparently thinking. This was taken as a sign of disingenuousness, the sign of a calculating politician. Call me old-fashioned, but I was impressed by the pauses. Reflection may be calculation, but we should be grateful when television permits any sign of intellectual activity.

In 1968 candidate Richard Nixon made a cameo appearance on "Laugh-In." He popped his head out from behind a wall and said, "Sock it to me." Television was then just beginning to sense its capacity for trivializing politics. With the staging of free-form fights among candidates for the highest office, the medium is fast approaching its full potential.

Richard Cohen

... Pulling a Quayle

John Nance Garner, Franklin Roosevelt's first vice president, famously said of his office that it was not worth "a bucket of warm spit." That's no longer the case. The vice president is not just a president in waiting, he has become an important spokesman for his party, a contender for the presidential nomination himself and—in the case of Dan Quayle—a way of taking the moral temperature of the Bush administration. It's as cold as the lies it tells.

I am referring to Quayle's charge that Gore has proposed a program that would "have the taxpayers of America spend \$100 billion a year on environmental projects in foreign countries." When Gore shot back that Quayle was misquoting him, the vice president got very specific: "Well, Senator, it's in your book. On Page 304." Lamenting that he did not bring the book to the debate with him, he said, "I figured he was going to pull a Bill Clinton on me and he has. Because he's going to disavow what's in his book. It's in your book," he said to Gore.

Now, let us pause right here and put matters into perspective. Imagine that Gore had mentioned something about a Quayle book. *A Quayle book!* We have a hard enough time just assimilating the suggestion that Quayle has read Gore's "Earth in the Balance." But if he indeed did read the book—and I would like another source before going with that story—he got it wrong. In fact, Quayle simply misrepresented what Gore wrote.

Page 304 does indeed mention "\$100 billion a year." But Gore used it as a historical reference. In today's dollars, it's what the United States spent annually on the Marshall Plan. And while Gore advances the Marshall Plan as a model for "transferring environmentally helpful technologies to the Third World," he nowhere says the United States should spend that much or that it could ever do so again.

In fact, a fair reading of that page suggests Gore is being wistful. A combination of military defeats (Vietnam) and budget debacles (the soaring national debt) means that we can hardly repeat our Marshall Plan role or experience. "The financial resources must now come from Japan and Europe and from wealthy oil-producing states," Gore writes.

It's one thing to differ with Gore on the need for an environmental

Marshall Plan. It is even possible, as Ross Perot's vice-presidential candidate James Stockdale did, to consider Gore something of an environmental extremist—hardly an expert opinion there, of course. But to say with some specificity—the page, the amount—what is clearly not true has nothing at all to do with political disagreement and everything to do with a willingness to do whatever it takes to win the presidential election.

It would be one thing if Quayle's phony assertion were an aberration, but it is not. Here, once again, was the Bush administration saying what was politically expedient no matter what its veracity. Bush and Quayle have done this by intimating that Clinton did something untoward while visiting Russia in 1969 or that the better part of patriotism and character was to remain silent about Vietnam while abroad. It is consistent with the phony "read my lips" pledge that was inserted into Bush's speech for its applause quotient and not because it was going to be fiscal policy. As we were all to learn, it was not.

As I have noted over and over, Clinton can be an equivocator. He famously smoked dope, but admitted doing so only when checkmated by a question that left him no out but a lie—and that he would not do. He loathed the Vietnam War on moral as well as practical grounds yet resigned himself to being drafted. He can be maddeningly evasive, if not downright cute at times, about matters that he thinks will make him an enemy or two. The man yearns to be loved. Yet these tendencies are not outside the borders of American politics. That does not mean that Clinton should be excused for his evasions, just that they do not amount to lies.

Quayle's misrepresentation of Gore's position, however, is something else again. It was not done on the defense, but on the offense—a tactic designed to make us prefer Bush-Quayle not for their own qualities but just as the lesser of two evils. But the tactic—the pattern—shows such contempt for the American people that it puts Clinton's imperfections into perspective. Pulling a Clinton, it turns out, is nothing compared with pulling a Quayle. For the vice president and his boss, the thing that most needs to be pulled is the plug.

Senate Impeachment Role Debated at Supreme Court

Justices May Bow Out of 'Political Question'

By Joan Biskupic
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Supreme Court heard arguments yesterday in a case that could decide whether the Senate, and the Senate alone, has the final say when the president or another public official is impeached.

The question is whether federal courts have any jurisdiction if the person stripped of office contends that the impeachment process was flawed.

A practical concern about presidential succession was at the bottom of some of the justices' queries: What if a president were removed from office but then challenged the Senate conviction in the federal courts?

"That could go on easily for . . . three years," said Justice Anthony M. Kennedy. A presidency in legal limbo "would put this nation at grave risk," he added.

Overall, the spate of hypothetical questions posed by the justices in *Nixon v. United States* suggested that the court might end up finding that the impeachment process is too much of a thicket to enter and that the claim made here by former U.S. District judge Walter L. Nixon Jr. is a "political question" not to be decided by the courts.

The former Mississippi jurist was convicted on articles of impeachment in 1989. He contends that the Senate violated its constitutional mandate to "try all impeachments" when it set up a committee to take testimony.

The U.S. Appeals Court for the District of Columbia ruled last year that impeachments are the domain of Congress, and that the Senate alone should decide its trial procedures. In a separate dispute, involving former federal judge Alcee L. Hastings of Miami, U.S. District Judge Stanley Sporkin ruled in September that the full Senate must try an impeached official.

The Hastings case is not before the Supreme Court. Hastings, who was convicted in the Senate two weeks before Nixon, is the Democratic nominee for the House in Florida's 23rd Congressional District.

Since 1986, Nixon, Hastings and a third judge, Harry E. Claiborne of Nevada, have been impeached and convicted. Two other judges have been found guilty in criminal trials since 1990 and, pending their appeals, soon could be recommended by the U.S. Judicial Conference for impeachment.

The removal of Nixon from the bench began with his 1986 conviction by a federal jury of two counts of perjury. That case stemmed from Nixon's acceptance of a sweetheart deal on oil and gas leases from Hattiesburg, Miss., businessman Wiley Fairchild and Fairchild's request to Nixon to help his son, Drew, who had been indicted on drug-smuggling charges.

The House voted unanimously to impeach Nixon in May 1989. A special bipartisan committee of the Senate took evidence in his im-

peachment trial in September 1989, and on Nov. 3, 1989, the Senate stripped him of his judgeship after finding him guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanors."

At the court yesterday, David O. Stewart, Nixon's lawyer, told the justices, "There was no trial before the Senate."

He said the Constitution requires that the full Senate hold a trial where the impeached official can present his own witnesses and confront those witnesses brought on behalf of the House.

Solicitor General Kenneth W. Starr, defending the Senate committee procedure, said the Constitution gives the Senate sole power

Former judge Nixon contends the Senate violated its constitutional mandate when it set up a committee to take testimony.

to decide how to run its impeachment trials. He said the only requirements are those explicitly stated in the Constitution: that the chamber must be under a special oath, that a two-thirds vote is necessary to convict, and that when the president is tried, the chief justice of the United States preside over the Senate.

But Starr's overriding argument was that impeachments are the province of Congress, not to be breached by the courts. He said questions of Senate procedure should not be heard by the courts unless the specific language of the Constitution is violated, for example, if the Senate tries to convict with less than a two-thirds vote.

He said the framers of the Constitution considered the impeachment process an important check on the president and judiciary.

To justices' questions about the particulars of how the Senate must "try" an impeached official, Starr said the Senate has broad discretion. He asserted that the committee hearings were part of the Senate "trial" of Nixon. Starr also noted that Nixon appeared before the full Senate and took questions from individual members before the Senate voted on the articles of impeachment.

Starr said even if the Senate had prohibited Nixon from putting on any evidence before the special committee, the Senate would not have violated the Constitution.

But Stewart said the Constitution requires a trial with the traditional opportunity for each side to call witnesses and engage in cross-examination. He said a simple majority of the Senate, a quorum, must be present at all times to hear the case.

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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1992

Richmond's Pre-Debate Delirium

By John F. Harris
Washington Post Staff Writer

RICHMOND, Oct. 14—It was one more gut-churning crisis in an acid-indigestion week for the organizers of Thursday night's presidential debate here when they suddenly discovered that 30 very important people had nowhere to sleep.

Debate planners thought they had reserved 30 suites overlooking the city's historic Capitol Square for debate moderator Carole Simpson, of ABC News, and other dignitaries.

But the folks at the luxurious Commonwealth Park hotel, where the suites were thought to have been booked, said they had neither reservations nor rooms.

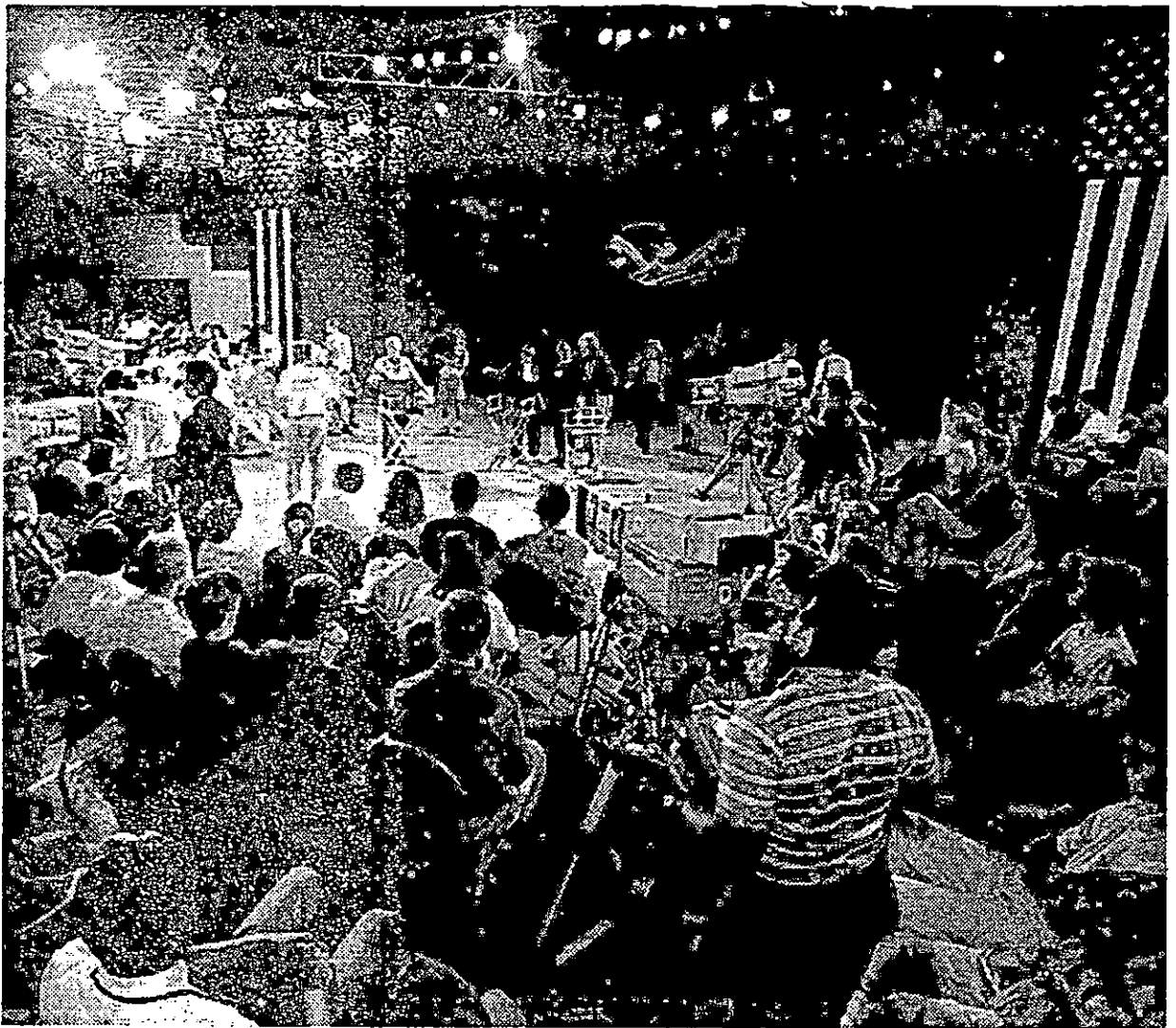
After a frantic search, debate coordinators at the University of Richmond found extra rooms at the rather more downscale Holiday Inn-Central. Simpson and other big shots with the Commission on Presidential Debates won't see Capitol Square, but they will have a splendid view of Interstate 95.

With the nation's eyes turning here for a 90-minute debate at the University of Richmond, this normally unflappable city has found itself flapped every which way.

Not that people aren't enjoying every moment. The University of Richmond succeeded in bringing the debate to its campus—an idyllic spot, with wide lawns, lots of pine trees, and graceful red brick buildings—after the university and city business leaders promised the debate commission they would

See DEBATE, B5, Col. 3





ASSOCIATED PRESS

Students provide much of the audience for a rehearsal for tonight's debate between the candidates for president.

Richmond Awaits Debate's Spotlight

DEBATE, From B1

pony up a half-million dollars to cover expenses.

All this for what they viewed as the privilege of being descended upon by three presidential candidates, hundreds of their staff members and 2,000 journalists.

"It's the kind of attention you can't get any other way," said university spokesman Randy Fitzgerald.

Although that's no doubt true, Richmond's frenzy of civic boosterism this week is odd coming from a city that isn't supposed to care what anybody outside thinks about it.

Richmond might be called conservative and tradition-minded, in the view of its loyalists, or insular and stuck in the past, in the minds of detractors. Either way, the former capital of the Confederacy was a city enviably secure with its reputation, not the sort of place to fuss over strangers coming to town.

But times have changed, or perhaps the image of indifference to outsiders was a facade all along. In any case, everyone agrees the city has descended into debate mania.

"People are treating it like it's the biggest event to come to the city since the Civil War," said local writer Edwin Slipek Jr., a Richmond native. "Richmonders pride themselves on having such great history, but they haven't produced much of it lately. . . . This gives people a sense that something is happening here and Richmond really does matter."

Not many of these Richmonders will actually get to

witness history. Although the debate will take place at the 9,000-seat Robbins Center, only a small number of people will attend. About 250 of them will be local uncommitted voters who have been selected by telephone poll.

In the first presidential debate of its kind, Simpson will roam the audience in the manner of Phil Donahue, letting the uncommitted voters ask questions of President Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot.

The rest of the audience, which won't get to ask questions, has been sharply restricted. The university was granted only 200 seats, half of which will go to the major donors who sponsored the debate. The other half will go to faculty, staff and students.

The Richmond general public was allocated a grand total of two tickets, awarded by raffle.

Although most University of Richmond students will watch the debate on television like everyone else, the event has nonetheless sparked a fire of political interest on a campus not known for activism.

Although possessed of a solid academic reputation, the school often has attracted attention for other things—including its basketball team and reputation for robust social life (a recent guidebook said the college has the nation's second-most-attractive students).

Matt Hahn, news editor at the school's Collegian newspaper, said he has been struck by his classmates' new-found interest in presidential politics and public affairs.

"The other night," he said, "I passed two drunk guys on a field talking politics. I never thought I'd see that."

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1992

The Empire Strikes Back

■ Ratcheting up a testy two-day exchange of letters, Time magazine yesterday took the highly unusual step of filing suit here against the Bush-Quayle campaign for infringement of copyright and trademark laws, charging that the campaign has made unauthorized use of a Bill Clinton cover in a TV ad.

Time first demanded the ad be pulled in a letter to Bush campaign chairman Bob Teeter Monday, a day after it began airing. The campaign flatly declined.

The cover features an unflattering picture of Clinton under the words "Why Voters Don't Trust Clinton." David Branson, Time Warner's attorney, said the suit, which asks that the ad be stopped immediately, was filed because "it's important to say to the world that we don't endorse President Bush."



Ad-verse reaction: The cover in question.

Indeed, Bush campaign counsel Bobby Burchfield charges: "I would note that Time Warner has been very generous of its support of the Democratic Party, contributing a reported \$400,000 to the New York 'host committee' for their convention in July. And Strobe Talbott [Time's editor-at-large] was Clinton's roommate at Oxford." Time dismisses the favoritism charge.

Burchfield assures that the campaign will "fight the suit vigorously," claiming that the ads are "within the fair use provision of the copyright laws."

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ The warring Clinton and Bush camps were just one joyous family at the nasty veep debate in Atlanta. First, the Clinton folks invited Torie Clarke and Fred Malek over for food in their staff room at Georgia Tech. And then, when the Dems' satellite TV feed didn't work, Clarke and Malek returned the favor by inviting DNC Chairman Ron Brown, Sens. Tim Wirth and Harris Wofford, and Bruce Babbitt to watch the debate in their staff room.

■ Sen. Pat Moynihan was greatly amused while dining at Sfuzzi the other night when a waiter exclaimed, "You're . . . you're . . . Dan Quayle!"

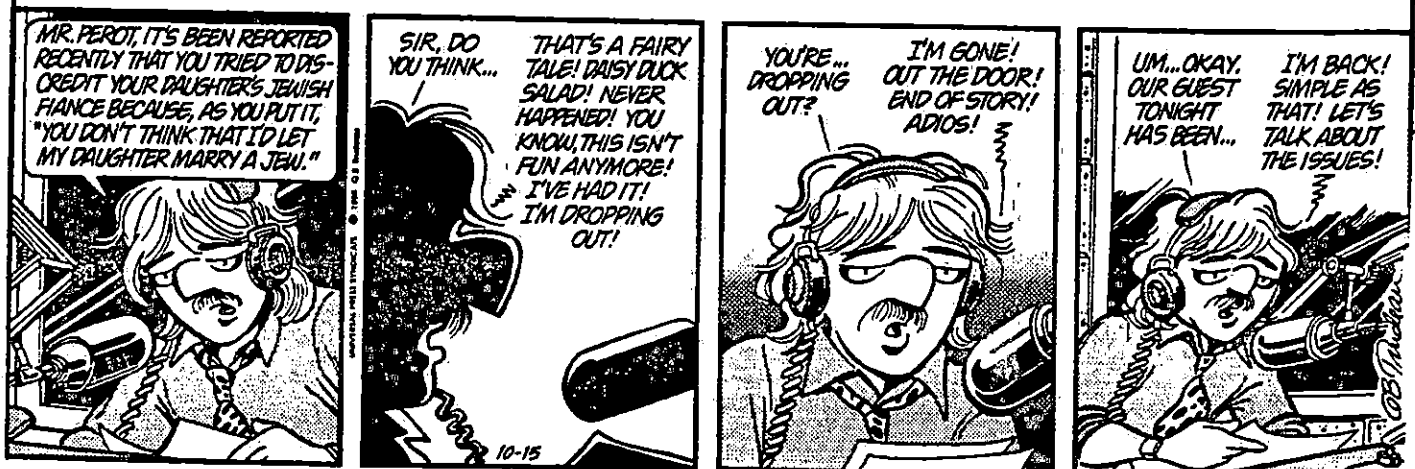
■ Beverly Hills coiffeur Cristophe flies to Richmond today to style Hillary Clinton's much-talked-about hair for Bill's debate tonight.

■ Marla and The Donald are calling it quits . . . again. "He just doesn't want to get married. He told her she has to get on with her life," said a source close to Trump. "I imagine he'll be seeing a lot of people now."

■ Jack Nicholson and Rebecca Broussard, reportedly estranged, have been spotted together. A month after she was said to have left the father of her children for a younger man, Variety reports they watched the presidential debate together.

By G.B. Trudeau

DOONESBURY



ART BUCHWALD

Of Candidates and King

Whether we like it or not, 1992 will go down as the Larry King Presidential Year. Never have so many supplicating candidates come to his studio on their knees in the hopes of getting on TV.

It's tough because all of the presidential candidates have been on so much that they feel they own the show, and Larry doesn't know how to tell them that they're overexposed.

"Larry, President Bush is downstairs. He says that he forgot to tell you what a rotten, incompetent, cowardly American traitor Bill Clinton really is."

"I have Sidney Sheldon talking about his new book tonight. I don't have time for Bush. I've had him on every night for the past month."

"Larry, Perot is on line one."

"How did he get my number?"

"You put it on the screen when you interviewed Boris Yeltsin last night. Perot would like to talk about how the vicious media attacks don't bother him."

"He just wants to beef up his volunteers in New Mexico. I got the man on the ballot in all 50 states. What more does he want from me?"

"He says that you owe your career to him because if he hadn't announced that he was running for president on your show, you would still be interviewing people like Madonna and Dustin Hoffman."

"Okay, but bring him in the back door so Bush doesn't see him."

"We can't do that. Dan Quayle is at the back door. He says you promised to give him equal time to answer Murphy Brown's attacks on him because he went to public school."

"I had Quayle on and he bombed out because we wouldn't let his handlers into the studio to take his phone calls from viewers."

"Guess who is waiting in a taxi in front of the building?"

"Harry Truman?"

"Bill and Hillary Clinton. They want to do their last TV show with you. Just the three of you in the governor's mansion with a log fire burning and Bill reading from 'The Oxford Book of Verse.'"

"The Bushes want me to do the last show from the White House. I must say being a kingmaker is not all it's cracked up to be. Where's Al Gore?"

"He's in makeup with Jim Baker."

"I can't put them on tonight. Chancellor Helmut Kohl is plugging his new novel, and Woody Allen wants to give his version of what happened."

"Larry, you can't turn down the three major presidential candidates. After all, you made them."

"They were good at the beginning, but they haven't said one new thing since their first show. Even the telephones don't light up anymore. I feel like the Maytag repairman."

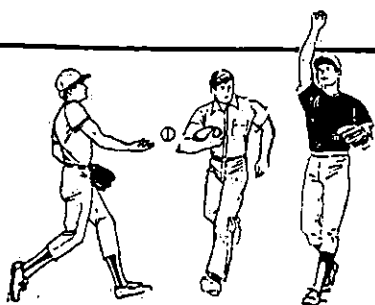
"I know this sounds crazy, but why don't you send your camera crew out and interview the candidates as if each one is a 'man in the street'? They'd get a sound bite, and they wouldn't take up the whole show."

"That's not a bad idea, but I can't do it tomorrow night. Prince Charles has been booked to tell his side of the story."

"Great booking, Larry. At least he won't spend all the time talking about how much the American people mean to him."

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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1992



Hardball Politics

Pundits at Bat With Sports Talk

By David Mills
Washington Post Staff Writer

Did Vice President Quayle score an ace when he declared that Bill Clinton "has trouble telling the truth," or did he step over the line and fault? Should Sen. Albert Gore Jr. have gotten two minutes in the penalty box for high sticking with his sarcastic promise not to compare Quayle to Jack Kennedy? Did James B. Stockdale fumble the pigskin just as Ross Perot was mounting a serious fourth-quarter drive?

Ah, there's nothing like a sports metaphor to liven up the political discourse. Or so you would think, judging by the televised tourney of instant analysis and spin after Tuesday night's

See METAPHORS, C4, Col. 1

Metaphors

METAPHORS, From C1

vice presidential debate. Herewith, the tale of the (video)tape:

"I had this feeling that I was back as a 10-year-old watching the Saturday night fight. . . . These guys were in suits, but they may as well have been in trunks . . . in the ring slugging it out." (*Political analyst Linda Chavez on a special edition of PBS's "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour"*)

"Clearly, we think Al Gore hit a knockout punch. If this had been a prize fight, the referee would have stopped it in the third or fourth round. . . . [Quayle] obviously was trying to throw punches. None of them landed." (*Gore chief of staff Roy Neel on CNN's "Larry King Live"*)

"The vice president had to come in here and make a hole-in-one, to use a sport that he's fond of. But about all he could do was to shank the tee shot into a sand trap, and couldn't get it out." (*Neel, op. cit.*)

"I think, after being 0 for 2 in a four-game series, [the Republicans] have to wonder what is left for them to salvage. . . . Al Gore hit several pitches out of the park, and Dan Quayle was lucky to foul off a few. He looked good swinging, but he still didn't get any hits." (*Rep. Dennis E. Eckart [D-Ohio] on C-SPAN*)

"[W]hat we saw tonight was embarrassing and painful, but [Stockdale] had a couple of zingers in there that just may have struck home runs with the American people." (*Chavez, op. cit.*)

"I was reminded of a volleyball game—you know, one side batting the ball, the other side batting the ball. But what was really happening, it seems to me, is that each side . . . [was] trying to set the ball up for some kind of spike by their principal in the Thursday debate." (*Political analyst Eddie Williams on PBS*)

"If Sunday's debate was a tea party, this was a rugby match." (*Larry King on "Larry King Live"*)

Maybe candidate Stockdale put it best during the debate itself: "I feel like I'm an observer at a ping-pong game."

By Lois Romano

Love & Marriage On the Campaign Trail

Talk about family values. Crammed into Clinton-Gore headquarters in Little Rock, and crisscrossing the country, are at least nine couples—married or otherwise seriously attached to each other and the campaign.

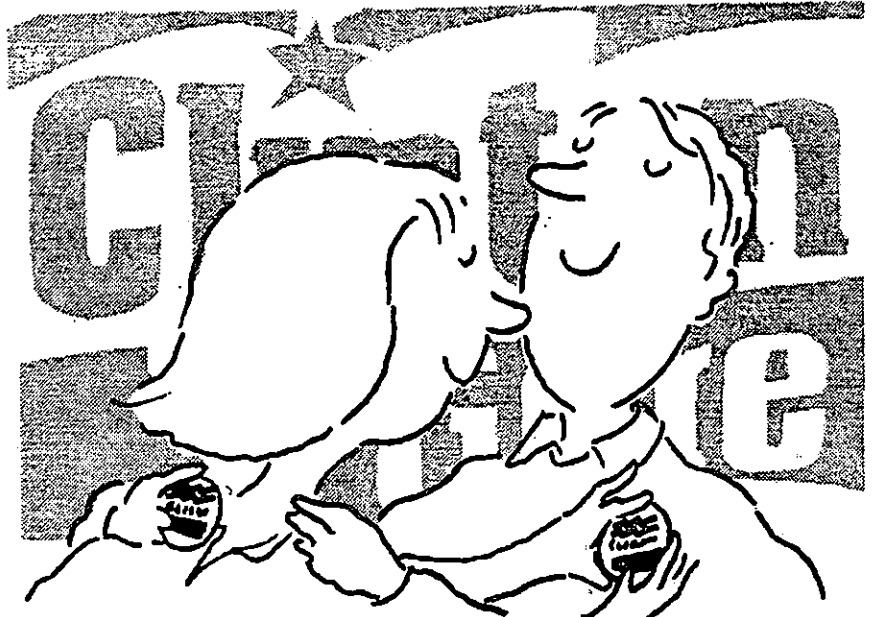
Few actually work elbow-to-elbow. That would be a bit much. But, still, in the heat of battle, they all seem exhilarated to be in the same trench.

"I beep her every day, and she calls me," sighs Mitchell Schwartz romantically of his fiancée Wendy Smith. Schwartz, 31, who runs Minnesota for Clinton, is engaged to Smith, 29, who runs the campaign plane. He proposed on Labor Day. She accepted. And then he didn't see her for five weeks.

"A lot of people here are on the phone at 9 o'clock at night whispering to their significant others and looking sad," confirms communications aide Michael Waldman, whose lucky enough to have his wife, researcher Elizabeth Fine, working nearby in headquarters.

"I feel like we're back in law school," says Fine.

Never mind the inevitable dalliances that sprout in any campaign. Here, we're talking about those who were together before there was a Clinton-Gore, like campaign chairman Mickey Kantor and celebrity-handler wife Heidi Schulman;



BY NURIT KARLIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

campaign manager David Wilhelm and wife Dee Gee, who's Clinton's personal traveling aide; Bruce Lindsey, an adviser on the plane, and Bev, who's been coordinating the debates; lawyer John Hart, a member of the transition staff, and longtime significant other Nancy McFadden, the surrogate coordinator; media adviser Frank Greer and wife, political director Stephanie Solien; all-purpose deputies Paul and Karen Sullivan, who have taken leave from their real estate development firm in Hawaii every four years for the past 20 to work for the Democratic nominee; and

press aide Lorraine Voles and her husband, Iowa coordinator Dan Smith.

"It's rather bizarre—we spent three nights together since our [August] wedding," says Voles, who met Smith during Tom Harkin's '90 Senate race. "Clinton did go to Iowa recently and I saw him. And Dan drove to Kansas to meet me last week. We spoke at 11 the other night—but all we could talk about was the debate. It was sick.

"But," says Voles wistfully, "we just need to get to November 3. And then we can have our second honeymoon."

In transition, they hope.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1992

The TV Column

Veep Sweep

Record 76 Million Tune In for the Brawl

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

The vice presidential debate Tuesday night attracted at least 76 million viewers on the three commercial networks and CNN, as interest in the presidential contest seems to be on the increase compared with the 1988 election year.

On Sunday night, with some 80 Fox Broadcasting affiliates added to the mix, the first of three presidential debates attracted about 81 million viewers. In contrast, the first vice presidential debate in 1988 drew an audience of 68 million, while the first presidential contest attracted 74 million, according to figures released by ABC researchers yesterday.

The ABC estimate does not include Public Broadcasting Service and C-SPAN audience totals, however.

On the network level, ABC's coverage of Tuesday night's verbal brawl among Vice President Dan Quayle, Sen. Al Gore and retired Adm. James Stockdale drew the

See TV COLUMN, C8, Col. 1

TV COLUMN, From C1

highest average, with a 13.1 national Nielsen rating and a 22 percent audience share between 7 and 8:30 p.m.

CBS averaged an 11.1/19 and NBC a 10.7/18 during the same 90 minutes. Fox did not carry the vice presidential debate but is scheduled to air tonight's second presidential contest.

By comparison, the National League playoff game that followed immediately on CBS Tuesday night averaged a 12.3/21.

PBS estimated yesterday that 2.6 million viewers watched the debate on its stations Tuesday night. That estimate is based on reports from 23 of Nielsen's 25 overnight markets, in which PBS stations averaged a 2.6 rating and a 5 share.

In Washington, Channel 7, coming off a broadcast of "ABC News With Peter Jennings," led the debate audience with an 18.1/28, compared with an 11.6/18 for Channel 4, which moved "NBC Nightly News With Tom Brokaw" to 6:30 for the night, and a 10.5/16 for Channel 9 (CBS). Channel 26 (PBS) averaged a 3.0/5.

The baseball game on Nine averaged a 10.7/18 from 8:30 until 11:45 Tuesday night.

Each national ratings point represents 931,000 TV homes; a local ratings point, 18,510.

Now This

CBS News president Eric Ober yesterday announced a realignment of his top management team, a move that has been expected since David Corvo, vice president of Public Affairs Programming, revealed earlier this month he was moving to Fox Broadcasting...

Each of the changes meant a promotion, too, for the key members of Ober's team...

-Joe Peyronnin, vice president and assistant to the president—who has been in charge of hard news—becomes vice president, CBS News Primetime, and assistant to the president...

He'll be in charge of the three CBS primetime newsmagazines, "60 Minutes," "48 Hours" and "Street Stories," previously managed by Corvo. Peyronnin has also been put in charge of "CBS News Productions and other outside news programming and development," a hint of where CBS News is expanding. CBS News Productions is a new unit being formed to develop new programming for broadcasts and the videocassette market, as well as other ventures...

Linda Mason, who has been executive producer of "Sunday Morning" and the CBS News weekend newscasts for the past six years, has been named vice president, Public Affairs...

Her new duties include responsibility for the new Connie Chung newsmagazine, CBS News documentaries and other primetime specials. She will also have "overall involvement in editorial policy for the News Division," reviving a policy job that has been vacant since Bob Chandler was the "editorial conscience" of the division back in the early 1980s...

Lane Vernardos, executive producer and director of the CBS News special events unit, becomes vice president, Hard News and Special Events, with responsibility for all domestic and foreign bureaus and CBS News, Radio...

Missie Rennie, CBS News National Editor, has been promoted to executive producer, "Sunday Morning" and the three weekend newscasts, including "CBS Evening News With Bob Schieffer" on Saturdays, "CBS Evening News With Connie Chung" on Sundays and "CBS Sunday Night With Bill Plante"...

No national editor has been named...

Corvo is due to become executive producer of Fox News's upcoming primetime news magazine when the election is over. The Fox broadcast is slated to debut sometime next year...

Moving Right Along

There's a pretty good chance we may have already seen the last of "Frannie's Turn," which CBS announced yesterday will be gone after its Saturday, Oct. 24, telecast. Since Game 1 of the World Series wipes Fran out of this weekend's schedule and there might well be a Game 6 on the 24th, she may well have already had her turn. And why not? After three outings, Fran ranked 88th out of 98 series introduced so far this new season...

Last week she finished 81st among 89 programs...

CBS has also ordered nine more episodes of "Bob," for a full count of 22 episodes this season. Of course, Mr. Newhart's Friday night entry is chugging along in a tie for 42nd place so far this season...

To get us into the proper mood for tonight's presidential debate at 9 from Richmond, C-

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1992

The TV Column

SPAN will air 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debate footage at 1 this afternoon...

Home Box Office yesterday said Saturday night's Michael Jackson special probably set an all-time HBO entertainment audience record, averaging a 21.4 rating and a 34 percent share in the HBO cable audience universe...

"Michael Jackson in Concert in Bucharest: The Dangerous Tour" outdrew the three big commercial networks combined that night, according to HBO. Between 8:15 and 10:15, the networks averaged a 20.1/32 in the HBO universe...

And by the way. The Washington Redskins-Denver Broncos Monday Night Football game on ABC did a 35.3/55 on Channel 7 that night...

The shocking death Monday of John Hancock, who portrayed the bartender, Ike Johnson, on CBS's new comedy hit, "Love & War," drew the following tribute yesterday from Diane English, executive producer and creator of the series:

"All of us on 'Love & War' were shocked and saddened to learn of the passing of our beloved cast member... His wonderful gift and gentle presence inspired us and touched us. That is what an actor wishes for—to leave an indelible mark. John has done that in life, and now in death. We will cherish his memory forever..."

Mr. Hancock was found dead at his home in Los Angeles Monday after what appeared to be a massive heart attack. He was in his early fifties...

A versatile character actor, he was perhaps best known to TV viewers for his role as a no-nonsense trial judge on "L.A. Law." He had also appeared in many feature films, including "A Soldier's Story," and among his many stage roles was that of Willie Loman in an all-black production of "Death of a Salesman"...

Production of "Love & War," which also stars Susan Dey, has been shut down for at least a week. Four of the episodes in which Mr. Hancock appeared have not been broadcast and are scheduled for future presentation...

Jeff Sagansky, president of CBS Entertainment, said yesterday, "John Hancock's association with CBS was all too short. His presence will be greatly missed"...

A native of Hazen, Ark., Mr. Hancock is survived by his parents...

CNN president Tom Johnson yesterday announced three major promotions, including Gail Evans as senior vice president, Booking and Research; Jane Maxwell as senior vice president, Special Events; and Alma Sanders as senior vice president, Finance and Administration...

The producers of PBS's Election Night special "The Finish Line" have invited public broadcasting's conservative nemesis Sen. Robert Dole to join the cast of political analysts for the live, three-hour program...

The Kansas Republican's press secretary, Walt Riker, said yesterday, "It's doubtful, given the senator's campaign schedule, that he can make it"...

The Senate minority leader this week attacked a lineup of commentators announced for the Nov. 3 telecast, which he called the "Liberal Hall of Fame"...

He singled out co-hosts Hodding Carter and Kenneth Walker as well as analysts Ellen Goodman, Anthony Lewis and Roger Wilkins, whose presence, he charged, creates a program that "tilts so far to the left, your TV may fall over"...

Dole led the drive for assurances of balanced political reporting on public broadcasting stations during recent protracted debate over a three-year funding bill...

This week he said, "It's clear PBS has absolutely no intention or interest in ever making an effort to give the taxpayers balanced reporting"...

However, executive producer Steve Atlas said yesterday that a full list of the participants, once all the acceptances are sorted out, should allay the Republican's suspicions...

Atlas predicted conservative economist Glen Loury and Christine Todd Whitman, former Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate in New Jersey, will join the panel, and he hopes John Sears, longtime GOP consultant, will also accept...

"By the time the show gets on the air, we're confident we'll have a balanced lineup," Atlas said in Boston yesterday. "When you look at the whole list any reasonable person will understand we've been very conscientious about presenting all points of view..."

"It's clear the senator hasn't seen a full description of the election coverage and also overlooks the major role of 'MacNeil/Lehrer' during the evening," Atlas said. "With the newsbreaks and other contributions, I'm confident the night coverage will be fair and accurate..."

He also said, "We'd be thrilled to have him on the program"...

HIGHLIGHTS

■ Tonight, the second of three presidential debates on WRC, WTTG, WJLA, WUSA, WETA, WHMM, CNN and C-SPAN.

Presidential Candidates Debate

Live coverage of the 90-minute debate among President Bush, Gov. Bill Clinton and Ross Perot begins at 9 p.m. on Channels 4, 5, 7, 9, 26 and 32, plus CNN and C-SPAN. Debate analysis immediately follows on all stations except Channel 5. C-SPAN begins preview coverage at 1 p.m. and will rebroadcast the debate five times in the subsequent 12 hours. CNN debate coverage begins at 8:30 p.m.

Public Broadcasting

Metro Week. Topics include HUD's investigation of D.C.'s public housing agency (Channel 26 at 8).

Around Town. Reviews include "Executive Leverage" at Source Theatre and "Kandinsky and the American Avant-Garde" at the Phillips Collection (Channel 26, 8:30).

Evening Exchange. A preview of the presidential debate (Channel 32, 8:30).

Primetime Movies

Feds (1988). Two female cops struggle to make the cut at the FBI. Two hours (Channel 20 at 8).

The Devil and Daniel Webster (1941). A New Englander bargains with the Devil to get Webster to defend him in court. Two hours (Channel 50 at 8).

Series

A Different World (CC). Terrell is brought up on charges of verbally abusing Charmaine in Dwayne's class (Channel 4 at 8).

The Simpsons (CC). Homer decides to boost Lisa's confidence by enrolling her in the Junior Miss Springfield pageant (Channel 5 at 8).

Delta (CC) and Connie team for an important basketball challenge (Channel 7 at 8).

Rhythm & Blues (CC). Mrs. Washington puts Bobby up in her apartment in an attempt to impress a TV news crew (Channel 4, 8:30).

Martin (CC) worries that Gina may rekindle her romance with a singer who is an in-studio guest on his show (Channel 5, 8:30).

Room for Two (CC). Edie's intuition creates a painful situation for Ken over his ex-wife (Channel 7, 8:30).

Star Trek: The Next Generation (CC) (R). Picard is chosen to mediate a Klingon power struggle (Channel 20 at 10).

Late Night

The Arsenio Hall Show (CC). With Trisha Yearwood, Paulina Porizkova and Crystal Bernard (Channel 9, 11:30).

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With Kirk Douglas, George Strait and Ben Stiller (Channel 4, 11:35).

Late Night With David Letterman. With John Malkovich and Julia Louis Dreyfuss (Channel 4, 12:35 a.m.).

Friday Morning

Today (CC). With actors Robert De Niro and Barbara Hershey (Channel 4 at 7).

Good Morning America (CC). A performance by Patty Austin and a review of this month's best new videos (Channel 7 at 7).

CBS This Morning (CC). With a report on the cranberry harvest in Massachusetts and a preview of the World Series (Channel 9 at 7).

Candidate's Record

White House Clarifies Bush's Arms-Deal Remarks

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 14 — The White House worked today to extricate President Bush from a remark made during a television interview on Tuesday that implied he knew more about the 1986 arms-for-hostages deal with Iran than he had admitted.

A White House spokesman, Walter Kansteiner, said Mr. Bush had misunderstood two questions about the Iran affair that were directed to him on the NBC program "Today."

Mr. Bush's comments nevertheless handed Gov. Bill Clinton's campaign an opening to challenge the President's account of his role in the Iran scandal and to demand that he release secret testimony about it.

In the "Today" interview, Mr. Bush twice appeared to say that he had known "all along," as the Iran arms affair unfolded in 1985 and 1986, that the White House was swapping weapons for the release of American hostages in Lebanon.

"Did you have any knowledge of the

Iran-contra arms-for-hostages deal while you were in office as Vice President?" Mr. Bush was asked.

"I've testified 450 times under oath, some of them, and our staff 3,500, that, yes," Mr. Bush first replied.

Asked later in the interview whether "you knew about the arms for hostages," Mr. Bush again replied, "Yes, and I've said so all along; given speeches on it."

Actually, Mr. Bush has repeatedly said that he knew both that arms were being shipped to Iran and that hostages

in Lebanon were being released but that he never regarded the events as two elements of a ransom deal until after the arms shipments became public in late 1988. Both Mr. Reagan and Mr. Bush had characterized the arms shipments as a secret diplomatic overture to moderates in Iran's Government.

Misinterpreted Questions

Today, Mr. Kansteiner said Mr. Bush had misinterpreted the questions, taking the phrase "arms-for-hostages" as a shorthand way of describing the Iran initiative.

The Iran-contra scandal had two aspects. One was an agreement to sell arms to Iran in exchange for the freedom of American hostages and the other was the diversion of millions of dollars in profits from those arms sales to finance a guerrilla war by rebels in Nicaragua. Mr. Bush has denied knowing about the diversion of money to the contra rebels, and no evidence has surfaced to refute that.

Later on Tuesday, Mr. Clinton's campaign cited the President's comments as evidence that he was changing his story about the Iran arms shipments. The campaign's spokesman, George Stephanopoulos, called for the release of statements that Mr. Bush had made privately to two investigative bodies: the criminal inquiry conducted by the independent prosecutor Lawrence E. Walsh and the Tower Commission, a White House panel that analyzed the Iran initiative.

Mr. Bush testified under oath to Mr. Walsh's office in January 1988, and spoke informally to the Tower board in late 1988. Neither text has been made public, and neither the Tower board nor Mr. Walsh's office has suggested that Mr. Bush did anything wrong.

"It's Strange, Strange"

On Tuesday, Mr. Bush called it odd that Mr. Clinton was raising suspicions about his previous statements on the Iran arms deals and suggested that his Democratic rival was seeking to deflect attention from his own varying explanations of his efforts to avoid the military draft in 1969.

"To equate this with whether you've told the truth on the draft, I'm sorry — I've been under oath on this," Mr. Bush said. "And it's strange, strange."

Elsewhere in the "Today" interview, Mr. Bush appeared to say that he could not recall being briefed on the Iran arms shipment by Howard Teicher, a White House aide, when he was Vice President. Mr. Teicher, who now manages a computer software company, recently said he had given Mr. Bush a detailed account of the arms-for-hostages deals in the summer of 1986, months before the President says he became aware of the ransom aspect of



Andrea Mohr/The New York Times

President Bush studying notes yesterday after rehearsing for the next debate. With him at the Old Executive Office Building were, from the right, John H. Sununu, former White House chief of staff; Marlin Fitzwater, press secretary; Richard G. Darman, the budget director; and James A. Baker 3d, the White House chief of staff.

the transactions.

But again, Mr. Bush left unclear whether he was denying knowledge of any briefing by Mr. Teicher, or simply saying that Mr. Teicher never told him about assistance to the Nicaraguan rebels.

"I don't remember Howard doing it, but I remember — but not about the contra part of it," Mr. Bush said. "He didn't say that. Please be careful. He did not say that."

The White House was unable to shed any new light on that remark today.

THE AD CAMPAIGN

Bush: Letting the People Attack Clinton

The Bush campaign began broadcasting a new 30-second commercial yesterday that campaign aides said was based on actual person-in-the-street interviews at a union hall in New Jersey. The campaign would not reveal where or how often the advertisement would appear.

ON THE SCREEN Opens with words on a black screen: "October, 1992." Cuts to people in a crowd offering brief assessments of Gov. Bill Clinton. The ad makes it seem as if the viewer is actually mingling in the crowd, and a hand-held camera gives it an unpolished air of spontaneity. At one point, these words appear: "Where will Bill Clinton get the money for his big promises?" Ends with the printed words, apparently intended to get people to look for forthcoming spots. "To be continued tomorrow..."

The campaign also released a nearly identical ad that differs only in that it shows a man who silently tests the wind with his finger.

PRODUCER The November Company.

TELEVISION SCRIPT Man No. 1: "I don't believe him... I don't believe him one bit."

Woman No. 1: "I don't believe him."

Woman No. 2: "Trust."

Man No. 2: "I don't know much about Clinton except promises."

Man No. 3: "He tells everybody what they want to hear."

Man No. 4: "Well, he wants to spend more money, and the only place he can get it is from the taxpayers."

Man No. 5: "Higher taxes."



Woman No. 3: "Less food on the table."

Man No. 5: "Broken promises."

Woman No. 3: "Less clothes on the kid's back."

Man No. 6: "I don't know how we can take any more taxes."

Woman No. 3: "Less money to go to the doctor."

Man No. 1: "He's raised taxes in Arkansas. He'll raise taxes here."

Woman No. 3: "Just less of everything."

SCORECARD The ad allows President Bush to make hard-hitting, though largely unprovable, attacks but lets "real" people do the dirty work for him. The citizens seem more authentic in their criticism than would a narrator. The ad seeks to seize on a fear that some Republicans, including Vice President Dan Quayle in the debate Tuesday, say people have about Mr. Clinton: that he is a traditional tax and spend Democrat who cannot be trusted.

RICHARD L. BERKE

Clinton, Fending Off Assaults, Retains Sizable Lead, Poll Finds

Tonight's Debate Grows in Importance for Bush

By ROBIN TONER

President Bush heads into tonight's second Presidential debate with a still daunting challenge: the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll shows that Gov. Bill Clinton retains an undiminished lead and is actually viewed more favorably by the voters despite the Republican pounding of the past 10 days.

The survey, conducted Monday and Tuesday, shows that Ross Perot made some gains in the voters' esteem after the first Presidential debate on Sunday night. But he still lags far behind the two major-party candidates heading into the second confrontation tonight at 9 in Richmond.

Mr. Bush was also viewed slightly more favorably, but that did not translate into additional support in the survey, which was intended to measure more settled judgments than the "instant polls" conducted the night of the Presidential debate. Less than three weeks before Election Day, Mr. Clinton has the support of 47 percent of the registered voters, compared with 34 percent for Mr. Bush and 10 percent for Mr. Perot. Those standings were statistically unchanged from the Times/CBS poll conducted 10 days ago.

Unaffected by Bush Attacks

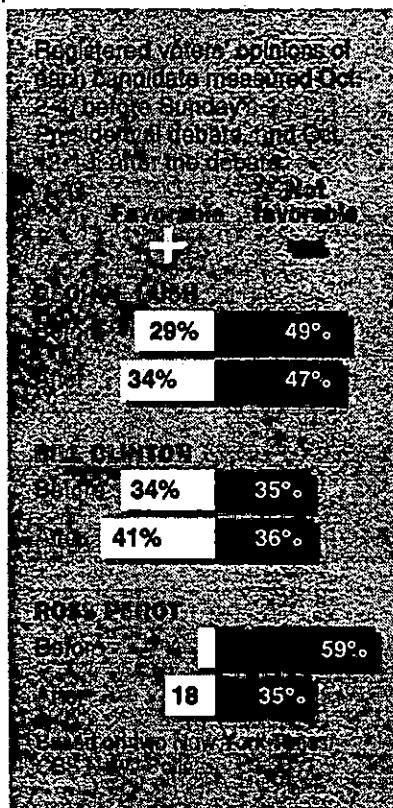
The Democratic nominee continues to be more trusted than his rivals to deal with the central issue of this campaign: 37 percent said Mr. Clinton would "do the best job of solving the country's economic problems," while 29 percent said Mr. Perot would and just 23 percent said Mr. Bush would.

Moreover, 79 percent of the registered voters said their votes were unaffected by Mr. Bush's attacks on Mr. Clinton's antiwar activities while a stu-

dent at Oxford in the 1960's, a central Republican theme in recent days. An overwhelming majority of those who said the attacks made them more likely to vote against Mr. Clinton were already Bush supporters.

The Sunday debate, which Republicans had hoped would begin a Bush comeback in the polls, was another missed opportunity for Mr. Bush, the

Continued on Page A22, Column 1



The New York Times

The Overview

Clinton Retains Big Lead, Poll Finds

Continued From Page A1

poll indicates. Thirty-seven percent of the voters who watched the debate said Mr. Perot "did the best job or won," while 33 percent said Mr. Clinton did. Only 17 percent said Mr. Bush won the debate.

Even among those in the television audience who supported Mr. Bush before the debate, only 44 percent said that the President had won it; 31 percent considered Mr. Perot the victor and 9 percent said Mr. Clinton had won. The survey of 854 registered voters had a margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points. All the respondents had previously been interviewed in late September.

Mr. Bush's continued stall in the polls only raises the importance of the remaining debates, beginning with tonight's faceoff. Geoffrey Garin, a Democratic poll taker, asserted: "There are two dramas now: One, can he turn it around? But an equally plausible drama is, is George Bush headed for an electoral disaster, and with what consequences to his party?"

Charles Black, a senior adviser to the Bush campaign, countered, "I think they're setting themselves up for a fall, talking about a landslide three weeks out with a candidate with so many vulnerabilities floating around."

Mr. Black indicated that Mr. Bush would continue to press the lines of attack set out by Vice President Dan Quayle in the Vice-Presidential debate on Tuesday night: "taxes and trust." But Stan Greenberg, the poll taker for the Clinton campaign, asserted, "I can't find any evidence that this trust issue has done anything but backfire on them."

Quayle on Offensive

Mr. Quayle kept up the offensive on the campaign trail yesterday, declaring, "We've only begun to fight for the American people." He said he had given Senator Al Gore "every opportunity to say something good about Bill Clinton" in the debate, but Mr. Gore "couldn't find anything good to say."

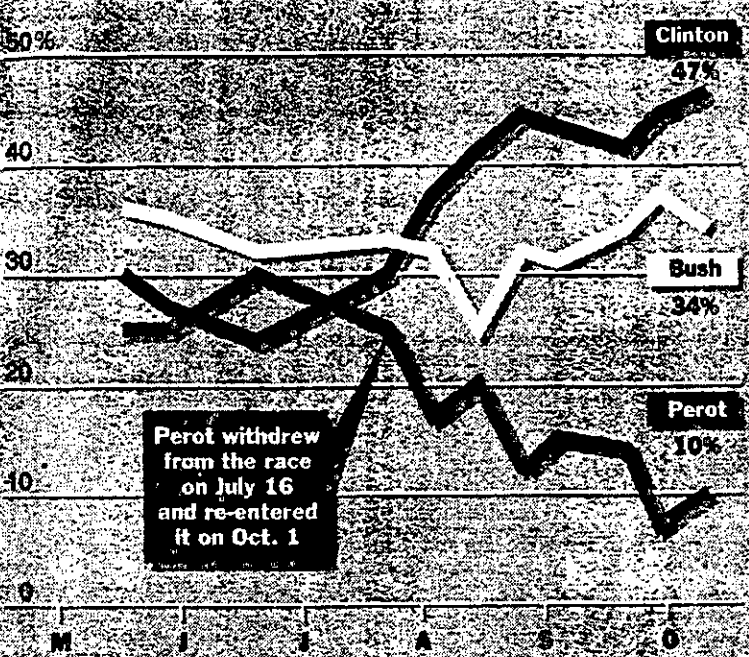
Mr. Gore, however, was mounting a withering assault of his own, citing reports in The Washington Post that the State Department had ordered a wide-ranging search of Mr. Clinton's consular files for information about his travels in Europe in the 1960's after receiving routine requests from news organizations. Mr. Gore described it as "a very disturbing and even outrageous development" and declared that the White House was engaged in "a blatant attempt to politicize the entire State Department bureaucracy" to get Mr. Clinton.

Mr. Gore added: "The American people can say we don't accept this kind of abuse of power. We've had the

The New York Times | CBS NEWS Poll

Changing Presidential Fortunes

If the election were held today for whom would you vote?



The New York Times

Few seem swayed by the jabs at Clinton's antiwar activities.

Joe McCarthy technique and the smear campaign; now we have the police state tactics of rummaging through personal files to try to come up with damaging information."

In other fallout from the Vice-Presidential debate, political professionals in both parties said yesterday that they expected retired Vice Adm. James B. Stockdale's tentative performance on Tuesday to take the edge off any boomlet for Mr. Perot.

Improvement for Perot

Mr. Perot, however, did sharply reduce his unfavorable ratings after a debate that gave a national television audience another taste of his bluntness. In the new poll, 57 percent of the voters who watched the

debate said Mr. Perot's performance made them think better of him.

Eighteen percent of the registered voters voiced a favorable opinion of him overall, while 35 percent had an unfavorable opinion. That represents an improvement over his last ratings, just after he re-entered the race on Oct. 1, when just 7 percent had a favorable rating, while 59 percent held an unfavorable view.

The percentage of voters who viewed Mr. Clinton favorably rose from 34 to 41 percent, and Mr. Bush's favorability rating also rose slightly. Still, the President's image remained far more negative than Mr. Clinton's, indicating that the Republican attempt to cast the Democrat as an untrustworthy, unpalatable alternative has yet to turn the tide.

Still, there are signs of potential volatility in the race: one-third of Bush and Clinton supporters, and two-thirds of Perot backers, said they might yet change their minds before the election.

Washington Talk: How Government Works

Doctors Call Clinton Healthy; Campaign Offers New Details

By LAWRENCE K. ALTMAN

Gov. Bill Clinton is in excellent health but suffers from allergies and a chronic voice problem, has a mild hearing loss and needs to lose weight, his doctors said yesterday.

Four of Mr. Clinton's doctors in Little Rock, Ark., wrote letters made public by his campaign staff, and three of them spoke in interviews yesterday with Mr. Clinton's approval.

The letters from three doctors were more detailed than those that they released in June and the new ones included results of laboratory tests performed on Monday. The fourth letter was from a doctor who examined the Democratic Presidential candidate in September 1991 but who said she was not asked to write a letter in June.

Mr. Clinton, who is 46 years old, is seen frequently by doctors who give him allergy shots and treat his chronic laryngitis, but he has not had a full medical checkup in more than a year.

Dr. Susan M. Santa Cruz, a specialist in internal medicine, said the examination she performed on Mr. Clinton on Sept. 9, 1991 was his last and the only one she had performed on him. Dr. Santa Cruz said she wrote Mr. Clinton last month urging him to get a checkup.

Repeated Requests for Details

"Obviously it is time for another physical, but we are just having a scheduling problem here," said Betsey Wright, a deputy campaign manager. "It's just one of those things that I don't think is going to happen until we get through this election, but we did do the blood tests because the doctors wanted current information to do these letters."

The release of more detailed medical information was in response to repeated requests from The New York Times and other news organizations. Mr. Clinton had previously not allowed his doctors to speak about his medical history, citing reasons of privacy.

Mr. Clinton has refused to be inter-

Continued on Page A24, Column 1

Candidate's Health

4 Doctors Report Clinton Is in Excellent Health but Has Minor Problems

Continued From Page A1

viewed about his health. Some information is therefore incomplete because the doctors said they did not ask specific questions about his medical or psychiatric history or did not know what other doctors caring for him might have prescribed or recommended.

Dee Dee Myers, Mr. Clinton's press secretary, said the candidate's primary physician was Dr. James Y. Suen, who heads the ear, nose and throat department at the University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences. Dr. Suen was not available yesterday because he was traveling, Ms. Wright said.

"Like many patients, Mr. Clinton has sought out care from many different people for different problems," Dr. Santa Cruz said in an interview.

Two doctors known to have cared for Mr. Clinton in the past were not inter-

viewed. It is not known how many other doctors Mr. Clinton has consulted.

President Bush has also refused to be interviewed about his health, but has consistently allowed medical reporters to talk to his doctor.

Mr. Clinton does not take any medications on a regular basis and occasionally takes an aspirin, the doctors said. He uses an antihistamine, Hismanal, during allergy seasons to avoid sinus congestion, nasal drainage and occasional swelling of temporal areas.

A Chronic Problem

Dr. Andrew G. Kumpuris, a specialist in internal medicine and cardiology, said, for example: "I know of no specific medications which he is currently taking."

Dr. Suen wrote that Mr. Clinton was taking medications that he did not specify and antacids to decrease the production of stomach acid. Reflux of gastric acid contributes to Mr. Clinton's chronic laryngitis, Dr. Suen said.

Mr. Clinton's blood pressure is nor-

mal and he has not been treated for hypertension. A blood pressure recorded on Aug. 27, 1991 by Dr. Kumpuris was 135/70. Dr. Kumpuris said, adding that Mr. Clinton has never had a high blood pressure measure at any time, including the last few days.

Mr. Clinton's cholesterol has dropped to 184 from 227 over the last year, although not to the 161 level where it was in 1988. The cholesterol values are normal. Mr. Clinton's triglycerides were normal, at 59. Tests of Mr. Clinton's kidney and thyroid function were also normal.

Since 1984, Mr. Clinton has had four normal exercise treadmill electrocardiogram tests and has no evidence of heart disease, Dr. Kumpuris said.

"Mr. Clinton's exercise tolerance was tremendous," Dr. Kumpuris said. Mr. Clinton exercised for 14 minutes on a standard treadmill regimen. "I doubt that many 46-year-old guys can go 14 minutes" on a treadmill, Dr. Kumpuris said.

Mr. Clinton also achieved 91 percent of his maximum predicted heart rate, which is an excellent result, Dr. Kumpuris said.

Such treadmill tests are generally not recommended for healthy people in their 40's, according to reports from the American College of Physicians, American College of Cardiology and American Heart Association.

Clinton Requested Tests

The treadmill tests were done at Mr. Clinton's request, Dr. Kumpuris said in an interview, adding that he did not know his patient's reason for the requests.

All the treadmill tests were done in August or September in election years when there was speculation about whether Mr. Clinton would run for office. "I always felt like I had an inside track as to whether or not he would run because when he called my office and scheduled a treadmill, I knew he was running," Dr. Kumpuris said.

In a letter dated Oct. 12, Dr. Kumpuris said that Mr. Clinton had an electrocardiogram on Aug. 27, 1992. But in an interview, Dr. Kumpuris said the heart test was done on Aug. 27, 1991, when he last examined Mr. Clinton.

Mr. Clinton's weight has fluctuated in recent years. He gained 20 pounds in the three-year period from 1988 to 1991, and weighed 226 pounds in September 1991, Dr. Santa Cruz said. Mr. Clinton, who is six feet two-and-a-half inches tall, now weighs 215 pounds, Ms. Wright said.

Dr. Kumpuris said he recommended a goal of 200 to 220 pounds. Weight is a particular problem for Mr. Clinton, Dr. Kumpuris said, adding, "He doesn't take good care of himself; I wish he would lose weight."

Dr. Santa Cruz, who said she was also the doctor of Mr. Clinton's wife,



Gov. Bill Clinton reading an account of the Vice-Presidential debate after jogging in Williamsburg, Va.

Clinton Stops Talking But Makes His Points

By GWEN IFILL
Special to The New York Times

WILLIAMSBURG, Va., Oct. 14 — Gov. Bill Clinton has escaped here both to study up for the Presidential debate on Thursday, and to rest his severely strained vocal cords.

Normally voluble and chatty as he shakes hands in crowds, Mr. Clinton barely spoke in public today, pointing to his throat and mouthing words when he ventured out after a morning jog. But his aides said the Governor, who was on full "voice rest" on Tuesday, was speaking in practice sessions for the second debate, to be held in Richmond.

His communications director, George Stephanopoulos, said Mr. Clinton was sipping hot liquids and preserving his voice whenever possible.

Clinton's Body Language

A sample of Mr. Clinton's voice preservation technique:

When asked about reports that the State Department had gone to great lengths to investigate his travel history, he shrugged.

When he was asked how he

thought his running mate, Senator Al Gore, had fared in his Vice-Presidential debate, he signaled a thumbs up. (Later, he rasped, "I'm proud of him.")

When he was asked whether Vice Adm. James B. Stockdale, retired, had hurt Ross Perot's candidacy because of his erratic performance in that debate, he pointed at his throat and did not respond.

Mr. Clinton's last extended bout with partial laryngitis, which his doctors have described as a "chronic" condition, occurred this year when he was campaigning extensively while battling allergies and colds in New Hampshire and other early primary states.

Dr. James Y. Suen, his throat doctor, said Mr. Clinton's hoarseness was related to "a combination of nasal allergies, mild esophageal reflux, or heartburn, and especially overuse of his voice."

A voice coach, William Riley of Lenox Hill Hospital in New York, is monitoring his day-to-day progress here, aides said.

Hillary, said she had encouraged Mr. Clinton to seek a weight between 190 and 200 pounds through a low fat, weight reduction diet and exercise. She said she had not recommended that Mr. Clinton consult a nutritionist. Mr. Clinton has said that he eats a salt-free, low-fat diet at home. Dr. Santa Cruz said she did not prescribe the low-salt diet.

Mr. Clinton has been notably hoarse in his campaign speeches and in the debate last Sunday. Dr. Suen said the problem was chiefly a result of Mr. Clinton's straining to speak loudly on airplanes and in crowds.

Mr. Clinton drinks copious amounts of water to keep his vocal cords moist to ease the laryngitis problem when speaking. Mr. Clinton sleeps with the head of his bed elevated to help prevent reflux of stomach acid into esophagus and into the vocal cords.

Mr. Clinton does not have vocal cord tumors known as polyps or cancer of the larynx or throat, Dr. Suen said.

Dr. Kumpuris and Dr. Santa Cruz

said that to their knowledge Mr. Clinton had never received psychiatric or psychological counseling.

Dr. Kumpuris said he "would probably know if he had" during the period he has cared for Mr. Clinton. Dr. Kumpuris said he did not ask Mr. Clinton whether he had ever had such counseling.

Mr. Clinton does not smoke and drinks alcohol socially. Mr. Clinton has not sought treatment for alcoholism for himself, said George Stephanopoulos, the campaign's communication director. Mr. Clinton's half-brother, Roger, has been treated for drug addiction and his stepfather was an alcoholic.

Dr. Kelsy J. Caplinger, an allergist, says he has treated Mr. Clinton since May 1990 and gives him shots about every week or two to lessen the nasal congestion, swollen eyes and difficulty breathing through the nose that Mr. Clinton has suffered. The last time was on Sept. 30, when Dr. Caplinger said he made a house call to the Governor's mansion in Little Rock.

Skin tests have shown that Mr. Clinton has moderate reactions to house dust, mold spores, cat dander, weed pollen, grass pollens, beef and milk, Dr. Caplinger said.

In 1984, Mr. Clinton had an examination of the entire length of his colon because of rectal bleeding. The diagnosis was hemorrhoids and there was no cancer or polyps, Dr. Santa Cruz said. There have been no similar examinations of the colon since then, she said.

A test for evidence of infection with H.I.V., the virus that causes AIDS, was negative when it was performed as part of a checkup for a life-insurance policy in February 1990, Dr. Santa Cruz said in an interview.

President Bush has also had a negative H.I.V. test, his doctor, Burton J. Lee 3d, has said.

More national news,
pages B10 to B14.

Standing Toe to Toe and Slugging It Out on the Air

By ELIZABETH KOLBERT

Lots of people who tuned in to watch Tuesday night's debate probably went to bed disappointed — those hoping to hear a clear discussion of the candidates' differences on issues, for example, or those simply looking forward to some new and uproarious gaffe by the Vice President.

CAMPAIGN WATCH

But for those who like to watch politics in its purest form — as a kind of psychological gang warfare — the Vice Presidential debate was one of the best shows the campaign has offered so far. From the very beginning, when Senator Al Gore reminded Vice President Dan Quayle of his performance four years ago against Senator Lloyd Bentsen, through the bitter end, when Mr. Quayle asked, "Do you, do you trust Bill Clinton to be your President?" Tuesday night's encounter represented a public exchange of nightmares between the Clinton and the Bush campaigns.

In the end, the question seemed to be not so much who had won as who had done the better job of messing with his opponent's mind.

From the Gilt-Go

For the innocent tone and brutal implications of his opening statement, Mr. Gore probably deserves the evening's Eve Harrington Award for adroitly undermining a rival.

Practically in the same breath, Mr. Gore managed to remind viewers that Mr. Quayle had not served in Vietnam ("Those of us who served in Vietnam look at you as a national hero," he said to James B. Stockdale, Ross Perot's running mate), that the Vice President had been flattened by Senator Bentsen in their 1988 debate

("If you don't try to compare George Bush to Harry Truman, I won't compare you to Jack Kennedy") and that the No. 2 man on the ticket regularly does end up serving as President ("Harry Truman, it's worth remembering, assumed the Presidency when Franklin Roosevelt died here in Georgia," he said.)

Later in the debate, Mr. Gore obliquely questioned the Vice President's usefulness ("What's your role in this going to be?" he asked Mr. Quayle after reciting the many jobs President Bush has said he will give James Baker) and his scholastic aptitude ("Dan, I appreciate you reading my book very much," he drawled.)

'Pulling a Clinton'

Although not nearly as self-possessed as Mr. Gore, Mr. Quayle still succeeded in introducing into the debate just about every torment that could make his opponents wish that they, too, had prescriptions for Halcion.

He coined a new phrase, "You're pulling a Clinton," which translates "You are equivocating." He invoked the likelihood of some international crisis over the next four years to draw attention to Governor Clinton's inexperience in foreign affairs. He used the word "trust," which some polls show to be a good one for President Bush, so often that it started to sound like an incantation. And he even managed to slip in a reference to Mr. Clinton's youthful adventures with marijuana.

"Take a deep breath, Al," he said at one point. "Inhale."

Befuddlement in the Middle

Amid all the back and forth, it was easy for the television audience to

Tuesday Debate Tops '88 Ratings

The Vice-Presidential debate on Tuesday night attracted more viewers than the 1988 Vice-Presidential debate, though fewer than the Presidential debate on Sunday night.

The national rating for the debate, issued yesterday by the A. C. Nielsen Company, was 34.9 for the three broadcast networks, CBS, ABC and NBC, all of which carried the event live. (Figures for other channels, including PBS, CNN and C-Span, will not be available until later in the week.)

Each rating point represents 931,000 homes. Nielsen estimated that 32.5 million homes watched at least some part of the 90-minute debate.

The three-network rating for the 1988 Vice-Presidential debate was 33.6, and Nielsen estimated that 30.4 million homes watched that event.

Sunday's Presidential debate had a 36.9 rating.

identify with the befuddled-looking Mr. Stockdale, who could frequently be seen pacing behind his lectern while Mr. Gore and Mr. Quayle went at it. When Mr. Stockdale blurted out, "I think America is seeing right now the reason this nation is in gridlock," he seemed to be speaking for the frustrated viewer, sitting powerlessly in front of the set, unable to intervene

in an escalating squabble.

From Mr. Gore's and Mr. Quayle's reaction to Mr. Stockdale — mostly they ignored him — it was clear, though, that they were not much interested in the audience, or at least not in those members that Mr. Stockdale represented. They both seemed to realize, as viewers, too, had been told, that Americans did not vote for a President on the basis of his running mate. The audience they seemed to be playing to were the insiders: the newscasters and commentators who would go out and tell the audience who had most rattled his opponent's campaign.

Yesterday, these insiders were calling the debate for all intents and purposes a draw, with Mr. Gore maintaining the advantage in stature. Several commentators noted that Mr. Quayle had performed better than expected — "People expected him to put countries on the wrong continent," the Atlanta Constitution's Cynthia Tucker explained to CNN — but they also pointed out that he had often been put on the defensive and had not managed to fundamentally alter the race.

The Morning After

"The format won," Bob Beckel, a Democratic strategist, told CBS.

As for Mr. Gore and Mr. Quayle, they were still going at it yesterday morning. Both put in separate appearances on NBC's "Today," ABC's "Good Morning America," and on "CBS This Morning."

"George Bush is in a panic," Mr. Gore said on the "Today" show.

"The question," Mr. Quayle said later on the same program, "is do you really trust Bill Clinton to be President?"

TIMOTHY SHEAR

"Could the fact that Perot is a great salesman have to do with the fact that he is listening very carefully?"

Behind the Scenes

A Few Tense Moments In the TV Control Room

By RICHARD L. BERKE
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Oct. 14 — For a few tense moments in the control room where producers made snap judgments about precisely what images more than 50 million television viewers saw in the Vice-Presidential debate, it looked like the spectacle was headed for disaster. The problem halfway through the debate was not the sound quality, the lighting or a glitch in transmission. It was James B. Stockdale and his inability to stand still after delivering a line. As the 90-minute event wore on Tuesday night, the retired vice admiral ventured farther and farther away from his spot on the podium, as if he had had enough give-and-take and was ready for his daily constitutional. "He's going for a walk!" came the voice of a nervous network producer in New York over a squawk box in the control room here. "I don't know if anyone can suggest something be done — he's got bad legs from the war, and he's going to fall down!"

Nothing could be done, but luckily for

ered orders to eight camera operators in the hall and punched the buttons that determined how the debate was seen around the world.

Frequent Reaction Shots

Oversceing the operation was Alec Miran, a special events producer at CNN. "Mix it up! Mix it up!" Mr. Miran commanded throughout the event, not to the Democratic and Republican candidates (who hardly needed more encouragement), but to his subordinates, as he urged them to capture the lively repartee with frequent shots of the candidates reacting to one another.

Mr. Miran was mindful, though, that lawyers from each campaign were watching the camera angles closely, making sure the coverage was balanced. Early on, as Mr. Stockdale began talking about his war record, Mr. Miran directed the camera operators to zoom in closer on his face. "He's getting emotional," he said. "Get on him a little bit."

"But not too far," he added with caution. "We didn't go too far on Quayle."

Although there were plenty of images of Senator Gore looking on as the Vice President spoke, and vice versa, Mr. Miran made sure that such "relationship shots" occurred only if one candidate was speaking to or talking about the other.

So when the Senator relentlessly poked Mr. Quayle about his comments on arms control, Mr. Miran urgently told the director, Tom Gaut: "We need to see Quayle here! We need to see Quayle!"

The goal, always, was to focus on the candidates, not the moderator, Hal Bruno of ABC News. "Don't waste too much time on Bruno," Mr. Miran ordered at one point.

Besides images, they worried in the control room about timing. From almost the beginning, the show was running about three minutes behind on its second-by-second schedule, no small amount of time on national television. The debate's sponsors decided to eliminate a rebuttal period on the issue of ugly campaign tactics, only to find that they had more time than they needed after Mr. Stockdale offered a particularly terse reply to a question.

Mr. Miran not only kept open the lines to the networks and his assistants in the control room, but he also communicated throughout the debate with Ed Fouhy, the debate commission's executive producer who was coordinating the event back stage. "Is this the way it's supposed to be working out in your minds?" Mr. Miran asked early on. "Mixing it up like this?"

Mr. Fouhy, a former network producer, expressed satisfaction afterwards with the event, saying that he did not believe the pool crew was constrained by the intricate agreement on the format. "Trying to micromanage a television program with a lot of lawyers is something that's not going to work," he said.

It turned out to be a virtually glitch-free evening until the final moments, when the cameras should have been on Mr. Bruno, but all that the viewers saw was Mr. Quayle not speaking.

Mr. Gaut cursed, banged his fist on the console, and the show was over.

Debates on the Air

Live coverage of the 90-minute debates will be provided by ABC, CBS, NBC, Fox, C-Span, CNN, PBS and National Public Radio. Check local listings for other radio broadcasts. Times are Eastern.

PRESIDENTIAL **OCT. 15**
Richmond, 9 P.M. **Thursday**

PRESIDENTIAL **OCT. 19**
East Lansing, Mich. **Monday**
7 P.M.

the anxiety-ridden producer, as well as for Mr. Stockdale, he never fell.

The debate may have been painful for Ross Perot's running mate and his two quarrelsome combatants, Vice President Dan Quayle and Senator Al Gore, but there were also moments of panic for the people who had to put it on the air.

Not only did the producers have to grapple with a new free-for-all format that changed the dynamics of the televised debate, but they also had to abide by rigid rules spelled out by the sponsor, the bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates, to make sure each candidate got equal treatment. In an agreement signed by the campaigns, the commission goes so far as to specify suggested camera angles.

The pressure was particularly intense because the networks and cable organizations all used images of the debate that were fed to them by a single "pool" organization. The pool rotates by network at each debate, and on Tuesday night it was CNN's turn.

From a cramped, icy trailer in a parking lot outside the debate hall at Georgia Institute of Technology in Atlanta, a CNN production team deliv-

The Second Presidential Debate

Time and Place: 9-10:30 P.M. Eastern time at the University of Richmond.

Moderators: Carole Simpson, ABC.

Sponsors: Commission on Presidential Debates.

Live Coverage: ABC, CBS, CNN, C-Span, NBC and PBS. Radio station WINS, 1010 AM in New York, WCBS, 880 AM, and National Public Radio.

Format: There will be no opening remarks. Ms. Simpson will have a member of the audience pose the first question to any

On the Stage



Ross Perot Bill Clinton George Bush

candidate. The other candidates will be given time to respond.

The moderator will repeat the process, asking a member of the audience to pose a question to any candidate with time for the other candidates to respond.

Watching Debate, With Draft Beer, Shows Voter Involvement and Disinterest

By FRANCIS X. CLINES
Special to The New York Times

PARMA, Ohio, Oct. 14 — The back-road comforts of the Mama Mia lounge in this Cleveland suburb included draft beer to go with the live debate. There was a young couple spooning obliviously under the TV screen, and a man at the bar talking about "the illusion of the first time."

He was speaking of the art of debating, not spooning, and he talked back to the TV debaters, demonstrating how they might better mask all their nervous civics preparation and make memorization sound natural. "The boy stood on the burning deck, eating apples by the peck," intoned Richard N. Meadows, a speech and theater professor from across the road at Cuyahoga Community College. He made the classroom sound bite evoke Ronald Reagan speaking from his baritone heart, right to the hide-away voters at Mama Mia's.

But the TV screen was definitely resisting the illusion of the first time. The Vice-Presidential boys were

Off the Trail Visits With Americans

standing toe to toe on their own burning deck, and the Mama Mia clientele were in various stages of paying attention or not, staring into their beer, or maybe into the nation's future.

An Overriding Theme

Debate night in America can be an exercise in diffusion, a free-fall through the hustings void of sound scraps and sadly drifting agendas. There was some consensus at Mama Mia's (Dan Quayle has used nearly four years of incumbency to upgrade his nervous giggle into a self-confident laugh). And there was an overriding theme to the cacophonous night ("Dave, when you have a chance?" was shouted steadily, thirstily at the bartender, David

Reinos).

But most of all there was a fractured spectrum of voter involvement and disinterest that might have made Alexis de Tocqueville fear for the latest version of the Republic, yet fascinate him anew at how decisions come of all this.

"Marge, I'm sorry," a young man with his back to the event fairly sobbed at a waitress who passed him by, pert and silent. "I forgot all about Sunday and I'm sorry, Marge," the young man pleaded over the TV mélange of pointed fingers and raised voices. Marge continued on, carrying libation and some sort of secret as Dan Quayle kept demanding that Al Gore explain why Bill Clinton was worth trusting.

Staring at the screen, two men at a nearby table were engrossed and wondering about the election's implications for their local home-building business. The telephone beeper of one of them, Timothy Shear, suddenly cut across the buzz of candidates' talk. When he returned from the phone Mr. Shear laughed in quoting the quick

query of a friend watching the debate elsewhere. "Who is this guy?" the caller had asked of the awkward performance of the evening's third candidate, James B. Stockdale.

An Uneasy Question

Mr. Shear and his partner, Frank Spinelli, agreed that Ross Perot, a supersalesman if nothing else, would have to explain at his next debate the precise attraction of Mr. Stockdale.

"Are you afraid of someone who's a great salesman?" Mr. Shear asked, getting at what he thinks may be the heart of this year's disturbing campaign, the strange pleasure and curiosity Mr. Perot is engendering once more in the land.

"You hear comments like that in selling in our business: 'You make so much sense it scares me.' Well, could the fact that Perot is a great salesman have to do with the fact that he is listening very carefully and giving the people what they want?" Mr. Shear asked, sounding uneasy at not being sure.

Some sort of dissenter down the

bar suddenly put money in the juke box and turned the music up loud.

"Should pull the plug on that guy," said Mickey Florentino, an executive in a temporary-help agency who is doing well in the hurting economy. "How does a guy sitting here know who's telling the truth?" he asked, staring at the debaters. "That guy in the middle doesn't know what to do," he added rather sympathetically of Mr. Stockdale. "And people earning 200-thou a year are going to find a way around all the talk of taxes, right?"

Some Optimistic Talk

His friend, Phil Bova, directed an aside to the bartender, "David, when you have chance?" Then he talked optimistically above the music about the debate winking from the screen. "Listen, the future is right here," Mr. Bova insisted from his bar stool. "These guys are going to be calling the shots, leading America, and it's good this is coming right into the front room."

"You know, a lot of wonderful guys

died in wars so we could have this," he added, his beer glass glistening with reflections from the debate.

Down the bar, Mr. Meadows, the speech teacher, was savoring the headlong technique of Mr. Quayle's performance. "This is a chance for him to redeem himself," the professor said. "How many of us get a second chance?"

Another helping of music roared again over the debate, and a thin, bearded man at the juke box beamed in malicious satisfaction.

"I see spooky guys like that, playing rap music," Mr. Shear commented. "They don't understand the ramifications, can't see the changes happening in the world. The Berlin wall has come down, the cold war has ended, and anything can happen. Hey, Ross Perot could be elected President."

Whatever, David the bartender kept to his rounds, and the rap music barely allowed the final words in edgewise as the debate wound down at Mama Mia's.

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That's Fit to Print"

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Jim Esposito/The New York Times



Andrew Morton/The New York Times

Senator Al Gore, top, speaking at a rally in Pittsburgh. President Bush, bottom, welcomed Vice President Quayle back to Washington.

Campaign Trail

Baker to Wyoming? What Does It Mean?

Here's a straw in the political wind:

Edward Rollins, sometime Republican insider, sometime Republican outsider, was in New York yesterday, giving a conference of businessmen the election lowdown from Washington. How did he see the 1992 race shaping up?

Well, he replied, the other day he ran into a longtime friend from the Reagan days, James A. Baker 3d, now President Bush's chief political adviser, and asked him whether, come 1993, he would be working on domestic matters at the White House or perhaps would be returning to his former post at the State Department.

Mr. Baker's reply, "I'm going to Wyoming."

Mr. Baker owns a ranch in Wyoming.

Sometimes he goes there. Sometimes when he doesn't want to answer a question, he says he's going there. Sometimes he says he's going there and then doesn't go there.

Specter Dodges Photo With Bush

Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania has always been a strong George Bush man. He was, after all,

the chief Republican inquisitor of Anita F. Hill during the hearings on the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court.

But his steadfast support of the President is costing him. In his campaign for re-election, he's struggling to stay ahead of his Democratic opponent, Lynn Yeakel, who never fails to remind voters of his aggressive inquisitor's role.

So the other morning when President Bush flew to Philadelphia to try to salvage his own campaign in Pennsylvania, Mr. Specter did what a lot of Republican candidates are doing this fall. He declined a ride on the Presidential coattails, such as they are.

As the President stepped off the plane, the Senator skittered in and skittered out so fast that news photographers were left skittering themselves in a frantic and mostly futile effort to capture a full-face picture of him and the President. And after that he never showed again, not for any speeches, not for any rallies.

It gets worse.

In Kansas, Bob Dole, the Senate minority leader, is running a campaign ad that portrays him mainly as an independent. He even has some Democrats praising him.

In Missouri, Senator Christopher S. Bond not only steers clear of the Bush

coattails but also steered clear of the Republican National Convention.

And perhaps most telling of all, when the Bush campaign sent word to some 400 Republican candidates around the country that the President was ready and willing to pose for campaign pictures with them, only about two dozen showed up.

New Candidate With a Grand Plan

Still undecided? Looking for an alternative? Here's one:

The Federal Election Commission has just recognized the Natural Law Party as a national party and is weighing whether to give matching Federal funds to its Presidential candidate, John Hagelin, a physicist from Fairfield, Iowa.

The Natural Law Party says it is more willing than most parties to consider unusual solutions to the country's problems. It believes, for example, that transcendental meditation could help the nation see its way clear of the mire.

And that's not all. The party also thinks it wouldn't be a bad idea to take a pre-election look at the brain waves emitted by all candidates.

B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.

A22

The 1992 Campaign

In Formerly Safe Florida, It's Nip and Tuck for Bush

By R. W. APPLE JR.
Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, Oct. 14 — It has come to this for George Bush with less than three weeks left until Election Day: He could quite conceivably lose Florida, the nation's fourth largest state, which he carried by almost a million votes four years ago and which has been the safest of all the megastates for the Republicans in recent Presidential elections. The President trails Bill Clinton by a substantial margin in places where they were supposed to be slugging it out at this stage, like Pennsylvania and Illinois and New Jersey. But the race for this state's 25 electoral votes remains very close. If private polls for the two major parties are to be believed, so Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton keep returning to Florida. In mid-October 1988, Michael S. Dukakis pulled his campaign staff from the state, conceding it to Mr. Bush, who did not visit these parts at all after Labor Day. Mr. Bush may yet carry the state.

Worries about recession change politics in an important state.

Inured to defeat, local Democrats "don't dare get all that excited about winning," said Lieut. Gov. Buddy MacKay, a Democrat, "but it could just happen. If it does, it will happen largely because Florida's seemingly inexhaustible boom has proved to have limits. Even in Orlando, which has been transformed in less than 40 years from a sleepy orange-grove town of 50,000 into the world's leading tourist destination, with 76,000 hotel rooms, the most of any city in the nation.

Recession Changes Politics

In wealthy Naples on the southern Gulf Coast, unemployment has reached 13 percent. In the high-tech plants spawned by the Kennedy Space Center, workers "know they only have a year or 18 months left before the defense cutbacks get them," a union official said. Retirees in St. Petersburg and elsewhere fret because the monthly payments from their certificates of deposit and money market funds have withered. And all over the state, the banks are in the doldrums and the real estate goose has stopped laying golden eggs.

"The recession has changed the politics of Florida," commented Geoffrey

Garin, a Washington poll-taker who works for local Democrats.

"Unhappily for us, there's a smoke screen that covers Clinton, and it's called the economy," said Stan Smith, a Tampa-area consultant for Republican candidates. "While it's there, you can't get people to see Clinton's faults, let alone convince them to vote against him, and Bush hasn't been able to find a way to blow it away."

Tommy Thomas of Lakeland, a prominent Republican since his days as national committeeman in the Nixon era, has been predicting trouble for the President for months. He appealed publicly but vainly to Mr. Bush last summer to drop Vice President Dan Quayle from the ticket as a means of showing that he took the nation's problems seriously.

'It Chills My Bones'

"I wish he had done it," Mr. Thomas said, "and I'm afraid that he's going to wish he had done it, too. The problem is that no matter what he talks about, people want to know why it took him so long to wake up. It's a crying shame, but we're no better than 50-50, and he could surely lose this state. It chills my bones to think of four years of 'Slick Willie,' but that's coming, I guess."

Jeb Bush, a Miami businessman and the President's son, is his campaign chairman in Florida. He said in an interview this week that he thought his father would take Florida, but he readily conceded that there was still a good deal of work for the President to do.

"Voters here need to be given the assurance that the energy and talent that were brought to bear on world problems in the last four years are going to be focused on our country's long-term economic problems in the years ahead," he said. "I really believe that there is a large reservoir of goodwill toward Dad. But if we are going to win, we have to increase the level of confidence in him."

"We need some kind of breakthrough, and we need it soon."

Breaking through is harder when there are constant setbacks. Radio and television stations in the state routinely describe Mr. Bush as the loser in the first Presidential debate, which does nothing to dispel the suggestion, strong even here, that Mr. Clinton may be heading for a landslide victory.

There is no suggestion that Ross Perot, despite his strong showing in the first face-off, has much of a chance to win here.

Jack Gargan, the founder of a grass-roots voter organization based in Tampa, said he was still bothered by Mr. Perot's surprise decision to pull out of the race in July and his equally sudden

Political Pulse Florida



decision this month to rejoin it. He added, "That was fatal unless he can come clean convincingly."

Van Poole, the Republican state chairman, said the debates would have little impact until all of them had been completed, and for that reason, he theorized, "the decision process is going to be completed very late, as late as the last weekend."

"A lot of people say they're for Clinton, but they can't really tell you why they're for him," Mr. Poole said, in a comment typical of Republican professionals around the country this fall, seeking to keep hopes high. "I think they're agonizing over how to go. They want change, but they're afraid that Clinton's change will end up meaning higher taxes."

Democrats Are More Organized

The Republicans have been training for 18 months for a huge grass-roots effort in the final weeks, involving phone banks and get-out-the-vote campaigns. Since 1988, they have cut still further into the traditional Democratic edge in voter registration, increasing their own numbers by 200,000 while the Democratic total has fallen by 50,000. In a state with a large number of military families, they have put together

er a sophisticated absentee-ballot operation, like the one that snatched victory from Mr. MacKay in the 1988 Senate race and handed it to Connie Mack 3d, a Republican, by only 35,000 votes.

But Richard Sher, a political science professor at the University of Florida, says the Democrats are much less disorganized this year than is usually the case in this diverse state, which has five or six major population concentrations and intense regional rivalries in the state.

"We haven't seen anything like this in a long, long time," Mr. Sher said. "In the 1988 primary, Gore was completely out-organized in Florida, but he has built close ties since then. I must say that Clinton has also shown a real talent for political spadework, and for the first time in years you see local candidates clustering around the two of them when they visit the state."

Mr. Clinton has not yet put a significant amount of money into television advertising, although radio commercials are running in several cities. Mr. MacKay said that if Mr. Bush's television campaign, which is only now be-

ginning, proved to be substantial, the Democrats had money available "to do what we need to do, which is unusual."

Regional Disparities

The President's strongest regions are the Panhandle, the deeply conservative east-west strip of Florida that abuts Georgia and Alabama and shares their political culture; Dade County, centered on Miami, which is now slightly more than 50 percent Hispanic, and the Gulf Coast towns from Clearwater south, which are heavily populated by retirees from the Midwest.

Mr. Clinton is stronger in other parts of the state, and appears to be scoring among women and younger voters. Jay Hakes, a longtime Democratic strategist, said that Mr. Bush's assaults on the Arkansas Governor's antiwar activities "may have given him some lift among older voters, but it has infuriated the baby boomers."

The so-called I-4 Corridor, which runs from Tampa Bay to the Atlantic Coast, passing near Orlando, Ocala and Gainesville, may prove decisive. Most people settled in that area to take up jobs, not to retire. They are younger than the state average. Many are Reagan Democrats whose views have been affected by the state's economic woes.

Mr. Clinton's and Mr. Gore's big campaign event in Florida was a bus tour early this month with an itinerary that covered the I-4 corridor. They drew huge crowds, even in Republican strongholds like Ocala, where perhaps 10,000 people filled a rodeo arena, and the mood was exuberant. The President's crowds have been much more subdued.

"People have been waiting and waiting for the President to give them a reason to vote for him," said Bob Joffe of Mason-Dixon Political Research, which is based here. "As we get closer and he doesn't do it, a lot of people are starting to give up."

"Unhappily for us, there's a smoke screen that covers Clinton, and it's called the economy." STAN SMITH



The race for Florida's 25 electoral votes remains very close as retirees in St. Petersburg and elsewhere fret because the monthly payments from their certificates of deposit and money market funds have withered. Elderly people rested yesterday outside a center in St. Petersburg.

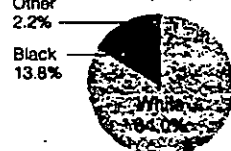
A Fragmented State and Politics

Florida's fragmented politics reflects its racial, ethnic and linguistic mix. The state gained four Congressional seats and has new districts with black and Hispanic majorities. Carrie Meek, a Democrat, is assured of becoming Florida's first black in Congress since Reconstruction. Senator Bob Graham, who was on Bill Clinton's list for No. 2, has been a top fund-raiser, gathering \$2.2 million by August.



Population

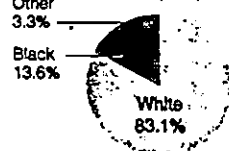
1980: 9,748,324



Hispanic origin 8.6%

People of Hispanic origin can be of any race.

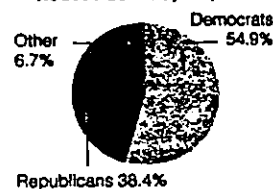
1990: 12,837,826



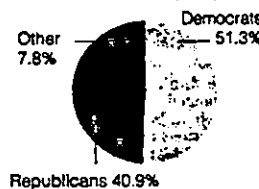
Hispanic origin 12.2%

Registered Voters

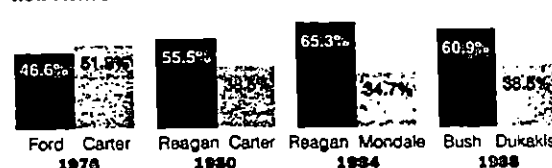
AUGUST 1988: 5,716,187



AUGUST 1992: 6,080,374

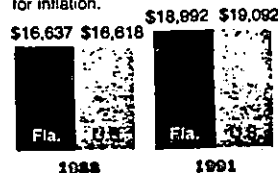


How Florida Has Voted in Presidential Elections

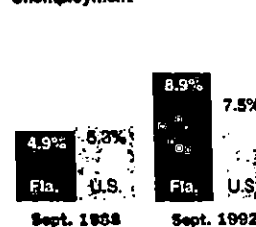


Per Capita Income

1991 figures are the most recent available and are not adjusted for inflation.



Unemployment



Sources: Census Bureau; Florida Secretary of State, Elections Division; America Votes; U.S. Commerce Department, Bureau of Economic Analysis; U.S. Labor Department, Bureau of Labor Statistics

A War of Slogans

The environment, abortion rights, America's cities — issues that didn't even emerge in Sunday's Presidential debate — finally surfaced in Tuesday night's free-for-all among the three Vice-Presidential candidates. But the disorderly proceedings defied deliberative discussion while encouraging diversions. The result was a war of slogans in which Dan Quayle emerged as the most tenacious and forceful of the sloganeers.

Sadly, Ross Perot's running mate, a decent and admirable retired admiral named James Stockdale, seemed lost between the two political pros. His opening words, "Who am I? Why am I here?" were prophetic. His efforts, however brave, did not serve the renewed Perot boomlet.

The Democrat, Al Gore, got a laugh with one of Bill Clinton's better lines when he said that "George Bush taking credit for the Berlin wall coming down is like a rooster taking credit for the sunrise." Though often appearing wooden, Senator Gore seemed the best informed and most animated by substantive issues.

Yet Mr. Quayle was clearly the surprise of the evening, showing a good deal more energy than his boss. He seized nearly every chance, whatever the question, to focus on two main contentions: that the Democrats will surely raise taxes, and that Mr.

Clinton has neither the "strength or the character to be President."

At various intervals, however, Mr. Quayle provided more diversion than substance. On the issue of military spending, for example, he recalled that many in Mr. Gore's party and Mr. Gore himself had supported a nuclear freeze. What in the world does that have to do with the future of the defense budget? On the issue of the health care cost crisis, Mr. Quayle prattled on at length — using up much of the time allotted — about the expense of malpractice suits, a relatively small component of the cost problem.

On balance, the debate was an improvement on Sunday's meeting among the Presidential candidates. A single moderator is clearly preferable to a big panel. There's far more room for spontaneity and freewheeling discussion.

But Tuesday's debate did not carve much more deeply beneath the surface of important issues than the earlier one did.

The main reason is that the candidates dominated the moderator. They strayed from the questions at hand and used the time to repeat the two or three key points each found important. One moderator is better, but more needs to be done to keep the principals in line.

School Choice, by Charter

Everyone seems to favor some kind of choice in education these days. President Bush wants to use taxpayer dollars to allow students to attend private and parochial schools. Gov. Bill Clinton wants to encourage more choice among public schools. And now Gov. Jim Florio of New Jersey has endorsed a new kind of public school — charter schools — to provide parents yet a broader choice.

Charter schools would be authorized, perhaps by a county or state board of education, to function as self-governing units outside the control of the local school district. They would be supported by public funds distributed by the state legislature.

They can be organized by teachers and parents, who choose the curriculum and design an academic program free of cumbersome regulations that

would be imposed by the local school authority. But such freedom is not granted without accountability. The school would be chartered for a limited period of time, like five years, and then evaluated for continuation, based on what students learn.

Legislation to try charter schools has passed in Minnesota and California, but only one small charter school in Minneapolis has begun operation. Minnesota's law envisions eight charter schools. California would allow up to 100.

Each state considering the idea must decide what body is to be the chartering authority, what standards will be used and how the schools will be held accountable.

Mr. Florio has endorsed a provocative idea. Now he needs to flesh out the details.

The Problem With 'Read My Lips'

With President Bush's popularity rating still frozen under 40 percent, dismayed Republicans are already straining, should he fail to win re-election, for explanations. High on their list is that he broke his famous six-word pledge to the 1988 Republican Convention — "Read my lips: No new taxes." If only he had held firm during negotiations with Congress in 1990, he'd be riding high today.

It's a furious but fanciful charge, which ignores reality. The problem with the "read my lips" pledge is not that Mr. Bush broke it; he had no choice. The problem is that he made it in the first place.

President Bush knew when he insisted on proclaiming those six words that they risked undermining his capacity to govern. In a revealing four-part series last week in *The Washington Post*, Bob Woodward described how Mr. Bush's closest economic advisers fought the no-tax pledge and warned that it would backfire.

Backfire it did. Less than two years later, forced by law to cut the bulging deficit, Mr. Bush acted responsibly. He renounced his pledge and agreed to a modest tax hike as part of a \$500 billion deficit-reduction package. Had he done otherwise, the budget law would have forced amputating huge hunks of government.

Even before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, the economy was slowing and the savings and loan bailout was racking up fantastic costs. The 1991 deficit was rising far above the target set by the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget law.

Under that law, Congress and the President had to eliminate the deficit overrun through a combination of spending cuts and new revenue.

Otherwise the Administration would have had to cut spending across the board. That would have chopped about \$40 billion out of defense and perhaps one-third of every other discretionary program — air traffic control, weather forecasting, scientific research, the F.B.I.

Mr. Bush blames the Democrats for forcing him to renege on his pledge. But he never offered his own plan to meet the mandated deficit target without raising taxes. Nor could he seek repeal of the budget law because powerful figures like Senator Phil Gramm of Texas would have blocked that as fiscal irresponsibility.

So Mr. Bush did the only thing he could do. He sat down with Congressional leaders and hammered out a bill that, by modestly raising gasoline taxes and income taxes on the non-poor, avoided Draconian spending cuts. The resulting law has worked pretty much as promised. Congress has so far held responsibly to its agreement not to pass any large program without identifying the source of its funding.

Even so, voters could not forget the fiercely dramatic 1988 pledge. Playing to feelings of constancy, Patrick Buchanan challenged Mr. Bush in Presidential primaries. That prompted the President to do a second turnabout. Repeatedly since last spring, he has apologized for going along with new taxes in the 1990 budget agreement.

His newest never-never-never tax stance further confounds reality. This posturing will do no more to reduce the deficit now than "read my lips" did then, let alone pay for initiatives like health care reform that he himself proposes. Instead of leading the country out of its present economic stagnation, he asks the public to re-reread his lips.

Foreign Affairs

LESLIE H. GELB

No Longer for Bush

Foreign leaders, seeing American economic troubles and sensing the passage of their comfortable second-fiddle days, are beginning to think of the U.S. and themselves in new and revolutionary ways. The trends are unmistakable in the comments of leaders and diplomats moving in and out of the U.N. and Washington in recent weeks.

Many, except mainly Arabs, are setting aside their generation-old preference for Republican realism in foreign affairs. Their top priority now is a U.S. President who can restore America's economic dynamism — and thus help jolt their own economies. And like Americans, they are losing faith that George Bush can do the job.

Many world leaders also are recalibrating America's power and importance. To them, the U.S. remains pre-eminent, but not as lofty as before — except in the military sphere. In other arenas, foreign leaders are taking initiatives without waiting for Washington's blessing.

Even as these new attitudes evolve, one upshot is already clear: The world's major industrial powers are not lifting a finger to help President Bush's re-election — as they helped him four years ago and as they have backed his Republican predecessors since 1972, when George McGovern made Democrats look like isolationists.

Four years ago, Japan and Germany propped up the value of the dollar to make the U.S. economy look stronger and give Mr. Bush a lift over Michael Dukakis. This year, Tokyo did nothing to reduce its huge trade surplus with the U.S., and Bonn's bankers rejected White House pleas to lower interest rates. Western Europeans and most Asians have their own problems; Mr. Bush will have to fend for himself in 1992.

At the same time, most world leaders applaud Bill Clinton's enthusiasm for issues like environmentalism and population control. These are very big matters outside the U.S., and Mr. Bush has been a tremendous drag on both.

Most of all, leaders of industrialized democracies look to Mr. Clinton to do something about the beleaguered U.S. economy. They think his ideas somewhat fuzzy. But at least he has ideas — unlike Mr. Bush.

The notable exception to this trend away from supporting Mr. Bush is Arab states. Kuwait changed plans to buy tanks from Britain and decided to buy American instead. The Saudis, though strapped for cash, went ahead

with a multibillion-dollar purchase of F-15 fighter-bombers.

Chinese leaders are also staying by Mr. Bush's side. They gave in to his trade demands and did not explode over U.S. F-16 fighter sales to Taiwan.

China's present rulers cringe when they think about the intrusive passions of Democrats for human rights and democracy. So do most other world leaders.

Many leaders are putting aside these qualms about a Democratic foreign policy and their affinity for Republican pragmatism abroad in hope that Democrats can repair America. In the past they rarely worried about our economy, often demanding financial sacrifices of the U.S. as the price of its leadership. Now such sacrifices are too much to ask.

Western Europeans continue to struggle toward greater economic unity, largely without reference to

World leaders rethink America.

Washington. The economic power of the European Community, even in disarray, equals America's. Its members can afford to settle their internal matters themselves.

Japanese leaders are planning new initiatives on the environment, trade and refugees. They will go ahead with these plans to define their own leadership role whether Mr. Bush wins or loses — or the U.S. approves or disapproves.

Most surprisingly, Syria and the Palestinians will bring new ideas to next week's talks with Israel. They have evolved their own interests in advancing negotiations even without heavy U.S. pressure.

Where the U.S. still counts most is on the military front. There, others remain fearful of treading without U.S. muscle or leadership. European passivity on Bosnia is typical.

Much else, however, is turning topsy-turvy. For the first time since 1945, most of the world seems ready to forgo American leadership on certain issues, knowing America must focus on healing itself. Meantime, many nations will begin to accept greater responsibility for their own problems. All in all, these are healthy trends — if the U.S. seizes the chance to fix itself up. □

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Humans Confront Android

WASHINGTON

"Like a deer caught in the headlights": that savage simile, used by late-night comics to ridicule Dan Quayle for the past four years, was slyly set forth at the outset of the Vice-Presidential debate in the deep, resonant, terribly earnest voice of Al Gore.

Senator Gore is not, as has been charged, a robot. That is a libel. Call-me-Al is a sentient being, capable of genuine feelings of political ambition, whose perfect looks, organized presentation and eerily unflappable demeanor combine to suggest that we are in the presence of an android.

Al was programmed to begin every statement with "Bill Clinton and I," to show he knew his place on the ticket, and to conclude every statement with a question, a debating device to keep an opponent on the defensive. For a while it worked: for example, the forceful Gore answer on abortion, recalling the disastrous Republican Convention in Houston and its uncompromising platform plank, will reinforce the decision of millions of conservative women to desert the Republican Party this year.

But what he thought to be a frightened deer caught in his headlights turned out to be a grizzly bear climbing up over the hood.

Dan Quayle — scorned, derided and pilloried ever since his evisceration in debate by Lloyd Bentsen in the last campaign — came slashing back to brake the Bush decline by carrying out the assignment traditionally given Vice Presidents: to smite the opposition candidate where it hurts most.

Stammering like a human being as he groped to marshal arguments, grinning too delightedly at his own sallies — "You're pulling a Clinton" gave an eponym to changing a position — Quayle was an imperfect but effective debater in command of his basic message: Even if you're unhappy with Bush, you can't trust Clinton.

And when hit by the charge that his was a negative campaign, Quayle could present his unassailable, hard-earned credentials: "'Personal, negative attacks' — has anyone been reading my press clippings for the past four years?"

The dramatic clash between the scarred, nothing-to-lose Quayle and the smooth, everything-to-gain Gore was made the more memorable by the presence of a Greek chorus in the person of the tongue-tied Stoic hero, Admiral Stockdale.

He represented everything the two candidates were not: elderly, hard of hearing, unversed in soundbiting, too polite to point for oratorical emphasis, admittedly "out of ammunition" on complex domestic issues, comfortable in his own skin and uncomfortable in the limelight, and above all not afflicted with the need to prove his character.

For Quayle, debating well is the best revenge.

Unlike his running mate, Ross Perot — who took a free four-year education at Annapolis and then tried to slip out of his service obligation by professing shock at sailors' profanity — the decent and brave Stockdale served and suffered, ennobling his captivity.

Because his moment of glory was not his moment of fame, he came across as the antithesis of slickness. As he groped painfully for words, the audience identified with his pain. We were embarrassed with him but proud of him, because he is what he is, and reminded us vividly that political figures are often not what they seem to be.

This was one of those great moments in American life when the nation comes together to share an experience neither frightening nor artificial. It was not a crisis nor a movie but a political-emotional event.

Issues, shmissues — this was uniquely American drama, grace stumbling under pressure, each participant being changed in the crucible of those 90 nationally watched minutes.

The Admiral's life, not his character, will be changed by his moment representing Everyman; look for his book and movie.

Dan Quayle, who never really lost his self-respect, now has gained the grudging respect of his political peers. Four years ago, when the ticket was a winner, he was a loser; now it may be the other way around.

And what of the debate's effect on the man favored to become the one within a heartbeat of the Presidency?

The Tennessean tried unalloyed schmaltz in his convention speech, and then for this debate programmed himself into an android. Neither rang true. We can hope that some of the stuffiness has been knocked out of him, because we may have Al Gore to kick around for a long time. □

Bush Camp Using Tax Office To Attack Clinton Proposals

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 14 — Over the years, the Treasury Department's Office of Tax Analysis has operated like the Bureau of Labor Statistics, a source of reliable data with no overtones of partisan politics.

But this year, the Bush Administration has used the tax office's staff and computers to generate questionable assessments of Gov. Bill Clinton's tax proposals.

Desiree Tucker-Sorini, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Public Affairs, defended the new procedures today. "It is our job to analyze economic proposals and their implications on tax policy," regardless of where the proposals come from, she said.

But tax experts from both parties who were in charge of the office in previous Administrations said they found its involvement in election-year politics troubling.

John E. Chapoton, who headed the tax office in the first Reagan Administration, said he had never before heard of the office becoming involved in a political campaign. "It's not wise to do anything that compromises the trust people have in the office as completely

objective," he said.

Last month, the head of the tax office, Fred T. Goldberg Jr., Assistant Treasury Secretary for Tax Policy, called reporters to his office and said the Treasury Department's calculations showed that the Clinton policies could increase the taxes of Americans with incomes as low as \$20,000 a year.

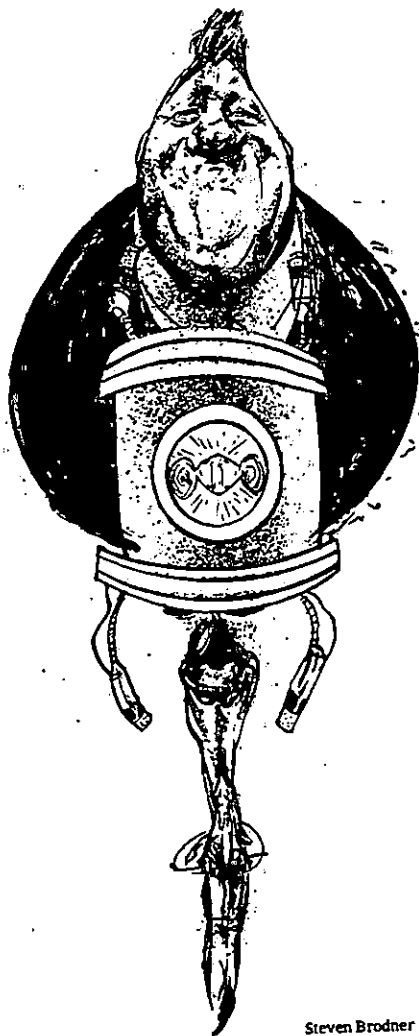
Mr. Clinton maintains that he would raise the taxes only of couples with incomes of more than \$200,000 and individuals with incomes above about \$150,000. The Treasury's computer calculations were based on unprovable assumptions provided by President Bush's election campaign.

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1992

A27



Steven Brodner

Stay Cool, Clinton

By Susan Estrich

AS long as Bill Clinton doesn't admit it, he's already won the election. The country has already said goodbye to George Bush, and nothing he says tonight or on Sunday will make Americans change their minds and vote for another four years.

As for Ross Perot, no matter how funny he is in October, he's still the same man who was flaky in July, and most voters remember that. For Bill Clinton, the rule for tonight is the same as the rule for the next 19 days of the campaign. It's the Hippocratic oath: first, do no harm.

The Republicans have no smoking guns on Mr. Clinton — no K.G.B. files,

no bimbos in closets; if they had, they would have used them long ago, long before resorting to a gambit as transparently desperate as the announcement that James Baker would be put in charge of domestic policy for the second term. Rather than shoring up a weakness, the President's feeble attempt to make news in the first debate simply underscored his own economic failure and left Governor Clinton in an even more commanding position.

Everybody always has advice for a winner: Bill Clinton is being told daily that now is the time to get a mandate, be honest about sacrifice, be Presidential, not just sit on his lead. There's nothing wrong with that advice except that it misses the basic point. You have to win before you can govern. For the rest of the campaign, Governor Clinton needs to keep his eye on winning the Presidency, not on being President. This may not be pretty civics, but it's real politics.

If President Bush comes out swinging on trust and character, then Bill Clinton should do what he's done so well in this campaign: swing right back. The answer to Dan Quayle's taunts, and to the President's repeated efforts to sucker punch the Governor into a debate about Vietnam, is plain. It's not about what Bill Clinton

did 20 years ago as a student, but about what George Bush has done in the White House. No. 1: "Read my lips." No. 2: Conflicting stories about Iran-contra. No. 3: His disastrous policies of coddling Saddam Hussein, and then sending our kids to war. Bill Clinton moved his state forward, while George Bush took us back — to the worst economy since the Depression. And we're supposed to trust him? For four more years of that?

Tonight, Bill Clinton should speak to those Americans who voted for George Bush and now feel that their

But don't be too much of a wonk.

President betrayed them. A year ago, while they were hurting, the President was out playing golf. At Christmas, while they were cutting back on gift giving, the President posed for photos buying socks at K-Mart and told them to wait for the State of the Union address. And even in Sunday's debate, the President said that Americans' economic worries were overstated. The economy is the real character issue in this year's campaign.

Beyond that, the challenge for Bill Clinton has more to do with tone and style than substance and policy. Humor, especially self-deprecating humor, goes a long way, as Ross Perot proved. So does plain English.

Next to Ross Perot, the President and Governor Clinton sounded like politicians giving scripted answers. That's paradoxical, because Mr. Perot's cracker-barrel homilies are so less packaged. But at least they seem fresh, and in politics appearance is everything.

Bill Clinton's canned answers are, at least more persuasive than George Bush's: he doesn't have the President's miserable economic record to defend, and he does have plans and programs for the future. The briefing book answers won't lose Mr. Clinton votes, but they won't turn supporters into enthusiasts either, or close the deal with uncommitted voters.

The American people, having made up their minds about Mr. Bush, want to like Bill Clinton; they're ready to fall in love, or at least in like. He just needs to talk to us in clear, accessible terms. It's a matter of inviting us in. That's what he did at the Democratic convention in July, and that's what he has to do in Richmond tonight.

Susan Estrich, professor of law at the University of Southern California, was manager of the Dukakis-Bentsen campaign in 1988.

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Humans Confront Android

WASHINGTON

"Like a deer caught in the headlights": that savage simile, used by late-night comics to ridicule Dan Quayle for the past four years, was slyly set forth at the outset of the Vice-Presidential debate in the deep, resonant, terribly earnest voice of Al Gore.

Senator Gore is not, as has been charged, a robot. That is a libel. Call-me-Al is a sentient being, capable of genuine feelings of political ambition, whose perfect looks, organized presentation and eerily unflappable demeanor combine to suggest that we are in the presence of an android.

Al was programmed to begin every statement with "Bill Clinton and I," to show he knew his place on the ticket, and to conclude every statement with a question, a debating device to keep an opponent on the defensive. For a while it worked: for example, the forceful Gore answer on abortion, recalling the disastrous Republican Convention in Houston and its uncompromising platform plank, will reinforce the decision of millions of conservative women to desert the Republican Party this year.

But what he thought to be a frightened deer caught in his headlights turned out to be a grizzly bear climbing up over the hood.

Dan Quayle — scorned, derided and pilloried ever since his evisceration in debate by Lloyd Bentsen in the last campaign — came slashing back to brake the Bush decline by carrying out the assignment traditionally given Vice Presidents: to smite the opposition candidate where it hurts most.

Stammering like a human being as he groped to marshal arguments, grinning too delightedly at his own sallies — "You're pulling a Clinton" gave an eponym to changing a position — Quayle was an imperfect but effective debater in command of his basic message: Even if you're unhappy with Bush, you can't trust Clinton.

And when hit by the charge that his was a negative campaign, Quayle could present his unassailable, hard-earned credentials: "'Personal, negative attacks' — has anyone been reading my press clippings for the past four years?"

The dramatic clash between the scarred, nothing-to-lose Quayle and the smooth, everything-to-gain Gore was made the more memorable by the presence of a Greek chorus in the person of the tongue-tied Stoic hero, Admiral Stockdale.

He represented everything the two candidates were not: elderly, hard of hearing, unversed in soundbiting, too polite to point for oratorical emphasis, admittedly "out of ammunition" on complex domestic issues, comfortable in his own skin and uncomfortable in the limelight, and above all not afflicted with the need to prove his character.

For Quayle, debating well is the best revenge.

Unlike his running mate, Ross Perot — who took a free four-year education at Annapolis and then tried to slip out of his service obligation by professing shock at sailors' profanity — the decent and brave Stockdale served and suffered, ennobling his captivity.

Because his moment of glory was not his moment of fame, he came across as the antithesis of slickness. As he groped painfully for words, the audience identified with his pain. We were embarrassed with him but proud of him, because he is what he is, and reminded us vividly that political figures are often not what they seem to be.

This was one of those great moments in American life when the nation comes together to share an experience neither frightening nor artificial. It was not a crisis nor a movie but a political-emotional event.

Issues, shmissues — this was uniquely American drama, grace stumbling under pressure, each participant being changed in the crucible of those 90 nationally watched minutes.

The Admiral's life, not his character, will be changed by his moment representing Everyman; look for his book and movie.

Dan Quayle, who never really lost his self-respect, now has gained the grudging respect of his political peers. Four years ago, when the ticket was a winner, he was a loser; now it may be the other way around.

And what of the debate's effect on the man favored to become the one within a heartbeat of the Presidency?

The Tennessean tried unalloyed schmaltz in his convention speech, and then for this debate programmed himself into an android. Neither rang true. We can hope that some of the stuffiness has been knocked out of him, because we may have Al Gore to kick around for a long time. □

Bush Camp Using Tax Office To Attack Clinton Proposals

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 14 — Over the years, the Treasury Department's Office of Tax Analysis has operated like the Bureau of Labor Statistics, a source of reliable data with no overtones of partisan politics.

But this year, the Bush Administration has used the tax office's staff and computers to generate questionable assessments of Gov. Bill Clinton's tax proposals.

Desiree Tucker-Sorini, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Public Affairs, defended the new procedures today. "It is our job to analyze economic proposals and their implications on tax policy," regardless of where the proposals come from, she said.

But tax experts from both parties who were in charge of the office in previous Administrations said they found its involvement in election-year politics troubling.

John E. Chapoton, who headed the tax office in the first Reagan Administration, said he had never before heard of the office becoming involved in a political campaign. "It's not wise to do anything that compromises the trust people have in the office as completely

objective," he said.

Last month, the head of the tax office, Fred T. Goldberg Jr., Assistant Treasury Secretary for Tax Policy, called reporters to his office and said the Treasury Department's calculations showed that the Clinton policies could increase the taxes of Americans with incomes as low as \$20,000 a year.

Mr. Clinton maintains that he would raise the taxes only of couples with incomes of more than \$200,000 and individuals with incomes above about \$150,000. The Treasury's computer calculations were based on unprovable assumptions provided by President Bush's election campaign.

Mr. Goldberg was joined by two other Assistant Treasury Secretaries, Ms. Tucker-Sorini and Hollis S. McLoughlin, who serves as chief of staff for Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady. They spoke then only on the condition that their names not be used. Two days later, the three went to the Bush-Quayle campaign headquarters and made the same sweeping assertions under the same condition.

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Get Angry, Bush

By Rush H. Limbaugh 3d

The most important thing President Bush must reveal in tonight's Presidential debate is anger. Make no mistake — his Democratic opponent richly deserves it.

In addition to being disingenuous, Bill Clinton is Robo-Candidate, a walking, talking public policy manual. Friends, you could see his programming at work Sunday night. Step 1: Pause 2.6 seconds while the requisite issue is installed in the

Rush H. Limbaugh 3d, a syndicated radio and television talk show host, is author of "The Way Things Ought to Be."

brain. Step 2: Grimace to provide the illusion that human thought is occurring. (Bite lip if emotion is necessary.) Step 3: Play back Sincere Policy Answer 5b. This is a candidate, folks, whose most effective weapon is to stupefy voters.

And — though it boggles the mind — the strategy appears to be working. How else can you explain, in this era of virulent distrust of government, that the candidate ahead in the polls is the one most infatuated with making government bigger and more intrusive and more expensive? Obvi-

The strategy for tonight: attack.

ously, no one is thinking about what the man actually says.

As Ross "I'm All Ears" Perot provided comic relief, George Bush went about giving a rock solid performance in St. Louis. You won't find this assessment anywhere else, friends, but the fact is: Mr. Bush told the truth. What he said was correct. He spoke with assurance and he was composed. These observations are unassailable — go back and watch the tape.

The key to these debates, however, is television ability, pure and simple. President Bush needs to cut through the noise so that his strong message will connect with the public. To do this, he must marshal his passion, his energy, his conviction, his confidence. And he must do so in such a way that it forces Governor Clinton off his formulated answers, allowing the public to take a true measure of the man.

The starting point must be the economy. Granted, this is a tough economy, but the President should not be defensive about his optimistic message, which is absolutely correct. I am weary, as he should be, of his opponents sneeringly characterizing him as "out of touch" because he dares to portray the American economy as the strongest in the world.

It is.

Inflation has been whipped, inventories are lean, interest rates have been wrestled to 20-year lows. Housing starts, retail and car sales have been posting gains. Although politically tempting, Mr. Bush must not, as Mr. Clinton has, pander to the electorate's current masochistic desire for tales of economic pain, misery and woe. The President's upbeat reckoning is, in fact, an honest one.

When Bill Clinton says we are in the worst economic period in 50 years, the President has a right to be angry. The worst economic period in the last 50 years was under Jimmy

Carter, which led to the 1981-82 recession, a recession more punishing than the current one.

Indeed, let Mr. Bush press Mr. Clinton to do the math on his "Putting Government First" economic plan, which will devastate American business. And when the Governor says, "We don't need any more trickle-down economics," the President must pointedly ask why the Democratic Party always runs against prosperity.

When Mr. Clinton links the President with McCarthyism, Mr. Bush can again be furious. The double standard here amazes me. Conservatives in every area of life — Robert Bork and Clarence Thomas, for example — have been crucified for past statements and activities, real or imagined. Yet examine the record and judgment of a liberal Democrat (say, a vaguely explained trip to Moscow when Moscow was literally enemy territory) and you are denounced for using sleaze and dirty tricks.

This, to quote a great leader, must not stand.

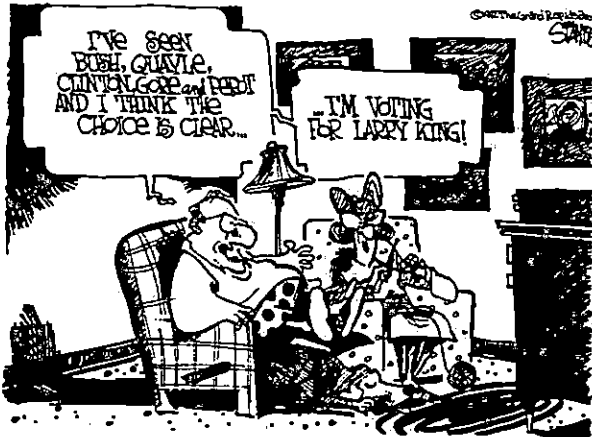
During the first debate, the President was Presidential. He was gracious. He was fair to the point of being self-effacing. So now that the formalities are out of the way, it is time for the President to follow the excellent example of the Vice President on Tuesday night and take off the gloves.

10/15/92

USA TODAY

OPINIONLINE

Presidential endorsements across the USA



Scott Stantis, The Grand Rapids Press

Newspapers declare for Clinton, Bush

DAYTON (OHIO) DAILY NEWS: "This guy Clinton is fine. He's decent, progressive, smart, thoughtful, experienced, skilled. These are the characteristics — or most of them — to want in a president. More boldness would be nice, too, in the form of a little less eagerness to please everybody. But in 1992, Bill Clinton represents a grand opportunity for the American people to revive American politics by replacing a decrepit, embarrassing, floundering, characterless, mean-spirited national leadership with forces of change founded in mainstream American values. ... The team of Bill Clinton and Al Gore has declined to sink into the morass of ugliness that George Bush has jumped into shamelessly. ... They're not the lesser of evils. They're actually pretty good guys."

THE COLUMBUS (OHIO) DISPATCH: "In this year of economic and governmental stagnation, many voters are frustrated and unhappy with established national politicians, including the president. Americans' disenchantment is understandable, but they also should ask what can reasonably be expected of any president — and especially whether this year's challenger could serve the nation better. The Dispatch thinks not. Rather, we believe that Bush has done a creditable job under difficult circumstances, while Clinton clearly lacks the background, character and constructive agenda to lead the nation. ... Although Perot deserves credit for focusing attention on the difficult choices the nation faces, he has no chance of victory, so votes for him will be wasted."

THE (CONN.) REGISTER CITIZEN: "This nation's next president simply must help break the gridlock in Washington. The growing paralysis of government does more than block needed action; it destroys the belief that democracy can work, that it can create a future of opportunity for the next generation of Americans. ... Of the two major contenders, it is Bill Clinton who has by far the better chance to succeed in these tasks. The Register Citizen endorses the Democratic nominee in part because many of his positions are those this newspaper has advocated. But it may be just as important that with Mr. Clinton in the White House, the nation will at least have a chance to cope with problems whose gravity neither he nor George Bush, the incumbent, may yet recognize."

TULSA (OKLA.) WORLD: "After more than a year of campaigning, neither George Bush nor Bill Clinton has outlined a clearly defined program that addresses the nation's most serious concerns. Both have disappointed. Of the two, however, the *Tulsa World* believes President Bush is the better choice. ... Bush has a known record. He has vetoed 36 bills, most of which would have been supported by Clinton. The measures fall generally into a familiar pattern — more government regulation, more government spending and more government interference in private business. If there is to be a change in America, Bush's veto record is a better guidepost than Clinton's muted promises of more and bigger government."

THE MODESTO (CALIF.) BEE: "This is a contest between fear and hope. George Bush has presided distractedly for four years over a struggling economy, rising social tension and growing cynicism. He warns of worse times ahead if the nation's course is changed. He warns of higher taxes, big government, more regulation if his opponent takes his place. Bill Clinton offers a different direction, a partnership between government and the people to renew economic growth and the nation's commitment to equality, community and personal responsibility. ... Even in looking to him for leadership, Americans should not expect Clinton to work wonders. The tide of worldwide economic change and the effects of a dozen years of Reagan-Bush me-first neglect and decay will not be easily overcome. But even small victories cannot be won without hope and leadership."

THE CINCINNATI POST: "There cannot be many Americans who are satisfied with George Bush's term as president. ... Americans are worried about their jobs, the cost of educating their children, the country's mounting debt. Here at home, Bush's leadership has lacked focus and resolve. Even so, this election is not a referendum on the past, as some are claiming. It is a choice between alternative policies and teams to steer the first full presidential term of the post-Cold War age. Unwilling to turn both White House and Congress over to big-government Democrats at this historic juncture — and hoping that Bush has learned from his mistakes — we believe his re-election in November will serve the country best."



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JOE URSCHEL

Scoring debates — wordwise

Halfway through the debates — the last big battle in the campaign's war of words — it's hard to tell who is winning.

But in a rhetorical battle, bullets are your words. So let's look at the ordnance.

Candidates use debates to reinforce their position. Perot and Clinton are attacking Bush's economics. Bush is stressing experience while assaulting Clinton's character and the onerous "tax-and-spend" policies of his party.

Bush fired off seven "tax-and-spends" in the first debate.

On his experience (a word he used twice), Bush mentioned "world



Joe Urschel's column appears on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

peace" (or a variation of it) 10 times, "commander in chief" four and winning the "Cold War" once. After that, he must have figured four references to Clinton's "character" would do.

Clinton, of course, thinks we need a change in leadership. He hammered the word "change" 14 times. Bush was ready for that, countering we don't need change "for change's sake." In that vein, he said "change" 10 times.

Clinton got his licks in on the economic front, however. He mentioned "jobs" 15 times, "economy" (or a slight variation) 11 times and threw in four derisive "trickle downs."

Perot needed to point out he could best fix the economy because he's not an unctuous, gridlocked politician. His language was all "business" (five times) with words like "companies," "manufacturing," "competitors" and "mismanaged" peppered throughout. He said "industry" or "industrialized" 13 times, "capitalism" five.

He contends the people want to hire him. "The people" got 16 mentions. "The people" like action, not talk. Perot said "do it" six times, "do the job" twice, and for good measure added, "Let's get on with it!"

Quayle and Gore provided great reinforcement. Gore got in six "trickle downs" to Quayle's four "tax-and-spends." But Quayle shortened it and rattled off another 21 "taxes." Gore countered with 27 uses of "jobs" or "work."

Stockdale got "economy" in eight times with "manufacturing" and "factories" once each before he ran out of ammo.

10/15/92

USA TODAY

LETTERS

Candidates must address the deficit issue, USA TODAY said Monday in an editorial. Readers respond to the first presidential debate:

Knockout to come

I waited for the Sunday debate with great anticipation. I could hardly wait to see President Bush tear into Clinton and expose his soft underbelly. I watched, but it never happened.

The media are telling us that Bush didn't deliver a "knockout punch" and, therefore, he lost. Nothing could be further from the truth. He won the debate by not losing.

Clinton, on the other hand, appeared overprepared and very staged, looking like a life-size "Ken" doll.

As for Ross Perot, I thought his performance was interesting and entertaining. However, he spent too much time attacking Bush's record and defending the judgment of Clinton's "young mind."

The president has two more debates in which to expose Clinton's vulnerabilities and weaknesses. There is plenty of time to throw that "knockout punch."

John R. Guy
Maumee, Ohio



IT'S OVER: Candidates leave stage after Sunday's debate.

Reader's alternative

If the public is dumb enough to buy Ross Perot's 50-cent gasoline tax, these must be the same people who own ocean-front property in Arizona. This tax would add to our economic problems. There would be job losses in transportation and the travel industry, and the people who are barely getting by would no longer be able to.

You have one candidate who wants to tax the rich, the other wants to cut the taxes on the rich, and the other is rich. The solution is simple and fair. All three income classes share in a federal 1% sales tax on every

dollar. In less than three years the deficit is gone and there's a surplus.

Charlie Carpenter
Clinton, N.C.

Priority is jobs

I like Clinton's policies; we cannot collect taxes unless we have jobs. The interest-rate cutting doesn't mean anything because if you don't have a job you have no money and you can't buy anything. You have to get the economy going by getting jobs, then people can pay into the system.

Narvel Flye
Bay City, Texas

The V-P 'pingpong match'

By Dick Dougherty

The vice presidential debate in a nutshell:

Did.
Didn't.
Did too.
Didn't.
Did so.
Didn't.
Yes you did.
No I didn't.
Not fair.
Yes fair.

Bush did it.
No he didn't.
Yes he did.
Clinton did it.
Didn't.
Did.
Didn't.
Did.
Didn't.
Did did did did did!
Didn't didn't didn't didn't!
In conclusion, let me say:
Did.
Didn't.
Time, gentlemen.

Nice debate, Al.
I won.
No you didn't.
Did.
Didn't didn't didn't!
Did did did!
I sure didn't.
Aw, admiral. You did fine.
Didn't.
Did.
Have it your way.

Dick Dougherty is a columnist for the Rochester, N.Y., Times-Union.

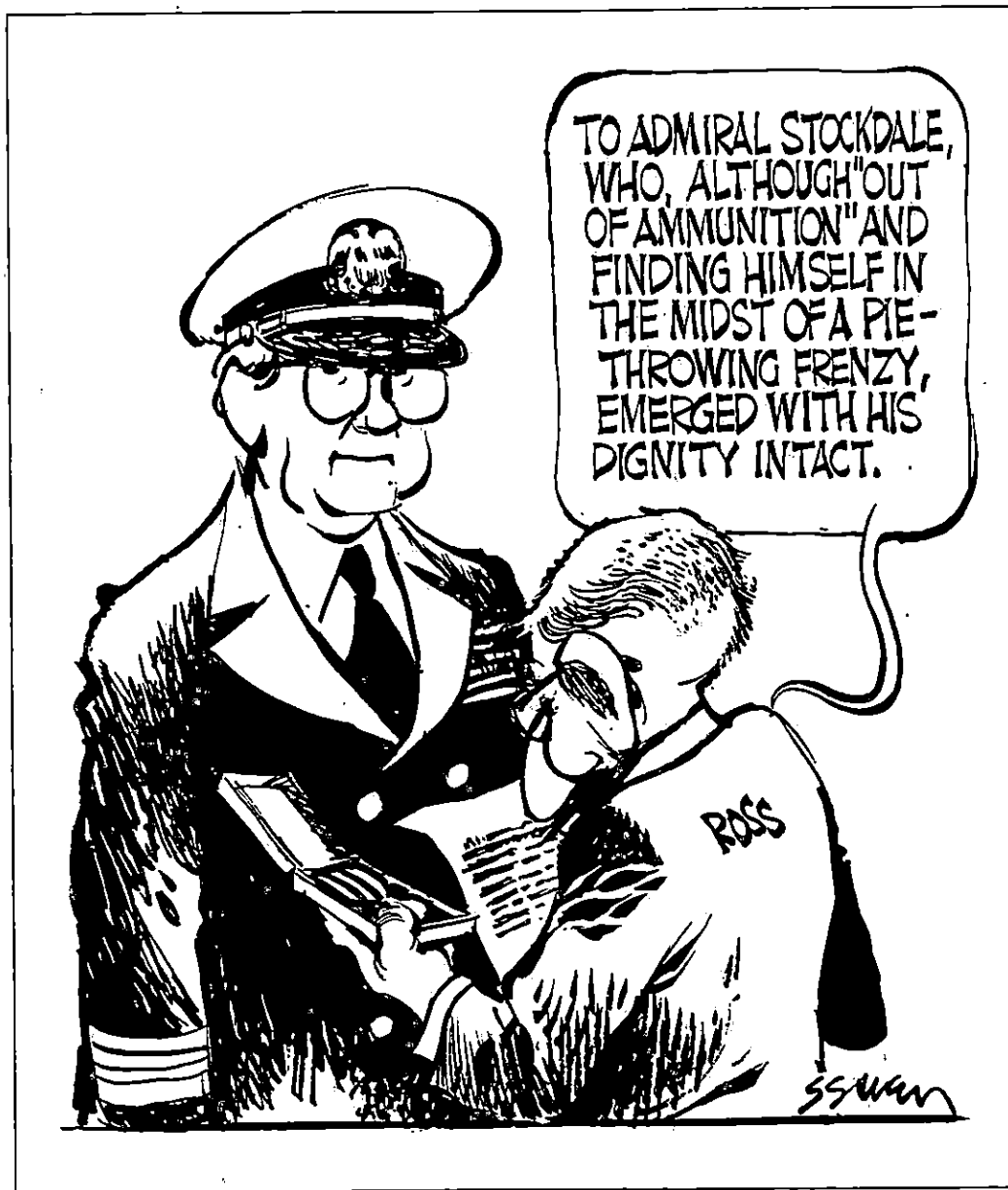
10/15/92

But Quayle escalated the personal assault. He may have said "character" only twice, but he invented "pulling a Clinton" (three times), meaning "reverse your position." He topped that with "tell the truth" as in "Why doesn't Bill Clinton ... " He tossed eight of those verbal grenades.

Gore, the Robocop of the debates, stuck with the chief's battle plan: He fired off "change" 11 times.

All this leaves me about as confused as you are. But, at this point, if I had to pick a winner, I'd say, "Clinton."

Although I reserve the right to pull one later.



By David Seavey, USA TODAY

10/15/92

The Revenge of the Nerds Is Quayle's Triumph

■ **The debates:** The 'in crowd' is out, and he's winning points and applause—if not many votes—for conservative issues.

By ELAINE CIULLA KAMARCK

There is no greater measure of the deep, deep trouble in which this Administration finds itself than the fact that less than three weeks before Election Day, Dan Quayle managed to have a better debate night than his boss did. Even though the vice president started out like a college kid who has overdosed on amphetamines in preparation for the final exam, when he finally calmed down he actually had something coherent to say—which is more than could be said for his boss. This yielded the big news out of the vice presidential debate: Dan Quayle isn't an idiot after all.

Proving that one is not a moron, however, is not the stuff of which election victories are made. Election victories are made or lost on the record of the incumbent. Once past the fireworks, the most interesting thing about Quayle's performance Tuesday was how it illustrated the Administration that could have been.

Think of the White House as you would think of your average American high school. There is the "in crowd"; they wear fashionable clothes and hold the good parties. In the White House, the "in crowd" are the ones closest to the President. On domestic policy, this crowd was led by Chief of Staff John Sununu and Budget Director Richard Darman.

In your typical American high school, everyone strives to get in with the "in crowd." This was true of a group of conservatives both inside and outside the White House who attempted to formulate for Bush a post-Reagan-era conservative domestic policy.

In the debate, Dan Quayle showcased some of the most important pieces of this new conservative domestic policy. He got a spontaneous round of applause when he advocated school choice and asked Al Gore, "What about supporting parents to send kids to schools of their choice?" In every political audience I have watched this year, school choice—whether it is the public-school choice favored by the Democrats or the voucher plan favored by the Republicans—has never failed to bring spontaneous applause. When Quayle talked about cities Tuesday, he talked about a

Jack Kemp program to bring home ownership to the urban poor. Last January in New Hampshire, Bill Clinton praised Kemp's home-ownership programs to an audience of Democrats and got one of those eager bursts of applause that politicians love so much. And on the question of the family, Dan Quayle finally got it right: The crisis of the American family isn't among the yuppie Murphy Browns of the world but among very poor teen-agers in communities where gangs have become the best available replacement for absent families.

But let's go back to high school. The bleeding-heart conservatives (as they've been called) who thought about these programs tried repeatedly to get the President to focus on them. They ended up fighting the "in crowd" on matters big and small, from the disastrous 1990 budget deal to a modest proposal in the wake of the Los Angeles riots to establish a Civilian Conservation Corps for inner-city youth. Occasionally, when they had a Cabinet secretary such as Kemp or Lamar Alexander with them, they got legislation into Congress. But without the backing of the "in crowd," the legislation was doomed. From time to time, leaders of the "in crowd," such as Budget Director Darman, would even go so far as to publicly ridicule their ideas.

We know what eventually happens in high school. The geeks and the misfits stop trying; they get together in their own little group and decide that they are, after all, better off not being in the "in crowd." Frozen out of an inner circle that decided, in the wake of the Gulf War, that George Bush didn't need to have a domestic policy to win reelection, the bleeding-heart conservatives and Dan Quayle (who had been an embarrassment to the "in crowd" since the day he was chosen as vice president) started to hang out together.

In what are probably the last days of the Bush presidency, the "in crowd" is engaging in a disgusting display of blaming each other for the failure of their Administration. Furthermore, they have all been told that, should a miracle happen and the Bush/Quayle ticket wins, they will no longer be invited to the best parties.

Dan Quayle's debate performance won't change the course of this election, but it will be a scene in a history known as the revenge of the nerds.

Elaine Ciulla Kamarck, a senior fellow at the Progressive Policy Institute, writes from New York.

Debate Scores 34.9% Rating on Network TV

By STEVEN HERBERT
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Despite starting when many potential viewers were still at work or commuting, coverage of Tuesday's vice presidential debate on ABC, CBS and NBC was watched in 34.9% of the nation's 93.1 million television households, according to figures released Wednesday by the A. C. Nielsen Co.

ABC researchers estimated the total audience at 76 million people. National ratings for the Public Broadcasting Service, Cable News Network, C-SPAN and cable's Comedy Central, which also covered the debate, were not available.

The three-network rating of 34.9 puts the 1992 debate third among the four vice presidential debates, ahead of 1988 (33.6) but behind those in 1976 (35.5) and 1984 (43.6). There was no vice presidential debate in 1980.

Television ratings for all types of programming have declined over the years as the rise of cable networks and independent stations have given viewers more choices.

Because of CBS' contractual commitment to carry baseball's National League championship series, Tuesday's debate began at 4 p.m., 90 minutes earlier than the 1988 debate. David Poltrack, CBS' senior vice president for planning and research, estimated that the earlier start cut the rating by 6%.

Poltrack also said that the presence of the independent ticket of Dallas businessman Ross Perot and retired Vice Adm. James B. Stockdale in the debates kept many viewers watching longer than they might have otherwise by providing for more interesting exchanges.

Perot and Stockdale are the first independent candidates to debate both their major party rivals. In 1980, independent John B. Anderson participated in one debate against Ronald Reagan, from which then-President Jimmy Carter was absent.

Presidential Rivals Head Into Round 2

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

Can Ross Perot do it again? Can Bill Clinton lighten up? Can President Bush stand up for himself as forcefully as Dan Quayle did in his stead Tuesday night at the vice presidential debate in Atlanta?

And will any of this make a difference on Election Day? Those are some of the questions in the air as the three presidential contenders gather for their second debate tonight at the University of Richmond in Virginia. The 90-minute debate starts at 6 p.m. PDT and will be televised by the four national broadcast networks—**Please see DEBATE, A6**



CAMPAIGN '92

DEBATE: Presidential Hopefuls Head Into Round 2 in Virginia

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ABC, CBS, NBC and Fox—as well as several cable networks, including CNN.

On Wednesday, each of the candidates kept a low profile. Bush held a mock debate at the White House as part of his preparation. Clinton nursed his hoarse voice in Williamsburg, Va., while Perot worked in private in Dallas.

Tonight's encounter may be more like a joint town hall meeting than an actual debate. The three candidates will answer questions from an audience of undecided voters chosen by the Gallup Organization, with a moderator providing follow-up inquiries. As of Wednesday, the rules on the freedom of the candidates to respond to each other's answers—a format that enlivened the vice presidential debate—were still somewhat in flux.

As the traveling army of reporters, consultants, aides and spin doctors marched up the highway from Atlanta to Richmond, their biggest question was whether anything Bush or Perot might say tonight—or next Monday, in the candidates' final debate—could scramble a race that has hardly fluctuated since Labor Day.

Although the first debate produced a modest boost in the polls for Perot, it left undisturbed the gap between the two major contenders. In a series of surveys released since the Sunday debate in St. Louis, Clinton holds a lead ranging from 9 to 15 percentage points over Bush, with Perot attracting only about 12%.

Democrats acknowledge that Clinton did little to expand his lead with his polished but cautious and vague performance on Sunday. Known as a candidate who reels off at least five programs for every problem, Clinton spoke mostly in generalities. He went through the entire debate without mentioning such cornerstones of his agenda as providing universal access to college financing for young people, placing a time limit on welfare and establishing a \$20-billion annual fund for rebuilding the nation's infrastructure.

"Clinton went into that debate literally like he had dynamite strapped on his back and the last thing he wanted to do was make any sparks fly," said Democratic media consultant Joe Trippi.

But Bush also failed to ignite any tinder. With his lethargic—and often defensive—performance, many Democrats believe Bush squandered his last opportunity to persuade voters to give him a new look.

"Bush put himself in an awful spot," said veteran Democratic pollster Peter D. Hart. "He neither attacked nor did he paint a vision for America. To take neither road was a disaster. The poll numbers I have seen in the past 48 hours . . . make me feel like voters are closing the book on him."

With polls showing Clinton holding substantial leads in such battleground states as Ohio, Pennsylvania and Michigan, even some well-placed Republicans privately say that they fear Hart may be right. And if Bush has any chance at all, many Republicans say, he will have to use the remaining two debates to pound home the attacks on Clinton's economic plan and trustworthiness that Quayle sharpened in Tuesday's vice presidential debate.

Bush's "only chance will be to really go after and tear into Bill Clinton," said conservative activist and author Terry Eastland, a former Reagan Administration strategist. "Quayle very sharply, very directly went after Bill Clinton. If Bush tore into Clinton, he might have some prospect of rattling the guy."

Added one senior Administration official: "It may be too late, but Quayle's performance creates at least a window for Bush to really hammer Clinton."

Bush will probably have to play some defense too. On Wednesday, a parade of prominent Democrats accused the State Department of violating government privacy guidelines in attempting to find—in response to freedom of information requests from news organizations—documents relating to Clinton's college-age activities.

In all of the calculations about tonight's debate—and perhaps about the campaign itself—Perot remains a wild card. With Bush and Clinton stiffly struggling to appear presidential Sunday, Perot dominated the first debate with brusque and folksy one-liners that cut like a searchlight through his rivals' foggy Washington-speak.

Perot also scrimped on specifics, and not all of his facts held up. Perot said "19 of 20 computer chips . . . in this country now come from Japan"; actually, its one in five. But in round one, it was "Hee Haw" vs. C-SPAN, and the result was no contest.

Another strong performance tonight could bump up Perot's support to the point where he might potentially influence the outcome in some states, analysts say. But Perot still faces enormous hurdles in moving beyond a spoiler's role. Doubts about his temperament and his ability to actually win the race remain overwhelming, according to recent surveys. Many observers say the faltering performance in Tuesday's debate of his running mate, retired Vice Adm. James B. Stockdale, is bound to deepen doubts about the kind of government Perot might bring with him.

In the first debate, Bush and Clinton treated Perot with a patronizing gentleness. They called him "Ross" while for the most part they addressed each other formally. They also generally downplayed their disagreements with his ideas, which, in many cases, are substantial. Since that hands-off approach allowed Perot to steal much of the limelight, some of his supporters expect the two major-party contenders to train their sights on him tonight.

"I think that was a little bit of an eye-opener for them," says Adrienne Meltzer, the media coordinator for Perot's campaign in California.

But officials in both the Bush and Clinton campaigns insist they won't waste bullets on Perot. Some Bush strategists, in fact, worry that Clinton may be content to let Perot steal the limelight, thereby denying Bush another of his dwindling opportunities to regain footing.

Still, Perot's presence on the stage creates problems for Clinton. Just by standing there—and speaking in language so different from his rivals—Perot occupies the outsider's position that Clinton has coveted throughout the campaign.

Although Clinton worked the word "change" into almost every response Sunday, Perot's unconventional approach underscored the Democrat's identity as a career politician with considerable investments in the system as it stands. On a spectrum from Perot to Bush, Clinton in manner and language Sunday seemed much closer to the President than he did to the maverick billionaire.

It may not be enough to seriously threaten his lead in the polls, but some observers thought the contrast between Perot's irreverence and Clinton's studied caution served to remind some voters why they once thought of the Arkansas governor as a practiced, calculating politician willing to fudge on almost any issue for tactical advantage.

"It was amazing to me how quickly Perot being on that stage made Clinton and Bush seem so similar," said Trippi. "Perot made Clinton look more like an insider."

Times staff writer Douglas Jehl contributed to this story.

Did Gore or Quayle Win? It's Debatable

Polls and commentators see a draw or a win for the Democrat. The vice president was seen as less honest.

By THOMAS B. ROSENSTIEL

WASHINGTON—Who won the vice presidential debate Tuesday, or at least helped their side in the race for President?

The answer depends on which media you rely on, as well as what criteria you care about.

The debate was a draw on ABC, a victory for Democrat Al Gore on NBC. Both their commentators and their instant polls said so.

But as the media sorted through the claims that the candidates made during the debate, Vice President Dan Quayle took a beating. "If debates were judged on who told the truth, Quayle would lose hands down," Brooks Jackson said on CNN.

And if one were to measure debates by which moments were replayed on the late news shows Tuesday night and the morning and evening news programs Wednesday, Quayle got his message across, although Gore and even retired Vice Adm. James B. Stockdale at times stumped him.

Finally, in the feature stories, the interviews with viewers, the focus groups and the judging by professional debate judges, the Democrats again seemed to win.

"View the exercise as a debating contest and the verdict by a panel of debate coaches goes to the spit-and-polish Al Gore," an Associated Press story said—a sentiment echoed by a similar story on NBC.

Two polls were conducted immediately after the debate. The survey by ABC found that 38% deemed Gore the winner and 35% picked Quayle, a difference that falls within the poll's margin of error. Just 2% declared

In the world of political consensus-making, the next level of shaping perceptions involves which sound bites are replayed in the news. Here, Quayle and Gore got their overall messages across—trust for Republicans and change for the Democrats.

Stockdale the winner, and 17% called the face-off a tie.

On NBC, however, 50% thought Gore "did the best job," contrasted with 32% for Quayle and 7% for Stockdale.

Whether coincidental or not, the dueling poll results correspond with different interpretations of the debate offered by the two networks.

"This was one of the best performances Quayle has ever had," ABC's Jeff Greenfield declared moments after the debate ended. A few hours later, ABC's "Nightline" reported that Quayle and Gore had fared equally.

The respondents in the NBC poll did not know in advance that they would be participating in a survey. But coincidentally, the network's poll results reflected the view of its commentators.

"The consensus here is that Al Gore had a much better night than Dan Quayle," NBC Washington bureau chief Tim Russert intoned shortly after the debate ended.

In the world of political consensus-making, the next level of shaping perceptions involves which sound bites are replayed in the news. Here, Quayle and Gore got their overall messages across—trust for Republicans and change for the Democrats.

One of the most replayed sound bites was Quayle's opening remark, which was almost identical to his closing remark. "You need to have a President you can trust. Can you really trust Bill Clinton?"

Gore's most popular sound bite was also from his opening. "Bill Clinton and I stand for change, because we don't believe our nation can stand four more years of what we've had under George Bush and Dan Quayle."

But equally popular was the moment when Stockdale, after having listened to a lengthy exchange of barbs and disagreements between Quayle and Gore, interrupted to say: "I think America is seeing right now the reason this nation is in gridlock."

Also popular was Gore interrupting Quayle with another zinger. "We ought to limit terms," Quayle was saying. "It's ridiculous that a member of Congress can serve 30, 40, 50 years . . ."

"We're fixing to limit one," Gore said, in a clear reference to Bush.

Quayle looked momentarily startled and his reply was not heard by the 24 million who

ins A

By DOUGLAS JEHL and JAMES GERSTENZANG
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

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Air of Despair Shrouds Some Top Bush Aides

WASHINGTON—With just 19 days before Election Day, a mood of grim resignation has settled over prominent Republicans and some senior White House aides.

As George Bush mounts a final effort to save his grasp on the presidency, the White House added to the unease Wednesday, reversing field on a plan to give new prominence to James A. Baker III's role as chief economic planner in a second term.

Only two days after saying that Baker would deliver a major speech this week outlining his new task, White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater said no such address is now scheduled.

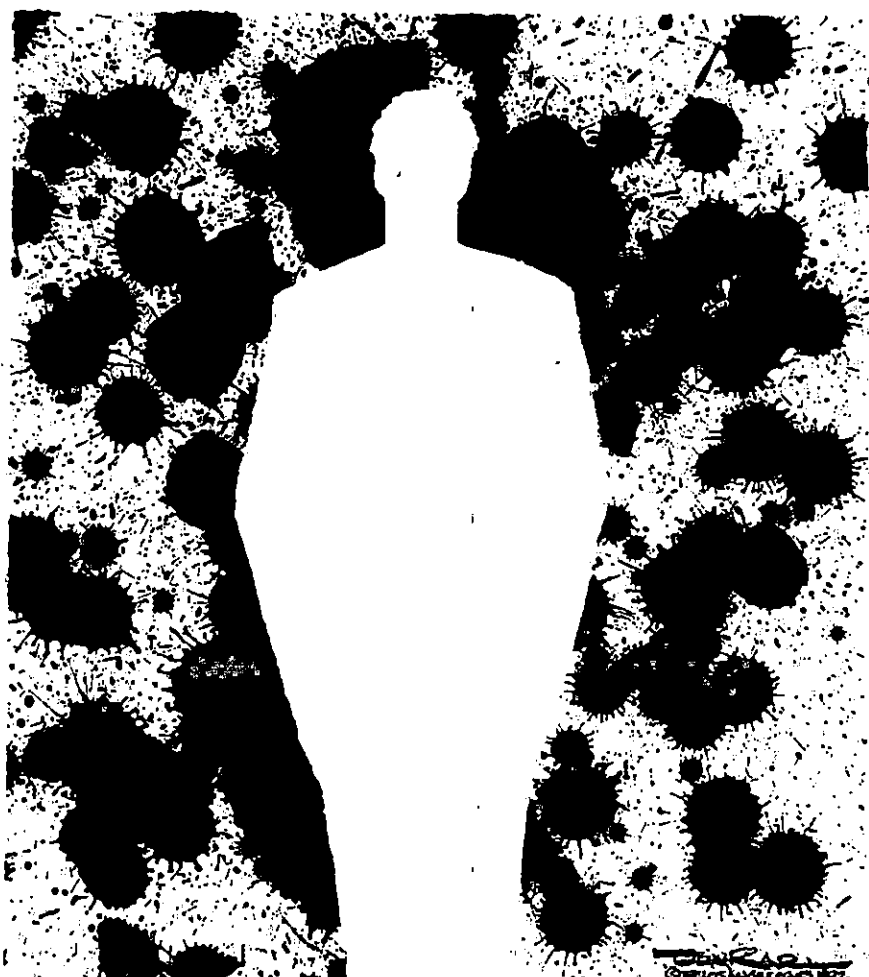
Against that confusing backdrop, Republicans outside the White House increasingly complain that the Bush camp is squandering what few opportunities it may have to cut into Clinton's lead.

"It's a bad campaign. It's one of the worst in history," a former Cabinet officer charged. "It has no sense of itself. It has no center. It lurches from one strategy to another. There's just no punch to what we are doing."

Bush strategists concede that 10 months of effort to drive home their central themes have done little to change Americans' perceptions of Bush, leaving the President still trailing Bill Clinton by about 10 points in the polls.

Despite the fact that no candidate has been this far behind at this stage of the campaign and still won, Bush strategists still hold out hope for a last-minute comeback. They say their strategy will feature ever more forceful efforts to convince voters that Clinton is untrustworthy and that George Bush, if reelected, would become a more active and vigorous domestic leader.

"The execution might have been stumblebum," a senior Bush campaign official said, "but the mes-



Bill Clinton's character as outlined by Dan Quayle.

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GOP: Grim Mood in White House

Continued from A1

sage is still out there. And sooner or later, it's going to take its toll on that guy [Clinton]."

Nonetheless, even insiders acknowledge that the picture is bleak: "Things look grim," one senior adviser says. "Embattled? Yes. Tough circumstances? Yes. Uphill climb? Yes. Daunted? No," said another senior White House aide, clearly striving to keep his hopes alive.

One well-placed Republican lobbyist reports that he has been getting a steady stream of calls from White House aides, seeking what he calls "career counseling"—a sign they do not expect a Republican victory.

In another sign of flagging spirits, the President's strategists have begun to test a rationale for defeat: "We've run a terrible campaign," one well-placed strategist says, "but if we'd run a perfect campaign, we'd be in exactly the same shape."

The near-despair comes in the wake of what some aides privately describe as a series of campaign missteps that have put Bush in the unenviable position of entering the final weeks of his campaign sounding a message that has failed him before.

Their criticisms include blame directed at the President himself, which a well-placed operative said was an "unheard of" breach of a cardinal White House rule.

The blackness of the current mood was apparent in the past few days, as aides conceded that Bush bumbled his much-postponed announcement of the new job for Baker, the current chief of staff. Bush disclosed Baker's role during the debate Sunday night with Clinton and Ross Perot, but he did not make clear just what his friend would do or why it should matter to voters.

They also have complained that, when Bush last month sought to raise questions about his opponent's draft record, he allowed the Democrat to blurt what might have been a strong attack by mischaracterizing a letter that Clinton wrote in 1969 criticizing

the military.

During an appearance on the Rush Limbaugh radio show in New York last month, Bush charged that his rival had said in the 1969 letter that the military was "immoral."

As the Clinton campaign quickly pointed out, however, the Arkansas governor actually had said that the draft system was "illegitimate" and that some Americans found themselves "loathing" the military. News coverage about Bush's remarks focused as much on the fact that he had exaggerated as it did on the charge itself.

The White House mood is not unrelentingly bleak. There is still hope that Bush's message, through repetition and volume, might achieve the critical mass necessary to change the course of the election.

"No one is sanguine; people would certainly trade where we are," said a senior White House official known for his even temper and generally sunny disposition. But, he insisted, "this is an open matter, very much so. The vote is fluid, very volatile. Clinton's [poll] numbers are soft, and if Perot gains, it helps us.

"I don't want to sound like I'm grasping for reeds," he said, "but we think this is winnable, and more importantly, our leader does. He's the coolest hand on deck. I don't see any quitting."

But that is not the picture offered by others, including one senior Bush aide who said that "at every stage, you can see people falling off and saying, 'We've blown it. We're dead.'"

A fight has already begun among Republicans about the future of a party whose prominent members increasingly expect to be led by someone other than Bush, a senior White House official acknowledged.

Among the recent miscues to which Republicans point, two are most prominent: The handling of the Baker appointment and the multiple efforts to criticize Clinton over the draft.

On Baker's role, White House officials sought to add to the impact

of Bush's passing reference Sunday to Baker's new job by rushing to disclose that the controversial Administration economic team—Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady, chief economic adviser Michael J. Boskin and Budget Director Richard G. Darman—would be dismissed if Bush were reelected.

But when the three relayed complaints Monday morning that they were being unfairly humiliated, Bush suggested that aides take steps to minimize the slight, sources say. After a day of White House backpedaling, Baker issued a memorandum declaring that all top Bush appointees would be expected to submit *pro forma* letters of resignation.

The effect, one adviser said, was to muddy Bush's campaign trail message on a crucial post-debate day.

With Clinton's draft record, Republicans complain that a series of opportunities have been squandered through miscalculation or misstatement.

Recently, when Bush criticized his rival for avoiding military service, participating in anti-Vietnam War demonstrations and traveling to Moscow at the height of that conflict, the words sounded to many like an attack on Clinton's patriotism.

As the assaults appeared to backfire, Bush repeatedly insisted that he was not questioning Clinton's allegiance to his country, and has withdrawn his complaints about the Moscow trip. But frustrated advisers say the shifts undermined what they regard as a more fruitful line of attack—emphasizing the conflicting accounts Clinton had given of the incident.

Nevertheless, associates who talk with Bush frequently say he does not seem disheartened.

"He thinks he's going to win," one senior adviser says. "He just thinks it's a strange election year, and all these polls that show him behind are kind of goofy and meaningless. He just doesn't think in the final analysis that voters want Clinton as their President."

Times staff writer Doyle McManus contributed to this story.

Gore Accuses Bush of Iraq Cover-Up

By SAM FULWOOD III
TIMES STAFF WRITER

ATLANTA—Tennessee Sen. Al Gore quickly left the vice presidential debate behind Wednesday, launching a new attack on President Bush for "abuse of power" in pursuing rumors about Bill Clinton abroad while not policing his Administration's own foreign policy dealings.

Fresh from the debate with his two rivals—Vice President Dan Quayle and Ross Perot running mate James B. Stockdale—the Democratic vice presidential nominee criticized the White House for directing senior State Department officials to ferret out information about Clinton's foreign travels two decades ago as a student.

"At the same time this is going on, they are trying to cover up the Iraqgate scandal," Gore told reporters as he left his Atlanta hotel for campaign rallies in Pittsburgh, Pa., and Miami University in Oxford, Ohio.

Gore demanded that the White House release the complete text of the personal message Bush sent to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein just before the Iraqi dictator invaded Kuwait and triggered the Persian Gulf War. The Los Angeles Times reported on Tuesday that Bush sent a personal note to Hussein five days before the invasion, simultaneously warning and embracing him over his actions in the region. The Times reported.

"George Bush is presiding over a cover-up," Gore charged, adding that various federal agencies are fighting among themselves in an attempt to divine the truth about U.S. loans to Iraq before the war.

"I do not believe it is a coincidence that one day after the head of the FBI told the chairman of the intelligence committee that he was going to investigate the Justice Department for the Iraqgate scandal, one day later the Justice Department announces it is launching an investigation of the head of the FBI, Mr. [William S.] Sessions," Gore said.

"Why is it George Bush can focus all the investigative powers of his government on Bill Clinton's travel records and personal history, but can't get his own Cabinet agencies to tell the truth and provide documents to federal prosecutors working a major criminal investigation around billions of dollars in illegal loans to Iraq?" Gore asked in a statement released to reporters.

Not surprisingly, Gore declared himself the winner in the vice presidential debate, saying he topped Quayle, his main rival.

"I think the shrill, smear campaign by Dan Quayle just fell of its own weight," he said.

As for Quayle's post-debate contention that Gore failed to protect Clinton's honor and integrity, Gore repeated his argument from the debate that George Bush has broken his promises. In doing so, he again stopped short of offering an iron-clad vouchsafe for Clinton's integrity.

"As I said in the debate, remember George Bush is the one who said, 'Read my lips, no new taxes,' and then claimed he would be the environmental President, claimed he would be the education President, has broken all of those promises and has shown he is not worthy of the trust of the American people," Gore said.

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Associated Press

President Bush gestures toward Vice President Dan Quayle while praising Quayle's debate performance.

Quayle, Buoyed by Debate Showing, Steps Up His Attacks on Democrats

■ **Campaign: He slams Clinton's character and tax program and raises credibility issue over Gore's early pro-life stand.**

By ROBERT L. JACKSON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

AUBURN, Ala. — Vice President Dan Quayle, appearing buoyed by his performance in debating Democratic Sen. Al Gore, told a cheering throng of students Wednesday that "this is only the beginning—we've only begun to fight for this election."

Campaigning with renewed vigor during morning television appearances in Atlanta and later while addressing 2,500 students on the baseball field at Auburn University, Quayle repeated his two major themes during the debate—the character of Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton and the prospect of higher taxes in a Clinton Administration.

He told a CNN interviewer that Gore, during their debate, "did a good job defending himself but not Bill Clinton."

At Auburn, standing coatless in

warm sunshine with his wife, Marilyn, at his side, the vice president recalled that "time and time again I said Bill Clinton has trouble telling the truth, and not once did Sen. Gore deny that. . . . For 90 minutes, Sen. Gore could not find anything good to say about the integrity of Bill Clinton."

Referring to the debate, Quayle told reporters aboard his plane: "We had a very good night. We did well." He said President Bush telephoned him after the debate "to tell me he was very pleased, that I had hit a home run."

William Kristol, Quayle's chief of staff, said aides felt the vice president "made all the right points and was cheerfully aggressive."

Quayle, in attacking Clinton's character, cited the Arkansas governor's efforts to avoid being drafted and his mobilization of an anti-Vietnam protest in London as a young man. In each case, Quayle said Clinton did not tell "the whole truth" at the outset.

On Wednesday, Quayle sought to raise another credibility issue in declaring that "Clinton and Gore have been trying to have it both ways on abortion." He told CNN that Gore, as a young legislator, "had a very pro-life record in the

House of Representatives."

During his tenure in the House between 1978 and 1985, according to the National Right to Life Committee, Gore voted with abortion rights opponents in more than 80% of the instances in which the issue arose.

The Auburn audience gave Quayle a warm welcome complete with three parachutists who landed on the baseball field trailing red-white-and-blue chutes. Students displayed signs proclaiming "Dan is a Tiger," a reference to the name of their team.

Quayle said the Bush Administration, if given another four years, "will hold the line on taxes." He drew a loud chorus of "Noes" when he asked the students if they believed that, "America's future with Clinton is going to be better through higher taxes?" He drew the same response when he asked: "Do you want a President who has trouble telling the truth?"

He concluded by saying: "In times of crisis, do you want a President who is tested and has the experience to make the right decisions? Do you want a President who has the integrity to make the tough decisions? George Bush is your man."

State Dept. Probe of Clinton's Past Spurs Political Furor

By DOYLE McMANUS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—A political furor erupted Wednesday over the State Department's action in launching an unusually intensive search for records from Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton's past at a time when President Bush was accusing him of unpatriotic acts in his student days.

A senior official acknowledged that the department had moved quickly because it wanted to complete the search before Election Day. "We didn't want to sit on it," the official said. "There was a feeling that we could be accused either of covering up something that was there, or of leaving the allegations about Clinton hanging out there unfairly. So we wanted to get it done."

Officials insisted that the search for Clinton's records did not occur any faster than it normally would have—but they said it was done more thoroughly, with more high-level supervision. They insisted that the White House and the Bush campaign had no involvement.

Reports of the search—which turned up no new information about Clinton—prompted Democratic vice presidential nominee Al Gore to accuse the Bush Administration of "police-state tactics." And leading Democrats, including Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Me.), Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) and House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.), demanded an investigation.

But the State Department defended the decision of Assistant Secretary of State Elizabeth M. Tamposi, a former Republican Party fundraiser, to launch searches in

Washington, London and the Norwegian capital of Oslo for any record of Clinton's actions overseas in 1969 and 1970.

"I absolutely feel that there is no inappropriate behavior at all in this," spokesman Richard A. Boucher said. Tamposi had no contact with the White House or the Bush campaign over the issue, he added.

Tamposi refused to comment to reporters.

The issue arose after three news organizations filed requests with the State Department in September under the Freedom of Information Act, which allows citizens to seek the release of government records.

One of the issues in question is whether the State Department violated its own policies by examining Clinton's records. The director of the State Department's Freedom of Information office, Frank M. Machak Jr., told the Washington Post that "name-specific" files, like Clinton's, are normally never examined in response to journalists' requests because the privacy act bars their release.

Boucher disagreed on Wednesday, saying department policy requires that the files be examined, in case they contain some material that can be released. He said he could not explain why Machak had cited a contrary policy.

Boucher said he could not immediately locate the policy in any written form. Machak did not respond to a request for a firsthand explanation.

A second issue centers on the speed with which Tamposi's office handled the request for Clinton's records. Most freedom of information requests at the State Department languish for more than a year before they are acted on. But the consular affairs bureau, which Tamposi heads, examined Clinton's passport file from the depart-

ment's archives only 16 days after the first request, one official said.

Boucher said, however, that there was no indication that Tamposi had ordered the request handled with unusual speed. "The question of timing—of speeding it up, or slowing it down—was not the issue," he said. "The issue was how to conduct a proper search and do it carefully."

When officials retrieved Clinton's file, they discovered staple holes and a torn corner on his passport application—and reported to Tamposi that it looked as if something might have been removed, officials said. Tamposi then contacted officials in the U.S. embassies in London and Oslo and told them to handle the records search with special care—making sure, for example, that at least two embassy officers were involved, to protect against accusations of tampering. Tamposi also notified the State Department's inspector general, Sherman Funk, of the problem. Funk consulted with Acting Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger, and the two agreed to turn the investigation over to the Justice Department, Boucher said.

A few days later, the fact of the investigation leaked to Newsweek magazine.

Speaking to reporters in Atlanta, Gore said: "The White House is politically using the State Department . . . in a failed effort to try to discredit Bill Clinton. I think it's very disturbing."

"We've had the Joe McCarthy technique and the smear campaign," he said. "Now we have the police state tactics of rummaging through personal files to try to come up with damaging information. This is an abuse."

Times staff writers Sam Farrow '81 in Atlanta, and David Lester, a Virginia contributor to the story.

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Debate Churned Stomachs, Changed Few Minds

■ **Reaction: Voters interviewed after watching the vice presidential candidates found little to like in the slugfest. No one switched support.**

By JOHN M. BRODER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Some of the voters with the stamina and the stomach to watch Tuesday night's vice presidential debate reacted as if they were subjected to a civics lesson of the sausage-making variety. It wasn't pretty.

The arguments and counter-arguments changed few minds and few votes among three dozen citizens around the country who were interviewed by The Times after they viewed the debate. Many of them had strong reactions to the spectacle itself, describing it variously as "comical," "distasteful," "infantile" and "pathetic."

Most found it far livelier and more entertaining than Sunday night's presidential debate, but few felt educated or edified by it.

Each of the three participants—Vice President Dan Quayle, Sen. Al Gore of Tennessee and retired Vice Adm. James B. Stockdale—won some plaudits for his performance. Quayle was seen as having made substantial progress from his embarrassing showing of four years ago; Gore was praised for his relative restraint and thoughtful manner; Stockdale earned admiration for his sterling war record and his endearing artlessness.

But the overall impression was of a two-man brawl observed by a bewildered white-haired hero of an bygone era.

"My God, if I couldn't project myself any more intelligently than those guys did tonight, I don't know, I'd be pretty embarrassed," said Bill Fritz of Chesterfield, Ind., the manager of a local cable television station. "It was just a bunch of infighting, like a couple of kids in

a playground. I thought it was all pretty disgusting."

The net effect of the Quayle-Gore slugfest was to reinforce the disdain with which supporters of independent Ross Perot view the political system that produced and encouraged them. However, none of the people interviewed said they had switched their support from President Bush or Democrat Bill Clinton to Perot as a result of the vice presidential melee.

But at least one undecided voter was so appalled that he is now seriously considering supporting Perot.

Brian Olson, an Appleton, Wis., social services worker, said: "After a while, it got pathetic with Gore and Quayle going after each other so much . . . just listening to them made me angry about the political process; it makes me feel more strongly than before that I'd like to give Perot a shot, that I want to listen to what he has to say."

Melissa Hendricks, a 37-year-old homemaker from Midland, Tex., said she was sticking with Bush—but only as the lesser of three evils.

"If Pee Wee Herman were running, I probably would vote for him," Hendricks said.

For the most part, the partisans of Bush and Clinton found reason to cheer the performance of the two men's running mates, although with a distinct lack of enthusiasm.

Mark Allen, a 34-year-old agriculture teacher in Wathena, Kan., backed Clinton before the debate and believed that Gore emerged the clear debate victor and by far the better choice for national office.

"He just seemed more truthful and confident and calm. He answered questions without being too emotional, which is what I would like to see in people when they get in a heated debate, because that's how they'd probably react in the White House," Allen said.

"Quayle struck me like he always has. He seemed to be struggling to get his point across. He just doesn't seem real sharp."

As for Stockdale, Allen said, the war hero/scholar was a disappointment. "You'd kind of like to see him have a

better grasp of the facts and be more fluid with his explanations of what he believes in. I liked Perot until he quit, and that soured me on him."

Beth Revis, 37, a wife and mother of two who also runs a small personal care boarding home for three elderly people in Littleton, Colo., considered Quayle the winner. The former telephone technician is not registered with a political party but voted for Bush in 1988.

"I think Quayle did great. He was very personable. He stuck to his beliefs. He's never changed his beliefs, and I appreciate that. I think he's built himself a lot of backbone and character over the last four years. He's learned how to stand up for himself," Revis said.

Quayle's repeated reminders that Clinton cannot be trusted apparently hit home with Revis. "I don't trust anybody that won't fight for their country. And I don't trust a fellow who allows his wife to wear the pants in the family."

Revis called Gore "a nerd" who repeatedly made groundless accusations. But she has not ruled out a vote for Perot and said that Stockdale was the clear favorite of her three boarders. "I've got three elderly people who live with me, and tonight they all liked the old guy."

An undecided voter who has flirted with a Perot vote said that he is increasingly disinclined to support the independent Dallas billionaire. The vice presidential debate confirmed his growing belief that Perot and Stockdale are not ready for prime time.

Tom Reibenspies, 47, a graphic artist in San Francisco, said: "The admiral and Perot aren't politicians; they don't know how Washington works. The others are more seasoned. . . . I think the only way to get Washington to come around is to be a politician. I don't understand how people think that one man can be a savior."

Times staff writer Matt Marshall in Washington, special correspondents Gary Boulard in New Orleans, Mike Clary in Miami, Lianne Hart in Houston and researcher Douglas Conner in Seattle contributed to this story.

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Working Women Tend To Be Alienated, Vocal And Inclined to Clinton Though Not Homogeneous, They Do Share Concerns Like Abortion, Child Care Some Republicans Switch

By DAVID SHRIEBMAN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
 CHARLOTTE, N.C. — From George Bush's standpoint, Patricia Tracey and Jeanne Swenson are two voters who got away — and he may pay for it with his presidency.
 Miss Swenson, 31 years old, is head of marketing for the Charlotte Convention Center. She was reared in a devoutly

Charges Renewed

Democrats again charge the Bush administration with dirty tricks following reports that a senior State Department official issued instructions on how to search files regarding Bill Clinton's activities while a student in England. Article on page A4. Meanwhile:

- Plans to revamp the health-care system diverge along ideological lines, A16.
- Evidence shows Perot's old company hasn't paid \$1 million in penalties, A16.

conservative Southern family. She is a registered Republican. She opposes abortion rights. She voted for Ronald Reagan twice and for George Bush four years ago. And now, primarily because of the economy, she's leaning toward Bill Clinton.
 So is Ms. Tracey, a 35-year-old Charlotte lawyer with one child. A self-professed Reagan Democrat, she voted for Mr. Bush in 1988 but probably will vote for Mr. Clinton this year, in large part because she objects to Republican opposition to abortion rights. "I believe that women should have this choice," she says.
 Bigger than the labor vote, bigger than the farm vote, bigger than the senior vote, the black vote or the Catholic vote, the working-women bloc is 57 million strong, and many of its members are vocal and angry. The bloc defies party traditions and its voice may be heard loud and clear Nov. 3.

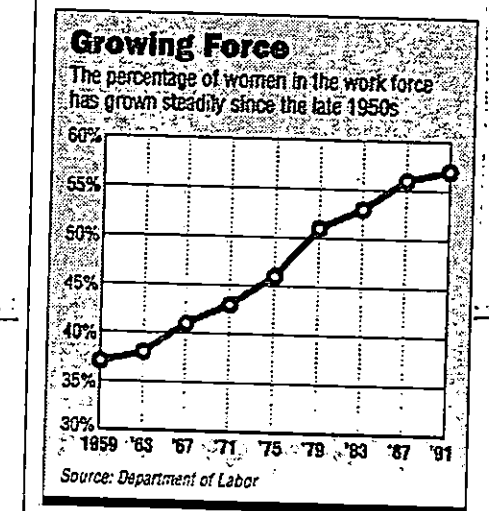
These voters tend to be more alienated than the electorate as a whole. And, according to a Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll last month, they favor Mr. Clinton over Mr. Bush by a far greater margin—16 percentage points in a three-way presidential race, with indications the gap has widened in recent weeks — than do registered voters as a whole.
 The explanation for the difference is a range of issues: the economy, abortion rights, family leave and even working women's strong preference, according to the poll, for social spending over tax cuts.
The Bush Strategy
 "The differences are dramatic," says Celinda Lake, a pollster for the Clinton campaign, "and working women are enough to take a Democrat over the top in a close race."
 Indeed, if George Bush is to make a comeback in the 1992 campaign, he has to narrow the gap with these voters. The only way his managers think they can do that is to portray Mr. Clinton as too risky or to play on fears of voters like Mary Tribble, a 31-year-old Charlotte events organizer who has all but abandoned Mr. Bush but who worries, "I'm not sure I can trust Clinton."

This time the "gender gap" may be for real. Political analysts erred when they identified a gender gap in past elections; what really happened in the Reagan years was that women split their vote and men voted heavily Republican. This time, men look as if they will split their vote, and female voters, especially working women, seem ready to vote heavily for Mr. Clinton.
 Moreover, the antipathy of many working women to Mr. Bush cuts across economic, social and regional lines. All but three of several dozen top female executives from leading businesses, meeting in New York recently, planned to vote for Mr. Clinton. And the phenomenon extends to women like Willette Massey, who sweeps the floors and shines the railings at Charlotte's SouthPark Mall. "I like his stand on abortion and the fact that he cares about women's issues," says Ms. Massey, 28. "These are things we women need, and President Bush does not care."
 The battle for the working women's vote is at full pitch in critical states like North Carolina. These voters are the principal target of the president's "trust" theme. Clinton strategists have shaped the Arkansasian's message to these voters from the start, and this month the campaign is airing a radio ad in Charlotte that is plainly aimed at them. It features two women in conversation who reach the conclusion that, as one puts it, Mr. Clinton "is smart — and I believe he's a caring man."
 The prominence of working women in this election reflects big changes in American society and has the potential of reshaping the political world as radically as it has reshaped the workplace. In 1959, only 37% of women worked outside the home; today, says the Bureau of Labor Statistics, more than 57% of U.S. women have jobs. "It's a huge cultural change," says Howard Hayge, a BLS economist. "In some ways this is almost an entirely new civilization from the one we had in the 1950s."
 That growth has brought new issues—economic equality and child care, for example — to the forefront of politics even as it changed the nature of the family, altered the rhythms of the home and transformed the tone of the relationship between the sexes.
 "There are two things that women especially care about: babies and barriers," says Felice Schwartz, president of Catalyst, an organization that works with businesses to effect change for women. She adds: "They are things that women are penalized for, and the more women working, the more mainstream these issues become."
 Thus, President Bush and Gov. Clinton are campaigning in a political landscape that even their most recent predecessors would find alien. "The problems that working women see on a daily basis and the problems they demand that government get involved in can do a lot to drive the dynamic of the campaign," says Linda DiVall, a GOP pollster.
 Even so, any group large enough to account for more than a quarter of the nation's voting-age population is anything but homogeneous. Working women are divided by age, economic standing, race, education level and marital status. Some identify with feminist ideas and others show little affinity for those notions. "There are some concerns in common, like family leave, and some events that have drawn them together, like the Clarence Thomas hearings," says Arlene Johnson, director of the Work/Family Research and Advisory Panel of the Conference Board, a business research organization. "But working women are no monolith."
 They are not. President Bush will get some votes from this group, but as a bloc—unless something dramatic occurs in the final 2½ weeks of the campaign — they come down against him in a lopsided way.

"Their position in the economy makes them one of the groups most likely to feel the effects of the recession," says Democratic pollster Peter Hart, who, with GOP pollster Vince Breglio, conducted the survey for the Journal and NBC.
The Economy Hits Home
 Many of them are like Linda Stowe, 42, an employee-relations assistant with J.A. Jones Construction Co. who is trying to support two children in college while her husband has worked for three companies that have closed in the last four years. "We're feeling the economy directly in our house," says Mrs. Stowe, who is leaning toward Mr. Clinton.
 A sketch of working women as voters emerges clearly from the Journal/NBC poll. The survey, which separated working women from the rest of the electorate for the first time, shows that these voters are more likely to see unemployment as the most important economic issue than are other voters. They give higher marks than do other voters to the Arkansas governor on abortion. They're more likely to see his economic prescription as closest to their own views than are other voters (68% of the working women compared with 60% of voters overall). Compared with 63% of the total electorate, 77% of working women favor family leave.
 "Working women are a group apart," says Lynn Mather, a Dartmouth College sociologist. "They are different from men and they are different from women who stay at home with kids."

Interviews with dozens of working women here in recent days — bakers, telephone wiring specialists, furniture saleswomen, janitors, public-relations executives, lawyers, teachers, auto-parts distributors, a woman who owns her own window treatment company and another who runs a funeral home — bear out the general conclusion that these voters lean heavily toward Mr. Clinton, that they are uncomfortable with the Republicans' opposition to abortion rights, that they found the tone of the Republican National Convention troubling and that they believe the position of women in the economy has deteriorated during the Bush years.

On Child Care
 They are eager, moreover, to use their new power as a voting bloc to bring their



own issues, especially child care, into the center of the political debate.
 "Child care drives my household from the minute we get up to the minute we go to bed," says Maggie Norris, vice president for investor relations at First Union Corp. here and a Republican. Linda Lockman-Brooks, an independent who is senior vice president for marketing for Nations-Bank, adds: "I can't get to the office if something goes wrong with child care. It reminds me I have to care about 'women's issues' and care about people who can't afford good child care."

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1992

Those issues provoked outbursts of anger against Mr. Bush when a group of working women found themselves talking about politics here recently.

"Women have taken giant steps backwards under Bush — all the way from care for children to the abuse women take in the home and at work," said Barbara Bender, a Republican and 1988 Bush supporter who works for an auto-parts company. Jan DeLong, another Republican who works as a customer-service representative for Alltel Corp., a local phone company, said: "The screws have really turned on women in the last few years. I used to think we were getting someplace. Well, we stopped."

Added Rachel McKenzie, a third-grade teacher at Pinewood Elementary School here: "As working women, we are faced with making money, looking for child care, looking after the health of our families. The Republicans aren't looking at these issues for us."

Two Events

The irony is that much of the solidarity that working women now feel can be traced to two events that were set in motion by the GOP itself, the 1991 nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court and the 1992 Republican Convention. "For years, activists tried to create a voting bloc and they weren't able to do it," says Patricia Misciagno, a Bucknell University political scientist. "Something is emerging now that has more cohesion and structure than in the past."

Martha Schweppe, a 36-year-old president for investments for Prudential Securities, is George Bush's worst nightmare. She's a Republican. She's from a conservative North Carolina family. She voted for Mr. Bush four years ago. And now she leans toward Gov. Bill Clinton. "For the last couple of elections I voted with my economic self and thrust the social issues to the rear," she says. "But the Republicans have not done a good job with the economy and I was very turned off by the Republican Convention on social issues."

The GOP's opposition to abortion rights made even some of the party's most loyal working women uncomfortable. "I'm your basic conservative Republican, but I'm very much in favor of choice," says Julie McGuire, 52, a former vice president for corporate communications for Barclays Bank PLC who recently lost her job when the bank cut back its U.S. operations. And while Ms. McGuire will vote for Mr. Bush, Quinn Rasberry, 29, who spent two years working for the Republican senatorial campaign committee and was a Reagan appointee in the State Department, probably will not. "I'm trying real hard not to focus on a single issue but I'm adamantly opposed to the Republican position on abortion," she says.

Many of these voters, like others, simply want change, and that, too, is hurting President Bush's prospects.

"Bush didn't do anything in office, and it's time for a change," says Jackie Alston, 22, a Democrat who works as a real-estate paralegal and as a waitress at Sonny's Real Pit Bar-B-Q in Charlotte. Virginia Powell, 75, a Republican and 1988 Bush backer who sells furniture at This End Up, will probably vote for Mr. Clinton because "someone young might turn the world upside down, jazz things up a bit."

The Dream Campaign

There have been times these past few months when if you closed your eyes and slipped slightly into a reverie, you might think that the presidential campaign was all a dream. You dream that an incumbent President has fallen, like a bright star through the empty sky, from an 80% approval rating to tatters — *simply by doing nothing*. You dream that his opponents have nominated the Governor from The State No One Has Ever Seen, and that the shape of his face keeps dissolving, like a cloud moved by the wind. Then you're a broomstick in "The Sorcerer's Apprentice," and this little man called Ross Perot appears and all the other broomsticks around you start marching behind him. By now the dream's a nightmare, and you've been conscripted to carry a bucket in one of Ross Perot's 15 task forces.

Aaaaaghhhh! Time to wake up. Where are we?

Good question. Or as Perot running mate James Stockdale so succinctly put it in the vice presidential debate: "Who am I? Why am I here?"

Excellent questions, especially in suggesting that with the presidential campaign of 1992 we have entered the realm of metaphysics. And indeed we have, unless something happens in the next three weeks that allows voters to cast something more than an act of faith on November 3. More than any election in memory, voters must lean on little more than simple belief that one of the men running will create a government that reflects the voters' views of what the country's political and civic goals should be the next four years.

Set against the amorphous top of the tickets, the feisty debate among the three running mates Tuesday evening was welcome hardball. Yes, there was much jumping on each other's points, but we suspect viewers in these times are adept at peeling away TV's babble to find the nut of what's being said. People who have trained on the huffing group aerobics of "The McLaughlin Group" or "Capital Gang" could certainly handle this debate.

Our highlight film from the debate includes Dan Quayle pinning Al Gore on school choice. Failed schools hit hardest at inner-city kids, but Mr. Quayle got Senator Gore to acknowledge that the Clinton-Gore version of choice doesn't include private or parochial schools. Mr. Quayle, transformed from scared deer to deer hunter, may well have hurt Bill Clinton with his repeated shots at truth and trust (though as in Houston, the Republicans instinctively seem to overplay).

Useful and sharp distinctions were also drawn on term limits (producing a good, rare riposte by Mr. Gore) and on abortion, with Admiral Stockdale getting to the heart of it: "I don't think it's a political issue, I think it's a privacy issue."

Admiral Stockdale clearly is no public-policy wonk, but maybe that's the point he was trying to get out. Who's on the wrong track — Admiral Stockdale, who has no A-to-Z solution to the "health care crisis," or the modern political class in this country, which thinks it has to engulf the American people in a "program" for every conceivable public or personal want? Who could not notice that when Admiral Stockdale demurred, Al Gore cheerfully jumped forth with another torrent of policyspeak. Who remembers what he said?

Nearly everyone involved with politics thinks these elections are about which candidate will produce the most appealing version of Washington's helping hand—for health, for the environment, for jobs, for women, for you-name-it. In this realm of belief, government's purpose is relentless, even compulsive, benevolence.

Admiral Stockdale, the former POW, said the reason he was able to make the community of U.S. prisoners in Vietnam succeed under his care was that Washington wasn't making the rules for them. He won't win, but we suspect a great many American voters wish that the core of his beliefs and character was heading for the White House.

Perot's Former Concern Has Yet to Pay \$1 Million in Penalties Sought by U.S.

By WALT BOGDANICH

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — At the heart of Ross Perot's deficit-cutting plan is a proposal to slash hundreds of billions of dollars from the nation's ballooning health-care costs.

But Mr. Perot may be part of the problem. New evidence shows that his former company has yet to pay a single penny on more than \$1 million in federal penalties imposed against it 15 years ago. The government has long since given up its efforts to retrieve the money, after losing some key records.

Mr. Perot, who attacks Washington insiders for reneging on their promises to cut the federal deficit, personally offered Electronic Data Systems' guarantee on the costs of a disputed Medicare subcontract won by EDS in the 1970s to process physicians' claims in Ohio and West Virginia.

Nationwide Mutual Insurance Co., a primary Medicare contractor in Columbus, Ohio, had awarded the subcontract to an EDS unit, even though Mr. Perot's former company was the highest of three bidders. Government investigators had concluded that the award was unjustifiably costly, violated federal procurement policy and was unfairly skewed toward Mr. Perot and his company. Congressional critics cited Mr. Perot's close ties to the Nixon administration as a possible reason for the alleged favoritism.

In a drastic last-minute effort to save the contract, Mr. Perot vowed to indemnify taxpayers should his company fail to match the costs of similar Medicare claims processors. The promise was added to the contract language. Nationwide boasted taxpayers "will come out ahead because of the existence of the cost guarantee."

For more than a decade, no one ever inquired whether Mr. Perot, whose rise as a billionaire data processor was tied directly to Medicare contracts, did in fact keep his promise. But in response to questions by The Wall Street Journal, Nationwide spokesman Lou Fabro recently dug out a never-issued 1977 news release disclosing that Mr. Perot's company failed to meet projected costs.

Letter of 1977

In an Aug. 5, 1977, letter to EDS, Nationwide informed the company that Medicare was demanding payment of \$1,136,740. Even Nationwide, which risked its reputation in selecting Mr. Perot's company, said EDS owed the government almost \$700,000. "As this letter constitutes official notification of Nationwide's computations, the time limits and provisions . . . must be complied with," Nationwide wrote in its letter.

But records show that EDS, which Mr. Perot left in 1986, refused to pay. Nationwide turned the bill over to Medicare, which also tried—and failed—to collect the penalty, according to Mr. Fabro.

A spokeswoman for Mr. Perot said, "This all happened 20 years ago. He doesn't have any recollection of this." She also noted that Mr. Perot doesn't have access to EDS records, since he is no longer associated with the company. EDS, now a unit of General Motors Corp., denies that it owes the government any money.

For its part, Medicare has never collected penalties it sought on the 1972 contract. Why not?

"It's kind of embarrassing," said a

spokesman for the Health Care Financing Administration, the federal agency that operates Medicare. He said virtually all of his agency's records in the case have disappeared. "This all should have been in writing, and there is nothing," he said.

Mildred Tyssowski, director of Medicare in the late 1970s and now retired, said "there was great concern that [Mr. Perot] was making a lot of money" from Medicare. But she, too, can't recall why the penalties weren't collected.

Key Records Destroyed

Nationwide's Mr. Fabro said Medicare dickered on and off with EDS for seven years until 1984. Then the insurer dropped its collection effort, after learning that key records had been destroyed by Alabama Blue Cross Blue Shield, one of the companies against which Mr. Perot's performance had been measured. Without those records, Medicare lost its proof.

"The matter remained dormant for years," said Mr. Fabro. "When the government dropped that case, we breathed a sigh of relief. Boy, am I glad we don't have to worry about that any more."

James Brown, a spokesman for Alabama Blue Cross Blue Shield, said it's "common knowledge" that federal records are kept for only seven years. "That was a provision that everyone would have known about," Mr. Brown said.

Even the man who negotiated with EDS to recover the money can't remember exactly what happened. "I recall that the contract was ambiguous," said John Jansak, now a lawyer in Baltimore. "I can't believe there is not a ton of paper that would explain everything."

Critical Juncture

The Nationwide contract came at a critical juncture in EDS's history. Although EDS was Medicare's dominant data processor, its chief competitor for the nationwide contract, Texas-based University Computing Co., was using a new on-line "model" system designed by the federal government. Had University won the contract, it might have established this model system, already in use in several other states, as a superior program.

Soon after University lost the Nationwide contract, the Nixon White House convened a special panel that recommended the government pull its support of the model system; that eventually happened.

Nationwide made it clear that Mr. Perot personally gave his company's guarantee on the 1972 contract. "To address the cost issue, H. Ross Perot, founder and head of [EDS], offered [the] guarantee," Mr. Fabro said in a statement.

Despite EDS's failure to pay the penalties, however, Nationwide still subcontracts with the company. "There is no question about the fact that [Mr. Perot] had a quality operation," said Mr. Fabro. He credits EDS with helping Nationwide achieve some of the lowest claims-processing costs in the nation.

Although Mr. Perot's company failed to pay penalties on the Nationwide contract, it did accept a controversial contract bonus on a California Medi-Cal contract. In 1978, a California legislative panel accused another Medicare contractor of giving EDS a \$628,696 bonus "for cost reductions that did not occur." EDS said it had no comment on this contract.

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Offstage Spectacle

As the Presidential candidates take the stage for tonight's debate, another spectacle offstage may engulf the next presidency. Unless someone can get to the bottom of the matter, the next President may find his administration spending its energy not on the economy or other campaign issues, but on loans to Iraq by the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro.

This would be especially true in a second Bush administration, given the handling of the BNL prosecution in Atlanta. The prosecutors first struck and then withdrew a plea bargain with the head of the local bank, Christopher Drogoul. Judge Marvin Shoob withdrew from further handling of the case, professing himself unable to believe the Justice Department's contention that Mr. Drogoul loaned Iraq some \$2.1 billion without the knowledge of anyone higher in the bank. By now the CIA has admitted it wrote a misleading letter to the prosecutor. The CIA and the Justice Department are pointing fingers at each other over the blame. The FBI is investigating, but the Justice Department has launched what appears to be a counterprobe of whether FBI head William Sessions committed "crimes" like billing the government for personal phone calls.

As Senator Alan Simpson makes clear alongside, however, Congressional Democrats also have much to answer for in their support of the BNL loans. As is typical of Congressional witch hunts, some of the most culpable are now leading the charge to assign blame elsewhere. And coming in the last weeks of a presidential campaign, the cries of scandal could be mistaken for the kind of interbranch mudslinging the Democratic Congress has so often directed at the Republican presidency.

As defenders of the presidency in most of these matters, though, we find the Iraqi loans and the bungled BNL prosecution a far more serious matter. The BNL scandal, for one thing, is intimately related to the BCCI scandal, as the Kerry report on BCCI makes clear. The same report also details the role of Little Rock billionaire Jackson Stephens, whose empire helped bankroll both the Bush and Clinton campaigns, in the early days of BCCI's U.S. ventures.

While of course these associations prove nothing, they do provide food for thought and reason for investigation. We know that BCCI worked through bribery; and would like to be assured that the Iraqi loans and BNL prosecution were at worst a mistaken

policy and a subsequent cover-up.

Yesterday, Senator David Boren, head of the intelligence committee, renewed a demand that Attorney General William Barr appoint an independent counsel to investigate the case. Senator Boren is certainly right that the matter requires a "truly independent investigation." But given the Lawrence Walsh fiasco and other uses of the independent counsel statute to turn policy differences into criminal violations, invocation of this device is scarcely reassuring.

There once was a tradition of independent prosecutors within the Justice Department, including Archibald Cox and then Leon Jaworski during Watergate. While a President might interfere, he had to pay a heavy political price. This tradition, like the Senate's advise and consent powers on court appointments, has been a casualty of the partisan and interbranch warfare of recent years. Happily, however, a highly suitable substitute is available.

As we have pointed out before, and as Senator Kerry suggested in the BCCI case, we already have an independent prosecutor, Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau. Unlike some new prosecutor, he would not have to start from scratch. During his BCCI investigations, for example, he has already moved to subpoena BNL documents. With his background as a U.S. Attorney, he has the experience to know when prosecutorial discretion may indeed be necessary and when it is an abuse of power. Most important of all, his BCCI work has already established that he is truly independent, of the Justice Department, the Congress, and the whole Beltway. No other conceivable prosecutor could match these qualifications.

Putting Mr. Morgenthau on the case would not require unprecedented laws or procedures. He would need some money, a special grant of the type routinely given to local law enforcement authorities for special purposes. He would need a cross-designation as an assistant U.S. Attorney, a step with ample precedent, and the cooperation of the FBI and other federal authorities. This would give the Republic a truly independent investigator without the usual fuss.

These steps would give us the best possible assurance that the truth would eventually be known, after a full, thorough and patient investigation. And thus they would also ensure that the BNL matter is neither exploded nor buried in the excitement of a presidential campaign.

THE WHOSE IRAQGATE IS IT ANYWAY?

By ALAN K. SIMPSON

OCTOBER 15, 1992

When I consider all the deceptive tactics employed this year to assail George Bush, nothing tops the historical revisionism that Democrats have dubbed "Iraqgate." The president's opponents hope that a "scandal" of the administration's prewar policy toward Saddam could be the blow that finishes George Bush's candidacy.

If anyone wants to find a real Iraqgate, please look at the public records and statements of today's most vehement Inquisitors. There is Rep. Jack Brooks (D., Texas), who called for an independent counsel investigation of "Iraqgate," and Rep. Sam Gejdenson (D., Conn.), whose heated charges and invective have become a hearty staple of the nightly news. These men, so livid and righteous today, sang a very different tune two years ago, when they wanted to soften our treatment of Saddam Hussein.

Start with the spirited Rep. Brooks. Exactly three months before Saddam marched into Kuwait, he and fellow Texan Rep. Mike Andrews wrote the Agriculture Department to ask when the pesky Banca Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL) inquiry would end. They were interested in releasing a \$500 million credit guarantee to Iraq, which would help Iraq purchase, among other commodities, rice grown in their districts. The administration at the time was preparing to shut down the program entirely. (See first letter below.)

These two intrepid Texans were not alone in exerting pressure to guarantee commodity credits to Iraq in 1990. During hearings on the 1990 Farm Bill, commodity groups in this country actually lobbied to increase overall export credits to \$7 billion—\$2 billion more than what the administration requested. Members of both parties joined vigorously in the effort to promote these types of programs and to "get the business" for their constituents.

The entire North Carolina congressional delegation, with the exception of Sen. Jesse Helms, asked Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger in 1989 to "back" a proposed truck-assembly plant in Iraq. (See second letter.)

Despite such widespread and concerted pressure, the president held firm.

Meanwhile, Rep. Gejdenson was trying hard to weaken export controls to Iraq through the Export Facilitation Act of 1990. Secretaries Dick Cheney, James Baker and Robert Mosbacher warned House Speaker Tom Foley in June 1990 that Rep. Gejdenson's bill "undermines the president's ability to decide unilaterally to control exports to unstable regions such as the Middle East."

Rep. Gejdenson also fought doggedly against an amendment, submitted by Rep. Henry Hyde (R., Ill.), that prevented the decontrol of items such as "U.S. capacitors destined for Iraq . . . naval nuclear propulsion plants . . . and night-vision equipment." Although Congress passed Rep. Gejdenson's bill, the president vetoed it—an action that may have saved thousands of American lives during Desert Storm.

No nation imposes stricter controls on strategic exports than the U.S. Our government refused 362 export licenses to Iraq between 1985 and 1990 because the goods in question could have contributed to Iraq's military programs. The government did, however, approve 771 licenses for such goods as trucks and out-of-date computers, but only because the Iraqis could purchase such goods easily on the open market.

By July 1990 Saddam was reduced to whining and complaining that "there was nothing left for us to buy from America . . . only wheat. Because every time we want to buy something, they say it is forbidden."

For critics of the administration to allege that Iraq purchased weapons with money diverted from the Commodity

Credit Corporation (CCC) credit guarantee program, and that the administration covered up the deed, is ludicrous.

The CCC program provides credit guarantees only to U.S. exporters who do not get paid for the commodities they ship abroad. Not a single penny goes to foreign governments. Iraq could not possibly have received cash from the program. More importantly, no one has found a shred of evidence that Saddam traded grain purchased through the program for arms or technology.

This brings us to the other claim, that administration officials attempted to intervene in investigations of BNL, whose Atlanta branch allegedly engaged in illegal transactions with Iraq. Here, the president's foes imply that the administration wanted to keep a cash pipeline open for Saddam.

It is worth mentioning that the critics themselves cannot get their accusations straight. They complained last summer that the Justice Department had somehow cajoled the U.S. attorney in Atlanta into accepting a plea bargain from Christopher Drogoul, a BNL employee, for approving \$2.1 billion in illegal loans to Iraq. The administration, they hinted darkly, wanted to shut down the investigation before it could nab other villains.

Now, critics grouse that the Justice Department has somehow cajoled the U.S. attorney to reject the plea and demand a trial.

The fact is that the department helped the U.S. attorney develop the strongest and toughest possible case—based on all the evidence—against those involved in the BNL scandal.

Another key fact is that the administration cut BNL out of the CCC program in October 1989. The bank therefore played no role in the guarantees extended in November 1989 for Iraqi purchase of U.S. agricultural goods. Should BNL officials be found guilty of illegally diverting money to Iraq, they committed crimes—and accordingly deserve serious punishment. But the administration played no part here.

If there is an Iraqgate scandal, it is that those who seek to belittle the president's record in the Middle East are the same members of Congress who worked to thwart the progress he made before the war for their own political fortunes and personal gain.

Mr. Simpson (R., Wyo.) is minority whip of the U.S. Senate.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Candidates Fall Short on Health-Care Reform

With Proposals Marked by Gaps, Equivocation

By ALAN MURRAY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Evaluating the presidential candidates' proposals to revamp the nation's health-care system is like playing with faulty jigsaw puzzles.

In President Bush's case, the puzzle is missing half its pieces. His proposals to cover the 37 million people who currently don't have health insurance would still leave anywhere from five million to 27 million without adequate insurance. And his proposals for controlling spiraling health-care costs lack teeth.

In Bill Clinton's case, the pieces are there, but they seem to be from different puzzles. The Arkansas governor has chosen to straddle the ideological divide between those in his party who want more direct government control of health care and those who favor a "managed" form of competition.

No Complete Picture

Neither provides a complete picture of health-care reform, which is likely to be near the top of the agenda in the next administration. "It bugs me when people talk about the two plans," says Stanford economist Alain Enthoven, a longtime student of the health-care system. "They don't have plans, either one. Each is equivocating."

Independent candidate Ross Perot has even less to say on health care than his two opponents do. His book "United We Stand" has only two brief pages on the subject. One of his solutions is: "Encouraging problem-solving by everyone involved."

Health care has grown steadily in importance as a political issue in the past few years; with health-care costs rising at twice the rate of inflation, it is also becoming an unavoidable economic issue. Any effort to get control of the nation's swelling budget deficit is doomed, experts say, unless runaway health-care costs are reined in.

A report issued by the Congressional Budget Office yesterday underscores the dimensions of the problem. Unless the health-care system is changed, it says, health spending in the U.S. will reach \$1.7 trillion by 2000, up from \$800 billion this year. At that level, health spending would eat up 18% of the nation's total output. And

the federal government's share of that projected bill will rise from \$253 billion to \$566 billion.

But while everyone seems to agree there is a problem, the solutions diverge along ideological lines. Conservative solutions, such as that put forward by the Heritage Foundation in Washington, work to minimize government involvement and use competition to drive down costs. Many liberals, on the other hand, favor a system of national health insurance such as that in Canada, or a government board that would set health-care prices.

Huge Holes

Mr. Bush clearly sides with those who want to minimize government involvement. By encouraging and "empowering" people through the tax system to buy insurance, and by enacting insurance market reforms that make it possible for everyone — even if they have pre-existing health problems — to get insurance, the plan aims to create a health-care market in which competition keeps costs down.

But the Bush plan has some huge gaps. For one, it doesn't place a cap on the tax deductions businesses are allowed for health-care expenses. Such a cap, according to those who designed the Heritage Foundation plan, is critical to create incentives to control costs under a Bush-style free-market plan.

"To us, that's the whole problem," says Bob Moffit, deputy director of domestic policy studies at Heritage. Businesses are willing to purchase costly plans because they can pay for them in before-tax dollars; only if the tax deduction is limited will they work to control those costs.

"The first thing we ought to try is a massive tax cap on employers and employees," agrees Deborah Steelman, who has advised President Bush on health-care issues. "That ought to be enough to force a massive change."

The Bush administration considered such a cap when it was formulating its plan this year. But it abandoned the proposal for fear of alienating voters. As a result, even those health experts who are sympathetic to the president's free-market approach say the plan is incomplete.

The second gap in the Bush plan is that it doesn't provide health-care coverage to everyone. The full \$3,750 tax credit is only available to people below the poverty line, and even then, experts say, it may not be enough to buy adequate care. For middle-income taxpayers who don't have insur-

ance, the Bush plan offers a \$3,750 tax deduction, which is worth only a little more than \$1,000. The Bush administration claims that all but about five million of those now uninsured would be covered; a bipartisan study by Families USA says 27 million Americans would remain without adequate coverage.

Bush's Seriousness Questioned

Moreover, critics question whether Mr. Bush is really interested in the issue. He waited three years into his administration before even producing a plan, and his proposals came out only after Democrat Harris Wofford used the issue of health care to score an upset victory in a Pennsylvania Senate race last year. Asked at a dinner with reporters last month which candidate he thought was more serious about pursuing health-care reform, James Todd, executive director of the American Medical Association, responded: "I think Clinton is."

The problem with Mr. Clinton's plan is less that it is incomplete than that it is incoherent. He has attempted to straddle the views of differing elements in the Democratic Party, and the result is a plan lacking any clear philosophy.

In the presidential debate on Sunday, Mr. Clinton said he favors "managed competition." That's an idea made popular by Mr. Enthoven, the Stanford economist, in which employers would let employees choose among standardized health-care packages and have the employees pay any costs over a certain minimum. The idea is to set up competition among health-care plans that would hold down costs.

But Mr. Clinton has also embraced "global budgeting," a concept favored by many congressional Democrats. Under that plan, a national board would set an overall health-care budget for the nation and in certain instances also establish fee schedules for various medical services. That, Mr. Enthoven says, is inimical to his proposal for managed competition.

"A national board inescapably means price controls on doctors and hospitals," says Mr. Enthoven. "But medical care is a particularly unsuitable subject for price controls." Mr. Clinton, he argues, is waffling because he "doesn't want to antagonize one or the other faction of the party."

Board Would Be a Backstop

Mr. Clinton's defenders argue that a national board is essential to making managed competition work. The board would define an acceptable medical benefits package and set the maximum cost; health-care providers would then compete to get corporate business. The board "acts as a backstop," explains one Clinton aide, but "our hope is [that] managed competition will drive costs below the budget."

Henry Aaron, an economist at the Brookings Institute, says the call for a global budget at least indicates that Mr. Clinton, unlike Mr. Bush, is committed to capping health-care costs.

Unlike Mr. Bush's proposals, the Clinton plan would extend health coverage to all Americans. A government program would cover the unemployed, and employers would be required to cover their employees. Acknowledging that the requirement would be a strain on many small businesses, Mr. Clinton has also promised to provide a tax credit to those businesses. What he hasn't said, however, is how he will pay for the costly tax credit, or how he will decide who gets it.

Mr. Aaron says the bill is likely to run to tens of billions of dollars a year. Neither Mr. Clinton nor Mr. Bush "has been entirely forthcoming about how they would pay for" their plans, he says.

CAMPAIGN

*92

Defining Differences

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1992

Democrats Say Action on Clinton Files Shows Dirty Tricks by Bush Officials

By ROBERT S. GREENBERGER
And JEFFREY H. BIRNBAUM

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Democrats renewed their charges of dirty tricks by the Bush administration, after reports that a senior State Department official issued instructions on how to conduct a search of files concerning Bill Clinton's activities as a student in England.

The department yesterday confirmed that Elizabeth Tamposi, who is assistant secretary of state for consular affairs, became involved in the records search. Richard Boucher, a department spokesman, acknowledged that it is highly unusual for a senior official to become involved in such requests for information. But he said, "The primary reason [was] that she wanted to establish that this search was conducted properly."

Mr. Boucher said she took the action only after suspicions had been raised about possible tampering with Mr. Clinton's passport file, which was stored in a warehouse along with millions of similar files.

The search of Mr. Clinton's passport records and other files was prompted by several Freedom of Information Act re-

quests from news organizations seeking information about the Democratic presidential nominee's protest activities 23 years ago during the Vietnam War.

Ms. Tamposi, a political appointee, is described in her State Department biography as "long active in the Republican Party." Her actions were disclosed yesterday by the Washington Post.

According to Mr. Boucher, Ms. Tamposi instructed officials in the U.S. embassies in Oslo and London and in her office in Washington to make sure that files were pulled in the presence of several people, to guard against the possibility that one person might tamper with them. She also ordered that any documents retrieved be stored in a safe and that only authorized personnel be given access to documents.

The Clinton camp reacted quickly. Vice presidential candidate Albert Gore labeled the incident "outrageous and disturbing," and likened it to something that might happen in "a police state."

George Stephanopoulos, the campaign's communications director, accused the Bush administration of engaging in "a pretty outrageous abuse of power."

'Unusual Searches'

Mr. Stephanopoulos also charged that the State Department's actions had violated its own regulations and called on Mr. Bush to release all communications within the administration relating to the request for information. "Who approved of these unusual searches?" he asked. "Were the searches reported to anyone in the White House or the Bush-Quayle campaign?"

A group of House Democrats called on the State Department to cooperate in any investigation that Congress may undertake in the matter. A letter to acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger said that "these actions fall within the oversight jurisdiction of the Congress."

The revelations about possible tamper-

ing with Mr. Clinton's file have prompted charges and countercharges of political dirty tricks. When the suspicions initially were raised, the State Department turned the documents over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The FBI concluded last week that there hadn't been any tampering with the file. The records search in London and Oslo didn't yield any information on Mr. Clinton, Mr. Boucher said.

Mr. Boucher said that department officials had been instructed not to talk to anyone about Gov. Clinton's files except FBI investigators. "I absolutely feel that there is no inappropriate behavior at all in this," Mr. Boucher said.

Clinton Rests Voice

Gov. Clinton was saying little himself yesterday. He was suffering from hoarseness, because of overuse of his voice and allergies, and was resting his voice so that it could be ready for tonight's second presidential debate in Richmond, Va.

But his doctors vouched that he is healthy and has responded well in the past to treatment for minor medical problems such as a knee ligament strain in 1984, a "mild hearing loss" and hemorrhoid problems eight years ago.

"Gov. Clinton was a well-developed, well-nourished white male," concluded Dr. Susan Santa Cruz, one of four doctors whose letters about the Arkansas governor's health were released yesterday.

Speech by Baker

Separately, the White House put off an expected speech by Chief of Staff James Baker, who was to have explained how he would function in a second Bush term. Mr. Baker promised a speech after Sunday's first presidential debate, in which Mr. Bush said he would put Mr. Baker in charge of domestic and economic policy in a second term, rather than send him back to the State Department. Aides initially said the speech was being planned for yesterday, but now say it will probably occur next week.

In another development, the Bush administration and the Clinton campaign tried to win points by addressing the nation's banking problems. Treasury Undersecretary Jerome Powell denied recent reports that the administration is delaying bank closings until after the election and that there will be a surge in bank and thrift failures after Dec. 19, when new capital rules take effect. "The banking industry is getting healthier as a result of the interest-rate environment, not worse," he said.

But Rep. Charles Schumer (D., N.Y.), acting as a surrogate for Gov. Clinton, charged that Mr. Bush had ignored the thrift crisis when he ran for office in 1988 and that he's ignoring banking problems this year. Mr. Schumer said the Clinton campaign should highlight the billions of dollars spent to close thousands of failed banks and thrifts. "Anything that costs the public so much money ought to be a much bigger issue," Rep. Schumer said. "It's a winner for Democrats. It's a winner for Clinton."

When Diller and Wright Broke Bread, Was a Plan to Buy NBC on the Menu?

By JOHNNIE L. ROBERTS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
NEW YORK — Two weeks ago at the Four Seasons, this city's hotspot for conspicuous power-dining, a barely detectable buzz surrounded the lunch table of Barry Diller and Robert Wright. Both men hardly seemed to notice.

Yet almost before the tab was paid, a new round of mouthwatering speculation was coursing through Wall Street and Hollywood: The high-profile lunch between Mr. Diller, who has been searching for opportunities since leaving the Fox network he created, and Mr. Wright, NBC's president, must mean NBC's sale is about to begin.



Barry Diller

The stubborn rumors that General Electric Co. will dump its once-prized possession have been only intensified by NBC's steep slide in the ratings, its plunge from half a billion dollars in profits a few years ago into outright losses and the presumption of GE's rising impatience with the network.

To date, GE hasn't acknowledged that NBC is on the block, and spokesmen at both concerns decline to comment. But industry executives now say that GE is keenly interested in shedding NBC, which it obtained as part of its \$6.4 billion acquisition of RCA Corp. in 1986. And

Barry Diller, who abruptly resigned as chairman of News Corp.'s Fox Inc. earlier this year, is said to be aching to buy it, if only he can raise the right money. Paramount Communications Inc., furthermore, may be interested as well.

The only issues now are price and GE chairman Jack Welch's pride: Mr. Welch almost certainly wants to avoid taking an embarrassing charge against earnings, yet no buyers are likely to be willing to pay the \$3.5 billion to \$4 billion value that is believed to be on GE's books.

Reached yesterday, Mr. Diller said, "I haven't made a proposal" to General Electric about acquiring NBC. That statement, however, may not rule out the notion that the parties are discussing or have discussed a possible deal.

According to entertainment executives privy to Mr. Diller's thinking, Mr. Diller would acquire a 20% stake in NBC and pack the deal with provisions galore that would effectively permit him to control the fading broadcast company. A second step to the plan would have GE spin off the remaining 80% of NBC to GE shareholders on a tax-free basis.

As speculation of Mr. Diller's designs has circulated in recent days, Wall Street professionals have dusted off variations on his plan that apparently had been peddled to other potential suitors in the past, including to the oft-rumored Paramount.

For his part, NBC's Mr. Wright sidesteps the question of whether his and Mr. Diller's lunch included talk of a possible

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Rumors Are Rampant About Diller's Interest In Buying GE's NBC

Continued From Page B1

NBC sale. He says he enjoys the chance now and then to gather the latest "dish" from Mr. Diller, whom he describes as "a great gossip" and a brilliant entertainment executive.

Yet Mr. Diller's purported plan, or at least the description of it now becoming public, represents the most detailed plan yet to emerge concerning NBC, which seems an ill-fitting member of GE's vast portfolio of 15 prosaic industry-leading businesses such as jet engines, appliances and high-tech medical equipment. But any bid by Mr. Diller or, indeed, from any other likely party, would face myriad hurdles, financial and regulatory.

For Mr. Diller, one major hurdle is money. Numerous published reports put his wealth at \$100 million, far below the perhaps \$3 billion or more that it would take to acquire NBC outright. But by acquiring a partial stake with his own and borrowed money and having GE spin off the rest, Mr. Diller may be able to overcome his money problems. In addition, NBC still generates enough cash flow, particularly at its group of TV stations, to pay the cost of new debt.

People who have talked with Mr. Diller in recent days say he appears to be very upbeat about the way the talks are proceeding, though he has been careful to forgo sharing many details. These people say that Mr. Diller's talks with NBC have involved investment banker Allen & Co. and an NBC financial executive, Warren Jenson Sr. Officials at Allen & Co. decline to comment.

At Paramount Communications, money isn't a problem: It has some of the lowest debt of any company in the entertainment industry and more than \$1 billion in cash. Instead, its frustration is twofold. One is price; the other financial regulations.

Martin Davis, Paramount's chairman, is well known among investment bankers for spurning top-dollar deals. According to people close to Paramount, the company hasn't even reached the point of dickering over price in the periodic talks it has held with GE and NBC; any such discussions are now on the back burner.

But Paramount would have to overcome stringent federal rules that block the owner of a network from participating in many aspects of the syndication market, particularly for "first-run" shows. That is a major Paramount strength: It earns millions producing "Entertainment Tonight," "Star Trek: The Next Generation," "Arsenio" and other first-run shows. It also reaps millions more by selling reruns of such series as "Cheers."

Nonetheless, Paramount continues to study the prospect of entering the network business and already owns a handful of TV stations, a critical element to forming a network. Paramount brass believes it could possibly circumvent the federal syndication rules by giving up a night or two of prime-time programming to reduce NBC's total output to less than 15 hours a week, the point at which the federal rules are applied.

But General Electric may be in no hurry to sell off NBC at a low-ball price. It already has recouped a substantial portion of its original \$6.4 billion investment by selling some \$3.5 billion of the original RCA properties, one analyst estimates. Other analysts also speculate that GE might simply hang on to NBC until its fortunes improve—and then sell it.

New Republic Writer Is Often Clinton Defender

By JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — In its Sept. 21 issue, the New Republic magazine, under what it called its "Clinton Suck-Up Watch," attacked Time magazine's Walter Shapiro for gushing over the way Bill Clinton and Al Gore have formed "a comradeship of the road."

But the New Republic might have found a better candidate for the questionable award near the top of its own masthead. In the magazine's Aug. 3 issue, senior editor Sidney Blumenthal had this to say about the Democratic ticket: "Al Gore and Bill Clinton are like a rare set of fraternal twins, from different genetic codes. As one candidate, they make complete sense." He talked about Mr. Gore's "utter solidity" and Mr. Clinton's admirable "political risk-taking."

No journalist has more consistently defended Mr. Clinton or more aggressively attacked his opponents than the 43-year-old Mr. Blumenthal, soon to ascend to one of the most coveted posts in U.S. journalism, Washington correspondent for the New Yorker magazine under new editor Tina Brown.

In February, he assailed the news media for "cavalierly" raising the question of Mr. Clinton's marital infidelity "without any proof." Then he went on to report the governor had told his most trusted aides "that he had committed adultery" and praised the authenticity of the candidate and his wife: "While George Bush — all whiteness — talks about 'family values,' the Clintons demonstrate them by confessing to adultery."

When Mr. Bush raised Gov. Clin-



Sidney Blumenthal

ton's draft problems this month, Mr. Blumenthal counterattacked, recycling questions about the president's war record 48 years ago. And as for Ross Perot, Mr. Blumenthal has used an anonymous accusation to paint the Texas billionaire as anti-Semitic.

Mr. Blumenthal isn't alone in practicing his brand of journalism in a year that hasn't done much to uphold traditional reporting standards. Conservative Bush partisans know that the Washington Times, owned by the fundamentalist Rev. Sun Myung Moon, is most always willing to publish attacks on Bill Clinton.

'How I See Things'

Mr. Blumenthal says that he works "for a journal of opinion in a tradition that dates back to the Spectator" and essayists Joseph Addison and Richard Steele in early 18th Century England. "I haven't hidden my personal views in the slightest. This is how I see things. I consider myself an independent voice." He makes no apologies.

Nor, perhaps, need he offer any. The New Republic's editor-in-chief and chairman, Martin Peretz, sets the tone: He has been traveling with his old friend, Mr. Gore, and editing some of his speeches. He wrote all about it in the Oct. 19 issue.

Andrew Sullivan, the magazine's editor, says, "We've allowed people to be biased, if they want to be." What he seeks is a balance in the magazine's total coverage; thus, he sees Mr. Blumenthal's work as "a paid-up liberal" balanced by the reporting of senior editor Fred Barnes, a conservative. Asked if he is happy with Mr. Blumenthal's work, Mr. Sullivan says, "We are never smug about these things. It's good to be kept on our toes."

Mr. Blumenthal began his journalistic career in Boston with alternative newspapers. He went on to free-lance for the Boston Globe and the New York Times, and covered the 1984 presidential election for the New Republic, when, it was said, he helped write speeches for Gary Hart. He

says that's an exaggeration: "I contributed to one speech."

He was hired as a political writer by the Washington Post in 1985 in what executive editor Leonard Downie Jr. says was "an experiment." He and the Post parted at the end of 1988, after Mr. Downie told him he wouldn't be used to cover any more presidential campaigns. "He tended to write essays, with a stronger point of view and less of a reporting base than we might want," says Mr. Downie.

Polished and Prolific

A polished and prolific writer with several well-received books to his credit, Mr. Blumenthal has been given full scope for his energies at The New Republic. Over the past year, much of those energies have been directed to promoting Mr. Clinton. Mr. Clinton can rarely do wrong, and if there's something that doesn't look quite right, there's usually an explanation for it.

Mr. Blumenthal wasn't impressed by Mr. Clinton's circuitous explanation of how he tried smoking pot while a student in England, but didn't inhale. "Ludicrous," he said. "Foolish." But, at the same time, he noted that "many of his old friends believe that Clinton, wracked by allergies and unable to puff on a cigarette, told the truth."

In April, after Mr. Clinton won the crucial New York primary, Mr. Blumenthal worried that Mr. Clinton was "ensnared . . . in his own ambiguities." But Mr. Clinton's growing image as a "trimmer," he added, "may also come from his earnestness. His desire to please, to be seen as worthy, prompts him constantly to explain himself."

George Bush and Ross Perot get no such benefit of the doubt.

Mr. Blumenthal has maintained that Mr. Perot hired investigators to discredit a professor who was supposedly having an affair with Mr. Perot's daughter, Nancy. Mr. Blumenthal wrote that Mr. Perot said time and time again to "a man he

trusted," but who is not otherwise identified, "You don't think I'd let my daughter marry a Jew." That attack has now been picked up by Garry Trudeau in his "Doonesbury" comic strip.

Mr. Blumenthal says he understands it's a "horrific" quotation, but that he feels "completely confident" about his source.

But of all Mr. Blumenthal's articles, surely the most controversial was his Oct. 12 story on what happened on Sept. 2, 1944, when George Bush parachuted from his crippled torpedo bomber.

Mr. Blumenthal draws on varying accounts in three Bush biographies; he has run down new documents, including the logbook of the submarine that rescued Mr. Bush. But much of the story leans on Chester Mierzejewski, the tail gunner on the aircraft flying in formation directly ahead of Mr. Bush. It is pretty much the same story Mr. Mierzejewski told the New York Post four years ago: that Mr. Bush seemed "awfully anxious" to bail out of the plane when he didn't know the fate of his two crewmen (they both died). If there was any chance either of them was alive, Mr. Mierzejewski said, Mr. Bush should have attempted to crash-land his plane in the ocean.

Mr. Blumenthal says it's his belief — not expressed in his story — "that Bush may not know what happened" that day over Chichi Jima island. He says that he didn't write the story to question Mr. Bush's bravery or patriotism, but rather to point out discrepancies in the way Mr. Bush recounts his own story, just as Mr. Bush says there are discrepancies in how Mr. Clinton describes avoiding the draft during the Vietnam war.

Mr. Sullivan, the magazine's editor, says, "It's up to the reader to determine which of these stories carries the most weight," conceding that he's not sure Mr. Blumenthal's argument is "completely persuasive."

Valeo S.A.'s Turkish Units

PARIS—French car parts company Valeo S.A. will take 100% control of its three Turkish subsidiaries.

ADVERTISING

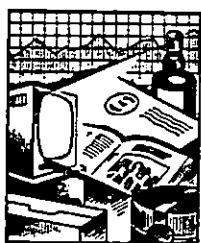
NBC, Aiming to Rebuild, Falls Into Cellar As Viewers Reject Most of Its New Shows

By KEVIN GOLDMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Last May, without a hint of sentimentality, NBC's chief programmer, Warren Littlefield, bid farewell to "The Cosby Show" and four other hit shows that had helped keep the General Electric Co. unit first in the ratings for six consecutive years.

"About those hits that are leaving—well, those were some great shows," Mr. Littlefield told advertisers gathered at Radio City Music Hall in New York. "But our attitude," he said, "can best be summed up with the headline, 'No Regrets.'"



Unfortunately for the network, viewers and, more importantly, advertisers apparently have the same attitude about bidding farewell to NBC.

The former proud-as-a-peacock network has stumbled badly in the three-week-old television season. It has dropped to third place after a No. 2 showing last season, and it is expected to stay there, finishing last among the three major networks when the season ends next spring.

NBC is down 10% in household ratings from a year ago, according to A.C. Nielsen Co., a far sharper decline than the 4% drop for CBS (ABC is up 3% in households). Among women aged 18 to 49, a key target for Madison Avenue, NBC is down 9% from the same period last year (CBS is down 7%, while ABC is up 1%).

Recorded by Camcorders

Most of the network's eight new shows — representing 5½ hours of programming — aren't working, with the exception of "I Witness Video," a much-criticized hour-long show of disasters—natural and otherwise — recorded by average Joes with camcorders.

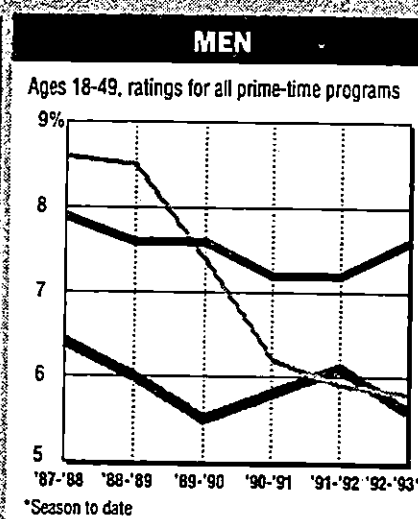
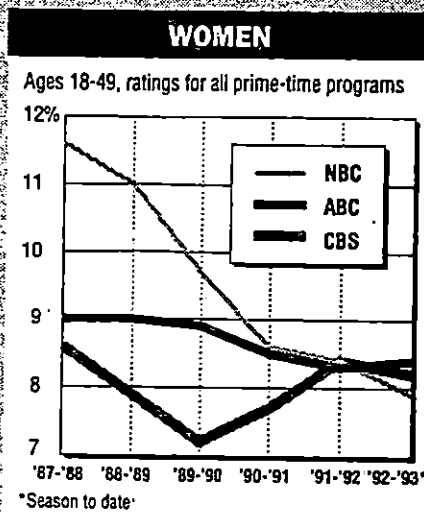
Nonetheless, he maintains that NBC's rookie shows are faring better than many on Madison Avenue believe. "We are seeing the emergence of new, signature NBC shows. We aren't operating under a cloud," the NBC executive says.

He has high hopes for midseason replacements in the meantime, including two dramas: "Crime and Punishment" from the creators of "Law and Order" and "Homicide" from the director of "Rain Man."

But NBC's problems didn't suddenly appear, and fixing them could take time. The malaise, like an expensive miniseries, was years in the making and actually began under the tenure of former wunderkind Brandon Tartikoff. He resigned as chairman of NBC Entertainment in May 1991 to become chairman of Paramount Communications Inc.'s Paramount Pictures studio.

NBC's Not-So-Great Ride

NBC, which dominated prime-time television in the 1980s, has fallen badly in household ratings as well as in the key demographic groups desired by advertisers. (The charts reflect the percentage of households with televisions.)



Source: A.C. Nielsen Co.

Mr. Littlefield argues that NBC is "very close to where my expectations were," adding, "It's time to rebuild NBC. We're finding solid demographic strength among our new shows." The network says it is up 35% among adults 18 to 49 years old on Sundays, for instance.

Yet new shows, such as sitcoms "Here and Now," "Out All Night" and "Rhythm and Blues," have to be considered disappointments from both a mass-audience and a demographic perspective. Concedes Mr. Littlefield: "Will they succeed? I don't know."

This week, NBC canceled its first two hours of shows on Friday, replacing the three series with Perry Mason movies. The move marks an abrupt reversal of the strategy that NBC's Mr. Littlefield had vowed would set the network right. After growing concerned about the advancing

age of the NBC audience, he jettisoned several popular shows that appealed to the graying set, unceremoniously yanking "In the Heat of the Night" — which was promptly picked up by CBS — and "Matlock," which ABC happily took over.

Youthful Appeal

After that, NBC slated three new shows with youthful appeal on Friday nights, including "The Round Table," a twenty-something drama from the producers of the hip Fox hit "Beverly Hills 90210." But it soon realized that ABC owns the young crowd on Fridays, and so the new series has been canceled.

"We embarked on a strategy on that night which I felt we weren't ultimately going to be successful with," Mr. Littlefield says now. By slating "Perry Mason" on Fridays, he hopes NBC can draw a "broad-based audience," although he admits it's only a short-term solution.

Unbroken String

The Tartikoff regime, which included Mr. Littlefield in the No. 2 spot, became obsessed with racking up an unbroken string of weekly wins in the household ratings race—even though advertisers buy commercials based on how many viewers in particular age groups are watching.

As a result, the network played it safe and left aging shows on the air too long. It paid huge sums to continue renewing hits such as "Cheers," spending millions of dollars and filling precious time slots that couldn't be used for newcomers to the schedule. And NBC let its audience age, even though most advertisers seek adults under 50.

"We are guilty of having held on to shows too long," Mr. Littlefield concedes. "That's part of the price we're now paying."

The most recent success for NBC came in January 1991, when "Blossom" premiered. But it hardly boasts the ratings

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NBC became accustomed to in the 1980s: The sitcom is ranked No. 23.

"The price you pay for being No. 1," says Preston Beckman, NBC's vice president for program planning and scheduling, "is that you want to stay No. 1. And part of the way you stay on top is to hold on to shows whose prime-time ratings are impressive. But you start to lose the audience advertisers want" because the audience ages with the show.

NBC was hobbled by series that overstayed their welcome and got stale, such as "Night Court" and "Dear John," a lame sitcom that never achieved hit status but was allowed to wallow on the schedule for four years.

Asked to assess NBC's problems, Betsy Frank, a senior vice president at ad agency Saatchi & Saatchi, responds, "Where do you start?" To be sure, no one is hanging out the "Closed" sign at 30 Rockefeller Plaza yet. Jon Mandel, a senior vice president at Grey Advertising, says, "They're not in intensive care, yet everyone is planning the funeral."

Nonetheless, NBC is in danger of becoming the fourth stop for creative producers in Hollywood, behind CBS, ABC and News Corp.'s Fox Broadcasting Co. "They have to catch some buzz that they're still creative, which they haven't yet been able to do," the adman says.

The buzz hasn't been good. This season, to replace its workhorse "Cosby," NBC moved a "Cosby" spinoff, "A Different World," to the coveted 8 p.m. slot on Thursdays. That show now draws only 14 million viewers—down 39%, or nine million people, from the "Cosby" audience a year ago.

"Rhythm and Blues," the rookie series that took over the 8:30 p.m. period on Thursdays, is off 34% from the performance of "Different World" there last year, ratings show.

Yet Mr. Littlefield remains upbeat and talks enthusiastically about new comedies in the works. In the wings is Norman Lear's "The Powers That Be," which won its time period last year but was held back from the starting gate this year, and "Local Heroes," starring David Keith, which got a thumbs-down from advertisers when it was screened last spring.

Furthermore, Mr. Littlefield says he has no regrets about his "no regrets" remark in May. "It was time for those shows to depart," he says, adding: "I don't see a long rebuilding process. The shows we put on the air have great potential. I'm feeling optimistic."

ENVIRONMENT

BY ROSE GUTFELD

How a Clinton Victory Would Affect Congress

CONGRESSIONAL debate over oil drilling, fuel economy and global warming will sound different if Bill Clinton wins the White House.

Rather than arguing over whether to increase auto fuel-efficiency requirements, lawmakers next year may be discussing how much to increase them and how to ease the burden on the auto industry; Gov. Clinton calls for raising average fuel-efficiency requirements to 40 to 45 miles per gallon from 27.5 mpg now; President Bush last year argued successfully against any increase. Mr. Clinton also calls for designating Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge as wilderness, shutting it off to development; a Bush administration proposal to allow oil exploration in part of the refuge died in the Senate last year.

To curb global warming, Mr. Clinton calls for limiting U.S. carbon-dioxide emissions in the year 2000 to 1990 levels. The Bush administration kept binding limits on greenhouse gases out of the climate-change treaty signed at the Earth Summit.

Gov. Clinton's interest also could reinvigorate the effort to revise federal waste legislation. He is calling for tax incentives to encourage the use of recycled materials and would set up a credit system that would encourage companies to recycle the solid waste they generate. Businesses that surpass minimum recovery requirements could earn credits that could be sold to other companies. Efforts to revise federal laws dealing with waste were unsuccessful this year.

President Bush has said that in a second term, he would push for giving economic considerations greater weight in decisions under the Endangered Species Act, also up for renewal. Mr. Clinton favors letting science be the sole criterion in determining whether to protect a species.

Environmental Groups Seek Free-Trade Role

GOV. CLINTON would give environmental groups a bigger role under the North American Free Trade Agreement, but some still aren't satisfied.

If elected, Mr. Clinton says, he will set up a procedure through which the groups and others could petition the federal government to bring enforcement actions against objectionable environmental practices in Mexico or Canada. The U.S. would also be required to take the views of the public into account — possibly through legal briefs or public hearings — when it participates in panels set up to resolve disputes under the accord. In its current form, the agreement would allow dispute-resolution panels to consult with environmental experts but wouldn't require them to do so.

As President Bush is doing, Gov. Clinton would seek to establish a trilateral commission to help follow through on environmental provisions in the accord. Unlike the president, however, Mr. Clinton would push for a body with enforcement powers, including the ability to assess monetary damages and stop actions that cause pollution. He is also calling for a supplemental agreement aimed at

ensuring that each country enforces its own environmental laws by guaranteeing that citizens have such rights as easy access to courts and public hearings.

Some environmental groups, however, are disappointed that Gov. Clinton didn't reject the agreement. "A number of things can be done only through reopening" the pact, says Michael McCloskey, chairman of the Sierra Club. He argues that if "Nafta goes ahead, the environment will be worse."

In Many Areas, There's Improvement in the Air

AMERICANS are breathing easier—at least for now.

The latest Environmental Protection Agency air-quality report, expected to be released next week, shows an 8% drop in smog over the 10 years ended in 1991.

Figures for the past few years show reduced smog in many cities, mainly in the East. Of 97 metropolitan areas that failed to meet the Clean Air Act smog standard based on 1988-90 data, 41, including Miami, Richmond, Va., and Toledo, Ohio, were in compliance under 1989-91 statistics. That's true even though 1991 was 1% smoggier than 1990.

Federal regulators attribute the improvement partly to rules requiring refiners to reduce evaporation of gasoline and continued turnover of the auto fleet as people replace old cars with newer, cleaner models.

But the improvement, which occurred before the tightening of controls under the revised Clean Air Act, also stems from factors beyond the EPA's control: Smog is more likely to form in hot weather, and in the latest three-year figures, the hot summer of 1988 has been replaced by the cooler summer of 1991.

Moreover, the newly clean cities will still have to impose enough controls on cars and factories to convince regulators that they would continue to meet the federal test if the weather warms up again. "They can't relax their standards, and they may have to tighten them to overcome growth," says William Becker, executive director of an organization that represents state and local air-pollution officials.

Despite the gains, more than 69 million Americans breathe air that doesn't meet the smog standard. If other pollutants such as carbon monoxide and particulate matter are taken into account, more than 86 million people breathe unhealthy air. Both of these pollutants, however, have diminished since 1982.

Odds and Ends

BEFORE CONGRESS adjourned last week, it approved the Wild Bird Conservation Act, which will regulate the import of exotic birds caught in the wild. Another newly passed measure will deny U.S. port privileges to fishing vessels of nations that continue to use large-scale drift nets after a United Nations moratorium takes effect at year end. President Bush is expected to sign both. . . . A physics professor at Pennsylvania State University personally finances \$1,500 scholarships to two students for getting to class without driving alone in a car at least 80% of the time.

Bush, in Campaign Stop, To Unveil Insurance Plan

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — President Bush is expected today to propose federal legislation designed to reduce auto insurance premiums by more than 20%, administration officials said.

In a speech prepared for delivery in Edison, N.J., Mr. Bush is expected to call for a law under which any driver who voluntarily surrenders the right to sue for pain and suffering after an accident would be legally exempt from being sued for pain and suffering. Lawsuits for actual damages wouldn't be affected. Auto insurance premiums have been a big issue in New Jersey.

The White House said estimates made by outside consulting firms suggest such a change could save consumers \$20 billion to \$30 billion a year, or 20% to 30%.

The insurance industry favors such a change, but trial lawyers resist it. Mr. Bush and Vice President Quayle have been stepping up their attacks on the legal system, and suggesting that his opponent, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, is too close to trial lawyers.

THE CANDIDATES DEBATED economic issues before an audience of angry voters.

The second presidential debate in Richmond, Va., opened with the audience of uncommitted voters complaining about the negative tone of the campaign. After one man challenged Bush, Clinton and Perot to stick to the issues, the three candidates proceeded to dissect their disagreements over education, health care, the deficit, trade policy and urban problems. The largely dignified debate offered few surprises, no knockout punches and little to suggest that the session would boost Bush in his effort to overtake front-runner Clinton. (Article on Page A16)

Perot declared that the Democrats and the Republicans are to blame for the nation's huge debt. He said that if he were elected he would serve one term and wouldn't take any compensation.

Bush urged EC leaders to muster the "political will" to achieve an accord on world trade, saying such a pact is within reach. His farm secretary, meanwhile, said the U.S. intends to subsidize exports of vegetable oil. The EC's president responded with a call for Europe to stand up to the U.S.

(Article on Page A2)

DEMOCRATS PUSH for filibuster-proof control of the Senate.

A three-seat gain would give them 60 seats. Currently, strategists see two near-certain pickups: Wisconsin and California. In addition to several big-state gains, Democrats also see improving prospects in two GOP bastions: New Hampshire and Alaska. Political analyst Stuart Rothenberg says a conservative third-party candidate in New Hampshire "could be a spoiler."

Republicans concede a likely loss of four or five Senate seats but hope to gain as many Democratic seats. Most vulnerable: Glenn in Ohio and Sanford in North Carolina. The most ferocious race may be for the other seat in California, where the GOP now is giving challenger Bruce Herschenson the full \$2.5 million funding; Democrats say Congresswoman Boxer will match him dollar for dollar.

"We know there's an anti-incumbent mood," says analyst Charles Cook. "What we don't know yet is how much of an anti-Republican mood there is."

MORE GOVERNORS, TOO: Democrats also expect to slightly up their 28-to-20 margin among governors, though there are only 12 gubernatorial elections. Democrats, see a good chance of winning GOP-held governorships in Delaware, Montana and Missouri; the most likely GOP pickups are in Washington state and North Dakota.

UPBEAT BILL? Clinton plans two new ads next week with positive messages designed to counter Bush's trashing of the Democrat's credibility. One ad pushes a message of "hope," the other is mostly a Clinton biography. Clinton also plans a "fly-around" to about seven Western states.

BEAT UP BILL: The Bush camp plans to step up "quick-response" counters to Clinton by getting Bush himself to answer his rival's charges the same day. The campaign plans to press its "taxes and trust" assault, which it contends is slowly raising Clinton's negative rating among voters, and then follow up with positive Bush ads.

JIMMY CARTER helped curb possible violence while monitoring an election this month in Guyana. An aide to the former president says Carter went to the election commission when an angry crowd formed during the vote count. He insisted on police protection there. The State Department confirms that Carter played a valuable role.

ELBOWING INTENSIFIES for jobs in a Clinton administration.

Smelling victory, moderate Democrats push a long list that includes Oklahoma Rep. McCurdy as defense secretary. Defeated New York Rep. Solarz, once touted as a possible Clinton secretary of state, now appears to angle for a lesser post after being tarred by the House bank scandal. Party Chairman Brown, some aides say, sees himself as a potential secretary of state, though few others do.

Retiring Colorado Sen. Wirth wants to be energy or interior secretary. Hewlett-Packard CEO John Young is a Commerce chief candidate. A dark horse for Treasury chief: businessman folk hero Warren Buffett. Former Carter official Richard Holbrooke, with a possible State Department job in sight, goes all out to defend Clinton.

One Bush aide jokes: "The last place you want to be the day Clinton gets elected is standing in the front door of the Brookings Institution," a liberal Washington think tank.

MINOR MEMOS: New York Sen. D'Amato is greeted at a campaign visit to a senior-citizens center by a sign reading, "D'Feat D'Amato." . . . Bumper sticker on Bush-Quayle headquarters at the vice presidential debate: "Annoy the Media: Re-Elect Bush." . . . In a poll of political staffers by the Movie Channel, Democrats' favorite current film is "Bob Roberts," a satire about a conservative politician; Republicans favor "Unforgiven," in which cowboy Clint Eastwood shoots all his enemies.

—RONALD G. SHAFER

Controversy Shrinks Braun's Lead in Illinois Race

By JACKIE CALMES

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
CHICAGO — Illinois's political star has come down to earth.

For months, Carol Moseley Braun was the nation's most-celebrated woman candidate in the Year of the Woman, the giant-slayer who brought down Democratic Sen. Alan Dixon to avenge the Senate's confirmation of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. Charismatic and articulate, she seemed to be riding that celebrity past a colorless Republican into the Senate — and the history books — as its first black female member.

For now, the betting here is still that she'll make it. But it's looking less and less like a sure thing, and at the very least she is getting muddled along the way.

In the campaign's final weeks, the state media and Republican opponent Rich Williamson have seized on a local television station's report that three years ago she failed to report a \$28,750 timber-royalty payment to her mother from land the family owned. Her mother's nursing-home care is paid by Medicaid. Ms. Braun, 45 years old, an attorney and the Cook County recorder of deeds, denies wrongdoing. But polls show the flap has eroded a lead that last month exceeded 30 points. More ominously for her, the undertones of welfare fraud threaten to bring racial politics into the open.

Adding to her problems is that she is running what's widely perceived to be a poor campaign, with an organization marred by turnover and disarray. Her campaign manager, new to state politics, gets much of the blame. But just last week, party insiders say, Ms. Braun herself was a no-show at meetings of a union local and of 200 Democratic precinct captains. She says neither was on her schedule.

Last winter, Ms. Braun was the also-ran in a three-candidate Democratic field, an obscure and underfinanced county official against an incumbent senator and a rich lawyer. But the two men pummeled each other, and she slipped by with the votes of blacks and of women sore about the Senate's handling of sexual harassment charges against Justice Thomas.

"When I won, there was this element of 'A star is born.' I couldn't get away from

CAMPAIGN
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the media attention. It was overwhelming," she says. "Now the kind of treatment my campaign is receiving is in large part a reflection of the notion, 'We want to see her earn it.'"

Her slippage in the polls — her lead had been declining even before the Medicaid story broke Sept. 28, and fell eight points in the week after, according to the Chicago Tribune — has unnerved state Democrats, who have been counting on her candidacy to buoy all others from Bill Clinton to local legislators.

Meanwhile, it has energized Mr. Williamson. In Peoria Monday, in the first of two debates to be televised statewide, he came out swinging: "Because of Carol Braun's Medicaid scandal, many of you are rethinking this election. I hope you'll give me a hard look." She was on the defensive for half the hour.

The controversy has played right to Mr. Williamson's strategy of appealing to conservatives in both parties, from the affluent "collar counties" around Chicago to rural ones downstate, where many people don't need much excuse to oppose Chicago machine pols or blacks. He insists he'd rather talk about the economy, yet invariably returns to what he calls "a long litany of ethical lapses, patronage, cronyism and corruption" in Ms. Braun's record as a state legislator and county official.

"The question now for Rich Williamson is, 'Can he present himself as a viable alternative?'" says Greg Baise, president of the Illinois Manufacturers Association and former campaign manager and cabinet official to former GOP Gov. James Thompson. "So far," he adds, "Rich hasn't been able to do that."

That's what gives fretful Democrats comfort. Until Ms. Braun's troubles, Mr. Williamson, 43, had been all but ignored as a second-rate, second-choice nominee after more prominent Republicans, such as Lt. Gov. Bob Kustra, declined a race they thought would be against Sen. Dixon. Further, Mr. Williamson's switch to a pro-choice stance angered the state's anti-abortion faction.

Moreover, as a former White House aide to President Reagan who was recruited for this race by President Bush, Mr. Williamson finds his links to both are a handicap this year. He rarely mentions Mr. Bush in his campaign, and it takes little prompting to get him to list his differences with the top of the ticket on such issues as abortion and taxes.

Mr. Williamson denies he's playing the race card by harping on the Medicaid issue. But he had already drawn cries of foul for ads-popular columnist Mike Royko called them "sleazy even by Chicago standards" — that tied Ms. Braun to Jesse Jackson and to Chicago Rep. Gus Savage, who is known best for diatribes against whites and Jews. Mr.

Williamson is being advised on his campaign by Arthur Finkelstein, who directed North Carolina Sen. Jesse Helms's overtly racial campaign against a black challenger in 1990.

"She calls him a Ronald Reagan Republican. Why can't he call her a Jesse Jackson Democrat?" asks Andy Foster, executive director of the state Republican Party. "Why is that racist?"



Rich Williamson

The answer is obvious to black leaders, who have feared the threat of racial voting all along. "The thing that diminished that threat was her celebrity status,"

says Bennett J. Johnson, a publisher and political leader in Chicago's black community. "Illinoisans thought, here's our chance to prove we're not racist. Now, when you get into this 'welfare queen' thing, you bring out the dark side of the Illinois voter."

Ms. Braun has started hitting back. An ad unveiled the day after the debate for the first time attacks Mr. Williamson by name, tying him to Reagan-Bush economic policies and to a buy-out of Chicago-based Beatrice Foods that netted lucrative "golden parachutes" for him and other executives "while thousands of workers got their pink slips."

Both candidates are relying on such ads to do their talking statewide, while they personally mobilize their political bases. On Tuesday, Mr. Williamson brought along Kansas GOP Sen. Nancy Kassebaum to make his pitch to suburban Republican women — many of them upset by the Thomas hearings and by the party's anti-abortion stance. "Carol Braun is no Nancy Kassebaum," he told about 100 women at a breakfast in wealthy Lake County.

Ms. Braun, meanwhile, was courting the Democratic faithful this week in labor strongholds east of St. Louis. At a JFK Dinner Sunday in Madison County, activists shrugged off the Medicaid controversy, which until the debate had aired mostly in Chicago. "That's not the issue," said County Clerk Evelyn Bowles. "The issue is jobs. Plain and simple."

The day after the Peoria debate, Ms. Braun was back in Chicago, greeting homebound commuters at the main rail station. Despite her recent problems, the candidate's celebrity gave the timeworn politician's tactic a twist — voters sought her hand. Gushed one woman: "I just wish I could vote for you twice."



Carol Moseley Braun

POLITICS & POLICY

Presidential Candidates Face Angry Voters In Second, Audience-Participation Debate

Bush, Clinton, Perot Asked To Take Pledge to Stop Negative Campaigning

By JAMES M. PERRY
And ALAN MURRAY

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

The message in the second presidential debate came from audience members: They don't want any more negative campaigning from President Bush, Gov. Bill Clinton and Ross Perot.

The unstructured but largely dignified debate, held at the University of Richmond in Virginia, was highlighted by angry voters who vented their frustrations in questions to the candidates about the shape of the country and the barrage of negative ads and attacks.

One poll taken immediately after the debate indicated Mr. Clinton was the clear winner. In a random survey of 1,145 voters by CBS News, 53% said Mr. Clinton won the debate, 25% said Mr. Bush won and 21% named Mr. Perot the winner. The network's poll indicated that the debate hadn't produced much change in voters' inclinations, though more said the debate had improved their opinion of Mr. Clinton than said they came away with an improved opinion of Mr. Bush.

The tenor of the evening wasn't advantageous to Mr. Bush, for most polls show voters believe he is the one responsible for the negative tone of the campaign. This may make it tougher for Mr. Bush to mount a serious negative attack against Mr. Clinton, the clear front-runner in the race, in the final 2½ weeks of the campaign. Mr. Clinton, on the other hand, seemed better able to empathize with the uncommitted voters who made up the audience.

Perot Again Adds Color

Once again, Mr. Perot was the most colorful figure on the stage; he cracked jokes and told stories, and seemed to control the opening part of the debate. But as the night wore on, he failed to outline specific remedies for the problems he illustrated at such length. He sometimes was hectoring, sounding as if he were delivering a civics lesson. If elected, Mr. Perot said, he would serve only one term and wouldn't take any salary.

Mr. Clinton scored no flashy rhetorical points. But he seemed comfortable with the format, which he chose, and seemed to establish personal contact with those in the audience asking questions. He seemed to gain confidence as the session continued. He displayed a broad range of knowledge about many domestic and economic issues, which dominated the debate; the 90-minute debate was more than an hour old before the first foreign policy question was asked.

In their closing statements, the three candidates gave a preview of the themes that will dominate the remaining 18 days of

the campaign. Mr. Bush said he differed from the other two candidates in opposing any tax hikes, but stressed above all that his experience makes him the most trustworthy. He asked the voters which candidate they would want in the Oval Office if they heard from a television announcer that a "major international crisis" or domestic crisis had erupted.

Mr. Perot hit his well-honed theme that he is a business achiever who will "do it and not just talk about it." Mr. Clinton talked of his record of balancing state budgets, then closed by returning to his campaign's central theme, the need for change. "You have to decide whether you want change or not," he declared.

Both Mr. Clinton and Mr. Bush made a special effort to connect with the women in the audience, noting that an unusual number of women are standing for election this year. Mr. Bush said, "If Barbara Bush were running this year, she'd be elected."

Early in the debate, Mr. Perot drew a clear distinction between himself and the other candidates by staking out a hawkish position on the nation's twin deficits in the federal budget and trade. He emphasized his opposition to a North American Free Trade Agreement, saying it would result in a "giant sucking sound going south" as plants moved to Mexico.

Lobbying Decried

He also took a slap at President Bush by criticizing well-heeled Washington lobbyists who represent foreign interests and then play top roles in presidential campaigns. This clearly was directed at Charles Black and Jim Lake, two top Bush campaign advisers and prominent Washington lobbyists for foreign concerns.

Mr. Bush responded by forcefully supporting the trade agreement, and said "the thing that saved us in this global economic slowdown is our exports." He noted that "export jobs are increasing far faster than any jobs are going overseas." He said he wanted to complete the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and negotiate agreements with Eastern Europe and Chile similar to the trade accord with Mexico.

Mr. Clinton also said he supported the trade agreement, but struck a middle ground by saying he favored having "measures on the books" to quickly retaliate against countries that don't open their markets, and that he favored eliminating tax breaks that encourage companies to move overseas. He said he wanted "more trade, but on fairer terms, and favor investment in America."

On the budget deficit, Mr. Perot said that "while we sit here, we will go into debt another \$50 million." He repeated his promise to eliminate the debt over the next five years, and chided both Democrats and Republicans for not taking responsibility for the economy's problems. "Whose fault is that? Not the Democrats. Not the Republicans. Somewhere out there, there's an extraterrestrial that's doing this to us, I guess."

Mr. Clinton, on the other hand, refused to pledge not to run for a second term if he hasn't cut the deficit by a specific amount in the next four years. "I don't think a president should be judged solely on the deficit," he said. Instead, he called for measures to stimulate the economy, and then simultaneously reduce the deficit by 50% over the next four years.

Mr. Bush countered by saying he didn't see "how you can grow the deficit down by raising people's taxes," and said the Clinton economic plan calls for \$150 billion in new taxes. Mr. Bush repeated his call for a balanced budget amendment, a line-item veto, and a "check-off" allowing people to devote as much as 10% of their tax payment to deficit reduction.

In later exchanges, the candidates spoke at length on the issues of education and health care. On education, Mr. Bush emphasized school choice and the need to take on the teachers unions. Mr. Clinton vowed to give everybody with a job a chance to learn to read and to earn a high school diploma. On health care, Gov. Clinton vowed to send a health-care reform proposal to Congress in the first 100 days of his presidency.

The debate was more than half over before the first question was posed on foreign policy, Mr. Bush's strength. Asked what role the U.S. should play in the post-Cold War world, the president seized the opportunity to trumpet the achievements he has made in foreign affairs, particularly the demise of the Soviet Union and a sharp decline in the threat of nuclear warfare.

And he delivered a strong pitch for the U.S. to "keep engaged" in the world despite its problems at home, saying the U.S. has a humanitarian obligation to continue even politically unpopular foreign aid programs.

But Mr. Clinton also seized on the foreign-policy opening, seeking to illustrate that he wouldn't pull the U.S. back from world leadership. And he stressed the key difference he's tried to strike between his approach and Mr. Bush's, claiming he'd be more aggressive in promoting democracy "wherever the seeds of freedom are sprouting" abroad. For his part, Mr. Perot briefly said he'd continue helping democrats in Russia, but quickly returned to his main theme that he'd focus on "job one . . . putting our people back to work."

Mr. Bush was assailed from all sides on the question of negative campaigning. "Let's get off the mud wrestling," said Mr. Perot. "Let's talk about jobs, health care, crime, the things that concern the American people."

As for Mr. Bush's insistence that Mr. Clinton's character should be an issue in the campaign, Mr. Clinton replied sharply: "I'm not interested in his [Mr. Bush's] character. I want to change the character of the presidency."

—Gerald F. Seib contributed to this article.

ECONOMY

Bush Calls on EC Leaders to Muster 'Political Will' to Reach a Trade Pact

By BOB DAVIS
And BRUCE INGERSOLL

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—In a last-ditch effort to revive world trade talks before the election, the Bush administration tried a good-cop, bad-cop strategy to prod the European Community toward a settlement.

President Bush, playing the good cop, sent a letter to the 12 EC leaders urging them to muster the "political will" to reach an agreement in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade talks. "We have stretched as far as possible to meet the EC's concerns," Mr. Bush said. He added that an agreement is "within reach," and he warned that "history will judge us harshly if we pass up this chance to give the world economy a lift."

Meanwhile, Agricultural Secretary Edward Madigan played the bad cop. He announced that the U.S. intends to subsidize the sale of as much as 870,000 metric tons of vegetable oil, with a value of \$377 million at today's prices, in markets where the U.S. has been losing sales to heavily subsidized EC exporters.

The U.S. and EC also are at odds over European trade barriers to U.S. oilseed products, with the U.S. having threatened to retaliate by imposing prohibitive tariffs on \$1 billion of EC exports.

In Europe, however, Jacques Delors, president of the EC Commission, urged the EC to stand up to its "big brother," the U.S. EC farmers already are facing a "drastic reduction in production" because of EC farm-policy reforms, and further changes would be tantamount to "putting a straitjacket on them," he warned.

The Bush administration acted on the eve of an EC summit today in Birmingham,

England, that is to deal with the GATT impasse as well as the continuing turmoil over the Maastricht treaty on European unity. U.S. and EC negotiators failed last weekend to break the deadlock over agriculture issues, but discussions have continued since then, and the gap has narrowed, according to trade negotiators.

The U.S. is willing to accept less farm-trade liberalization than was proposed in a draft agreement by GATT director-general Arthur Dunkel, according to Paul Drazek, a trade analyst for the American Farm Bureau, which has been consulted in the discussions. But the two sides are still far apart on the oilseed question, he said. Oilseeds include soybeans, sunflower and cotton seeds.

The chances of a breakthrough in the GATT negotiations remain slim. French President Francois Mitterrand is expected to resist staunchly any pressure from other EC leaders to reach an agreement with the U.S. on cutting subsidies to farmers.

Moreover, whatever progress has been made has occurred in talks between the U.S. and the EC's bureaucracy in Brussels, not with EC members. "When the commission has to convince member states, they run into a buzzsaw," said Mr. Drazek. "Then they come back and say [to the U.S.] we need more compromises."

If negotiators make headway in Birmingham, however, the U.S. and EC could follow up at a meeting, set for tomorrow in Canada, of trade ministers from the U.S., the EC nations, Japan and Canada.

Meanwhile, Mr. Madigan, the U.S. agriculture secretary, said the new export-subsidy package would help U.S. vegetable oil exporters compete with highly subsidized EC rivals in such markets as Algeria, Morocco, Turkey, Tunisia and the former Soviet republics. He called the package "another step in our efforts to pressure the EC to adopt significant reforms in its oilseed policy." But a Madigan aide insisted that there wasn't any "direct connection" between the package and Mr. Bush's letter.

Congressional Democrats have accused the administration of using subsidy offers under the so-called Export Enhancement Program to seek farm votes in Midwestern states that Mr. Bush must carry to win re-election. On Sept. 2, the president announced an export-subsidy package to promote the sale of 1.1 billion bushels of wheat to 28 countries. Since then, Mr. Madigan has announced similar subsidies for eggs and barley malt.

In the past, the Agriculture Department has announced export subsidies country by country, instead of bundling them into one package. By bundling, the department can avoid delays in getting approval from other agencies, helping exporters pounce on sales opportunities. This effort "is a clear indication that if we don't get an agreement, the U.S. is going to fight for its fair market share," said William O'Conner, a Madigan aide.

—Julie Wolf in Brussels contributed to this article.

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Rules of the Game

In some Republican circles you can hear the following argument: Even if Bill Clinton wins, he'll blow it the same way Jimmy Carter did, and the Republican Party will sweep back into power in 1996. Maybe, but don't bet the ranch on it.

For starters, Jimmy Carter's 1980 defeat was the only time since 1896 that a party has won power for a single term and then lost it. More importantly, though, the pros in the Democratic Party will almost certainly change the rules of the political game so that even if Clinton's another Carter, the party will be tough to uproot from power.

There's good reason to try an entrenchment strategy. After Operation Desert Storm, Democrats never expected to win the White House in 1992, so many of their best candidates didn't run. Many of them know America is still basically a conservative country (which is why Governor Clinton is running down the center) and that in normal years the Electoral College map heavily favors the Republicans. But if they win, the most savvy Democrats will realize that having both a Democratic President and Democratic Congress gives them a rare chance to alter the political balance in their favor.

In the current issue of the *American Spectator*, political analyst Grover Norquist points out that that is precisely what the Democrats did after winning two-to-one control of Congress in the 1974 Watergate election. Even before the election they exploited a weakened presidency by passing the 1974 Budget Act, which dramatically expanded Congress's ability to disperse appropriations favors by gutting the President's power to discipline spending through rescissions. (A President Clinton who didn't insist on line-item veto power or its analogue would be similarly defenseless.)

Next, the post-Watergate Democratic Congress loosened constraints on the amount of franked mail Members could send out. In 1974, 321 million pieces went out; by 1980 that climbed to 511 million pieces.

The number of Congressional staffers — often thinly disguised campaign aides — jumped by a third between 1972 and 1976. Campaign finance "reform" strengthened House

incumbents to the point that in 1990 nearly 20% had no major-party opposition. That year Common Cause estimated only 23 incumbent Members faced a truly competitive contest.

If the threat of presidential vetoes recedes (and Mr. Clinton is a severe critic of the Bush vetoes), a flood of legislation will likely pass that expands the constituent base. GOP Rep. Bill Gradison of Ohio told us he would expect to see Congress change labor laws to increase the role of unions in politics. The Hatch Act, for example, which limits the political involvement of federal employees, would almost certainly be amended. Congress would likely void the Supreme Court's 1988 Beck decision, which held that union members can't be compelled to pay dues that further a political cause.

Other initiatives would make it easier to mobilize Democratic constituencies. Much of the \$50 billion that Bill Clinton vows to spend on infrastructure would flow to incompetent big city political machines, which are still the heart of the Democratic Party. Federal funding for favored advocacy groups that legislate via the courtrooms would soar.

To succeed in suing for laws that can't pass elected legislatures, this litigation army would need congenial judges. Back when Mr. Carter took office, Congress expanded the federal judiciary by 30%. Mr. Carter was thus able to name 264 federal judges in four years, not far behind the 370 judges Ronald Reagan appointed in two terms. Under a President Clinton, Congress would very likely expand the slots on the federal bench.

There are of course possible counterweights to all this. The House is in disgrace, and the huge freshman class may try to act respectably. The term-limits movement is gaining momentum. Maybe Bill Clinton's platoons of centrist intellectuals from Oxford and Wall Street would prevail over liberalism's Congressional and Beltway divisions.

No one, though, should expect that the Democrats would do nothing in advance of taking on a Republican Party, which would retain much of its inherent strengths. The construction of a defense shield for Democrats will be an expensive four-year project.

Pressing Suits

Some reporters may have smirked when debater Dan Quayle tried to describe the litigation crisis, assuming he's in it to protect his corporate friends. They can keep smirking, so long as they do their journalism with a deep-pockets media corporation. Below that level, the plaintiffs bar is no laughing matter for publications.

Exhibit A is the practice of so-called Fair Housing Councils around the country and the public-interest lawyers who litigate for them, seeking newspapers that publish, even unwittingly, classified advertising that appears to discriminate. That is, the want ads contain wording that may exceed the bounds of the Fair Housing Act, as revised by Congress in 1988.

Southern California Community Newspapers puts out 31 community papers with a total circulation of 700,000. It reaches areas with sizable numbers of Latinos, which perhaps explains the scrutiny it gets from seekers after bias in the marketplace.

Publisher-owner Ric Trent believes, however, this wasn't the only reason his company was targeted in a suit over an advertisement two years ago for a rental apartment that included the words "adults preferred." Mr. Trent maintains the Fair Housing Council and its lawyer figured his outfit couldn't fight the case the way a big daily paper might, but was nevertheless big enough to pay out a handsome settlement. He refused, he says, offering instead to run gratis anti-discrimination ads and to help the nominally aggrieved party, an unmarried mother, find accommodations.

That wouldn't satisfy the other side — Mr. Trent says neither he nor the mom-and-pop owners of the seven-unit complex that placed the ad were even able to speak to the woman at the center of the tempest — and the case dragged on. A fair-minded judge, recognizing the complexities of both the

law and the oversight of 31 shoestring operations, might have fined the newspaper chain a dollar and been done with it. But that would have opened the company to paying \$200,000 or more in plaintiff's legal fees. So Mr. Trent found a way out of the legal corner: He declared Chapter 11 bankruptcy.

This has relegated the litigation to outer-tier creditor status, effectively nullifying the suit. Mr. Trent's bankers from his troubled 1987 buy-out of Southern California Community Newspapers have ranking claims and are sympathetic with his action, he says. His suppliers, too, are tolerant.

But bankruptcy is a legal nightmare, and can limit the flexibility that is key to survival these days. No going concern would choose such a filing lightly. And no institution of the press would care to have its financial affairs — and indirectly, at some level, its coverage decisions — determined by a federal judge and trustee.

That, Mr. Trent is telling his fellow journalistic proprietors, is the threat now posed by a set of laws and courtroom procedures that place publications in jeopardy for ads that say things as vague as "exclusive" or "private." This is a legal racket in which the supposed victims of discrimination are nearly irrelevant to the action. It is abetted by the fact that a defendant cannot inform a jury that he must fight to avoid being stuck with legal fees, possibly the motivation for the suit in the first place.

Publishers who get exercised over the alleged danger to free expression from the phone company selling data might spare this case some thought. An effort to repeal legislation or appellate litigation may be needed to arrest the trend that has ensnared Southern California Community Newspapers. Needless to say, there is no use summoning the ACLU with this First Amendment alarm.

CBS Faces Obstacle In Scoring Big With World Series

By MARK ROBICHAUX

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW YORK — CBS Inc., already hit by the lowest ratings ever for the Major League Baseball playoffs, now must try to lure a large audience for the World Series when one of the teams isn't even based in the U.S.

In pitting the Toronto Blue Jays against the Atlanta Braves, this year's World Series may have a difficult time on CBS. Home-team audiences are traditionally a big boost to overall viewership. But no matter how many Toronto viewers tune in, CBS won't be able to count them because that Canadian city isn't included in the A.C. Nielsen Co.'s national TV ratings.

And although Wednesday night's final game of the National League playoffs, between the Braves and the Pittsburgh Pirates, drew a healthy 18.2% of all U.S. households, both the National League and the American League playoffs drew record low numbers this year. The National League championship, which went a full seven games, drew an average prime-time rating of 12.9% of U.S. homes with television sets, down 7% from the year before.

The American League championship garnered a 9.6% rating for the first four of six games played, which is up slightly from an average 9.2% rating for the full championship series a year ago. The figures for the last two games were not available.

CBS executives nonetheless express confidence that this year's World Series will draw as big an audience as it did a year ago, when the Minnesota Twins beat the Braves in seven games and drew an average prime-time rating of 23.9% of TV households. That marked a 15% increase over the 20.8% for the World Series in 1990, when the Cincinnati Reds swept the Oakland A's in four games.

"If the series was Toronto and Montreal, we'd be worried," said David Poltrack, a senior vice president at CBS. "But the Atlanta story is even bigger this year because of the incredible ending last year. Atlanta got there and lost it in the last inning of the last game. They're seeking revenge. That helps."

In addition, he said, the Atlanta Braves, which are broadcast on Turner Broadcasting System Inc.'s TBS superstation, "have one of the biggest areas of local interest, which will boost the national ratings. Atlanta is sort of an adopted home town team for a lot of fans."

Quayle Fights, But Baker Goes AWOL

As Adm. James Stockdale might say, character is revealed more in struggle than in victory. Facing what could be their worst rout since 1964, Republicans are revealing what their backbones are really made of—metal or marshmallow.

Dan Quayle is showing he has a steelier spine than his critics have claimed. Near the end of Tuesday's vice presidential tractor pull, Bush campaign strategist Charlie Black remarked in the GOP's Atlanta control room: "Maybe the people who briefed Quayle should be brought in to brief Bush."

He wasn't kidding. But then a Quayle aide—a realist who'd overheard Mr. Black but also knows the Bush White House—quipped, "Fat chance."

The realist is right. The people prepping Mr. Bush for his debates (last night's was held after this column's deadline) include Richard Darman and John Sununu, the same geniuses who said Mr. Bush didn't need an economic-growth agenda. It's as if King Lear took advice from his disloyal daughters, Regan and Goneril. No wonder Mr. Bush so often seems to be raging against the wind.

Mr. Quayle at least wants to go down with the dignity of the scrappy, courageous underdog. As a debater he was too hyper, like a teen-age boy suffering an overdose of hormones. But the debate's open format showed he could think on his feet. The man alleged to be a creature of his aides was more spontaneous and human than Al Gore, the clone from Senate casting.

The vice president is a happier warrior than President Bush because he's learned over a hard four years to believe in something more than his own ambition. Mr. Bush has seemed nonplused because he thinks he's earned a second term by right of tenure. So his attacks on Bill Clinton look strained and merely political. Already reviled in the media, Mr. Quayle has learned to take comfort in his convictions.

So when Al from St. Albans opposed parental choice in private schools, Mr. Quayle knew enough to snap back: "It's OK for the wealthy to send their kids to private schools, but it's not OK for the middle class and the working poor to



Dan Quayle

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

choose where they want to send their kids to school."

Mr. Gore was the one fleeing his convictions, especially on his great passion, the environment. His book, "Earth in the Balance," is an honest if extremist call to arms. But in the debate, as on the stump, he soft-pedaled. He now talks as if every environmental regulation is little more than a new jobs program. As for Mr. Quayle's charge that he favors a \$100 billion "Global Marshall Plan," Mr. Gore and his media apologists utter sophisticated denials.

On page 297 of his book, Mr. Gore says, "Improbable or not, something like the Marshall Plan—a Global Marshall Plan, if you will—is now urgently needed. The scope and complexity of this plan will far exceed those of the original." Then on page 304, he says that if the U.S. spent today the equivalent of what it spent on the Marshall Plan it "would be almost \$100 billion a year." OK, so the U.S. will provide only part of the \$100 billion. Mr. Gore still clearly wants to redistribute U.S. tax dollars to Third World bureaucrats.

Yet even as Mr. Quayle has rallied Republicans, Jim Baker is puzzling them. The man who couldn't get enough press at State has been missing-in-action as White House chief of staff. It's true that by the time Mr. Baker left State, voters may have made up their minds about the Bush presidency. But is that any reason to surrender three weeks early?

When Mr. Baker did finally appear in public on Sunday, he said he wasn't responsible for mistakes because he's just the little ol' chief of staff, not the campaign chairman. A Baker

speech, promised on Sunday by Mr. Bush as a guide to a second term, was canceled, then revived, and now Marlin Fitzwater says "I don't know" when he'll give it. Instead of sacking Mr. Bush's economic advisers outright, Mr. Baker sent a letter making their departures part of a routine second-term Cabinet house-cleaning—lest his protegee Mr. Darman be humiliated.

Mr. Baker—Teflon Jim?—also can't decide on a campaign theme. The promising message of the Detroit Economic Club speech was dropped after it didn't immediately move the polls. The attacks on Mr. Clinton are so multiple, and often so short-lived, that many voters understandably see them as merely cynical. If reporters start writing that even Jim Baker couldn't save Mr. Bush, we'll know Mr. Baker has been spending his time trying to save his own reputation.

If Nov. 3 is a GOP debacle, rank-and-file Republicans will remember who headed for the tall grass. Phil Gramm has used the GOP senatorial committee to further his own 1996 ambitions; we'll see if it elects any senators. Mr. Darman had Bob Woodward write his apologia. Even Jim Baker can't seem to muster a defense of the last 12 years. Dan Quayle and Jack Kemp may be the only senior Bush officials who emerge from this campaign with enhanced reputations.



James Baker

I Dodged the Draft, and I Was Wrong

By MARK HELPRIN

I am frequently asked how it is that I, an American, served in the Israeli Army and Air Force, and not in the military of my own country.

The first part of the question is easy to answer. I point out the long tradition of Americans serving in the armed forces of allies — the Lafayette Escadrille, Faulkner in the Canadian Royal Air Force, e.e. cummings and John Dos Passos in the Norton-Harjes Ambulance Corps, the Eagle Squadron, the Flying Tigers. I mention that before I served under another flag I reported to the Department of State and formally swore an oath of loyalty to the United States and to defend the Constitution. And I remind my questioners that Israel fought not only armies trained and equipped by the Soviet Union, but, sometimes, Soviet soldiers themselves. In that period, the United States and Israel worked very closely together.

The Vietnam Era

To the second part of the question, I reply that though the men in my family have served, since our arrival in this country, with Pershing in Mexico, in the First World War, and so many in the Second World War that the welcome home had to be held in a hotel, that despite this tradition in which I was certain I would have a place, I did not serve.

If you think that it is easy to stand here in front of thousands of officers and future officers of the United States Army and explain this, think again. But just as the heart of your profession is your willingness to give your lives in defense of your country, even, as the case has been, as you are mocked, reviled, and dismissed by those for whom you will die, the heart of my profession is to convey the truth.

Let me try to convey, then, what I have come to believe is the truth of a time that was over before many of you were born. I do so not to gain approval or to attain an end, but in service of illumination and memory.

My conduct in the Vietnam era can be expressed by stating that although in the Israeli army I later had, but for corrective lenses, a perfect physical rating for combat, here I was officially, legally, and properly 4-F. If I were Bill Clinton I would take 10,000 words to explain this and say nothing, but I'm not Bill Clinton, and I can get to the heart of it in eight: What I did was called dodging the draft.

I thought Vietnam was so much the wrong place to fight and that the conduct of the war was so destructive in human terms and of American power, prestige and purpose that I was justified in staying out. What the existence of the re-education camps and the boat people, and the triumph of containment have taught me is that my political assessment was not all that I thought it was. I have also come to believe that, even if it had been, I still would not have been released from honoring the compact under which I had lived until that moment, and which I then broke. I did not want to participate in a war the conduct of which was often morally ambiguous. Now I understand that this was precisely my obligation.

So you can imagine what I felt when I came to a passage in David McCullough's "Truman," explaining how Truman had

volunteered in the First World War: "He turned thirty-three the spring of 1917, which was two years beyond the age limit set by the new Selective Service Act. He had been out of the National Guard for nearly six years. His eyes were far below the standard requirements for any of the armed services. And he was the sole supporter of his mother and sister. As a farmer, furthermore, he was supposed to remain on the farm. . . . So Harry might have stayed where he was for any of several reasons. That he chose to go . . . was his own doing entirely."

Truman had five unimpeachable reasons not to serve, and he tossed them to the wind. Had he tossed them at my class

Neither a man nor his country can always pick the ideal quarrel, and not every war can be fought with moral surety or immediacy of effect. It would be nice if that were so, but it isn't.

at Harvard, I assure you, they would have been fought over like five flawless versions of the Hope Diamond.

His actions were all the more impressive when it is remembered that the First World War was far more brutal than the war in Vietnam, far more costly, and far more senseless. At least the war in Vietnam was fought in the context of a policy of containment that later was to triumph. Even were Vietnam not the best place to make a stand, it was the fact that a stand was made that mattered.

In contrast, the First World War was fought almost entirely for nothing. Though it is true that the country was more enthusiastic about it, that just drives home the fact, as did Vietnam, that you simply cannot know how things will turn out, and that a war may be right or wrong, opportune or inopportune, the proper time and place to make a stand, or it may not be, but that this is something to be determined in national debate and not in the private legislatures of each person with a draft card.

I am absolutely certain that in not serving I was wrong. I began to realize this in 1967, when I served briefly in the British Merchant Navy. In the Atlantic we saw a lot of American warships, and every time we did I felt both affection and pride. One of the other sailors, a seaman named Roberts, was a partisan of the Royal Navy, and maintained that it was more powerful than our own. As I was a regular reader of the Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, and had almost memorized Jane's Fighting Ships, I quickly, let us say, blew his arguments out of the water.

And then, in riposte, he asked why I was not in uniform. I answered with the full force of the rationalizations so painstakingly developed by the American intellectual elite. Still, he kept coming at me. Although he was not an educated man, and although I thought I had him in a lock, the last thing he said broke the lock. I remember his words exactly. He said: "But they're your mates."

That was the essence of it. Although I did not modify my position until it was too late, I began to know then that I was wrong. I thought, mistakenly, perhaps just for the sake of holding my own in an argument, that he was saying, "My country, right or wrong," but it was not what he was saying at all. Only my sophistry converted the many virtues of his simple words from something I would not fully understand until much later.

Neither a man nor his country can always pick the ideal quarrel, and not every war can be fought with moral surety or immediacy of effect. It would be nice if that were so, but it isn't. Any great struggle, while it remains undecided and sometimes even afterward, unfolds not in certainties but in doubts. It cannot be any other way. It never has been.

In the Cambridge Cemetery are several rows of graves in which rest the remains of those who were killed in Vietnam. On one of the many days of that long war, I was passing by as a family was burying their son. I stopped, in respect. I could not move. And they looked at me, not in anger, as I might have expected, but with love. You see, they had had a son.

Soon thereafter, not understanding fully why, I was on my way to the Middle East, in a fury to put myself on the line. And though I did, it can never make up for what I did not do. For the truth is that each and every one of the Vietnam memorials in that cemetery and in every other — those that are full, those that are empty, and those that are still waiting — belongs to a man who may have died in my place. And that is something I can never put behind me.

'Why Am I Here?'

I want you to know this so that perhaps you may use it. For someday you may find yourself in a terrible place, about to die from a wound that is too big for a pressure bandage, or you may find yourself in an enemy prison, facing years of torture, or you may find yourself, more likely, as I did, in a freezing rain-soaked trench, at 4 o'clock in the morning, listening to your heart beat like thunder as you stare into the hallucinatory darkness of a field sown with mines. You may speak to yourself out loud, asking, why am I here? I could have been someplace else. I could have done it another way. I could have been home.

If that should happen to you, your first comfort will be your God, and then you will have — believe me — the undying image of your family, and then duty, honor, country. These will carry you through.

But if, after you have run through them again and again, you have time and thought left, then perhaps you will think of me, and this day at the beginning of your careers. I hope it will be encouragement. For that I was not with you, in my time, at Khe Sanh, and Danang, and Hue, and all the other places. is for me now, looking back, a great surprise, an even greater disappointment, and a regret that I will carry to my grave.

Mr. Helprin, a novelist, is a contributing editor to the Journal. This is excerpted from an address he delivered at West Point yesterday.

A Legend in His Own Mind

What would budget director Richard Darman's memoirs be like, if he chose to write them? Author Christopher Buckley recently tried his hand at some fictional Darman memoirs. We reprint Mr. Buckley's imaginings below:

From "Witness to Idiocy: A Political Memoir of My Years With Reagan and Bush," by Richard Darman. Publication date: Nov. 4, 1992. Sua Culpa Press.

An IQ as stratospherically high as mine can, frankly, be as much a curse as a blessing. There are probably only half a dozen people in the world capable of understanding me when I talk economic policy. This is why so many people foolishly think I was somewhat even partly responsible for the \$3 trillion national debt, the abysmal economic growth rate, the savings and loan crisis, the decline of the dollar, the stagnation of productivity, or any other bad thing that happened between 1981 and 1992, when the country was frankly lucky to have the benefit of my services. Ask any of those six people whom I consider my intellectual peers and they'll tell you: "No way Dick was responsible for those things. That was all Reagan's, Bush's, Baker's, Regan's, Stockman's, Kemp's and Brady's fault."

* * *

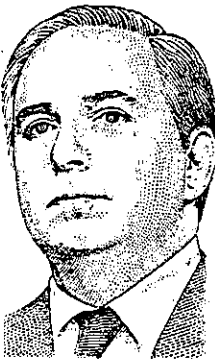
I quickly realized that Stockman's tax cuts were going to create Brobdingnagian deficits. I went to Baker and told him we had to delay the second and third installments of the 25% tax cut. Baker, though not nearly as smart as me, was smart enough to know that everything I said was right. He immediately told me, "You'll have to sell it to the president."

"How do you expect me to communicate with the president?" I exclaimed. "He has the intellect of guacamole." Baker smiled: "That's *your* problem, pal."

Getting Reagan to focus on the math was like teaching French to a squid. All he wanted to do was tell boring anecdotes about Jimmy Stewart. With typical improvisational brilliance, I devised a way to get his attention by using props and dressing up White House staffers in costumes and staging skits in the Oval Office.

Margaret Tutwiler put on a gray wig and granny dress to play the part of "Mrs. Social Security." Marlin Fitzwater, wearing a general's uniform and saber, was

"General Defense." Karna Small played the part of "Ann Titlement" — try to explain the concept of entitlement programs to The Gipper — wearing a tiara, gown and noblewoman's sash. Dave Stockman, who had created the whole deficit disaster in the first place, *despite* my repeated warnings, was dressed as a large sack of money labeled "TAXES." Stockman, who fancied himself a thinker even though he wasn't fit to butter my toast, intellectually speaking, bitched and moaned the whole time. I told him, "Maybe you'll think twice the next time you go urging tax cuts on President Einstein here before first getting spending cuts."



Richard Darman

A large seesaw labeled BUDGET had been placed in the Oval Office. I directed Margaret and Marlin and Karna to stand on one end of the seesaw, then told Dave to stand on the other side. I then handed the president a giant papier-mache hatchet. He glowed. "DO you know I played Custer in 'The Santa Fe Trail'?"

"You were fabulous," I said, handing him a bunch of chocolate "coins" in silver foil. "OK," I said, speaking v-e-r-y s-l-o-w-l-y, "in order to balance Mr. Budget — are you with me so far? — you're going to have to take Mr. Hatchet and cut off a couple of Mrs. Social Security's and General Defense's and Ann Titlement's arms and legs. OR, we're going to have to make Mr. Taxes heavier by giving him some more money-wunny. So w-h-a-t are you g-o-i-n-g to d-o?"

He said, "Did I ever tell you about the time at Jack Warner's when Bill Holden pushed Nancy into an empty swimming pool?"

* * *

Bush was an improvement on Reagan. At least he was able to count to 10 without using his fingers. But I had no respect for him after he went and completely screwed up my incredibly brilliant 1990 budget deal by criticizing it even *before* he signed it, invalidating the whole thing. Then he goes and wimps out and says, *Oo I wish I hadn't raised taxes, now you hate me. If only I hadn't listened to Dick Darman.* Jerk.

I was so cheesed off I told Bob Woodward, a close personal friend, not as smart as me but a competent stenographer, "You want to know what it's like to work your heart out — for morons? Take this down." He tells me it's for a book he's going to publish *after* Bush gets the heave-ho. Then he goes and runs it as a series in the Post in October, full of quotes by me calling Brady

a "dolt" and dumping on Bush for his "sheer idiocy" in repudiating the budget deal. And the series comes out *while I'm rehearsing Bush for his big debates with Clinton*. I passed Mrs. Bush in the hall and she gave me the Evil Eye like she was going to force-feed me her handbag, which is very large. Swell. Thanks, Bob. Do me another favor sometime, like tell everyone who Deep Throat was.

Bush and Baker were madder than sunburned hornets. Baker, who's built a reputation on my good ideas, drags me into the Oval Office and is about to tear me a new ozone hole in front of Bush, when it came to me like a thermonuclear flash of inspiration. "Look," I said to Bush, "you can still win this thing. In the first debate, announce you'll appoint Jim as Domestic Czar. You'll have them eating out of your hand."

Baker looked like he'd just swallowed a dead raccoon, but when I saw that grin light up on Bush's face, I knew it was going to be all right and I thought, *Dick, you mad genius, I gotta hand it to you, sometimes you amaze even me.*

Notable & Quotable

Camille Paglia in her recent book "Sex, Art, and American Culture":

The idea that feminism is the first group that ever denounced rape is a gross libel to men. Throughout history rape has been condemned by honorable men.

Clinton, Bush, Perot Stick to Issues in Debate



By David S. Broder and Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writers

RICHMOND, Oct. 15—Front-running Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton sailed unscathed through the second of three television debates tonight, exchanging policy ideas, not insults, with President Bush and independent challenger Ross Perot.

Bush avoided the aggressive tactics Vice President Quayle used Tuesday night, allowing a relaxed Clinton to showcase his facility with the domestic issues that occupied all but a fraction of the 90-minute forum.

In a debate that broke little new policy ground, Bush returned only briefly to his criticism of Clinton's role in 1960s anti-Vietnam War demonstrations in England and glibed lightly at the Democrat's reputation for hedging. "You can't turn the White House into the waffle house," he said.

At the end, the president asked voters to consider which candidate they would

want in the Oval Office if "a major international threat" erupted tonight, suggesting that he had "the perseverance, the character, the integrity, the maturity to get the job done."

But for most of the evening Bush was even more passive than in Sunday's first debate in St. Louis, musing at one point that "If Barbara Bush were running this year, she'd be elected. But it's too late."

Republican National Chairman Richard N. Bond said that in the final debate Monday, "a proper amount of aggression will be needed" from Bush to stop Clinton.

Perot played his now-familiar role as folk philosopher and common man, saying he could negotiate agreements on a variety of issues between Democrats and Republicans

■ *Bush campaign airs radio ad based on tax proposal Clinton never made.* Page A38

"who are bred from childhood to fight with one another."

The Dallas billionaire repeated many of the points and some of the one-liners he used in Sunday's first debate. He reiterated his vow to serve only one term if elected. And he urged that others elected this year pledge to step down if they do not cut the federal budget deficit in half in four years. He joked that Democrats and Republicans are so busy denying responsibility for the avalanche of red ink, "somewhere out there there's an extra-terrestrial that's doing this to us."

But once again, Perot chose not to spell out the details of his tough deficit-reduction plan to the television audience. Instead, he repeatedly plugged the half-hour and hour-long paid programs scheduled for broadcast this weekend that he said he will use to detail his solution to the deficit.

The forum at the University of Richmond

See DEBATE, A37, Col. 2

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1992



ent Bush, Ross Perot and Bill Clinton face an audience of 209 uncommitted voters who were chosen to put unscreened questions to the candidates in last night's televised debate.

DEBATE, From A1

used a format never previously tried in presidential debates. An audience of 209 voters who told Gallup Organization interviewers that they were uncommitted asked unscreened questions of the candidates. Carole Simpson of ABC News selected the questioners from the audience and moderated the discussion.

Early in the evening, she encouraged several voters to express their frustration with the personal attacks that have marked the campaign, and after one questioner called on the candidates to "focus on the issues," by and large they did.

A number of differences emerged in sharper focus, with Perot taking a tougher line than either of the others against trade policies that he said create a "giant sucking sound" of jobs going overseas. While Bush defended foreign aid programs, Perot called for Germany and Japan to finance more of the burden of defense and foreign development.

Clinton was alone in supporting the "Brady bill" for a mandatory waiting-period in the purchase of handguns and was isolated again in opposition to term limits for members of Congress.

But the front-runner gave no sign of unease at any point, and seemed thoroughly comfortable in a format he said he had suggested to the bipartisan debate commission. Sauntering toward voters in the audience (and the television cameras), the Arkansas governor had fewer one-liners than Perot but more specifics than the president he is trying to replace.

Repeatedly Clinton pointed up his answers with anecdotes gleaned from voters on the campaign trail—a tactic Bush tried to emulate toward the end of the program. When Bush was speaking, the TV camera often showed Clinton with an expression that ranged from skeptical disbelief to amused condescension.

George Stephanopoulos, Clinton's communications director, said, "It kind of looked like he [Bush] was out of it. He didn't have a lot of fight."

After the debate, Bush told several thousand supporters at the Robins Center that "I think I did all right," and said, "I think we are closer to four more years. . . . In spite of all those pessimistic reporters I listened to, we're going to win this election."

The instant polls taken by TV networks after the debate suggested he had not helped himself. A nationwide CBS poll found that 54 percent thought Clinton

won the contest, 25 percent thought Bush had, and 20 percent chose Perot.

The testiest exchange of the evening came in response to a question about the nastiness of the campaign and its focus on character attacks rather than complex issues.

Bush defended raising the character issue against Clinton, saying "character is a part of being president," and cited Clinton's chiding comment in Sunday night's debate that Prescott Bush, the president's father, once voted to censure Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy and would be disappointed in his son's negative campaign.

"You know, nobody likes 'Who shot John,' but I think the first negative campaign run in this election was by Governor Clinton, and I'm not going to sit there and be a punching bag; I'm going to stand up and say, hey, listen, here's my side of it," Bush said.

He said Clinton's comment about Prescott Bush "was a good line, well-rehearsed and well-delivered," but invoked his father's advice to him when he was "18 years old going to Penn Station to go on into the Navy": to write his mother, serve his country and "tell the truth."

Bush acknowledged that "you can call it mud-wrestling," but he repeated his criticism of Clinton for demonstrating against the Vietnam War while a graduate student at Oxford. "I am deeply troubled by someone who demonstrates and organizes demonstrations in a foreign land when his country's at war," Bush said.

He invoked Perot's running mate, former prisoner of war James B. Stockdale, "sitting in the jail" in North Vietnam. "How would he feel about it?" Bush asked.

Clinton, saying he was "disturbed by the tone and the tenor of this campaign," chose not to strike back at Bush directly. "I'm not interested in his character," he said. "I want to change the character of the presidency. And I'm interested in what we can trust him to do and what you can trust me to do and what you can trust Mr. Perot to do for the next four years."

"I'll take the pledge and we'll stay on the issues," Perot said.

In response to the first question, about how to open foreign markets and protect U.S. jobs, Perot expressed concern that with lower wages and lessened environmental controls in foreign countries, there would be a "giant sucking sound going south" if borders are fully opened. He said that if elected president, the "first thing" he would do is "study that

2,000-page agreement" on free trade with Mexico and Canada "and make sure it's a two-way street."

Bush said it was a "scare tactic" to suggest that U.S. jobs would disappear if the North American Free Trade Agreement is approved.

Clinton used the question to pick up on a charge that his vice presidential candidate, Sen. Albert Gore Jr., directed at Quayle in Tuesday night's debate. He said that as president he would stop federal programs that allegedly prove low-interest loans and training funds to companies that move jobs overseas.

Clinton declined a questioner's blunt challenge to enter into a binding agreement to set specific deficit reduction targets and not to seek a second term if he failed to meet them.

"No," he said. "I could get rid of it in four years in theory on the books now, but to do it you'd have to raise taxes too much and cut benefits too much to people who need them, and it would even make the economy worse."

He added: "You'll have a shot at me in four years and you can vote me right out if you think I've done a lousy job, and I would welcome you to do that."

Bush repeated his call for a balanced-budget amendment and a line-item veto, which Clinton also supports, and then raised, for the first time in some weeks, the idea of a tax checkoff plan to cut the deficit that he first proposed at the Republican National Convention in August. "Some sophisticates think it may be a little gimmicky. I think it's good," Bush said.

Perot blamed both sides for failing to take responsibility for the \$4 trillion national debt. "Somewhere out there there's an extraterrestrial that's doing this to us, I guess," he said.

In response to a question about crime and guns, Clinton reiterated his support for the Brady bill, while Bush said again, "I am not for national registration of firearms. . . . I was not for the [crime] bill that he was talking about because it was not tough enough on the criminal." Perot called the Brady bill "a timid step in the right direction, but it won't fix it. So why pass a law that won't fix it?"

Bush said he was strongly in favor of term limits for members of Congress to cure "a certain bureaucratic arrogance if people stay there too long." Clinton said he knew term limits were popular but opposed them because they would give too much influence to unelected staff and discriminate against small states.

Perot said his one-term pledge should be emulated by members of Congress but added, "If you put term limits in and don't reform the government, you won't get the benefits you thought." Both he and Clinton called for tougher laws on lobbying and campaign finance.

Bush seemed to stumble in answering a question about how the national debt and the nation's economic problems have affected him directly, saying that was like expecting only cancer victims to understand what it was like to have the disease. "Of course you feel it when you're president of the United States," he said.

Clinton said that as the governor of a small state he had seen the problems up close. "When people lose their jobs, there's a good chance I'll know them by their names," he said.

Toward the end of the debate, Simpson invited a question about racial tensions. A questioner asked the candidates when they expected their parties to nominate a woman or an African American for president.

"I don't have any idea, but I hope it will happen some time in my lifetime," Clinton said.

Bush responded with his remark that Barbara Bush would be elected if she were running.

In his closing statement, Bush called for a round of applause for Simpson, then expressed concern that it would come out of his time. After talking about his economic agenda and calling for strengthening the American family, he fell back on his strong suit—his experience, particularly in foreign affairs.

"Now let me pose this question to America. If in the next five minutes a television announcer said there is a major threat to the world . . . my question is, if you were appointed to name one of the three of us, who would you choose? Who has the perseverance, the character, the integrity, the maturity to get the job done? I hope I'm that person."

Perot told the audience that if the American people just "want to keep slow-dancing" and not attack their problems, "I'm not your man." He concluded: "See you tomorrow night on NBC."

Clinton took credit for suggesting the format, telling the audience, "I hope it's been good for all of you." He cited Arkansas statistics about the growth in jobs and the decline in poverty, adding, "You have to decide whether you want to change or not."

Staff writer John F. Harris contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1992

Forum With Voters Steers Clear of Invective

Bush Stresses Experience, Clinton Replays Plans and Perot Falls Short on Solutions

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

RICHMOND, Oct. 15—Perhaps President Bush decided sharp attacks are un-presidential. Or perhaps he is already looking beyond the election to how he will be remembered. Whatever his reasons, the embattled president did not draw blood in tonight's debate, nor did he even try.

True, he sought to score points against Democrat Bill Clinton by raising "the character issue," his last, best hope for victory. It came up early in the debate—"character is an important part of the equation," Bush said—and at the end, when the president almost pleaded with Americans to think of

whom they wanted in the Oval Office at a time of crisis.

But mostly, Bush just answered questions. And for all his experience, he did not do that any better than Clinton, who seemed at home in a format that he has used often in this campaign. Given Clinton's large lead, appearing to be at least the president's equal was a more than satisfactory outcome.

In the year of the talk show campaign, it was Clinton who moved the farthest away from the set toward the audience, a gesture that separated him from Bush and independent Ross Perot at the debate's conclusion.

And Clinton answered Bush's arguments about character implicitly and explicitly.

On the one hand, he tried to argue with Bush that elections are not only about candidates but also about issues. He pushed forward his differences with the president on health care to make his point and invited voters to choose. "That's what you have elections for," he said.

But Clinton also suggested at the debate's close that the people who presumably know something about him, the voters of Arkansas, had kept him in office for 12 years. That, he suggested, must say something about character.

For Perot, tonight was the night the nov-
See ANALYSIS, A33, Col. 1

ANALYSIS, From A1

elty began to wear off. He could be as funny as always, peppering his answers with homey phrases—"brass tacks," "pretty simple," "throwing rocks"—and suggesting that Republicans and Democrats who evaded responsibility for the country's problems seemed to be saying that "there's an extraterrestrial doing this to us."

He also may have scored points by promising to serve only a single term, and by saying he would not take his pay if he became president.

But Bush and Clinton aides emphasized something that rang true after the 90 minutes of debate: Perot was far more skilled at describing problems than suggesting solutions. Once again, there were a lot of plans lying around. And once again, Perot did not choose among them.

"At some point, it begins to wear a little thin," said Robert M. Teeter, Bush's campaign chairman. "All those homilies with no answers to the questions."

Clinton himself made a similar point during the debate, suggesting to Perot that solutions to hard social and economic problems were not easy, and that choices were often controversial. "It's not true that everyone knows how to fix it," Clinton said.

voters than to provide a forum for invective. Perhaps the reviews of the nasty vice presidential debate held everyone back. "President Bush did what he thought was right for himself," said Republican National Chairman Richard N. Bond. "This wasn't a night to get in somebody's chest." Presumably, that could still come in the final encounter, next Monday.

While Bush's partisans said he scored well on the issues of taxes, congressional term limits, crime and health care, they pointed repeatedly to one key moment. It was the president's effort to conjure up a major event abroad that stubbornly refuses to arrive as the election draws to a close.

"Now, let me pose a question to America," Bush said in his closing remarks. "If in the next five minutes a television announcer came on and said, there is a major international crisis, there is a major threat to the world . . . my question is, who, if you were appointed to name one of the three of us, who would you choose? Who has the perseverance, the character, the integrity, the maturity to get the job done?"

In remarks to several hundred Republicans in Raleigh, N.C., immediately after the debate, Vice President Quayle jumped on that theme immediately. "The most important issue I saw in this [debate] was when the president talked about character. Bill Clinton may

After an hour of debate, Perot began acting as though he had the stage to himself and his answers got longer and longer. At one point, moderator Carole Simpson had to ask Perot twice to stop speaking.

It was almost as though Perot was eager to use the extra time that his running mate, James B. Stockdale, let pass him by during Tuesday's vice presidential debate.

Above all, it was Bush's performance that stood out, not because it was extraordinary but because it seemed so consciously ordinary and laid-back.

The president's answers for the most part were coherent, and his aides could easily have cited his performance as reassuring and more than adequate if he were ahead in the polls rather than behind. But that is not where the president is.

And Bush did at times seem troubled, if not exasperated, that voters just do not seem to understand that he does realize how ordinary Americans feel in a time of economic trouble.

"You ought to be in the White House for a day and hear what I hear and see what I see and read the mail I read and touch the people that I touch from time to time," Bush told one questioner.

Bush's lieutenants said the mellow approach was well-suited for an encounter designed more to answer

not want that to be an issue, but the American people feel it should be an issue."

But the Clinton forces believe the character issue may be settling itself as voters watch Clinton more and become more comfortable with him. It was not that Clinton did anything special tonight. Many of his answers came out of his stump speeches, but that may be the point: He is what he is and he says what he says and he keeps holding his lead.

Ignoring all the advice that he should stop offering three-point plans and giving three-point answers, Clinton did just that tonight. It seemed to fit with a crowd desperately serious about the country's problems, and desperate, too, for something substantive and real out of politics.

The voters gathered here were thus the clearest victors in tonight's debate. As has happened all year, they proved themselves at least as good—and often better—than the professional question-askers at pushing the campaign toward the realities of crime, economic sluggishness, expensive or nonexistent health insurance, faltering schools and deteriorating race relations. In democracies, voters are supposed to rule. Tonight, at least, they did.

Staff writer Kent Jenkins Jr., traveling with Quayle, contributed to this report.

Clinton File Speedup 'a Mistake,' State Dept. Says

By Michael Isikoff and Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writers

The State Department acknowledged yesterday that officials improperly accelerated Freedom of Information Act requests for travel and citizenship records on Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton so the material could be released in time for the presidential election.

Department spokesman Richard Boucher said several memorandums sent by the department's Freedom of Information Office

seeking to expedite the Clinton requests deviated from standard department procedures and were "clearly a mistake." Boucher blamed the errors on unidentified "low-level people" and "mid-level clerks" who he said were not acting under political pressure.

Department officials confirmed later that at least four separate internal memos from the Freedom of Information Office, written over a period of 11 days in late September, were improper. Two of them were "action memos" sent to the Office of Consular Affairs, headed by Assist-

ant Secretary Elizabeth M. Tamposi. The memos were attached to FOIA requests seeking records on Clinton and were stamped "expedite."

Another, dated Sept. 28 and signed by "staff" of the Freedom of Information Office, stated: "Because this request is time sensitive due to the upcoming presidential election and public interest, please respond, preferably before Nov. 3."

Boucher said that about Sept. 30 lawyers at the Freedom of Information Office spotted the memos to expedite material and revoked

them. The lawyers "called downstairs . . . and said, 'That's wrong. You shouldn't be moving these expeditiously. The grounds aren't met.'"

Boucher yesterday offered no explanation of why mid-level clerks would misapply standard department rules. Five months ago, in a lawsuit, the State Department specifically argued that election-year timing was not grounds for expediting FOIA requests. The legal precedent the department cited was

See PASSPORT, A20, Col. 1



ELIZABETH M. TAMPOSI
... made phone calls to U.S. embassies

The Washington Post

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PASSPORT, From A1

the CIA's refusal in 1988 to expedite documents on former director George Bush in time for that year's presidential election.

During a briefing later in the day for staff members of the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations committees, State Department officials said they were aware of no other FOIA request in which similar reasons were cited as the grounds for accelerated processing.

The briefing broke down into partisan bickering, according to staff members who attended. The session started off on a sour note when department briefers refused to allow the session to be recorded by a stenographer. Staff members said department officials refused to respond to specific questions about the Clinton matter, saying they would talk only about general department procedures.

The memos disclosed yesterday, coming on the heels of a similar Sept. 28 memo reported yesterday in *The Washington Post*, fueled new allegations from Democrats that the State Department had abused the FOIA process in an effort to dig up politically damaging information on Clinton.

George Stephanopoulos, communications director for the Clinton-Gore campaign, said Boucher's statement placing responsibility on unnamed clerks showed the department was trying to "blame their own dirt-digging on civil servants" and called on President Bush to order a thorough investigation.

"This is reminiscent of the Nixon administration blaming Rose Mary Woods for the gaps in the tapes," he said. "The hole keeps getting deeper."

In mid-September, several news organizations filed FOIA requests with the State Department seeking any records on Clinton's citizenship, draft or visa status. George Gedda, an Associated Press reporter who covers the State Department, said he filed one of the requests because he was told by AP colleagues that "Republican sources had been whispering" that Clinton had sought alternative citizenship in order to avoid being drafted during the Vietnam War while he was a Rhodes scholar in England. Clinton has flatly denied the story, and no evidence to the contrary has ever surfaced.

The receipt of Gedda's FOIA requests, dated Sept. 25, and two others that preceded it, set off a chain

of events that included the retrieval of Clinton's passport files from the National Records Center in Suitland on Sept. 30 and two phone calls by Tamposi to U.S. embassies in London and Oslo requesting that embassy officials carefully search their files for records on Clinton.

Norbert J. Krieg, U.S. consul general in London, said earlier this week that Tamposi instructed him to be "extremely thorough" in his search for records in response to the FOIA requests. Department officials said Tamposi, who has been unavailable for comment, was only seeking to ensure it was properly conducted to avoid the appearance of political interference.

Tamposi, a political appointee and former New Hampshire legislator with ties to former White House chief of staff John H. Sununu, recently hired Bret S. Wacker, a 33-year-old former Bush-Quayle campaign worker, as her new principal deputy assistant secretary for passport services. A department official said Wacker did not start work in the department until Oct. 5 and played no role in handling the FOIA requests on Clinton.

The State Department's Freedom of Information Office has a backlog of more than 3,000 requests and many take years to process. Boucher said department regulations forbid the expeditious handling of any requests except when "an individual's life or safety would be jeopardized" or to protect "substantial due process rights" of the requester.

The handling of the Clinton requests is noticeably different from the position the department took in a case in U.S. District Court here involving election-related materials earlier this year.

In that case, Michael Huffington, a Republican candidate in a House primary in California, wanted State Department documents relating to Rep. Robert J. Lagomarsino (R-Calif.). The May 1 request was for materials that Huffington wanted to use before the June 2 primary.

In support of the department's refusal to expedite, its lawyers cited the CIA's 1988 decision not to speed up search and review for documents in its files about Bush that were being sought by a public-interest group.

The group, Assassinations Archives & Research Center, Inc., wanted its request expedited so any information retrieved could be made "available in time for the public to consider prior to the [1988] election."

Last May, in the Huffington case, State Department lawyers said, "A request for documents for use in a public election did not present strongly compelling reasons for expedited considerations."

One of the memos disclosed yesterday, dated Sept. 29 and signed by the Freedom of Information Office of the acting chief of case management, said the requests had "met established criteria for expeditious handling" and should be processed "ahead of all other privacy act and freedom of information act requests pending, except those previously determined to warrant expeditious handling."

Meanwhile, the CIA yesterday acknowledged receiving an Oct. 5 FOIA request from Rep. Robert K. Dornan (Calif.) and four other GOP congressmen for a file search on specific information about Clinton.

The request, signed by Dornan, sought any documents relating to Clinton's "trip to Leningrad and Moscow on or about New Year's Eve 1969." Clinton has said he never went to Leningrad, now St. Petersburg, on the trip. The letter from Dornan, who is a member of the House intelligence committee, was addressed to William H. Webster as CIA director. Webster resigned from the agency on Sept. 2, 1991.

A CIA spokesman yesterday termed "utterly ridiculous" a fear passed on by Democrats that agency Director Robert M. Gates's current trip to Russia is related to gathering documents on the time Clinton spent in Moscow in 1969.

"Director Gates's trip has been planned for months," the spokesman said.

In a related matter, AP reported that the Nation magazine filed suit Wednesday in U.S. District Court, saying it made a Freedom of Information Act request for records on independent candidate Ross Perot in June, but the State Department said it needed Perot's written authorization before the department could process the request.

The suit seeks access to any State Department records on Perot. The suit asserts that in view of the expeditious handling of the request on Clinton, there was "preferential treatment based on which presidential candidate is involved," AP quoted Eric Glitzenstein, a lawyer representing the magazine, as saying. The suit alleges violations of the First Amendment, the Freedom of Information Act and the Administrative Procedures Act.

Part III of Political Miniseries Short on Drama

By David Von Drehle
Washington Post Staff Writer

RICHMOND

Night after night, the drama continues to rise and fall, moments of comedy alternating with moments of pathos, the characters burning themselves into the national consciousness as scores of millions tune in addictively.

In this year of politics-as-television drama, the candidates' debates have become the newest miniseries to obsess America. Once, there was "Roots." Now, there is "Talk."

For 90 more minutes last night, the saga continued. The handsome, aging patriarch struggled through another episode to maintain his empire, while the impatient young challenger tried to take it away. Again, the folksy Texas billionaire was there to snatch the prize from both.

Americans everywhere are wild about the drama, judging from ratings that are through the roof. All day, they speculated with the urgent palaver of a klatch of soap-opera fans: What would happen next?

Would President Bush go on the attack, the way Dan Quayle, his partner with the impish grin, did in Part II of the miniseries? Would Democrat Bill Clinton do anything to lighten his image, and that of his partner, Al Gore? And would Ross Perot, the Super Salesman, at last reveal what he is selling?

Now Americans know. No, to each question.

There was a moment early last night when Bush might have attacked. Harkening to Part I of the drama, last Sunday's installment, Bush began to defend the name of his father, noble Prescott Bush, whom Clinton had invoked as a rebuke to the son.

"I'm not going to sit there and be a punching bag," the president said. But instead of a fight, there was a flashback. The scene shifted to a sepia-toned railway station of long ago, where Prescott Bush was advising his boy always to do his duty, write his mom and tell the truth.

Clinton had promised that he was going to pitch last night's episode "for the folks," but unless the folks he had in mind were public-policy analysts, he missed. "So what should we do?" he asked at one point. "Let me reel some things off real quick" And the sound of gears turning in his head was still almost audible as he clicked through the points of his programs.



President Bush listens as independent candidate Ross Perot makes a point during the closing minutes of the debate. BY RICH LIPSDON—THE WASHINGTON POST

Perot continued to dish a lot of sizzle but not much steak. What is wrong with health care? Go see the lobbyists in Washington, he said, but be sure to "wear your safety toe shoes!" How would he pass the bill creating urban enterprise zones? "Rather than just yelling at one another . . . get together!"

Actually, the format did not lend itself to high drama.

With the candidates perched on stools amid a studio audience, the program was a lot more like "Donahue" than "The Winds of War." Tonight's topic: Men Who Jabber and the Country They Irritate.

This was reminiscent of Merv Griffin's old talk show, given the odd conviviality. If the candidates sometimes sounded like three contentious guys gabbing at a bar,

perhaps it was because they were on barstools. Yes. The tall chairs were borrowed from the bar at the Williamsburg Lodge.

The president actually checked his watch at least four times as if the wife were home getting steamed and dinner was getting cold. But, as viewers saw, Barbara Bush was here in the arena. She did look steamed.

The original plan called for the candidates to clutch hand-held microphones as they settled on their stools. Had they done so, they might have looked eerily like guest stars on the Carol Burnett show, huddled for a little "un-rehearsed" patter before bursting into a Broadway tune or a golden oldie, perhaps "Sleepy Time Down South."

But inside the hall, this was not television but reality. "This is serious business," former Democratic Party chairman, Paul G. Kirk Jr. told the audience as it awaited the candidates. Carole Simpson of ABC News, the host, said: "We're making history now, and it's pretty exciting."

What excitement came in Part III of the miniseries sprung from the ordinary citizens, who made up the gallery and posed the questions. They were told to approach their task with the discipline of sequestered jurors, and they did. All afternoon and into evening, they repeated their questions to themselves under their breath, honing their language until it flowed from their tongues as effortlessly as a favorite prayer.

"Anything goes," Simpson told them. "We can ask anything."

So one asked, "What will you do as president to open foreign markets?"

Instead of "trashing their opponents," another inquired, "why can't your discussions and proposals reflect the genuine complexity of the issues?"

"What are your plans to improve the physical infrastructure of this nation?" said another.

Late in the program came this, most poignantly and most pointedly: What do any of you know about pain, about fear, about uncertainty?

It was, in the end, a vivid reminder that the viewers of this television epic have always wanted more than the script has seemed to offer, that twists and turns and colorful characters have never quite added up to award-winning stuff in the hearts of many voters.

Will that change in the final episode? Tune in Monday for Part IV of "Talk."

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1992

William Raspberry

Policy Dump

Adm. James Stockdale's own mother would have to admit that the war-hero-turned-candidate bombed on the televised vice-presidential debate the other night.

He was nervous, of course, as most of us are the first time we're on TV. But a television appearance is the least of the things he'd have to do for the first time should he and Ross Perot shock the world by winning in November.

But my point is not to pick on Stockdale for Tuesday night's embarrassment but to agree with something he said Wednesday morning.

What he said (on CNN) is that presidential campaigns—debates in particular—are more and more about things that have very little to do with competence and fitness for office.

"I didn't have as much to say as the rest of them," he admitted. But "none of the subjects discussed had to do with thoughtfulness. I mean they have just a kind of push-button dump that they give you. ... You name the subject, they've got a dump."

Precisely. The things we call debates these days have nothing to do with thoughtfulness—only the capacity to ingest and regurgitate huge chunks of unrelated policy prescriptions. A pause for thought is considered a weakness, and an honest "I don't know" amounts to capitulation.

Candidates are not encouraged to think about policy; they are loaded—like vending machines. Punch a button, and they disgorge the plastic-wrapped sound-bite that seems most like what the button-pusher might have had in mind. As Stockdale put it, "You name the subject, they've got a dump."

But don't we want candidates for high office to have thought through all the major policy questions, and to have detailed prescriptions for most of them?

Well, yes and no. A colleague who writes for the business section of The Post was taking issue the other day with TV commentators who complained that the participants in Sunday night's debate were too big on detail and too little on broad policy. "I'm a detail man, myself," my colleague said. "I want to know what's being proposed and how it's going to be paid for."

So do I. I abhor the glib pitchmen who tell you they have plans to fix everything from rising unemployment to falling arches and to pay for it all by eliminating "waste and fraud." Give me

"I've had my fill of glib. Would somebody please pass the thoughtful?"

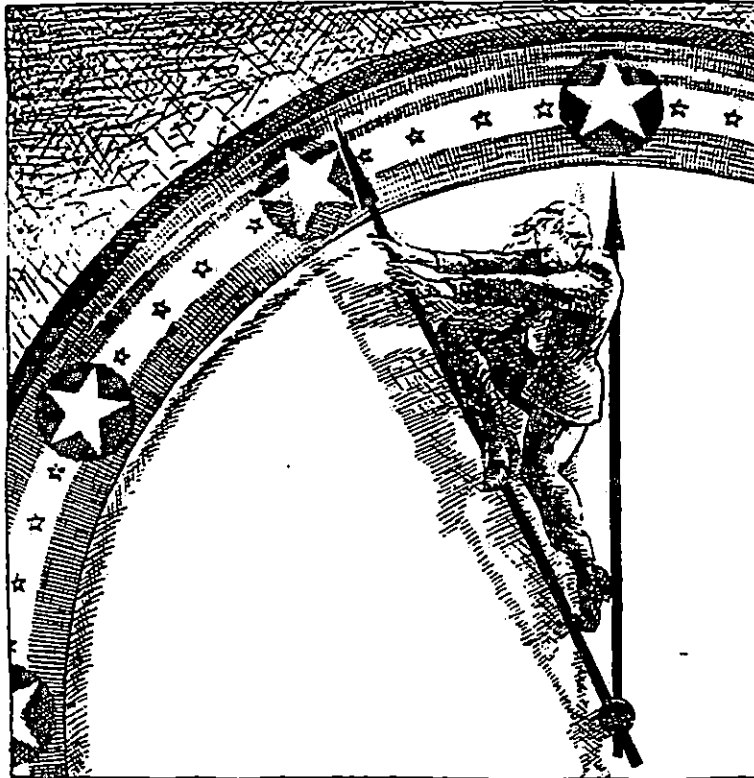
specifics. What precisely will you do to reinvigorate American business and create jobs? What is the evidence that it will work? How will you pay for it? Do the numbers add up?

I think anyone who seeks the presidency ought to have detailed ideas on the two or three or four things that constitute his or her reason for seeking the office. But not necessarily on everything that might conceivably cross a president's desk.

I look at presidents and presidential candidates the way I look at newspaper editors-in-chief. They ought to know in general what's going on in the world and in their communities, and they ought to have detailed knowledge about a few things—the most important Page One stories, for instance. But it's okay with me if they don't know the internal machinations of

the city council, the newest baseball trade rumors or the details of latest rulings of the appellate court. That's what assistant editors are for.

In just the same way, it bothers me not at all if a presidential candidate doesn't know the



precise number of SS-18s in Russia's arsenal, the size of the Highway Trust Fund or this week's exchange rate between the dollar and the lira. That's what staff and advisers and Cabinets are for.

As a matter of fact, it would constitute poor judgment, a refusal to set reasonable priorities and a waste of time for candidates even to try to learn everything about everything, were it not for one sad truth: They have to do it.

If they don't, journalists (particularly on TV, where the real campaign is conducted) will give them that raised eyebrow of incredulity ("Sir, are you saying you were unaware that H.R. 1437 would gut the National Archives Trust Fund?"). Their opponents would have them for lunch, and the voters might think them disqualifyingly incompetent.

Too bad. It's true that every candidate needs to know *something* in detail. Even Perot finally understands that you can't run a campaign entirely on generalities and aphorisms. But do we need them to know the details of *everything*—to have a policy dump ready for every push of the button?

I think we'd learn a lot more that's useful to know about the candidates if we encouraged them to ruminate on some of the things they don't know. I've had my fill of glib. Would somebody please pass the thoughtful?

Colman McCarthy

The McSorley Connection

Bookers for Larry King, Phil Donahue and other ringmasters of the talk-show circus have had no luck with Father Richard McSorley of Georgetown University. He said no to all. McSorley is the 78-year-old Jesuit priest Bill Clinton chanced upon in London and Oslo in

Priest Duped Young Clinton? or "Anti-American Jesuit Turned Clinton Against U.S." The latter is the dead horse George Bush tried beating in the first debate: "I think it's wrong to demonstrate against your country or organize demonstrations against your own country on foreign soil."

McSorley, who wrote a few words in a 1978 book, "Peace Eyes," about meeting Clinton in London and Oslo, is astonished at how Bush and his handlers are smearing Clinton. The young man's sinister organizing in London was asking McSorley to say a prayer for peace at an interdenominational service at St. Mark's Church. After religious hymns were sung, participants, carrying small white crosses, walked in a procession to the U.S. Embassy.

Nearly 23 years have passed since then. McSorley, who asserts that Clinton has told the truth about the event and his role in it, recalls: "That ceremony meant a great deal to me personally because I was a POW for three years in a Japanese prison camp during World War II. I am forever grateful to those Americans—at home and abroad—who prayed for me during that war."

At the church service in London, McSorley led the congregation in the peace prayer of St. Francis of Assisi. "If more people prayed for peace," McSorley says, "as Bill Clinton did in 1969 and Francis of Assisi did 800 years ago, the world would be a better place."

It might also be a place where someone like Richard McSorley—a priest of courage and one of the most loved professors at Georgetown in the past 30 years—wouldn't find his name and reputation smeared on the House floor. The assassinator of his character has been Rep. Robert Dornan, the California Republican whose unfactual and dirty attacks on Clinton and on McSorley in early October caught the attention of Bush.

The president invited Dornan to the White House for a strategy session on slimeballing, days after the congressman sullied McSorley as "a Marxist priest" who is "pro-fascist," and "still poisoning the minds" of Georgetown students with "garbage." Worse, McSorley is a friend of Father Robert Drinan "who was also a big

Father McSorley suspects he is wanted for a search-and-destroy mission against Bill Clinton.

apologist for Hanoi and all of the communist countries around the world."

For such clearheadedness, the party appointed Dornan co-chairman of the Bush-Quayle campaign in California. The congressman's lies, shouted on the House floor and carried by C-SPAN, were at first seen as more rantings from the leading nutcase in Congress, a politician dismissed by most of his colleagues as a joke. Not by Bush. At this moment of low-in-the-polls desperation, any right-wing looney is welcome to strategize at the White House.

With all this blowing over, at least slowly, Father McSorley remains in fine spirits. He had heart surgery awhile back and hovered on the brink for a time. When I visited him in the hospital, he was, as always, cheerful, prayerful, and telling stories about his old students at Georgetown. Now he has another story.

1969. As a Georgetown undergraduate in the mid-1960s, Clinton, like most students, revered the priest-professor for his courses on peace, justice and nonviolence.

President Bush, gripped by something between an obsession and a fetish, has twice used Clinton's antiwar activities in London and Oslo to chub the Democrat's "character and judgment." Bush raised the issue first in a Larry King interview on Oct. 7. On Oct. 9, after a Clinton explanation of his travels in Europe and Moscow in the fall of 1969, Bush backed off and said the subject was closed. Then during the debate last Sunday, it was on the agenda again, a case of a flip-flop.

As an old friend and admirer of Father McSorley, I'm relieved that he's been saying no to Larry, Phil and the boys. I couldn't imagine him being badgered by Donahue, unless it was Lent and the priest needed some extra penitential suffering.

When I spoke with McSorley the other morning, he was bemused by the intensity of the media's attention. More than 100 requests for interviews had come in. That's not quite the highest journalistic honor the media can bestow—there's the driveway stakeout and after that rooting through your garbage—but it was enough to let the priest suspect that he was being asked to play a role in a search-and-destroy mission with Bill Clinton as the victim.

Headlines were easily envisioned: "Peacenik

U.S. Set to Tighten Cuba Embargo

By Lewis H. Diuguid
Washington Post Foreign Service

A bill endorsed by Democratic candidate Bill Clinton tightening the 30-year-old U.S. embargo on Cuba has passed Congress overwhelmingly and is awaiting signature by a Republican president, whose administration initially opposed the bill as unnecessary but later embraced it.

The Cuban Democracy Act introduced by Rep. Robert J. Torricelli (D-N.J.) forbids foreign subsidiaries of American companies to trade with Cuba and closes U.S. ports to ships that have called in Cuba within six months. Despite spirited opposition by some congressmen of both parties and specialists on Latin American policy, Congress passed it as an amendment to the defense authorization bill awaiting President Bush's signature.

Clinton's endorsement came on a campaign visit to Miami.

Cuba has come under closer scrutiny as the collapse of the Soviet

Union deprived President Fidel Castro of aid estimated at about \$3.5 billion annually. With the economy foundering, Castro has cracked down on dissenters, and exiles in Miami have claimed that collapse is at hand.

A task force chaired by Republican former defense secretary Elliot L. Richardson, which also proclaimed a democratic Cuba as the goal of U.S. policy, opposed the restrictive approach taken by Torricelli.

"We recommend that the U.S. government exempt from its embargo transactions that foster communications between the Cuban people and people from the United States and other countries," said the task force of 13 educators, businessmen and politicians, which was assembled by the Inter-American Dialogue, a part of the Aspen Institute.

Torricelli's bill, too, favors a free flow of information to Cuba—but tightens limits on U.S. citizens spending dollars in any way beneficial to residents of Cuba—thus making any new flow of information difficult.

Richardson's task force, in its report released last month, approved of the U.S. Radio Martí, specifying that it should be devoid of propaganda, but declared that "TV Martí should be canceled outright" as a violation of international conventions signed by the United States.

Advocates of the embargo, including most Cuban exiles, argue that to loosen it now could only help Castro. Others in this country and throughout Latin America question the utility of keeping it now that the collapse of the Soviet Bloc has brought Cuba to its knees economically.

Specifying desired changes in Havana, the Inter-American task force said, "We call upon Cuba's leaders to put their claim of popular support to the test of free and fair elections," internationally monitored. It urged release of "all prisoners whose only 'crime' has been to associate peacefully." Without providing numbers, it said the number of political prisoners has risen in recent months.

"HANG TOUGH — ONLY A LITTLE WHILE MORE TO GO"



It's Our Election, Not England's

Jonathan Freedland's article [op-ed, Oct. 9] concerning the assistance being provided the Bush-Quayle campaign by officials of Britain's Conservative Party provides welcome detail on a development that has been mentioned only briefly on the news pages.

Becoming so partisanly involved in the American presidential election does not strike me as especially diplomatic on the part of the governing party of the United Kingdom. It is unlikely to be successful for the reasons outlined by Mr. Freedland, and it is not calculated to foster the best of post-election relationships between Prime Minister John Major's government and a prospective Bill Clinton administration.

True, it is unlikely to do any significant damage to the special Anglo-American relationship. As always, there are the larger common interests that will continue to determine policy. But on the strictly personal level, I am one American voter—of primarily British descent—whose goodwill toward the United Kingdom, severely tested during Margaret Thatcher's reign, is now heading farther south.

Perhaps Democrats should consider reciprocating in some fashion—such as lending James Carville to Labor for Britain's next electoral go-around.

DONALD F. GRAFF
Fairfax

30-SECOND POLITICS

George Bush allowed his administration to "gut clean air rules."

The Sierra Club
September 4, 1992



Time: 60 seconds

Audio: [Clinton:] I was born in a little town called Hope, Ark., three months after my father died. I remember that old two-story house where I lived with my grandparents. They had very limited incomes. It was in 1963 that I went to Washington and met President Kennedy at the Boys Nation program. And I remember just thinking what an incredible country this was, that somebody like me, you know, had no money or anything, could be given the opportunity to meet the president. That's when I decided that I really could do public service, 'cause I cared so much about people. And I worked my way through law school, with part-time jobs... After I graduated, I really didn't care about making a lot of money or anything. I just wanted to go home and see if I could make a difference. We worked in education, health care, to create jobs, and we've made real progress. Now it's exhilarating to me to think that as president, I can help to change all our people's lives for the better.

Analysis: With schmaltzy music and warm images of Clinton growing up and playing with children, this ad tries to capitalize on his modest origins and project a Reaganesque sense of optimism. The inclusion of the famous Kennedy footage is no accident as Clinton stresses his "new generation" theme.

—Howard Kurtz

THE WASHINGTON POST

Candidate: Bill Clinton

Producer: Clinton-Gore Creative Team

Time: 30 seconds

Audio: [Bush:] We will be able to produce 30 million jobs in the next eight years. [Narrator:] Under George Bush, more private sector jobs have been lost than have been created. [Bush:] And I am an environmentalist. [Narrator:] The Sierra Club says Bush allowed his administration to quote "gut clean air rules." [Bush:] I want to be the education president. [Narrator:] George Bush tried to cut college aid for families making over \$20,000 a year. [Bush:] I want a kinder and gentler... [Narrator:] Uh-uh. We can't afford four more years.

Analysis: This ad continues the Clinton tactic of interspersing clips from Bush's 1988 acceptance speech with statistics that appear to contradict him. Clinton strategists believe that using Bush's own words against him cuts through voter cynicism about campaign ads. The Bureau of Labor Statistics says the nation has lost 35,000 private jobs since Bush took office. The Sierra Club made the statement about clean air enforcement when it endorsed Clinton last month. House Democrats say the administration proposed last year to eliminate Pell grants to students whose families earn more than \$20,000 a year, but an Education Department official disputed this. The official said tighter rules would have cut off grants to 400,000 students, but not on the basis of income.

cent endorsement of it? No," Cicconi said. "Did Clinton say he would find it acceptable? Yes. . . . He's never disowned the Gore idea. And he has said that Gore will be in charge of environmental policy." (Gore's book says a carbon tax would be completely offset by decreases in other taxes.)

The Bush campaign became embroiled in a similar controversy after airing a television ad charging that Clinton "could" raise taxes on middle-class workers by as much as \$2,000. The ad was based on a series of assumptions that Clinton's fiscal plans would prove inadequate and he would have no choice but to raise taxes.

The internal Bush campaign memo, made available to The Washington Post from Democratic sources, says: "It is absolutely crucial that we immediately respond to any attacks the Clinton campaign launches against the truthfulness or credibility of these ads." It says that "Clintonomics . . . will devastate

working men and women by taking money out of their pocketbooks and their paychecks."

Ricki Seidman, a Clinton campaign official, called the ads "inaccurate, misleading and cynical." The spots, which also are running in Michigan, Wisconsin, Georgia, New Mexico and Kentucky, contain these other disputed points:

■ Clinton "wants to slash defense spending nearly three times more than the experts—cuts that a University of New Mexico study says could cost South Dakota 3,900 jobs."

The author of the New Mexico study, Avi Shama, told The Post last month that he was "appalled" that his study had been "misrepresented" by the Republicans. But Cicconi said Shama told him he was misinformed and has now backed off that criticism. In a subsequent New York Times article, Shama said 1,044,026 jobs would be lost under Bush's defense cuts and 1,566,044 jobs under Clinton.

Bill Lacy, a senior Bush campaign adviser, said the phrase "the experts" refers to Bush administration officials in the Pentagon.

■ "What Bill Clinton calls change, South Dakota workers can call cutbacks and layoffs. . . . A congressional study says his economic plans could put 3,400 people out of work." The study was prepared by the Republican staff of Congress's Joint Economic Committee and is disputed by a Democratic study.

Clinton also is running regional radio ads. An Ohio ad begins: "U.S. Shoe. Greenfield, Ohio. Four hundred people once worked here. Now the jobs are gone, chasing cheap labor in Central America. And here's the catch: George Bush is using your tax dollars to help make it happen."

The ad cites reports on "60 Minutes" and "Nightline" that some Central American countries have used money from the Agency for International Development to lure U.S. companies.

Quayle, Gore Repeat Charges From Debate

Bush's Iraq Dealings, Clinton's Honesty Assailed

By Guy Gugliotta
and Kent Jenkins Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writers

OWENSBORO, Ky., Oct. 15—Two days after they clashed on national television, Vice President Quayle and Sen. Albert Gore Jr. continued their debate in Kentucky today, trading charges over Bill Clinton's character and the Bush administration's dealings with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein in the days before he invaded Kuwait.

Both candidates campaigned here, missing each other by a few hours. If weather is an omen, Gore was the winner, appearing at a rally in the morning sun. By the time Quayle arrived this afternoon, it had begun to drizzle.

Later, in a speech in Lexington, Gore demanded that President Bush release documents on his personal communications with Saddam, suggesting that Bush was "presiding over a coverup that is substantially larger than Watergate."

Arriving here, Quayle summarily dismissed Gore's allegations, describing them as "nonsense" but refusing to elaborate. Aides to Quayle said later that he did not want to focus additional attention on the charges by responding to them at length.

Gore's speech to the National Conference of Editorial Writers pulled together strands of recent stump speeches to score Bush repeatedly for failures in policy toward Iraq and Iran, and portrayed the president as a fumbler and deliberate dissembler in foreign policy—his supposed area of expertise.

"To present George Bush as a truth-teller is like trying to sell a Porky Pig diet book," Gore said. He spoke of Bush's "mistakes of judgment," his "coddling" of Saddam and his "failing the American people."

At his appearance in Owensboro, Quayle continued to question Clinton's honesty, picking up where he left off in Tuesday night's vice presidential debate. And he predicted that Bush would pick up that theme himself as the campaign continues.

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"For 90 minutes, Senator Gore refused to defend the integrity of Bill Clinton," Quayle said. "Bill Clinton will have to defend his own integrity."

"The American people want their president to be a person of great integrity. George Bush is that man."

Gore was clearly trying to contrast Bush's supposed failures with the administration's "desperate measures" to "smear" Clinton by digging up old State Department records from his days as a Rhodes scholar in Europe.

Gore described these "futile" efforts as "highly amoral" and "deeply sinister," and he contrasted them with Bush's refusal to turn over documents on his relations with Saddam before the Persian Gulf War.

"I believe what we are seeing right now is George Bush presiding over a coverup that is substantially larger than Watergate," Gore said.

He suggested that "Iraqgate" involved the administration's failure to stop a dangerous Iraqi arms buildup, failure to stop Iraqi purchases of dual-use technology and failure to impress Saddam with U.S. concerns.

All of this, Gore said, produced a scandal in the Atlanta branch of the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, "the biggest bank failure in United States history," and led to the Persian Gulf War.

"There is reason to question whether the president ever conceived that Saddam Hussein was out of his control," Gore said. He added that he supports appointment of a special prosecutor to investigate the Iraqgate affair.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1992

Bush Radio Ads Based On Unmade Vows

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Bush-Quayle campaign has launched a wave of regional radio ads that accuse Bill Clinton of proposing "radical environmental taxes," although the Clinton campaign has never made such a proposal.

An internal Bush campaign memo says the ads are designed to "demonstrate the horror of a Clinton presidency."

The radio spots, which say Clinton's policies will lead to "cutbacks and layoffs," are based in part on projections about a "carbon tax," or tax on fuels, that the Democratic nominee has never advocated. One ad, airing in South Dakota, says that "Clinton-Gore radical environmental taxes would drive up our annual utility bills \$438."

Similar ads say Clinton's proposals "would threaten 200,000 jobs in Illinois," "would threaten 24,000 jobs in Maryland," "would cost 19,000 Ohio auto workers their jobs" or "would threaten 13,000 jobs right here in Maine. It could cost you your job."

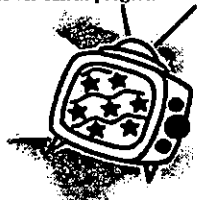
James Cicconi, a senior issues adviser to the Bush campaign, acknowledged that Clinton has not explicitly endorsed a fuel tax. But he said the ads are justified because the Democratic nominee said earlier this year that he supports the principle that polluters should pay for the damage they cause and that "a carbon tax is one way to do this."

Cicconi also said that the Arkansas governor has called for reducing carbon dioxide emissions by 2000 and that Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.) has proposed a carbon tax in a book written before he became Clinton's running mate.

"Is it a direct, complete, 100 per-

ON TV

JAMES B. STOCKDALE
■ 6:30 p.m., C-SPAN
"Road to the White House"
Live viewer call-in program.



THE WASHINGTON POST

DEBATABLE

"Accusing someone of McCarthyism is a McCarthyist tactic itself," complained Sen. Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.) when a columnist during the Anita F. Hill-Clarence Thomas hearings accused him of indulging in McCarthy-like tactics. The charge was heard again this week during the presidential and vice presidential debates when Gov. Bill Clinton and Sen. Albert Gore Jr. lambasted the Bush campaign for questioning Clinton's patriotism and a trip to Moscow while he was a student at Oxford.

The charge of McCarthyism, referring to the "red-baiting" tactics of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-

Wis.) in the early 1950s to identify alleged communist sympathizers, has come to be understood as a provocative, irrelevant intrusion into any political discourse. The tactics are characterized by the repetition of unsubstantiated charges delivered in an inquisitorial, presumption-of-guilt, aren't-you-a-crook line of attack. While such tactics may no longer have the ability to wantonly ruin reputations of innocent people, the charge—"McCarthyism"—has become a staple of political nomenclature. Some samples:



McCARTHY



The House Bank scandal, 1992:

In one of many departures from House collegiality, Rep. John Lewis (D) accused Rep. Newt Gingrich (R), a fellow Georgian, of "practicing pure demagoguery" and of being the "Joe McCarthy of the House of Representatives."



THOMAS

Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill hearings, 1991:

Thomas, testifying in the same Senate room where the Army-McCarthy hearings were held in 1954, pushed his point home by noting that unlike staff aides and interest groups, "at least McCarthy was elected." In his angry and emotional testimony, Thomas charged "interest groups [and] hate-mongers" with using tactics "far more dangerous than McCarthyism."



WILDER

Virginia governor's race, 1989:

J. Marshall Coleman (R) accused then-Lt. Gov. L. Douglas Wilder (D) of "trying to take us back to McCarthy, stirring up fear," and asserted that his new commercial was "not a new attack on Wilder but a response to his abortion ads."



DINGELL

Former mayor Marlon Barry at Harvard University, 1989:

Depicting himself as an embattled underdog who rose from poverty in the rural South to mayor of the nation's capital, Barry trotted out some of his more familiar themes, saying that crack cocaine was "America's problem" and lashed out at the news media for its "New McCarthyism guilt-by-association."

Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.) hearings on university research fraud, 1989:

Scientists accused the Dingell investigation of "a kind of McCarthyism," saying that it would make researchers fearful that anything they wrote in laboratory notebooks could be taken out of context and used against them.



TOWER

Nomination hearings of John G. Tower for defense secretary, 1989:

Vice President Quayle charged that "liberal McCarthyism" had been rampant in the Tower debate. Quayle lashed out at Senate Democrats, charging that their rejection of Tower to head the Pentagon unleashed "a new wave of McCarthyism in this country....We will not condone a new wave of McCarthyism in this country."

Retirement of Francis J. McNeil, 1987:

One of the State Department's most respected Latin American experts, McNeil retired as the department's deputy director of intelligence, charging that his assessments of U.S. policy in Central America made him the victim of an "exercise in McCarthyism" by Elliott Abrams, then assistant secretary for inter-American affairs.



KOCH

Corruption in New York Mayor Ed Koch's administration, 1985:

After charges of corruption began to surface with the attempted suicide of Koch's ally, then-Queens Borough President and Democratic boss Donald R. Manes, Koch went on the offensive, seeking to diminish the importance of the revelations and accusing the press of "McCarthyism." Manes committed suicide in a second attempt, days before he was to be indicted.

THE WASHINGTON POST

Baker-less State Department Not in Idle, Officials Say

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

The secretary of state's office on the department's seventh floor is empty and eerie nearly two months after James A. Baker III and his key aides departed for new jobs at the White House. Baker's spacious, ceremonial office is dark, the desk stripped bare. The offices of his top personal aides along what used to be "heavy-hitter's row" are vacant.

At the opposite end of State's leadership corridor, Acting Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger works in a small, cluttered room tucked behind the big formal office assigned to the deputy secretary of state, Eagleburger's position under Baker, and the one to which he has been confirmed by the U.S. Senate. In contrast to the sleek, well-tailored Baker, the chain-smoking, overweight Eagleburger often works in his shirt-sleeves, collar open and tie askew.

An Eagleburger aide said it would have taken two days and been "a waste of time" to move into Baker's former digs down the hall for the temporary period—until Jan. 20, at the latest—that Eagleburger will be in charge.

The Moroccan Remark

The rough-and-ready Eagleburger is unimpressed with plush surroundings, so much so that he recently told a reporter that the formal office of the deputy secretary, which he rarely uses, reminds him of "a Moroccan house of ill repute." Shortly after that remark became public, the Moroccan ambassador asked for an appointment to express his displeasure.

The unusual physical arrangements at State are symbolic.

Eagleburger does not have the clout of Baker, the most politically powerful secretary of state in many years, and does not pretend to do so. On the other hand, Eagleburger's no-frills leadership reflects a diplomatic professional with far more workaday experience in world affairs than his former boss.

There was much speculation at the time of Baker's departure that he would reclaim the post within a few weeks of the election. That appears less likely now. Even if President Bush defies the polls and wins, in the first debate he designated



Acting Secretary Lawrence S. Eagleburger now rejects the term "caretaker," which he accepted just after Baker left.

Baker as his domestic affairs "czar" for an unspecified period. Baker is expected to speak about his new post in the near future. Eagleburger intends to leave government Jan. 20, no matter who wins, as he told Baker last spring, months before the latest shuffle.

Despite the temporary nature of his stewardship, Eagleburger now rejects the term "caretaker," which he accepted just after Baker left. "I think that is the wrong term," he said in a recent interview, adding, "I'm trying to keep the things that are in play in play, and moving as hard and fast as I can."

Outside critics said the unprecedented departure of Baker's entire top team to the White House has sapped the State Department's ability to deal with international issues. "Most of American foreign policy was made by about eight people" around Baker, said Robert Hunter of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a former Carter administration official and adviser to the Clinton campaign. "Take these guys out of the loop and where are you? The system stops."

Inside the department, some disagree. "The idea that Baker drove this place and when he left it would go into idle, just isn't true," said a senior official involved in daily operations. "Of course, Larry is not plotting bold initiatives, but he is taking actions—driving on Yugoslavia, working the missile agreement [with Russia], managing China after the F-16 sale to Taiwan and on a host of other issues."

In previous years, the world and diplomatic activity seemed to slow down immediately before a U.S. presidential election. This is less true this year, the official con-

tended. "We used to have predominantly a bilateral agenda with the Soviet Union with everything else in second place, and by tacit consent the bilateral agenda could be put on hold," he said. "Now it isn't bilateral any more, and the United States is engaged in a jillion issues in a way that it should not and could not disengage."

The official added that he was stretched to the limit keeping up with developments, and that Eagleburger is "maxed out" as well. "If Baker were here, he'd be maxed out too."

Baker's Involvement

Despite early indications that Baker would continue to play an important role in foreign affairs while serving as White House chief of staff, given the intensity of Bush's reelection drive, this does not seem to be the case.

"He has never picked up the phone, called me and told me I ought to do something. . . . He has not imposed himself on me at all," said Eagleburger when asked about Baker's continuing foreign policy involvement. Eagleburger said he has called Baker "a couple of times" to discuss the Middle East peace process, but added that his predecessor's time is "almost wholly" spent on his White House job.

Since leaving the department Aug. 23, Baker has sat in on private meetings that Eagleburger has held periodically with Bush on foreign policy, Eagleburger said, however, that Baker has not expressed his views in these meetings, instead remaining silent.

When Bush recently met on the Bosnian "no-fly zone" with Eagle-

burger, Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney, the Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman, Gen. Colin L. Powell, and national security adviser Brent Scowcroft, Baker was also present, although initial White House reports did not list him as participating.

A White House official close to Baker said he believed Baker "got involved" in backing Eagleburger's proposal to establish the no-fly zone despite Pentagon opposition. Eagleburger said he does not recall Baker saying anything in the crucial meeting with Bush, although he added that he did not know what Baker may have said to Bush privately.

The State versus Defense department dispute over Yugoslavia policy existed even during Baker's tenure. Powell and other defense officials were less-outspoken about their misgivings about using military force when Baker was the leading figure on the other side. Some attribute the public visibility of the disagreement to Eagleburger's less commanding bureaucratic position; others to the winding down of the policymaking consensus in the administration's fourth year.

The direct negotiations between Israelis and Arabs, which Baker started last October after six trips to the region, is the area where Baker's absence is most noticed. Even Eagleburger concedes, "... no question, there is a difference" between what Baker could do and what he can do. "You can't erase three years of deep personal involvement in which [he] got to know all the players the way he did and moved the process when

nobody else thought he could do it," Eagleburger said.

A White House official said he believes Baker would be visiting Damascus to push Israeli-Syrian discussions forward if he were still secretary of state. Eagleburger said: "I doubt that Jim at this stage if he were still here would be on an airplane [to the Middle East]." He added that such a trip might prove to be worthwhile after the next round of Washington talks that begins next week.

In the vice presidential debate Tuesday night, Sen. Albert Gore Jr. argued that the proposed U.S.-Russia agreement to eliminate multiple-warhead intercontinental missiles has "unraveled" because Baker left the State Department, and that "now there is no START II deal at all."

Officials denied that the agreement has fallen apart, although they agreed that problems have arisen and progress is slower than expected, since an agreement in principle was reached during Russian President Boris Yeltsin's trip to Washington last June.

Two Meetings Held

Baker said shortly after the Yeltsin visit that he expected details to be worked out by Sept. 1. However, two meetings between Eagleburger and Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev since Baker's departure and a visit to Moscow by Undersecretary of State Frank Wisner early this month have failed to produce agreement.

While maintaining there are no problems of principle at stake, a department official involved in the discussions said the Russians have posed five new questions about details of the agreement after the United States answered 17 questions previously posed by the Russians. When discussions on strategic arms bogged down earlier this year, Baker took charge of the negotiations and ultimately broke through. Whether he could do so now if he were still in charge, with only weeks to go before a hotly contested election, is a matter of speculation.

Staff writer Jackson Diehl contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1992

THE WASHINGTON POST

CAMPAIGN '92: TRANSCRIPT OF THE SECOND PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE

ONCE AGAIN, A TRANSCRIPT AVAILABLE IN
THE POST!



BY RICK LIPSIG—THE WASHINGTON POST

President Bush addresses members of studio audience during debate, the second of three among the presidential candidates.

Erasing Bosnia's Memory

THE ATROCITY of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia is apparently an even more thorough business than the evidence of widespread murder, deportations and brutality would indicate. New reports from historians and regional experts now suggest that Serbian attacks on the Bosnian cities of Sarajevo and Mostar have purposely and successfully targeted national libraries, museums and archives, in the process wiping out nearly the entire written record of Bosnia's history.

Among the losses described by eyewitnesses are the National Library in Sarajevo—which contained the university's holdings and also the national archive of newspapers and periodicals—which was shown on television in August being burned to the ground. Other apparent losses, as reported in the London-based publication the *Art Newspaper*, include extensive collections of oriental manuscripts and microfilm at Sarajevo's Oriental Institute, which was destroyed by shelling; the Franciscan monastery in the city of Mostar that contained the main historical archives for Hercegovina before the Ottomans conquered the region in the 15th century; and the library adjoining a Sarajevo mosque with a treasure-trove of calligraphic and illuminated manuscripts, Islamic and Jewish, dating to the 12th century. One historian of the region observed in the *Art Newspaper* that if indeed the Serbs were targeting this material—as some

Serbian commanders have claimed, particularly in one case where they told the BBC they were aiming at an anthropological collection on the roof of the Sarajevo regional museum—they had ironically destroyed a tremendous accumulation of records of Serbian civilization in the region as well.

The loss here goes even beyond the obvious ones to history and humanism, for Bosnian history—as has been frequently alluded to, often bemusedly, in reports on the war—is, in recent generations at least, the history of a republic where the three different strains of Muslims, Serbs and Croats had been coexisting, commingling and intermarrying with a fair degree of peacefulness. One Princeton-based scholar suggests that the feared destruction would make it almost impossible to do research on the conversion and subsequent history of the Bosnian Muslims—Slavs, sharing a common language with Serb and Croat neighbors, who adopted Islam from the Ottomans half a millennium ago.

Concerns about the wartime destruction of history, like that of art masterpieces, unavoidably take a back seat to the more immediate outrage of observers at human suffering. But if not only this community but also the records of its civilization are destroyed, it will be a kind of "ethnic cleansing" that adds a chilling new dimension to the atrocities that now dominate the news.

Potomac Yard Decision

IN THE END, the decision not to build a stadium at Potomac Yard came in the best way possible—as the practical judgment of the two men who first put together what they believed was a near-done deal. It proved to be anything but. In cutting off a controversy that had come to consume political, executive and legislative energies up and down the state, Gov. Wilder and Mr. Cooke have gauged the reaction and, to their credit, have "irrevocably withdrawn" all Potomac Yard stadium plans. The ultimate decision on where the Redskins play, of course, still rests with Mr. Cooke. It is his team and his business. And though he can't announce a new address for the team at this point, this region has been and still is the most faithful, fan-ridden, natural home the team could want.

As their joint statement noted, both the owner and the governor thought in June that their original "preliminary agreement" would benefit the state as well as the Redskins. They are saying now that their plan from the outset "was one we felt could be improved with public input" and that "we both anticipated that the Virginia General Assembly and the City of Alexandria would be partners in formulating a final proposal." That was a misreading from the start.

"Partners" was certainly the wrong word. That, as much as the the risk proposed and the problems connected with the location, disturbed legislators in Richmond and their constituents throughout Virginia. The high-powered, full-court press of administration officials on behalf of the project—with no participation invited from the elected leaders and residents most directly involved—made more than a few state senators and delegates uncomfortable. In an effort to allay enough fears to push the plan through the General Assembly, Gov. Wilder tried to modify the considerable concessions he had offered the team owner in the way of tax breaks and free use land for development.

But Mr. Cooke is, after all, the man who will add up offers and consider what arrangements are attractive enough to close a new deal. This is important to remember. He must know that the region still wants his team—that the presence of the Washington Redskins is valuable in ways that go beyond exclusively financial calculations. With Potomac Yard off the drawing boards, the pursuit of a good home for a great team can resume in a much better atmosphere.

Molly Ivins

Sorry, Sparky

AUSTIN—Vote aye on the format! I know, I know, they sounded like a couple of kids having one of those "I did not!" "You did so!" "Did not!" "Did so!" arguments, but at least they mixed it up. Much better than those canned, rehearsed non-answers where they all stand there looking like stuffed perch.

I have a mortifying confession to make: I enjoyed the vice-presidential debate. I don't understand why anyone would write fiction when reality is so funny. From the moment Adm. Stockdale opened his mouth and said, "Who am I? What am I doing here?" we were well into the surreal. The admiral sure added a lot of *je ne sais quoi*, as we often say in Lubbock. He wavered along the fine line between being endearingly inarticulate and being an embarrassment to Perot—clueless on health care, lost on economics. But his great contribution to the evening was to stand there without an ounce of insincerity to him, something he's clearly incapable of, and thus provide a baseline by which to judge the patent insincerity of his opponents.

There is still something hopelessly juvenile

about Dan Quayle, isn't there? His spinners all professed themselves proud of his "feisty" performance—he'd clearly been groomed to go out there as the campaign's attack dog. But Quayle comes off as an attack schnauzer (sorry, Sparky), a lot of shrill yapping rather than the heavy menace of a real political plug-ugly like Jim Mattox.

Gore was at his Robo-Gore worst, with that slightly smarmy, slightly pietistic patina he puts on in public: At least I find it off-putting. I assume he thinks he's pitching to a lot of elderly church ladies. It's said his mom used to come to his debates with a sign that read, "Relax and smile." He should have listened to Mom. It's no secret that Al Gore is much more fun in private than he is in public; he has a lively sense of humor and a pleasant way of leavening even the most grueling campaign days with fun. It's a shame he doesn't feel comfortable enough to do that in front of a camera: The camera sure picks up the fact that he's not being natural.

One should always be suspicious of programmed "zingers" in a debate; you get no

points for planned shots like, "Take a breath, Al, inhale." But if Gore's response on term limits, "We're fixin' to limit one right now," was spontaneous, it was the best of the evening.

As for the Republican strategy, with Quayle endlessly yapping, "Trust, character, trust, character," I am reminded of the old (and we all devoutly trust apocryphal) Lyndon Johnson story. One time, Lyndon instructed his campaign manager to spread word that his opponent diddled little boys. The manager said, "But, Lyndon, he doesn't."

"I know," said Johnson. "I just want to hear him deny it."

So now we're stuck with listening to Bill Clinton deny there was anything untoward about the fact that he visited Moscow during a tour of European capitals 23 years ago and all this other baloney. If you want to know just how phony Quayle was being Tuesday night, do a five-minute research project of your own. Drop by a bookstore and look at Page 304 of Al Gore's book and see if you can find anything there that says the

United States should spend \$100 billion in foreign aid for environmental projects.

Football fans, you know what we have here? A longtime championship team hasn't lost the championship for 12 years, they feel entitled to it, and now it's late in the fourth quarter, and they know they're going to lose. Too far behind, no time to make it up. And you know what always happens in those games: The players start fighting; they can't win on the field; nothing in their game plan is working—can't pass, can't run it, can't tackle before the whistle. Just like those gridiron warriors, the Republicans can't win on policy, and they've got no ideas on how to help the country, so they finally just start throwing punches out of sheer frustration.

I've spent some chilly afternoons in stadiums watching games like that, and I think we all have the same reaction—please, God, let this end before it gets any worse, just please let the merciful end come.

The writer is a columnist for the Fort Worth Star-Telegram.

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The Washington Post

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1992

Rowland Evans
And Robert Novak

Bush Didn't Know

National security adviser Robert McFarlane's Oval Office briefing of President Reagan on May 29, 1986, as recorded by his aide Howard Teicher's own top-secret account at the time, did not mention "arms for hostages," the phrase Teicher now claims tipped off George Bush to the underlying deal of the Iran-contra scandal.

McFarlane was reporting to Reagan on his just-failed Tehran hostage-rescue mission at a high-level meeting attended by then-Vice President Bush. Teicher's claims to the news media after more than six years of silence contradict Bush's sworn assertions that he did not learn about the Iranian arms-hostage deal until about six months later.

Teicher's accusations have provided heavy artillery for Gov. Bill Clinton's counterattacks against Bush's assaults on the Democratic nominee's credibility. But now that onslaught is crippled by the discovery of the old memo.

In attacking the president, the ubiquitous Teicher in the past three weeks has used NBC's "Today" show, ABC's "Nightline," PBS's "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour," CNN and the Los Angeles Times, among other media outlets. Teicher earlier worked in the Pentagon for Gen. Richard Secord, whose new book "Honored and Betrayed" has also implicated Bush as knowledgeable about the hostage affair. This has given Clinton a credibility weapon to counter Bush's draft-avoidance and character attacks on him.

Teicher's reported strong push for arms sales to Iran in 1985 as one of McFarlane's Mideast aides made him a natural to accompany the national security adviser on the trip to Tehran. The day they returned, McFarlane briefed Reagan and Bush. Teicher then wrote the official memorandum for the files describing what McFarlane had said during the 10-minute briefing.

In this now-declassified memorandum, Teicher quoted McFarlane as saying that though his mission had failed, "they [the Iranian regime] will be back in touch with us . . . a lot may be possible. You have begun to open the door to these people."

But on "Nightline" Oct. 2, 1992, Teicher said McFarlane had reported that "as far as [McFarlane] was concerned, this was nothing more than arms for hostages and suggested that

the entire initiative be turned off because, in a word, the Iranians were jerking us around." He then directly quoted McFarlane: "This is arms for hostages."

Teicher told us that, despite his memorandum, he had accurately quoted McFarlane on "Nightline." He did not use the term "arms for hostages" in his 1986 memo, he added, because "it was not my style to write more than a summary. This was code-word secret."

Current White House aides disagree. They told us privately that neither McFarlane's Oval Office briefing nor any other meetings Teicher says he and other participants had with Bush directly informed the president what Teicher insists Bush knew: that selling arms to Iran was a straight bribe to get American hostages out of Lebanese jails, something Reagan and Bush said they would never do.

Bush aides insist that the real explanation of Teicher's unexpected attack is his anger that he was eventually fired along with most other staffers tied to the Iran-hostage deal. McFarlane was replaced by Frank Carlucci, who hired Gen. Colin Powell, now chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as his deputy on Jan. 2, 1987.

On his "Today" show interview Sept. 28, Teicher started by saying he wanted to "set the record straight" about a "false" White House statement that he had been "fired" from his National Security Council job nearly six years before. "I resigned from the NSC in mid-December 1986. I wasn't fired, and nobody asked me for my resignation," he said.

But Teicher added it was Powell who finally got rid of him, refusing his request to appeal to Carlucci. He added that he had a commitment to stay on the payroll for three months but that in early March he was ordered out of his office and his job within "four hours." "They breached their agreement with me," Teicher said.

Senior Pentagon officials confirmed to us that the ouster was ordered by Powell, whom they described as furious that Teicher was still hanging on to his office in March 1987. These officials quoted Powell as saying that a search of the record showed no three-month grace period had been granted Teicher.

Many government officials feel that the Iraq buildup was a threat to Israel. "I was opposed to the tilt to Iraq," Teicher told us. He denied any intent to damage Bush's reelection and said he had no contact with the Clinton campaign—a strong suspicion within Bush's political apparatus.

This would make Teicher's sudden appearance an unsolicited gift to Bill Clinton. But the resurrected memo makes it a tarnished weapon.

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TOM SHALES

The Debate Goes On . . . and On and On

Poll questions often begin with "If the election were held today . . ." A pleasant thought. If the election were held today, at least we wouldn't have to suffer through any more of these darn debates.

Last night's edition, third of the series and second to feature the three presidential candidates, aired live from Richmond, but sometimes seemed dead on its feet. This time a modified talk-show format was imposed, with a studio audience asking the questions.

The result was a kind of political "Donahue" or "Oprah Winfrey" show, but with most of the energy drained out.

At 9:49 p.m., just past the halfway

mark of the 90-minute program, George Bush could be seen checking his watch. He wasn't the only one who was bored. But Bush may also have known what others were feeling, that Bill Clinton was thriving in the informality and folksiness of the format.

Bush made monkeys out of all the pundits who confidently predicted that he would go ballistic, that he would come out with guns blazing in an aggressive attack like the one Dan Quayle waged in the vice presidential debate Tuesday. Instead, Bush was relaxed and urbane. He was also somewhat detached, as if the debate were but a prelude to a fashionable dinner party.

The format was supposed to encourage lively exchanges and free-form discussion, but for the most part, it had the odd effect of stifling rather than liberating the discourse. Candidates addressed themselves almost entirely to the audience and not to each other.

Even the crabby Munchkin, Ross Perot, who got several laughs with his one-liners at Sunday night's opener, seemed enervated and spent. An attempt to wring one more laugh with his "all ears" line fell resoundingly flat. He used folksy phrases like "down to brass tacks" and "what you see is what you get" and "no ifs, ands or buts," but

his act seemed to be growing increasingly stale.

He made several references to "slow dancing" and suggested that he would do whatever the opposite of that is.

Bill Clinton, however, did appear much more at home and comfy in last night's kind of forum than he did planted behind a podium on Sunday. There was a good deal of competitive body language involved, and he was in shape for it. The candidates were supplied with blue stools but when Clinton got up from his early in the show to walk around and score points, Bush and Perot soon followed suit.

See SHALES, D3, Col. 5

TOM SHALES

The Lackluster Presidential Debate

SHALES, From D1

Perot may have avoided actually sitting on his stool because, if he did sit on it, his feet wouldn't touch the ground.

With all the jockeying for position, the debate almost turned into "American Gladiators." The competition was to see who could get closest, physically anyway, to the crowd. Clinton won this part of the competition with no trouble. He worked the crowd well, and that helped him come across as sincerely concerned with the grievances voiced by those in the crowd and enormously accessible to the public.

Clinton injected a little one-upmanship to go with his upstaging techniques by twice stating that the format for this debate was his idea. "I suggested this format tonight," Clinton said. This not only made him seem equal in stature to Bush, it made it look as though Bush were forced to participate on Clinton's terms.

And on terms that were custom-tailored to make Clinton look good.

"Mr. Clinton was infinitely more comfortable in this format than the president," correspondent Susan Spencer told Dan Rather on CBS after the debate.

"This was a great day for the campaign and for Clinton," New York Gov. Mario Cuomo told Tom Brokaw on NBC.

"Governor Clinton commanded the atmospherics," said Jeff Greenfield of ABC News.

And on public TV, commentator Mark Shields declared, "Bill Clinton was the winner." PBS has had the best and most thoughtful analysis team of any network during the debates.

But David Gergen was perhaps being too stuffy and lofty-minded when he insisted that last night's format was "a step forward," a "convivial and

instructive" evening and "an interesting format that served everyone well."

No. It didn't have enough give-and-take to be very valuable. Or maybe there was too little take and too much give.

Questions from the audience, made up of 209 supposedly uncommitted voters, were largely uninspired. Professional journalists would have done a better job. People in the audience seemed self-conscious as they delivered their queries.

Moderator Carole Simpson of ABC News turned it into a civics class with her teacherly tone, though Brokaw praised her as "gracious and skilled" and Bush led a round of applause for her at the start of his closing statement.

"We're making history here, and it's pretty exciting," Simpson said at the outset. History, maybe. Exciting, no.

There were some light moments. Bush asked a woman in the crowd if she had seen Sunday night's debate, adding, "Suffer through that?" Clinton, discussing Bush's economic record, said, "This is not mudslinging; this is fact-slinging."

Perot ended his closing statement with a hard-sell pitch: "I'll see you tomorrow night on NBC!" This was a reference to another of his half-hour infomercials, airing tonight. Perot may have lost a few of the approval points he won the other night, however, when, during a rambling discussion of American education, he launched into some tale about a chicken in a bathtub.

"America is really paying attention in 1992," proclaimed Frank Fahrenkopf, co-chairman of the debate commission, on C-SPAN before the program. "The public," he said, "is tuned in." But about 20 minutes into last night's performance of slow dancing, one could almost feel the public tuning out.

The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

Georgette's Little Bundles of Beauty

If George Bush is as oblivious to the nation's economic woes as his opponent insists, perhaps he should consult with the wealthy wife of one of his longtime pals. Even the flamboyant Georgette Mosbacher seems to have an appreciation for people's pocketbooks these days.

The cosmetics entrepreneur is coming out with a new, full line of makeup—you get foundations, shadows, lipsticks, blushes, the works—all for under \$100. And for those of you who haven't stalked the cosmetic counters lately, that's very cheap for a total of 40 items.

"It's efficient, it's affordable, and it has portability," she touts. She should be doing the ads herself.

But instead, "Exclusives by Georgette Mosbacher" will be test-marketed throughout the nation beginning Nov. 15—and not at any of those high-priced salons her Texas buddies frequent.

"You'll only be able to purchase it through an 800 number seen on television," she says. "I know marketing, and believe me, it's a form of distribution that is here to stay." She has, however, recruited actress Kate Jackson to star in the infomercials.

And forget all those fancy, bulky cases: "Exclusives come in books—you just snap your color pages out for the



Georgette Mosbacher: Making a case for the face—cheap.

day—like your corals or reds—and snap them into the carrying case I provide," Georgette explains. She's really into this.

"It's for the woman who not only cares what goes in her body," she continues in copywriter prose, "but what goes on her body."

And as we've heard by now, Georgette cares deeply about all those things.

■ The Gore and Quayle road shows coincidentally ended up in the same small town in Kentucky yesterday. So excited was the Gore traveling staff to see Air Force Two at the Owensboro airport that they ran over en masse for a photo op, displaying Clinton-Gore signs and shouting "three more weeks."

■ To the frustration of his handlers, who were tugging at his sleeve, Bill Clinton insisted on staying in the hall at the University of Richmond signing autographs for 50 minutes after last night's debate. He looked very happy.

■ The organizers of last night's presidential debate in Richmond thought the Gallup organization had hand-picked



Mary Malin: Dyed-in-the-wool Bush backer.

the audience—thus they were a little startled to learn that one ponytailed fellow was telling his seatmates that he had been "sent by God."

■ Lest anyone think the campaign is being consumed by issues, a top campaign aide has decided to weigh in on the question of whether Bill Clinton dyes his hair. "A beautician by training can always recognize false hair," Mary Malin assures the New York Post. "My mother ran beauty schools and I've been trained in

WE'VE HEARD THAT...



Top, Robb, rescuing daughter Catherine; above, Wilder, flipping flapjacks; Eastwood, weighing in on the deficit.

this stuff since I was 11. . . . They're trying to make him look younger." The Clinton campaign has denied Bill uses dye.

■ Virginia Sen. Charles Robb's two older

daughters, twentysomethings Catherine and Lucinda, were robbed while traveling in Europe this week of, among other things, passports and visas for their next destination. Robb said last night that he had called the State Department to get them help and that they were fine—but he declined to offer other details, citing his concern for their security.

■ Rudolf Nureyev owns a home on St. Bart's in the Caribbean, and is believed to have retreated there to nurse a serious illness.

■ Bill, Hillary and Chelsea Clinton will be breakfasting with Gov. Doug Wilder and his three children at the governor's mansion in Richmond this morning.

■ Scores of Treasury Department employees high-tailed it to the front steps of the agency yesterday to see Clint Eastwood, on hand to thank officials for letting him film there last week. "I'd hate to have to be one of the people trying to solve the budget deficit," joked the star, here filming "In the Line of Fire," about a renegade Secret Service agent.

■ A federal judge yesterday scheduled a hearing in Time's suit against Bush-Quayle '92—over the campaign's use of the magazine in a TV ad—for Nov. 6, three days after the election. A lot of good that does Bill.

■ Of the 125 top PAC-money recipients in Congress who recently received a free copy of Philip Stern's biting "Still the Best Congress Money Can Buy" (with a token \$1.26 tucked inside to represent campaign costs), 29 ungrateful recipients shipped it back—money included.

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



The Washington Post

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

The deal isn't signed, but reliable sources insist that Channel 7 anchor Renee Poussaint is headed for ABC News soon after the November ratings sweeps, which end on Nov. 25.

Both WJLA and ABC News have refused comment, but Channel 7, we've been told, has been preparing a press release detailing changes in on-air news assignments pending Poussaint's departure.

CBS Entertainment announced that it's ordered nine more episodes of "Love & War," for a total of 22 this season.

Last week, ABC's "Good Morning America" and NBC's "Today" tied for first in the morning, averaging a 4.1 rating and a 19 share. "CBS This Morning" did a 2.7/13.

GMA announced the cast will jump into a bus (and grab a couple of planes) for what it's calling the "Great American Southwest Bus Tour" starting Wednesday, Nov. 11, and ending Nov. 20. California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada and Texas are on the schedule.

And GMA co-host Joan Lunden has signed to host and produce three specials for ABC Entertainment over the next three years.

Amie Potts has told Entertainment Tonight she's leaving "Designing Women" this season after seven years as Mary Jo Shively.

Today is Donna Meyer's last day at Channel 9 after six years, and we're going to miss her. The station's promotion and publicity manager is moving to Rochester, N.Y., with 10-month-old Courtney and husband Chris, who has accepted a job with the PR firm of Rumrill Hoyt there.

Now This

The chief of CBS/Broadcast Group research said yesterday that ratings for this year's eight primetime major league baseball playoff games were off 7 percent from the eight games in 1991.

David Poltrack blamed the decline largely on the difference in viewership for Game 6 this year in the Atlanta-Pittsburgh confrontations.

Last year, Games 6 and 7 between the National League division winners averaged an 18.3/31 and a 19.8/32. But this year, following the vice presidential debate Tuesday night, Game 6 did a 12.3/21 as "everybody bailed out early" when Pittsburgh jumped far ahead. Wednesday's thrilling finale attracted an 18.2/31.

CBS hasn't tracked results of the afternoon playoff games yet. Last year's day games averaged an 8.3/23. The final game of the Toronto-Oakland American League series Wednesday afternoon averaged a 7.2 rating and a 19 share in Nielsen's 25 big-city markets.

Last year's primetime games averaged a 13.7/24 in Nielsen national ratings. This year's eight did a 12.7/22.

Poltrack is confident that the World Series will at least be off to a good start on Saturday night, compared with last year, since NBC's comedy lineup that night this year is considerably less formidable and ABC has scheduled a paid Ross Perot political hour and a Peter Jennings special on the Cuban missile crisis.

He was not prepared to say the presence of Toronto, which does not register in the Nielsen count, will hurt the network badly.

But he admitted the Series will be missing "the local interest factor. Last year with Minnesota in the Series, interest was reflected in the area around Minneapolis that amounted to 2 percent of the entire U.S. TV audience.

"That can mean ratings of 40 and 50, and that's what's missing with Toronto."

On the other hand, Poltrack said (hopefully), "the competitiveness of the games is far more critical. At this point in time, with that finish Wednesday night, the Atlanta story is every bit as interesting as last year's with Atlanta and Minneapolis. And this year Dave Winfield and Dave Cone, who both played in New York and are now with Toronto, are a couple of marquee players who will draw audiences in New York and on the West Coast [where Winfield played for years] as well."

CBS won Wednesday night in the national Nielsen, averaging a 15.7/26 during primetime.

NBC averaged a 12.4/20 despite a 14.7/24 from "Unsolved Mysteries." "Law & Order" did an 11.3/19. A repeat "Seinfeld" did an 11.5/17. The Epilepsy Foundation of America had asked NBC not to repeat the episode, in which one of the characters displayed signs of a seizure, which

another character describes as "just like that woman in Albany." Last summer a story circulated of a woman in New York State who experienced a seizure whenever she heard Mary Hart on "Entertainment Tonight."

The network yesterday said it had received only seven calls protesting the rerun.

ABC averaged a 12.3/20 for the night, led by "Home Improvement" at 18.8/28. Two Fox repeats did a 6.2/10.

Locally on Wednesday, the afternoon game on Channel 9 (CBS) did a 7.5/21 between 3 and 6:30 p.m., while the Atlanta-Pittsburgh game, which ran until midnight, did a 17.2/29.

The last 15 minutes of the game registered a 19.5 rating.

"Home Improvement" did a 17.9/26 and "Civil Wars" a 6.5/11 on Channel 7. "Seinfeld" did an 11.3/17 and "Law & Order" an 11.2/19 on Channel 4. The two Fox shows on Five did an 8.2/13. Each national ratings point represents 931,000 TV homes; a local point, 18,150.

Yes, Arbitron will begin counting 28 days of the November sweeps on Wednesday, Oct. 28, concluding Nov. 24. Nielsen will begin its run a day later, concluding Nov. 25.

Captain Errwaves says he has it on very good authority that he misspelled the name of CBS News executive Lane Venardos in yesterday's column.

Hollywood at Work

Next Wednesday's episode of ABC's "Civil Wars" will include a story line in which, "during highly adversarial divorce proceedings" a "Clinton campaign aide" accuses his wife, "a Bush campaign aide," of having an affair with President Bush.

The husband immediately tells the judge "I'm not serious," and the trial continues.

An ABC Entertainment spokeswoman said yesterday the "entire story line—one of three in the episode—is presented in a very exaggerated, over-the-top manner."

"Both the situation and the allegation are obviously fictitious," said Vice President Janice Gretemyer. "The accusation is made and quickly retracted during divorce proceedings where wild accusations are being made by both parties."

She said that each week on "Civil Wars," which stars Mariel Hemingway and Peter Onorati as divorce lawyers, "some story lines are serious," some are "clearly intended to be exaggerated humor."

Word of the Bush story line was being circulated yesterday by Flaherty & Partners, which is handling public relations for the show.

Two nights ago, "Civil Wars" did a 9.0 national Nielsen rating and a 15 share. In three previous episodes this season, it had averaged a 9.5/17 and ranked 64th among 98 series on the four networks so far.

Billy Finkelstein, executive producer of "Civil Wars," said yesterday that he was "trying to maximize the drama in the story" with the fictional Bush story line.

"It's a good story," he said. "The couple is flinging ever-escalating dirty tricks at each other. Both of them have a no-holds-barred philosophy towards winning. In that escalating spiral, it leads him to doing what will have the maximum impact on his wife's political career."

Asked why he chose real-life candidates for the story line, Finkelstein said, "Because I think we're doing a very naturalistic drama and to invent a fictional president of the U.S. and a fictional contender would be hokey and violate the conventions of the series."

As for why the allegation of an affair referred to the fictional Bush, the producer said, "Because Clinton has already gone through the accusations [of sexual impropriety] in a very extended fashion and to do it about him would be less startling than to do it about George Bush. What worked best as a story line was to accuse him of something nobody has ever accused him of doing in a truly substantive way."

Finkelstein said a Bush "affair" was the only way the story line could go, "since his wife is working for the Republican candidate. I couldn't have the husband having an affair with Clinton."

"I trust people who watch this show will understand that what is being played is being played for the purposes of a story and they are not serious political charges."

Asked for his political affiliation in this election year, Finkelstein said, "I'm not taking a partisan position; let's leave my political affiliation unspoken."

HIGHLIGHTS

- Tonight, the final broadcasts of "Final Appeal" and "The Round Table" and a paid Ross Perot address on WRC.
- And Part I of "America's Political Parties" on WETA.

Public Broadcasting

America's Political Parties: Power and Principle (CC). In Part I, Ben Wattenberg and David Gergen analyze the Democratic Party (Channel 26 at 9).

Move Over: Women and the '92 Campaign (CC). A portrait of women around the country working to change the political process (Channel 26 at 10).

Paid Political Announcement

Sponsored by the Ross Perot campaign. 30 minutes (Channel 4, 10:30).

Series

Final Appeal (CC) investigates the conviction of a man whose wife was found murdered (Channel 4 at 8).

America's Most Wanted (CC). The story of a homeless man who turned on the couple who befriended him (Channel 5 at 8).

Family Matters (CC). Urkel is determined to quell an ugly rumor about Laura (Channel 7 at 8).

The Golden Palace (CC). Lawyers and motorcycle gang members converge at the hotel for a convention (Channel 9 at 8).

The Round Table (CC). Rhea becomes involved with a detective while pursuing a story (Channel 4, 8:30).

Step by Step (CC). Frank and Carol agree to look after their neighbor's pooch (Channel 7, 8:30).

Major Dad (CC). Revealing photos of Polly

hit the newsstands in the middle of her mayoral campaign (Channel 9, 8:30).

Sightings (CC) investigates UFO sightings in the Hudson Valley (Channel 5 at 9).

Dinosaurs (CC). Earl is hired as a network executive (Channel 7 at 9).

Designing Women (CC). Mary Jo and Julia feud moments before a charity fashion show (Channel 9 at 9).

I'll Fly Away (CC). Forrest faces questions from family and friends in the aftermath of his wife's death (Channel 4, 9:30).

Likely Suspects (CC). Marshak investigates a murder that took place in an underground club (Channel 5, 9:30).

Camp Wilder (CC). A counselor tells Brody that Melissa's been ditching classes (Channel 7, 9:30).

Bob (CC). A "Mad Dog" character based on Bob's wife is panned by reviewers (Channel 9, 9:30).

20/20 (CC). An interview with an accused murderer of 53 people on trial in Russia and a report on bungee jumping (Channel 7 at 10).

Picket Fences (CC). Brock is drafted to run for mayor (Channel 9 at 10).

Star Trek: The Next Generation (CC) (R). Riker awakens to discover 16 years have passed and he now commands the Enterprise (Channel 20 at 10).

Late Night

The Arsenio Hall Show (CC). With Joe Pesci, Chris Burke and Firehouse (Channel 9, 11:30).

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With Steven Seagal, Al Franken and the Ramones (Channel 4, 11:35).

Late Night With David Letterman. With Jeff Goldblum and Screaming Trees (Channel 4, 12:35 a.m.).

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1992



Associated Press



Jose R. Lopez/The New York Times

Gov. Bill Clinton arriving yesterday for a sound check in Richmond, Va., before last night's debate. Behind President Bush as he left the white House was James A. Baker 3d, the White House chief of staff.

Administration Disarray

*As Bush Presses His Re-election Campaign,
A 3-Cornered Battle Erupts in Washington*

By **ANDREW ROSENTHAL**

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 15 — While President Bush tries to revive his re-election bid on the campaign trail, his team in Washington is engulfed in another kind of crisis as key parts of the Administration seem to be unraveling.

News Analysis In the latest twist, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, under threat of criminal investigation by the Justice Department, canceled testimony he was to give today about whether he had misused agency funds. Meanwhile, his wife was quoted in a Texas newspaper as saying that her husband had been in a "stupor," brought on in part by the political feuding between him and Bush appointees in other agencies. [Page A18.]

The troubles of the Director, William S. Sessions, are part of a highly unusual three-cornered battle involving the F.B.I., the Justice Department and the Central Intelligence Agency. In the last two weeks this struggle has escalated into virtual civil war, with F.B.I. and Justice Department officials accusing one another today of engineering dam-

aging newspaper leaks.

The C.I.A. and the Justice Department are also in a running contest to shift blame for who was responsible for concealing information about a multi-billion-dollar bank fraud involving Iraq.

Robert M. Gates, the Director of Central Intelligence, was recently forced to admit that his legal department had sent Federal prosecutors a misleading letter related to the case — and then made the embarrassing assertion that he had been "out of the loop" on an action by his own subordinates.

The White House has let these squabbles swirl while Mr. Bush and his chief

Continued on Page A11, Column 1

The Debate

The Presidential debate last night in Richmond took place too late for this edition.

News Analysis

Administration in Disarray As Bush Campaign Falters

Continued From Page A1

of staff, James A. Baker 3d, have concentrated on the President's re-election campaign. In a recent directive the State Department, to avoid distracting Mr. Bush and Mr. Baker from the election, instructed its staff officers not to forward any issue to the White House unless it was of the most pressing nature.

As Washington took on the distinct tone of a city full of politicians who believe a new order may be coming and are trying to salvage their fortunes, the President emerged from the White House this afternoon to fly to Richmond for the second campaign debate.

He gathered his appointees on the South Lawn so they could wave goodbye to his helicopter as he flew off without commenting on the week's developments.

But the House Judiciary Committee and Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., the Delaware Democrat who is chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, were heavily engaged. They pressed for the appointment of a special prosecutor to investigate what the House panel called "possible criminal activities" by high-ranking officials of the C.I.A. and the Justice Department in connection with the scandal over \$4 billion in loans from the Atlanta branch of the Banco Nazionale de Lavoro to Iran.

Checking Clinton Records

The State Department, in bureaucratic limbo with the former Secretary of State, Mr. Baker, running the campaign, was caught in an embarrassing admission that a political appointee had violated the department's own rules by expediting a request from news organizations for information from Gov. Bill Clinton's passport

records from the 1960's. The search turned up nothing.

Although Defense Secretaries, notably Caspar Weinberger in the Reagan years, have often been in the vortex of such battles, the current Secretary, Dick Cheney, has so far sat out these Potomac wars. "We've been blissfully happy just to soldier on over here," said a senior Pentagon official.

Representative Vin Weber, a Minnesota Republican who is retiring and is therefore willing to express publicly what Republicans at every level were talking about today, said, "I don't have any previous experience with anything like this."

Much of the new bout of unease in Republican Washington is clearly driven by Mr. Bush's electoral problems. The Bush team even got a blow today from the Postmaster General, Marvin T. Runyon, who suggested that his agency might consider delivering mail only four days a week to save money.

Sounding a Warning Note

Martin Anderson, a White House adviser in President Ronald Reagan's first term, sounded a warning note. "Some people have come to the conclusion that their President will probably lose, people on the inside, and they all want to be the first rat off the sinking ship," he said. "They had better have made the right choice, because if things turn around and Bush does win, these guys are in real trouble."

Mr. Weber, like many Washington Republicans, said that he was hoping for the best but that he was increasingly nervous about Election Day. In California today, the Congressman said he was not there on behalf of the President. "I'm campaigning for candidates who can win," he said with a resigned laugh, adding hastily, "Make that, who can win in California."

Many Republicans here said Mr. Bush worsened the atmosphere last week by noisily and unceremoniously dumping his entire economic team as a gesture to conservatives. Now he is facing mutinies among top advisers who seem more intent on saving their own reputations than on helping the re-election effort.

Blaming Bush's Advisers

A recent series of articles in The Washington Post about the Administration's fractured economic policy appeared in part to be an attempt by the White House budget director, Richard G. Darman, to defend his record and blame Mr. Bush's political advisers.

"I think Darman explained that it

was all Jim Pinkerton's fault," Mr. Weber said sardonically. Mr. Pinkerton was a relatively junior White House domestic policy aide who now works for the campaign.

It is particularly vexing to Mr. Bush's advisers that the most byzantine and potentially damaging fight of all, among the C.I.A., the F.B.I. and the Justice Department, is connected to what was supposed to have been the President's greatest triumph and electoral plus: the Persian Gulf war with Iraq. The agencies are embroiled in a struggle over American policy toward Iraq before the war, an issue that the Democrats have used assiduously to undermine Mr. Bush.

The Justice Department is conducting an investigation into whether Mr. Sessions tried to evade income taxes and billed the Government for personal long-distance telephone calls, an inquiry that seems straightforward enough.

But Senator David L. Boren, the Oklahoma Democrat who heads the Senate Intelligence Committee, suggested on Wednesday that the investigation may be partly intended to discourage the bureau from closely examining the department's own conduct in the prosecution of the bank fraud case involving the loans to Iraq.

The C.I.A. and the Justice Department have been pointing fingers at each other after a Federal judge accused both of withholding information from him and from prosecutors in Atlanta who were handling the case.

The Democrats have been quick to pounce on the deepening divisions within the Administration. "There seems to be some amount of chaos," said Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, the House majority leader.

Debate on the Air

Live television coverage of the last 90-minute debate will be provided by ABC, CBS, NBC, Fox, C-Span, CNN and PBS.

Presidential Debate
East Lansing, Mich.,
7 P.M. Eastern.
OCT. 19 Monday

ERRORS ADMITTED ON CLINTON FILES

State Dept., in Reversal, Says
Its Search Violated Rules

By ERIC SCHMITT

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 15 — Dropping its contention that an urgent search for consular records on Gov. Bill Clinton was properly handled, the State Department said today that the effort had violated its own regulations.

On Wednesday the department defended the urgency of the search because of the Presidential election. But today it acknowledged that its policies bar special handling of such cases when the reason for haste is an imminent election.

The disclosure that the search was contrary to department policy adds to the impression that the rush for information about the Democratic nominee may have been part of an Administration effort to gather material that could be used against him in the final weeks of the Presidential campaign.

Charges by Clinton Camp

The State Department has said the search was initiated by requests from news organizations under the Freedom of Information Act for information about Mr. Clinton's overseas travel while he was in England as a Rhodes Scholar in the late 1960's. The Clinton campaign has charged that the Administration used the requests as a pretext for an improper effort to find information that might support unsubstantiated rumors that Mr. Clinton considered renouncing his citizenship to avoid military service during the Vietnam War.

The department's handling of the search appears to have left career dip-

Continued on Page A11, Column 5

State Department

Violation on Clinton File Admitted by State Dept.

Continued From Page A1

lomats and officials uneasy. Today's disclosures by the State Department represented an awkward reversal for Richard Boucher, the Acting Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, who defended the search on Wednesday. But even as he reversed course, Mr. Boucher seemed to hold low-level officials responsible for actions that he earlier said were personally directed by Elizabeth Tamposi, the Assistant Secretary for Consular Affairs.

Mr. Boucher told reporters today that "low-level people" had erred in classifying the requests for expedited handling, which he said was meant to reflect "the urgency which the requesters in the media had placed on their requests." He continued, "That particular designation and other notations were clearly a mistake."

Mr. Boucher said Wednesday that Ms. Tamposi a political appointee of Mr. Bush's former chief of staff John H. Sununu, took personal charge of the records search. An official at the American Embassy in London said Ms. Tamposi had taken the unusual step of ordering another political appointee, Norbert Krieg, the Embassy's consul general, to oversee the search personally. The order, by telephone, was unusual because such matters are normally handled by diplomatic cable. It is unclear whether Ms. Tamposi was aware of the request when it was designed for expedited handling.

Moreover, Ms. Tamposi directed her subordinates to check Mr. Clinton's records at a Federal storage complex in the Washington suburb of Suitland, Md., Mr. Boucher said. Mr. Boucher also told reporters on Wednesday that "there is no inappropriate behavior at all in this."

The results of the search have not been released, and it is not clear whether they ever would have been. Under the law, Mr. Clinton would have had to sign a waiver to permit that release.

Mr. Boucher offered the agency's explanation of the error at the State Department's daily news briefing for reporters today. The Freedom of Information requests were made by two news organizations, The Associated Press and Hearst Newspapers, about Mr. Clinton's visa, passport, draft and citizenship records.

The Washington Post reported today that according to a Sept. 28 memo, Yvonne P. Evans, a processing manager in the State Department's office

that handles Freedom of Information requests, alerted officials in her office of the requests and noted that "due to the Presidential election on Nov. 3, these requests are time sensitive."

Soon after, Mr. Boucher said the memos had come to the attention of State Department lawyers who alerted the Freedom of Information office that the requests did not meet the requirements for speedy handling.

Under department regulations, such requests are to be handled on a first-come, first-served basis and may only be handled more speedily "if somebody's going to die or get injured, or if

When political bombs might be in public records.

somebody's Constitutional rights are going to be violated by any delay," Mr. Boucher said.

By the time the lawyers caught the error, Mr. Boucher said the cases had already been passed for action to the Bureau of Consular Affairs. Mr. Boucher said there had been no contact between the State Department and the White House or the Bush/Quayle '92 campaign.

Although the Freedom of Information office is reported to have a backlog of 4,000 requests for information, Mr. Boucher said it had been responding to information requests in one to six weeks "so it's sort of anybody's guess at that point whether things moved faster or slower because of the expedite stamps."

Other officials expressed skepticism about such efficiency. The Federal Government often delays for months, and sometimes years, before meeting reporters' requests for official records.

"From everything I know about the State Department and other large agencies, if they start processing the requests within one to two months it would be really pushing things," said Harry Hammitt, editor of Access Reports, a biweekly newsletter on the Freedom of Information Act published in Lynchburg, Va.

The Center for National Security Studies, a project of the American Civil Liberties Union, today filed a Freedom of Information request for records on how the State Department processes the requests for the Clinton files.

U.S. IS TO ARGUE EMPLOYERS CAN CUT HEALTH INSURANCE

WHITE HOUSE BACKS MOVE

Lawyers Say Justice Dept. Will
Ask Supreme Court to Reject
Appeal of AIDS Patient

By ROBERT PEAR
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 15 — The Bush Administration has decided to back a Federal court ruling that employers may slash the health insurance coverage of workers who develop costly illnesses like AIDS, Government lawyers said today.

The lawyers said that Solicitor General Kenneth W. Starr would present the Administration's views in a memorandum to be filed with the Supreme Court in the next few days. The memorandum urges the Court not to review the ruling, by the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, in New Orleans.

In the case, a man who worked at a music store in Houston saw his maximum benefits cut to \$5,000 from \$1 million after he developed AIDS and filed his first claims. His employer decided to serve as its own health insurer and so, unlike conventional providers of group health insurance, was able to avoid state insurance regulations.

Delay in Answering Case

The Supreme Court asked the Administration for its views on the politically charged case in March. Justice Department officials say they took longer than usual to respond because the case involved complex, sensitive legal issues; they also said the timing of their decision was not influenced by the Nov. 3 elections.

Over the last few months, many organizations lobbied the Justice Department, saying Mr. Starr should urge the High Court to reverse the lower court ruling. The ruling said that employers may, under a 1974 law, sharply cut insurance coverage for employees with AIDS and other costly illnesses like cancer and Alzheimer's disease.

The American Medical Association, the American Hospital Association, the United States Conference of Mayors, the American Association of Retired Persons, the American Bar Association and the National Commission on AIDS, a Federal advisory committee created by Congress, all sent letters to Mr. Starr saying that the appeals court ruling was wrong as a matter of both law and policy.

Sharp Dispute Over Case

They said the appeals court ruling would aggravate a major social problem by allowing employers to curtail health benefits for people with serious illnesses, thus adding to the ranks of the 35 million Americans without health insurance.

There was a sharp dispute between Federal agencies over what to tell the Supreme Court, said Government lawyers who spoke on the condition of anonymity. The Labor Department, for

Continued on Page A18, Column 3

U.S. to Argue Employers Can Cut Health Coverage

Continued From Page A1

instance, which regulates employee benefit plans, supports the appellate court ruling. The department contends employers will be less willing to offer health insurance if they cannot protect themselves against future costs by cutting benefits.

But the Department of Health and Human Services opposed the appeals court ruling, saying it subverted the whole concept of insurance. It warned that if companies renege on their insurance commitments, they can undermine the system of private health insurance on which two-thirds of all workers depend.

President Bush has stoutly defended the private insurance system against calls for a program of national health insurance financed by the Government.

Solicitor General Starr resolved the interagency dispute in favor of the Labor Department. He concluded that the appeals court decision was a correct interpretation of the 1974 law, the Employee Retirement Income Security Act. That law lays down ground rules for the growing number of employers who serve as their own health insurers, and it gives them wide latitude in deciding how to design their coverage.

Justice Department officials said the White House was not involved in the

decision.

Dr. Raymond Scalettar, chairman of the board of the American Medical Association, said today: "We are very disappointed with the Solicitor General. We really need to get the appeals court decision reviewed. Patients are being lacerated and coverage diminished."

The original plaintiff, John W. McGann, died in June 1991, but a lawyer for his estate, Thomas B. Stoddard,

The Justices will be urged not to review a case on cutting benefits.

voiced anger at the Administration's position. "Americans, especially those covered by self-insurance plans, ought to be outraged," he said in an interview.

Most big companies have assumed the financial risk of health insurance for their employees and use their own assets to pay claims. More than half of all employees in the United States now work for such self-insured companies,

but many workers are not aware of it, because a regular insurance company handles the paperwork.

More and more companies are dropping conventional group health insurance in favor of self-insurance because there is virtually no state regulation of such plans and a self-insured company is exempt from state taxes on insurance premiums.

Acknowledging the Hardship

Administration officials acknowledge that the 1974 law can cause hardship for people like Mr. McGann. But, they said, Mr. Starr will tell the Supreme Court that the AIDS case is not worthy of its review because there is no conflict among Federal appeals courts on how to interpret the law.

In addition, the Justice Department will argue that Mr. McGann's lawyers did not produce enough evidence to support their claims, and that in any event a new law has changed the legal landscape.

That law, the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, generally prohibits discrimination against disabled people. But it does not apply to the events in Houston, which occurred in 1988, and it is not clear how the statute applies to health insurance because Congress, unable to agree on that complex question, purposely left the law ambiguous.

Mr. McGann and his lawyers argued that the H & H Music Company of

Houston had discriminated against him because he filed a claim for an AIDS-related illness. The appeals court, however, said that a self-insured employer has "an absolute right to alter the terms of medical coverage available to plan beneficiaries."

To help achieve universal access to health care, the American Medical Association, like Gov. Bill Clinton, the Democratic candidate for President, contends that the Government should require employers to provide insurance for their employees.

But, said Dr. Scalettar, "If we are going to have employer-mandated benefits, as the A.M.A. wants, we have to see to it that benefits are really available and not changed as disease status changes."

Kirk B. Johnson, senior vice president and general counsel of the association, said that if the High Court does not agree to hear the Houston case, "we will find another case and try to create the kind of conflict between circuits that will make Supreme Court review likely."

The appeals court in New Orleans said that nothing in the 1974 law prevents an employer from slashing coverage of AIDS while continuing to cover other catastrophic illnesses, "even though the employer's decision in this respect may stem from some 'prejudice' against AIDS or its victims generally."

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1992

THE AD CAMPAIGN

Clinton: Taking Aim at 'Trust'

The Clinton campaign began broadcasting this 60-second commercial yesterday. It will be used for about a week in 20 markets, but officials would not specify which markets.

ON THE SCREEN Black and white still photos of Mr. Clinton's hometown, childhood and early years, interspersed with color film of a relaxed candidate in an open shirt reminiscing.

Includes film of Mr. Clinton meeting President John F. Kennedy at the White House. Ends with a beaming Mr. Clinton holding a baby.

PRODUCER Clinton/Gore Creative Team.

SCRIPT *Clinton*: "I was born in a little town called Hope, Ark., three months after my father died. I remember that old two-story house where I lived with my grandparents. They had very limited incomes.

"It was in 1963 that I went to Washington and met President Kennedy at the Boys Nation Program.

"And I remember just, uh, thinking what an incredible country this was — that somebody like me, y'know, had no money or anything, would be given the opportunity to meet the President.

"That's when I decided that I really could do public service, 'cause I cared so much about people. And I worked my way through law school, with part-time jobs, anything I could find.

"After I graduated, I really didn't care about making a lot of money. I just wanted to go home and see if I could make a difference. We've worked in education and health care, to create jobs, and we've made real progress.

"Now it's exhilarating to me to think that as President, I can help to change all our people's lives for the better, and bring hope back to the American



dream."

ACCURACY The ad has no obviously disputable facts, although no one but Mr. Clinton knows his motivations for entering politics.

SCORECARD This is taken from a much longer biographical film shown at the Democratic National Convention intended to make voters feel comfortable with Mr. Clinton, countering the Republican tactic of questioning his trustworthiness.

Its homespun images are aimed at creating a feeling that Mr. Clinton is a family man who cares about people and the country.

RICHARD L. BERKE

THE AD CAMPAIGN

Clinton: Attacking Bush's Record

The Clinton campaign began broadcasting this 30-second commercial yesterday. Officials said it would be used for about a week in 20 markets, but they would not say where.

ON THE SCREEN Opens with "1988" on a white background. Images of President Bush at public appearances four years ago, including the 1988 Republican convention.

After each statement by Mr. Bush, his image freezes and the narrator, whose words also appear on screen, disputes the President's remarks. Ends with the words: "We can't afford four more years."

PRODUCER Clinton/Gore Creative Team.

SCRIPT *Announcer*: "1988"
President Bush: "We will be able to produce 30 million jobs in the next eight years."
Announcer: "Under George Bush, more private sector jobs have been lost than have been created."

Bush: "And I am an environmentalist."

Announcer: "The Sierra Club says Bush allowed his Administration to, quote, 'gut clean air rules.'"

Bush: "I want to be the education President."

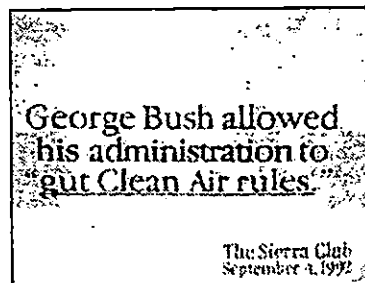
Announcer: "George Bush tried to cut college aid for families making over \$20,000 a year."

Bush: "I want a kinder and gentler —"

Announcer: "Uh-uh. We can't afford four more years."

ACCURACY Clinton campaign backs its arguments with statistics from the Bureau of Labor Statistics and House Budget Committee.

The Sierra Club has long criticized the Administration's environmental policies.



While it is true that the Administration sought to cut college aid for families making more than \$20,000, it also sought to provide more grant money for students with family incomes below \$20,000, a move welcomed by financial aid experts.

SCORECARD This commercial seeks to drive home a point the Democrats have emphasized in debates: that the economy is in trouble and another four years of the Bush Administration would not turn things around. The ad also seeks to portray Mr. Bush as not fulfilling his 1988 pledges. Making the President himself the central voice of the ad tends to disguise its harsh attack.

RICHARD L. BERKE

Al Gore

Gore Raises Volume of Attacks on Bush

By ISABEL WILKERSON

Special to The New York Times

LEXINGTON, Ky., Oct. 15 — Senator Al Gore escalated his attacks on President Bush today for his involvement in the Iran-contra affair and his dealings with Saddam Hussein in the months leading to the war with Iraq, comparing the gravity of both issues to Watergate.

In a speech before the National Conference of Editorial Writers here, Mr. Gore, the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee, sought to take the trust issue from the Republicans by creating doubts about the President's truthfulness and at the same time to chisel away at the Bush Administration's principal strength, foreign policy.

The attacks focused on what knowledge Mr. Bush had of the exchange of arms for hostages during the Ronald Reagan Administration, and what Mr. Gore said were "obsequious dealings" with Mr. Hussein in the days before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990.

"I think the President has a great many questions to answer about Iraq-gate," Mr. Gore said. "More every day."

'Coddled a Tyrant'

The Tennessee Senator suggested that Mr. Bush did not make clear to Mr. Hussein before the invasion what action the United States might take in response to Iraqi aggression. Mr. Gore said the Bush Administration had, in effect, "coddled a tyrant" with policies that, in effect, helped Mr. Hussein secure weapons and important technology.

The Administration subsidized an Iraqi arms build-up, Mr. Gore said, by guaranteeing agricultural loans. He argued that the backing freed up Iraqi money to buy weapons. Iraq's eventual default on the loans, he said, cost American taxpayers \$1.9 million.

"The President's luck is threatening to run out," he said. "Potentially disastrous embarrassment is overtaking him in the final weeks of the campaign."

President Bush has insisted that he was aware of the sale of arms to Iran but not that they were to be in exchange for hostages. He has said American contacts with Mr. Hussein before the gulf war were in an effort to get him "to join the family of nations."

Mr. Gore challenged President Bush to release documents, such as texts of his notes to Mr. Hussein, to clear up questions about his dealings with Iraq before it invaded Kuwait, and cables from April C. Glaspie, the American Ambassador to Iraq at the time.

He also called on Mr. Bush to clarify his role in the Iran-contra affair, and urged him to make public the testimony he gave to a panel investigating the scandal.

"I believe what we're seeing right now is George Bush presiding over a cover-up that is significantly larger than the Watergate cover-up," Mr. Gore said. "Watergate was described as a two-bit burglary. Iraq-gate, by contrast, includes the largest bank fraud in the history of America."

He noted similarities in timing of the fresh questions facing President Bush and those confronted by President Richard M. Nixon. "Remember that

the Watergate investigation began, like this one, in the fall of an election year, and, because it was in that time warp, was not seen in a clear perspective until many months later," Mr. Gore said.

"After the inauguration in January of 1973, as the evidence continued to unravel," Mr. Gore said, "the Nixon Administration became consumed with defending itself in the midst of that scandal. You are seeing the same thing happen right now with the Bush Administration except it is happening at a much faster pace."

He described an Administration

fighting itself with, in his words, "the Justice Department, the C.I.A. and the F.B.I. all arguing with each other, accusing each other of lying, arguing with the Federal courts, arguing with the Congress, accusing each other of not telling the truth, offering directly contradictory versions of it."

In response to questions, he said with the partisan confidence of a candidate leading the polls, that he did not think the matter would go as far as impeachment hearings because the Republicans would lose in November.

"I believe the American people, unlike in 1972, are going to render a different judgment," he said. "In the unlikely event it goes the other way, I think you would see this unravel in a way that absolutely consumes the Bush Administration."

It is a theme he sounded throughout the day during stops in Kentucky and Indiana, at state fairs and a barbecue.

Whether the dry citations of Middle East chronology has resonance outside the Beltway, however, is another matter. At a rally at the Moonlite Bar-B-Q in Owensboro, Ky., when Mr. Gore's speech turned to grain subsidies to Iraq and to Mr. Bush's role on the Iran-contra affair, the faithful sitting on bales of hay started murmuring and looking at their shoes, waiting for a zinger they could cheer to.

They seemed to prefer Mr. Gore's one-liners like, "The only time they talk about your jobs is when their jobs are on the line."

Bryant Scott, a steelworker who came to see Mr. Gore, seemed overwhelmed by all the Iran-contra-Iraq-gate charges, not that he doubted they might be true. "There's something wrong," Mr. Scott said. "I don't know what, but something's wrong. There's too much stuff going on with Bush. We just need to start helping the middle class. We've been hurting too long."

As Mr. Gore stepped up his attacks on President Bush's judgment and character, he also more vigorously defended those of his running mate, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, than he did during the Vice-Presidential debate on Tuesday.

"Bill Clinton has told the truth," Mr. Gore said at the editorial writers' conference. "George Bush refuses to tell the truth. More questions are raised every day about George Bush's official conduct, the decisions he made, the refusal to be candid with the American people."

Mr. Gore stood up for Mr. Clinton's visits to Russia, saying that travel and learning "are part of what being a college student is all about."

At times his speech turned both cocky and caustic as he appeared to step out of his cautious debate persona. He called Mr. Bush's campaign tactics "the big lie." He said the tactics were "highly amoral and deeply sinister." He said that "desperation has set in and desperate measures are now in order in the Bush Administration."

And he mocked President Bush's honesty to make his point about Governor Clinton's. "Attempting to present George Bush as a truth-teller is a bit like trying to sell a Porky Pig diet book," Mr. Gore said. "It's a difficult task at best."

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1992

On My Mind

A. M. ROSENTHAL

The Lost Moment

In the inspiring sweep and profundity of the great October Debates, I can see why the one moment that haunts me was lost, disappearing with no notice at all.

It could not possibly compete. It could not arouse the admiring chuckle-chuckle Ross Perot gets when he covers his face with that Will Rogers mask. It could not make us purse our lips in criticism of Al Gore for daring to be serious or President Bush for putting his hand in his pocket. And we had to consider the engrossing question: Was Bill Clinton really sincere when he denied being a liar and a traitor?

Still, since that moment concerns the lives of 16 to 20 million human creatures living in hell, it might be worth the moment or two of attention that it has not received.

It happened in the first Presidential debate. The issue was American relations with Communist China. That touches inescapably on the export of the products of the slave labor camps, which are an official and cen-

supposed to persuade Beijing not to export slave labor goods to America is just a gimmick that Beijing can use to cover up the vast slave labor industry. Among the people who think that are Chinese freedom fighters and members of Congress, both parties, left, right and center, who refuse to turn their back on them.

The "understanding" prettifies the whole vicious system by speaking only of "prison" labor as if it were all a matter of criminals decently convicted and decently kept in prisons where they had to earn their keep.

In reality Beijing exports goods ranging from shirts to diesel engines, made in camps specifically designed to be factories. Manpower costs are zero. Political prisoners, criminals and people just rounded up are sentenced in kangaroo courts to expandable terms. They labor dawn to dark, year after year, beaten and starved to meet killing quotas.

And when they are "released" millions are forced to remain on the site of the slave camps, continuing to work under virtually the same condition; an evil mockery of "freedom."

Representative Nancy Pelosi, the San Francisco Democrat and a perennial flower in the garden of Congressional human rights activists, states the moral truth: The very use of the term "prison labor" is a concession to Beijing.

Then: Beijing can decide which small part of its gulag falls within even the "prison" definition. Conveniently, most of the gulag is listed by Beijing, straight face, not as prisons but "reform through labor" camps. Institutions of self-betterment, kind of.

Exactly one member of the American customs service is permitted to be stationed in Beijing to look out for "prison" exports. Human rights or Red Cross groups remain barred from the camps.

Most sickening of all: The memorandum contains no denunciation of slave labor, calls for no changes, reforms or regrets. Nothing — no drop of water for the tortured.

The U.S. may not be able to pressure Beijing to eliminate slave labor because it is so central to Communist economics. We will not know until we try the economic penalties Congress and Governor Clinton support, and which Bushbaker keeps vetoing.

Until then I will buy shirts made elsewhere, where there is no chance that they are woven with blood and tears. □

China, slavery and the debates.

tral part of the Communist economy.

Mr. Rogers just skipped the slave labor thing, folks. He did say that while we should not cozy up to tyrants, remember that China one day would become our largest trading partner. And he announced usefully that China was a large country, broken into many provinces.

Mr. Clinton and Mr. Bush did deal with the matter. Unfortunately they both got it wrong. They gave a free pass to the slave masters.

The Governor has been strong and American in his condemnation of the Chinese Communists. His badge is Beijing's horror of his election. He has stood consistently with the democratic dissidents. Unlike Mr. Bush, he backs economic penalties to push Beijing into granting its subjects a few social and political decencies.

But in the debate, Mr. Clinton said Beijing had finally agreed to stop sending us products of prison labor, because the Administration was pushed into "doing something about it." Mr. Bush swiftly accepted credit.

The fact is that an August "memorandum of understanding" that is

Why I Trust Clinton

By David Rockefeller Jr.

As the Presidential campaign enters its final stage, we voters in the political center are beginning to rehearse our performance on Election Day. How do we plan to respond to a year of primaries, conventions, accusations, promises, public appearances, media commentary, debates and the opinions of those around us?

All of this must be reduced to a single choice on Nov. 3. What will sway us? The state of the economy? The trust issue? The "vision thing"?

To my mind, it is essential to ask whom we trust the most to guide the nation through the tumultuous choices and changes we face. And, when adjusting the trust caliper, it is imperative that we not only critique the past but also imagine the future.

Putting all this together, I have decided — as a father, a businessman and a supporter of public education reform — to cast my vote for Bill Clinton. I trust him to be the fair, strong and intelligent leader we need. Here are the reasons why.

Governor Clinton has demonstrated his commitment to America's real strength, its people, and to maximum development of the nation's human resources through education and training. He has worked effectively to develop his own internal capabilities. He knows what it takes to struggle against external odds, and he will be a champion of all citizens who face equivalent, or harder, challenges.

Furthermore, he has been at the forefront of school reform for more than a decade. When it comes to the intricate issues of systemic educational change, he understands the interlocking functions of technology, human development, school finance, educational equity and public commitment that must undergird any successful human resource policy.

Mr. Clinton recognizes the importance of rebuilding America's bridges — not only its much lamented physical infrastructure but, even more important, the bridges between people, communities and cultures. I trust him to pursue a course of policy and leadership that will draw on our differences

You have
to look at his
whole career.

while drawing us together.

I trust Bill Clinton to balance the forces of private and Government initiative during his administration so that he neither stifles our collective ingenuity nor erodes the vital tools of Federal power, whether it be the power to exhort or the power to tax.

We must elect a President who, with Congress, can move in the bold, consistent directions needed to rebuild our national self-confidence and to unshackle us from the enormous weight of our accumulated deficit.

I trust Governor Clinton to remind us of the need to make choices that go beyond "me now" to include "us later." This includes the need to forgo a quarterly dividend to promote investment in the corporate future, the need to rethink exceptional health care for the fortunate few in favor of quality health care for everyone, and the desirability of widening the path of opportunity for all, not just widening the gap between rich and poor.

I trust him to act on his understanding that a healthy environment and a burgeoning economy are not mutually exclusive.

I trust Bill Clinton to strike the kind of balance between short- and long-term goals the future demands, without shrinking from domestic leadership or global engagement.

I trust the Governor of Arkansas, regularly ranked at the top by his peers, to put to good advantage the power of the more fortunate while enhancing the powers of the less fortunate. He is a man who knows well the competitive game but who has not lost his compassion for the underdog.

In sum, I trust Bill Clinton to manage wisely — by which I mean to pick the very best team of associates, to listen, to challenge them and, ultimately, to decide and take the heat.

This last year of campaigning has been a particularly grueling test of the challenger. He has repeatedly demonstrated his ability to stay the course, to recruit and retain a first-class team of associates and, in the face of adversity, to insist on speaking to issues that will define America's future, not divide its electorate.

Ultimately, the issue of trust can be resolved only by looking at the totality of evidence regarding a candidate's character, public record, capacity to govern and vision for the future. Weighing all these issues, for me the choice is clear: Bill Clinton by a landslide in November.

David Rockefeller Jr. is chairman of Rockefeller Financial Services.

Quaylegate

By Mark Singer

What we have witnessed thus far in the Presidential and Vice Presidential debates is the spectacle of George Bush and Dan Quayle singing and dancing to tunes played by James A. Baker 3d, the White House chief of staff and chief executive of the re-election campaign.

Today, in the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, oral arguments will be heard in a lawsuit brought by Brett Kimberlin, a Federal prisoner now incarcerated in Memphis, Tenn. Twice in the final days of the 1988 Presidential campaign, Mr. Kimberlin was invited by reporters to discuss his allegations that in the early 70's he frequently sold marijuana to Dan Quayle, who was then a law student.

In each instance, before Mr. Kimberlin could speak, he was placed in detention on orders from J. Michael Quinlan, the director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. This was a unique episode; never before had a bureau director isolated an individual inmate.

Mr. Quinlan is now a defendant in Brett Kimberlin's lawsuit, which alleges that he was deprived of his First Amendment rights and that he was a victim of false imprisonment and illegal wiretaps. If Mr. Kimberlin, who was convicted of drug smug-

gling and possession of explosives, prevails, he could be entitled to punitive damages in the millions.

In 1988, as now, Mr. Baker commanded the Bush-Quayle campaign. Court documents show that discussions between the campaign and the Justice Department preceded Mr. Quinlan's actions. They also show that when Mr. Kimberlin's allegations first came up, Mr. Baker directed his staff to find out about Brett Kimberlin and to inform Dan Quayle

eral, has called Mr. Kimberlin "a political prisoner." Mr. Kimberlin's lawyers are free to subpoena Mr. Baker. It is possible he could eventually become a defendant in the lawsuit.

A key passage in the Levin report says, "At least one unidentified person from the campaign . . . telephoned the Bureau [of Prisons] directly to inquire about Kimberlin's media contacts."

If Mr. Baker was not that unidentified caller, he could at least unmask the person. The underlying issue in the affair is not drug abuse, it is the abuse of power. According to a high-placed Government official, who insists on anonymity, the Drug Enforcement Administration informed the campaign it had a file on Mr. Quayle containing allegations of cocaine use. The agency did this as a proper matter of course immediately after Mr. Quayle was nominated in 1988. When did James Baker first review the file? How did George Bush react when he learned about the file? Who said what to whom when?

President Bush has declared that during a second term Mr. Baker would become "the economic coordinator of all the domestic side of the house." This provocative prospect deepens one's desire for Mr. Baker to take the stage. Since he rejoined the Bush-Quayle campaign, he has been remarkably silent. He could address these questions directly, he could debate with himself, he could hum "I'm Confessin'," he could whistle "Dixie," he could entertain us however he pleases. In the words of the quotable Ross Perot, we're all ears. □

Who in the Bush campaign silenced Brett Kimberlin?

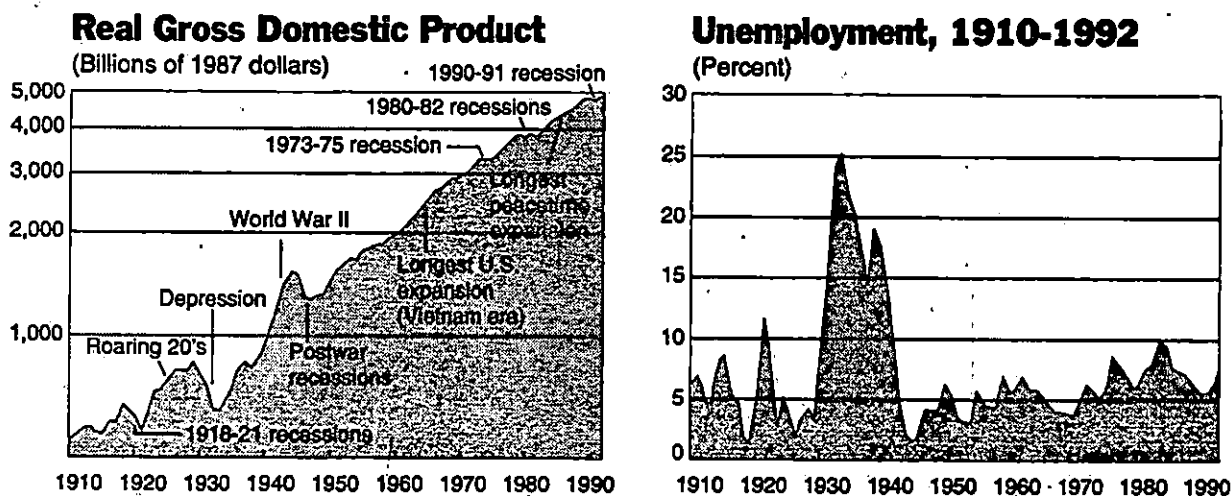
of the charges. Mr. Baker chaired staff meetings during which the Kimberlin matter was discussed, and he was notified of the detentions.

Federal District Judge Harold H. Greene has already ruled that there is "concrete" evidence that Brett Kimberlin's civil rights were violated and that the case should go to trial. A report issued earlier this month by Senator Carl Levin, Democrat of Michigan and chairman of the Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management, concludes Mr. Kimberlin was silenced for political purposes.

Similarly, Erwin N. Griswold, a Republican and a former Solicitor Gen-

Mark Singer is a staff writer for The New Yorker.

Economic Scare Stories



By Robert E. Hall
and John B. Taylor

P EOPLES perceptions about the economy affect elections and the policies of elected officials. The U.S. economy grew by 2 percent in the first half of this election year. That pace is not quite fast enough to reduce unemployment or improve perceptions about the economy. But in recent months, press reporting about the economy has become so pessimistic that it has completely lost touch with reality.

The view that America has had the slowest growth in 50 years has become gospel. The view that we are in — or soon may be in — a period as bad as the Depression is going unchallenged.

These views are gross distortions that serve to reduce consumer confidence and prevent Americans from understanding and dealing with the real problems they face. This pessimism raises fears that something is

Robert E. Hall and John B. Taylor are professors of economics at Stanford.

drastically wrong with our economic system and it could lead to destructive policies.

It is time for a reality check. Consider two simple charts.

The first one, on the left above, shows real gross domestic product — total output, adjusted for inflation — from 1910 to 1992. This is the most comprehensive measure of the overall economy. As shown, real G.D.P. fell by 30 percent in the Depression compared with a 1 percent decline from 1990 to 1991. (Real gross domestic product is estimated to increase about 2 percent from 1991 to 1992.)

In the last 30 years there have been many times when growth has been slower than it has been in the last few years. Although real G.D.P. fell in 1991, the chart shows that economic conditions were much worse during the four slow-growth years that began in 1978 and deepened into the 1980-82 recessions.

From the fourth quarter of 1978 through the fourth quarter of 1982, real G.D.P. did not grow at all: it was lower in 1982 than in 1978! By contrast, from the second quarter of 1988 through the second quarter of 1992, real G.D.P. grew 4 percent. Similar calculations can be made for longer or shorter periods. They tell the same story.

The chart also shows that we com-

pleted the longest peacetime expansion in U.S. history in 1990. Only the Vietnam War expansion in the 1960's lasted longer. Moreover, in the late 1970's and early 80's, interest rates and inflation were in double digits; today inflation and interest rates are lower than they have been for 30 years. Economists agree that low in-

Past recessions
have been worse.
Here's the record.

terest rates reduce the cost of capital and they stimulate investment and growth. They are a sign that the rest of the 1990's could be very good.

The second chart shows that unemployment rose to above 25 percent in the 30's. Unemployment reached 10.8 percent in the early 80's. The current rate is 7.5 percent.

Clearly it is a great distortion to think of the last few years as even remotely comparable with the Depression. Even the last recession was much worse. □

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1992

Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

The Rot of Corruption

BOSTON

At the end of this political campaign we are seeing what an overweening love of power can do to a President and to the institutions of government. We are seeing the rot of corruption.

That is the meaning of the almost daily disclosure of abuses by agencies of the Bush Administration: the C.I.A., the Justice Department, the F.B.I., the State Department, the Treasury. The institutions have been corrupted in the attempt to keep George Bush in office.

The Justice Department tried to smother a prosecution that would show how President Bush covertly helped Saddam Hussein before the Persian Gulf war. The C.I.A. and the F.B.I. were drawn into that sinkhole. High State Department officials broke the rules to search for Bill

oath on Iran-contra 450 times, or "some of them," whatever that means. He did so once, on Jan. 11, 1988, in a meeting with the staff of the independent counsel on Iran-contra, Lawrence E. Walsh.

From the moment the scandal broke, in November 1986, Mr. Bush said that he had not known arms were being sent to Iran in a trade for American hostages. He first learned that that had happened, he said, when he was briefed in December 1986 by Senator David Durenberger.

On March 13, 1987, Mr. Bush said: "I wish it with clairvoyant hindsight that I had known that we were trading arms for hostages, as the [Tower commission] report concluded, and then I would have weighed in very heavily with the President."

After the Couric interview Mr. Bush's counsel, C. Boyden Gray, said the President had not intended to say that he knew about arms for hostages. "I think he misinterpreted the question," Mr. Gray said.

But it was a simple, direct question, and Ms. Couric came back to it. How could it be "misinterpreted"?

What happened in that interview is clear. George Bush wanted to wriggle out of the unbelievable position he has taken on Iran-contra. He tried to obfuscate. He falsified his past words. He hoped nobody would remember, or care.

It all could have been different at the beginning of Iran-contra. Mr. Bush could have told the truth.

In a 1988 interview with Dan Rather of CBS, Mr. Bush said he was moved by the torture and death of one American hostage in Lebanon, William Buckley, a C.I.A. agent. He could have said that at the start: admitted that he was involved in trading arms for hostages, said it was done for humane reasons but turned out to be a mistake.

Instead he went down the path of lies. He has had to change the story again and again, as new documents have surfaced. One C.I.A. expert called Mr. Bush's performance "the rolling stone wall."

The Iran-contra story is a metaphor for George Bush's Presidency: sacrificing integrity to political ambition. It is Willie Horton, it is Mr. Bush's switch on abortion, it is the attempt to make something sinister of Bill Clinton's opposition to the Vietnam War.

In the end the process exacts its price. Like murder, corruption will out. □

Bush's abuses of government institutions.

Clinton's passport records in the hope of finding something wrong.

But the most devastating episode of recent days — devastating because of what it showed about personal character — involved the President himself.

Mr. Bush walked into the Blue Room of the White House, where Katie Couric of the NBC program "Today" was interviewing Mrs. Bush. Ms. Couric asked him about a subject that few journalists have had the courage to press with Mr. Bush: the Iran-contra affair.

"Did you have any knowledge of the Iran-contra arms for hostages deal while you were Vice President?" Ms. Couric asked. The President replied: "I've testified 450 times under oath, some of them, and our staff 3,500 that yes. . ."

Again a moment later Ms. Couric asked: "You knew about the arms for hostages?" Mr. Bush answered: "Yes, and I've said so all along, given speeches on it."

Those answers were astonishing. They conflicted with Mr. Bush's insistence over many years that he had no role in Iran-contra. And they conflicted with the facts.

Mr. Bush has not testified under

Why Things Are Looking Up for the Democrats

By WALTER GOODMAN

After years of exile amid the fleshpots of Republican Administrations, Ben J. Wattenberg seems to be going home to the Democratic Party. Or, as he prefers to characterize the situation, it has come home to him and other disaffected Democrats. "The Democrats, 1960 to 1992" — the first of two programs called "America's Political Parties: Power and Principle" — is his account of the ups and downs and, as he sees it, this year's up of Democratic fortunes.

Mr. Wattenberg, a newspaper columnist and television commentator who served in the Administrations of Lyndon B. Johnson and Jimmy Carter, identifies with the traditional Democratic coalition that was shattered by what he calls "the cause groups" that gave Senator George S. McGovern the Presidential nomination and, in Mr. Wattenberg's opinion, the resounding defeat of 1972. He says that to the blue-collar workers and others who had been the party's mainstay, the new Democrats seemed "too soft, too liberal, too permissive, too squishy."

Most of the program's news clips are familiar, and the interviews with such past and possibly future players as Mr. McGovern, Walter F. Mondale, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, Gary Hart and Geraldine Ferraro will knock no one off the couch. But the Wattenberg point of view — that of the alienated Democrats who created the Coalition for a Democratic Majority — comes through clearly enough.

For him, the 1992 Bill Clinton-Al Gore ticket represents a movement back to "opportunity, community, responsibility" that can once again appeal to Democrats who found them-

America's Political Parties: Power and Principle

The Democrats, 1960 to 1992

PBS, tonight at 9.
(Channel 13 in New York.)

Written by Ben J. Wattenberg, Todd Brewster, Michael Pack, Daniel B. Polin; Andrew Morreale, editor; Doug Abel, associate producer; Todd Brewster, co-producer; produced and directed by Michael Pack and Mr. Polin for Manifold Productions, in association with the South Carolina Educational Television Network and Great Projects Film Company; Kenneth Mandel and Mr. Polin, executive producers; David Gergen and Ben J. Wattenberg, hosts.

selves voting for Ronald Reagan and George Bush in the 80's. Mr. Wattenberg seems to take particular satisfaction in the way "Clinton stifled Jesse Jackson and the left."

Next week, David Gergen, who served in the Nixon, Ford and Reagan Administrations before ascending to "The MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour," gives his view of "The Republicans, 1960 to 1992," focusing particularly on the tension between moderates like himself and right-wingers like Pat Robertson and Patrick J. Buchanan. Tonight, he joins Mr. Wattenberg briefly for amiable chats, during which Mr. Gergen calls Mr. Clinton "a Reagan Democrat."

Paid for largely by conservative foundations, these accounts of the last 32 years of American politics from a centrist position should comfort those who criticize public broadcasting for a chronic tilt to the left. On that subject, I detect an effort by PBS to open things up this election season. Maybe the programmers are tired of being accused of being too soft, too liberal, too permissive, too squishy.

Anyway, no one can complain of a dearth of political programs. "The Democrats" is followed on Channel 13 tonight at 10 by "Move Over: Women and the '92 Campaign," which can be seen at 9 P.M. on Channel 49. On Sunday, at 10 P.M., CNN will show "The Battle to Lead: Bill Clinton of Arkansas," and on Oct. 25, it will pay similar attention to his opponent on "The Public Mind of George Bush."

"I am not a politician, but I think I could go to Washington in a week and get everybody holding hands."
— Ross Perot

"I am the only person up here who hasn't been part of Washington in any way for the last 20 years."
— Bill Clinton

"You can't turn the White House into the Waffle House. You've got to say what you're for."
— President Bush

'Oprah'-style debate fails to heat up

CLINTON LEADS, BUT . . .

Latest polls show President Bush is narrowing the gap.

ABC News
Clinton 44%
Bush 37%
Perot 11%

CBS/New York Times
Clinton 47%
Bush 34%
Perot 10%

Terrance Group
Clinton 41%
Bush 35%
Perot 14%

* Margin of error for CBS poll is plus or minus 4 percentage points. Margin for Terrance Group is plus or minus 3 percentage points. Margin for ABC News is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

Bush may be closing the gap

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Nobody is quite sure what it is, but something may be closing the gap between Bill Clinton and George Bush.

The pollsters are wary of making much of the shifting numbers; one pollster says there's light at the end of the tunnel for the president but predicts he'll run out of time before he gets through the tunnel.

Nevertheless, a new poll for ABC News, released last night, shows the Clinton lead down to 7 percentage points. A week ago it was 12. Nightly tracking polls taken for internal consumption by the Republican campaign put the margin at 6.

With the polls' margins of error, such as 4 points in the ABC poll, the race could be even.

The reason, some pollsters say, is see POLLS, page A10



Ready for battle: President Bush, Ross Perot and Bill Clinton await audience questions as last night's debate begins at the University of Richmond.

Bush plays to Clinton's strength

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush made a surprisingly subdued effort to challenge Bill Clinton on his character and raising taxes last night in a second presidential debate that sounded more like a college seminar.

With the campaign nearing its final two weeks and Mr. Bush behind in many of the key states he needs to win, the president did not mount the aggressive offensive against Mr. Clinton that some of his strategists

ANALYSIS

had promised and many of his supporters had hoped.

But before the debate began, White House officials were indicating that Mr. Bush would opt for a "presidential" approach rather than being confrontational.

The president's high point was his closing statement in which, like Vice President Dan Quayle two nights earlier, he asked the voters whom

they would trust in an international crisis.

Independent candidate Ross Perot did not appear to dominate as he did in the first meeting, and his answers never specified what he would do to solve problems that confront the government. On several occasions, Mr. Perot rambled on with confusing answers that moderator Carol Simpson was forced to interrupt.

Republican leaders around the country wanted the president to do last night what Mr. Quayle did when

he ripped into Sen. Albert Gore, Mr. Clinton's running mate, in their debate on Tuesday.

But Mr. Bush faltered last night when he attempted to raise the character issue that has plagued the Clinton candidacy throughout the primary and presidential seasons.

The president again voiced his objections to Mr. Clinton's anti-war activities while a student abroad, but the Arkansas governor effectively blunted the move by suggesting that

see ANALYSIS, page A8

Character issue takes back seat

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush and Bill Clinton last night tangled over taxes, health care, education and character in the second presidential debate, while Ross Perot failed to offer specifics other than to promise to get the job done.

Fielding questions from 209 uncommitted voters at the University of Richmond, the three men built on the impressions they made during Monday's first debate — Mr. Bush reminding voters of his success internationally, Mr. Clinton focusing on the economy and Mr. Perot talking about leadership.

"Let me pose this question to America," Mr. Bush said at the end of the 90-minute debate, raising the specter of an international or domestic crisis. "If you were appointed to name one of three of us, who would you choose? Who has the perseverance, the character, the integrity, the maturity to get the job done? I hope I'm that person."

The president repeated his assertion that Mr. Clinton tries to appease everyone — on both sides of critical issues dealt with by the White House.

"You can't turn the White House into the Waffle House. You've got to say what you're for," he said.

Mr. Clinton reminded Mr. Bush of the high unemployment and low wages that occurred during his term, while taking a swipe at Mr. Perot's approach to problem solving.

"It is because we are in the grip of a failed economic theory," Mr. Clinton said, adding that the public does not want "just people saying 'I'm going to fix it.'"

The criticism did not stop the Texas billionaire from sticking to his theme, such as when he answered a question about health care.

"Anybody that's ever built a successful business will tell you, you op-

see DEBATE, page A8

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1992 *

The Washington Times

DEBATE

From page A1

(timize, optimize, optimize after you put something into effect. . . . There are people all over the federal government [who] if they could just touch it with a screwdriver, could fix it," he said.

The three candidates last night cast a faint shadow of the volatility that marked the faceoff of their running mates Tuesday — with a debate prone to broad explanations of problems and solutions and few specifics.

Unlike the first debate and a far cry from the vice presidential tussle, the encounter delved very little into the character issue. Mr. Bush raised the issue only twice — in response to a direct question on character attacks and during his closing statement.

The president had prepared a response to Mr. Clinton's line in Sunday's debate in which the Democrat accused Mr. Bush of using McCar-

thyite tactics and used the image of Mr. Bush's father, former Sen. Prescott Bush of Connecticut.

Last night, Mr. Bush said his father told him one thing when he was 18 and that was to tell the truth.

"I am deeply troubled by someone who demonstrates and organizes demonstrations in a foreign land when his country is at war. . . . that's what I feel passionately about," the president said, referring to Mr. Clinton's anti-Vietnam War activities while a student at Oxford University in England.

Mr. Clinton said he was "disturbed by the tone and the tenor of this campaign. . . . I'm not interested in his character. I want to change the character of the presidency."

The staggering size of the federal deficit was the focus for many questions and answers. One questioner asked Mr. Clinton if he would set specific deficit-reduction goals and then enter into a "legally binding contract" not to run again if he failed to meet them.

"I can't foresee all the things that will happen, and I don't think a pres-

ident should be judged solely on the deficit," Mr. Clinton said, refusing to take the pledge. "You'll have a shot at me in four years, and you can vote me right out if you think I've done a lousy job."

Mr. Bush, instead of defending or apologizing for the deficit that grew during his term, did make amends for the tax increase he approved in 1990 as part of the budget agreement with Congress. He said he needed tools to reduce the debt: a balanced budget amendment, a line-item veto and a taxpayer checkoff to allow Americans to use 10 percent of their taxes for deficit reduction.

And repeating an attack on the Clinton deficit plan he has made on the campaign stump, Mr. Bush said: "I don't see how you can grow the deficit down by raising peoples' taxes. You see, I don't think the American people are taxed too little. I think they're taxed too much. . . . Governor Clinton's program wants to tax more and spend more."

The deficit was Mr. Perot's favorite subject. He said it was the reason he was running for president. But he

neglected to outline the specific spending cuts or tax increases he would propose as president, an omission he has repeated in his television ad campaign. He touted several times a paid campaign ad for tonight and tomorrow to deal with solutions.

"Now, it's not the Republicans' fault, of course, and it's not the Democrats' fault. And what I'm looking for is who did it?" the billionaire independent candidate said, adding that the culprit could be found by lumping the two groups together. "Now the facts are, we have to fix it."

On trade, Mr. Perot was the most protectionist of the three and said he would take the recently initialed North American Free Trade Agreement, signed by Mr. Bush and supported by Mr. Clinton, and ensure it was a "two-way street."

"First thing you ought to do is get all these folks who've got these one-way trade agreements that we've negotiated over the years and say, 'Fellas, We'll take the same deal we gave you,'" Mr. Perot said. Without controls on trade, he said "there will be

a giant sucking sound going south."

Mr. Clinton said he would change the tax code to encourage businesses to modernize equipment and would stop a federal program that gives incentives to U.S. companies to open shops overseas.

Predictably, Mr. Bush heralded the trade agreement his administration produced. "The thing that's saved us in this global economic slowdown has been our exports," he said.

Mr. Perot said he would be a one-term president who wouldn't spend one minute of one day worrying about re-election. He said he wouldn't take any pay for the job.

To prepare for the debate, Mr. Bush spent nearly two hours yesterday morning in a final session with top aides at the Old Executive Office Building. Mr. Clinton has spent seven to 10 hours total getting ready for the event. And Mr. Perot got his hair cut, preparing in his barber shop.

The debate mirrored the style of televised town meetings that candi-

dates — especially Mr. Clinton — have used this year.

With a casual feel — more like "The Oprah Winfrey Show" than a traditional debate — ABC-TV reporter Carole Simpson wandered through the audience of 209 and solicited questions for the three candidates who sat on blue stools instead of standing at somber oak lecterns as before.

The Gallup Organization chose an audience from the Richmond area it said represented uncommitted voters nationwide. Miss Simpson could pick and choose those she wanted to offer questions and asked some on her own.

The face-off was the second of three debates that began Sunday with the three men in the classic format of three reporters and a moderator posing questions. Monday's final debate in East Lansing, Mich., will mix that approach with the often-raucous format of Tuesday's vice presidential debate, in which the candidates were allowed to question each other.

ANALYSIS

From page A1

they would have time to debate that issue in their third and final debate next Monday.

"We'll have a debate in four days and talk about the character thing," Mr. Clinton said, almost casually dismissing the president's attempt to reopen the issue that Mr. Bush has been attacking in his latest television spots.

There was no really new ground churned up by the candidates, as each of them continued to stick to familiar campaign themes, a scenario that played to Mr. Clinton's advantage as the frontrunner.

The fireworks that marked the

vice presidential debate were completely absent from last night's meeting in Richmond in which the candidates, especially Mr. Bush, did not seem to want to aggressively engage each other and challenge policies.

While Mr. Bush declared in his summation that he did not "want to raise taxes — I disagree with the other participants on that," he did not go after Mr. Clinton on his proposals to enact new government regulations and raise more than \$140 billion in taxes on businesses and the top 2 percent of taxpayers in the midst of a long economic downturn.

Mr. Bush looked presidential, relaxed, almost casual, but many of his answers to questions from the audience were vague and defused. Mr. Clinton appeared confident through-

out, reciting the 1-2-3 components of his proposals to deal with a variety of issues with his characteristic ease and authority.

With the president running consistently behind since the beginning of the general election campaign, and with Mr. Clinton's support holding firm for so long, there was little evidence that even a stronger debate performance by Mr. Bush would have moved the numbers enough to turn the electoral equation in his direction.

The latest CNN-USA Today matchup by the Gallup Poll, the oldest and the most respected of all the polling firms, shows Mr. Clinton leading Mr. Bush by 12 points, with Mr. Bush unable to break through the 40 percent mark and Mr. Clinton holding steady in 46 percent range.

Mr. Perot lags far behind.

The second of three nationally televised debates took place at a critical juncture of the campaign when Mr. Clinton was holding a strong lead over the president of anywhere from 6 to 13 points, with just 17 days to go until election day.

The third and final debate will take place Monday, two weeks before the election, though some Republican leaders were hoping that Mr. Bush would challenge Mr. Clinton to a fourth debate the day before the election.

For the last week-and-a-half the campaign has been effectively frozen by the unusual nine-day debating period which has kept the candidates off the road for much of that time while preparing for their face-

to-face showdowns.

While Mr. Bush, Mr. Quayle and a barrage of television spots have sought to make inroads into Mr. Clinton's lead by hammering away at his character for evading the draft, for organizing anti-Vietnam War protests abroad and for his economic plan to raise taxes, those attacks have made little discernible impact on Clinton's standing in the polls.

Mr. Bush turned in a generally weak performance in the first debate, as he was outduelled by Mr. Clinton and, surprisingly, by Mr. Perot who peppered his remarks with a litany of fiery one-liners that almost stole the show.

Mr. Clinton's strategy throughout the past two months has been to keep

the focus of his campaign on the nation's sluggish economy, counterpunch with Mr. Bush when necessary to rebut his charges, and avoid any real news that would detract from his central message.

Essentially, his strategists say, his plan is to let the clock run out, while portraying Mr. Bush's increasingly aggressive attacks on his character and his economic plan as the mark of a desperate politician who was going down to defeat.

For the most part, Mr. Bush's accusations and those of his surrogates have largely bounced off Mr. Clinton's candidacy, thanks in part to a pliant and friendly news media that has often gone out of its way to rebut many of the Bush campaign's charges in its reporting.

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

Mainstream Al

The Rev. Al Sharpton's third-place showing in New York's Democratic Senate primary gave the black activist new stature with party members.

So the state Democratic Party signed him up to lead a bus tour of New York City in which, as reported by the New York Daily News, he went out of his way not to mention two words: Bill Clinton.

"On the front seat of the bus, a fat roll of 'Clinton/Gore' stickers remained in the paper bag next to the doughnuts and a cooler full of sodas," the Daily News reported.

Said Mr. Sharpton: "We are going to have a program of accountability for Mr. Clinton."

Take a breath, Al

Al Gore, the Democratic vice presidential candidate, finally loosened up yesterday. He accused President Bush of "presiding over a cover-up significantly larger" than Watergate in his treatment of questions about Iraq and the Iran-Contra affair.

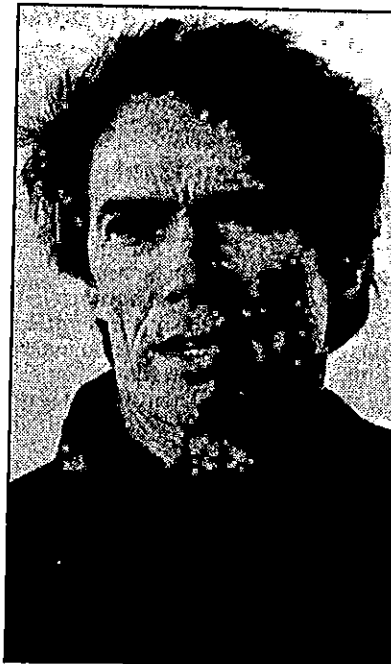
Speaking to the National Conference of Editorial Writers in Lexington, Ky., the Tennessee senator contended that these issues will do for Mr. Bush what Watergate did for President Nixon.

"I'm not using the word 'impeachment,'" Mr. Gore declared. "I said before there are 50 ways to leave the White House. That's one of them, but a much better one is the election November 3."

"Nonsense," Vice President Dan Quayle responded after being told of the accusation while campaigning in Owensboro, Ky.

Unforgotten

Speaking to Treasury Department employees, the former mayor of Carmel, Calif., said he was happy to be out of politics and indicated that the nation's fiscal problems may be beyond help from even a fistful of dollars.



Treasury workers were delighted to be in Clint Eastwood's "Line of Fire."

"I'd hate to have to be one of the people trying to solve the budget deficit," said the one-time Dirty Harry as he thanked the Treasury Department for its cooperation in making his new film, "In the Line of Fire."

Last weekend, he shot parts of the movie, including action scenes, in the Treasury building next to the White House. He plays a Secret Service agent near retirement who discovers a threat to the president.

The "Pale Rider" spoke to Treasury Department employees as part of a rally to encourage contributions to the federal employees' charity.

Clint Eastwood made their day.

Be gone, be good

Two staffers in Rep. Benighthorse Campbell's Senate campaign claimed to be routine callers this week as they needed his opponent, Republican Terry Considine, on a radio talk show.

Mr. Campbell's press secretary, Tom Smith was dismissed, and David Ward, the candidate's chief opposition researcher, was put on probation after their identities were uncovered by the Rocky Mountain News.

When the candidates briefly crossed paths Wednesday night at a dinner, Mr. Campbell said he was sorry: "Very simply, the young man is gone."

Party body decor

East Lansing, Mich., is really gearing up for Monday's final presidential debate there. A local firm makes fake tattoos and is setting up parlors to give townfolk elephants, donkeys or hearts marked "Clinton" or "Bush."

The company, U.S. Kids Inc., says it hasn't produced any of its temporary tattoos honoring Ross Perot. "We couldn't risk him dropping out of the race again," said co-owner Marilyn Fine.

As for our nonpartisan selves, we'll take something more traditional. Something in family values. Like "Mom."

Quotable

Mary Matalin of the Bush campaign told the New York Post that Mr. Clinton dyes his hair: "A beautician by training can always recognize false hair. My mother ran beauty schools, and I've been trained in this stuff since I was 11."

One unidentified senior Bush aide told the Los Angeles Times: "[The president] thinks he's going to win. He just thinks it's a strange election year, and all those polls that show him behind are kind of goofy and meaningless."

Report card

Nearly one voter in three gives Mr. Bush's campaign commercials a flunking grade. Nearly one in five says the same about Mr. Clinton's.

The Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press asked 826 registered voters whether they had seen Bush or Clinton ads on television and what grade they would give them as a convincing reason to vote for the candidate.

Sixty-six percent said they had seen ads for Mr. Bush and 59 percent for Mr. Clinton. Mr. Clinton's got an average grade of C. Mr. Bush's averaged a C-minus.

But 32 percent of those asked gave the Bush commercials an F and 19 percent gave the same failing grade to the Clinton ads. Fifteen percent gave Mr. Clinton's ads an A, compared with 7 percent for Mr. Bush's.

Finally, credibility

Honest Jim Boren, on the ballot in Arkansas as the presidential candidate of the Apathy Party, recently put on a radio spot directed at those who find themselves locked up in the state's correctional institutions.

He told the cons to tell friends and families on the outside about his candidacy and pledged support of "traditional political values such as lying, cheating, stealing and putting our hands in the pockets of the taxpayer."

The sage of Tahlequah, Okla., observes in another spot that he is running on the nation's first multiple-choice platform: "You merely check what you want me to be for and that's what I'll be for — as long as I'm with you."

— Alan McConagha

Talk-show format pre-empts attack by Bush

By Rod Dreher
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

America saw George Bush check his watch three times last night during the second presidential debate.

Maybe he was counting the days until he can pack up and head back to the hotel suite in Texas. One more session like last night's debate and it'll be a two-way race, with George Bush a distant third.

Bill Clinton and Ross Perot dominated the debate at the University of Richmond as the three candidates fielded 13 questions from an audience of 209.

The questioners had specific concerns about the deficit, the nation's infrastructure, gun control, congressional term limits, health care, Social Security, education and jobs, the New World Order.

Mr. Perot, typically, was long on criticism, short on solutions and marvelously colorful. Mr. Clinton was much more engaging and relaxed than in his performance Sunday night, and looked very presidential. Mr. Bush was merely relaxed.

We didn't hear much from the three candidates that we haven't heard before. Last night's debate will be judged on style.

TELEVISION

Mr. Bush went into this second of three debates desperately needing a dramatic performance. It's the top of the ninth inning, and the GOP slugger is choking.

The Democratic contender, on the other hand, scored consistently

We didn't hear much from the three candidates that we haven't heard before. This debate will be judged on style.

throughout the 90-minute session, providing specific, if at times wordy, answers. He stepped right up to questioners and looked them in the eyes.

The Arkansas governor seemed much more comfortable with the format, and in command, than did Mr. Bush and Mr. Perot.

Ironically, the audience itself may have short-circuited any plans Mr.

Bush may have had to lay into Mr. Clinton with attacks on his character.

Early on, two questioners specifically asked the candidates to talk issues, not sling mud and assault each other's characters. They all happily agreed, although the president said: "Character is part of being president. I think you have to look at it."

Had he pursued the draft issue, Mr. Clinton's anti-war activities and his student trip to Moscow in 1970, Mr. Bush might have been booed.

"I'm just as sick as you are," Mr. Clinton said at one point. "... I have to wake up every day and try to think how I'm going to defend myself."

"I'll take the pledge," said Mr. Perot, who was his usual Will Rogers self. He spoke plainly, using vivid images (the boy in Houston who kept a chicken in his bathtub in some sort of school-skipping scheme was the best).

The Texas billionaire was entertaining and even inspirational, but he sounds like he's running for a cross between a cowboy Diogenes and national cruise director, not president of the United States.

Talk shows obviously have played a leading role in this year's presidential race; last night, the phenomenon reached its pinnacle as a talk

ONE LEFT

Monday's presidential debate:
Who: President Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot.
When: 7-8:30 p.m.
Where: Michigan State University in East Lansing, Mich.
Format: Single moderator for the first half and a panel of questioners for the second.

show replaced the debate.

Some of the best lines:

Mr. Bush: "You can't turn the White House into the Waffle House."

Mr. Clinton: "This is not mud-slinging, it's fact-slinging."

Mr. Perot: "The fact is you have a government that comes at you instead of from you."

Some of the questions were vague and silly. Example: The fellow who nattered on wanting to know whether the candidates would be sensitive to our "needs" as their "children."

Still, Bill Clinton did what he had to do: reassure America and protect that lead. Ross Perot continued to be a curiosity but may have won a few more votes with his straight talk.

• Rod Dreher is the television critic of The Washington Times.



Photo by Don Preisler/The Washington Times

University of Maryland students gather last night in Hagerstown Hall's fifth-floor lounge in College Park for the presidential debate on TV.

'Vicious' debate doesn't excite students

By Matt Neufeld
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

There was far too much posturing and attacking and not enough attention to the issues in last night's presidential debate, said students at the University of Maryland at College Park.

"They don't seem very prepared for this debate. They don't seem very organized," said Matthew Nowlin, 19, an aerospace-engineering major from Dundalk. "It's very vicious. They seem to be anxious to make each other look bad."

A consensus among about 25 students gathered in the lounge on the fifth floor of the 35,000-student campus' Hagerstown Hall was that each candidate seemed to have high points and disadvantages.

"Clinton and Perot have been sort

of lashing out at the status quo: Perot in realistic terms, Clinton in political terms," said Todd Kolm, a 20-year-old junior from Silver Spring majoring in international business. "And Bush has been either defending the status quo or pushing the blame elsewhere. I think Perot's come out as more personable, but Clinton's been addressing the true issues."

"Bush, once again he's speaking from prepared notes, it seems. He seems to make the questions fit the answers he already has in mind," Mr. Kolm said.

"I think Bush keeps repeating himself over and over. He keeps harping on the same thing: Clinton's protest," said Chris Marquardt, 19, a sophomore music-education major from Pottstown, Pa. "I think he talks about that too much."

Miss Marquardt said she thought

Democrat Bill Clinton won the debate, but she said she supports President Bush because of his anti-abortion stance.

The students agreed that a subject very close to them — higher education — was not discussed enough.

"I know that particularly in this state, higher education has suffered," Mr. Nolan said. "I think it's definitely time to make it a priority in this country, and that will work out a lot of the other problems we have. A lot of resources are being wasted in this country."

"I think it needs to be discussed more," said Mr. Kolm, who said he saw Democratic vice presidential candidate Al Gore on campus recently and liked what he said about paying off student loans with community service.

Tony DeMarco, 18, a sophomore from Upper Marlboro majoring in physics and math, said that not only does higher education need to be discussed more, but "I think we need to start at the bottom education levels first, the lower levels."

The students seemed evenly split between Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton and were critical of independent Ross Perot.

"As usual he's got lots of one-liners, but I'm cynical," Frieda McAlear, 17, a freshman English major from Gaithersburg, said about Mr. Perot. "I'm reluctant to trust in him because he's not being specific enough."

Many students disliked moderator Carole Simpson. They said many of her comments were biased and her asides unwarranted.

Action on Clinton files wasn't at high level, State says

By Martin Sieff
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The State Department yesterday blamed unnamed "low-level officials" for seeking to speed up requests to release Bill Clinton's passport and visa files.

"Notations [to expedite the requests] were made by low-level people working on the cases, trying to reflect the urgency which the requesters in the media had placed on their requests," said Richard Boucher, the department spokesman. "They were not done with any instructions [from above]."

His explanation came as the administration sought to deflect charges that it tried to use the files to attack the patriotism of Mr. Clinton,

the Democratic presidential nominee whose activities as a Rhodes scholar in 1969 have been under attack by Republicans.

Five State Department officials spent more than an hour yesterday with staff on House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations committees explaining how mistakes occurred in the handling of the Clinton files.

"I think they answered most of the questions," said one Republican aide. "But I don't think we got all of the story. They clearly were nervous and testy."

Mr. Boucher, speaking at the daily department briefing, said expedited handling of Freedom of Information Act requests is allowed only if a delay would cause a violation of consti-

tutional rights or if a citizen faced the possibility of injury or death.

"Those circumstances clearly did not apply in these cases," Mr. Boucher said.

He said State Department lawyers had detected the error in the handling of the Clinton files and had informed Consular Affairs that they were not justified in speeding up processing of the files.

"When the notations came to the attention of some of the lawyers, they in fact caught those and ... called downstairs to the Freedom of Information Office and said: 'That's wrong. You shouldn't be moving these expeditiously. The grounds aren't met,'" Mr. Boucher said.

The State Department confirmed Wednesday that Elizabeth Tanposi,

assistant secretary of state for consular affairs and a Republican political appointee, had taken personal charge of the records search for the Clinton files in response to requests from the news organizations.

State Department officials, describing their reasons for initially calling for an investigation of Mr. Clinton's files, said senior officials in the department believed the consular records had indeed been tampered with.

However, they did not take exception to an FBI investigation that found no evidence of tampering.

One document appeared to have been ripped out of one file leaving only a small corner of it still there, said a State Department official,

speaking on condition of anonymity.

A second document had empty staple holes; apparently indicating a photograph or other document had formerly been attached there, the official said.

Department officials had been alerted to the possibility that the file had been tampered with when they found it sticking out in its drawer instead of being correctly replaced, the official said.

The apparent evidence of file tampering appeared so serious that State Department Inspector General Sherman Funk was informed of the incident, according to Mr. Boucher.

"The inspector general agreed [with the possibility that there may

have been tampering] and recommended we send it over to the FBI," Mr. Boucher said.

"They had several indications of possible tampering," the spokesman said. "The inspector general agreed and others agreed that there was a possibility that the file had been tampered with and ... recommended that it ought to be checked out by the FBI. And, indeed, that's what happened."

"The FBI later concluded in its investigation that there was no evidence material had been removed from the file, or that it had been tampered with in any other way," Mr. Boucher said.

• Paul M. Rodriguez contributed to this report.

The exchange between Vice President Dan Quayle and Sen. Al Gore (Adm. James Stockdale was sadly out of place) was interesting in what it told us about the participants and their relative skills, and interesting in what it tells us about the lamentable shape of political debate. Here is what the public could reasonably conclude:

(1) That Dan Quayle is considerably transformed from the Dan Quayle who took on Sen. Lloyd Bentsen four years ago. He was fast on his feet, aggressive, resourceful.

(2) But the public was steered by Mr. Quayle into a very sticky corner, and it is just possible that the majority of those who listened to his principal argument are not going to like its implications, not at all. What the vice president said not once but four times was that Bill Clinton has not established that he is fit to serve as president of the United States.

Now there are problems with taking that position. The first of them is that Mr. Clinton has the Democratic nomination. He fought and won in primaries against sundry opponents and ended by defeating them all. His infelicitous personal record has been inspected more often than a space shuttle, and whatever loose nuts and bolts the people found there, they nevertheless declared first in the primaries, then at the convention in New York City, then to the pollsters, that Mr. Clinton is the man they want as president.

So what Mr. Quayle found himself having to say is that the person the American people as of this moment desire to see move into the White House isn't qualified to serve in the White House.

And then in making his case for the disqualifications of Mr. Clinton, Mr. Quayle relied on preposterous historical arguments. He told the public that when a president deals with foreign leaders, they have to trust that president, and how is this possible, given that Mr. Clinton has lied or dissembled about his draft

William F. Buckley Jr. is president and editor at large of National Review and a nationally syndicated columnist.

Sticky corners and unspoken logic

The one thing poor Vice President Quayle couldn't say is what the logic of his argument leads him to: The Democratic nominee, Mr. Clinton, is a mess, and the American people are about to vote in a mess as president of the United States.

record, his activities as a student demonstrator in England, etc.?

But a kindergarten knowledge of history teaches us that foreign leaders only occasionally keep their promises. There are 20 broken treaties for every treaty that has survived. Franklin Roosevelt broke his word with the American people about staying out of World War II; John Kennedy broke his word to the Cuban people; Richard Nixon broke promises made by JFK, Lyndon Johnson and Nixon himself to stand by the people of Vietnam. George Bush broke his implicit and explicit word to Iraqis whom he urged to rise up against Saddam Hussein.

The record of broken promises takes us past Charles de Gaulle and the Algerians to the Allied powers and Poland. Nobody ever said that Cardinal Richelieu made his reputation by keeping his word. And anyway, at a level Mr. Quayle has to live with, the word of George Bush on the matter of taxes was never bankable.

(3) The public was left to decide between the platitudes exchanged—which were the most shallow? Mr. Gore is in love with the denunciation of "trickle-down economics." Why?

Seven blocks from where I live there is a store whose florid markings are now tatterdemalion, but you can still make them out: "TCBY" The Country's Best Yogurt. Two years ago a couple financed the lease of the space, and the license to sell TCBY frozen yogurt. The investment (a conjecture) was in the neighborhood of \$120,000. Four employees were hired. Fourteen months later, it closed down. If the volume of business had been 20 percent higher than it was, the entrepreneurs would have made enough money to pay the rent, pay the bank and maintain their license. And if they had succeeded, their four employees would still be at work. And Democrats call that, disdainfully, "trickle-down."

It would have been refreshing if Mr. Quayle had asked Mr. Gore to give us an example of "trickle-up" economics. It can be defined only as the government getting into the business of selling frozen yogurt.

If Mr. Quayle wants to pin Mr. Clinton to the wall, why doesn't he talk about Mr. Clinton's miserable record on the matter of Supreme Court justices, whom he is on record as believing should be free of litmus-test selection, but believes now must be consecrated to the cause of free abortions, for those babies that slip by the free condoms that must be provided in those free schools to which Americans must send their children because they would not under a Clinton administration be permitted to put in for a voucher to go to a private school?

The one thing poor Mr. Quayle couldn't say is what the logic of his argument leads him to: Mr. Clinton is a mess, and the American people are about to vote in a mess as president of the United States.



There must be someone who trusts Bush and Quayle

Who do you trust? Funny George Bush and Dan Quayle should ask that in the debates. There must be someone who trusts them. Who could it be?

Not our children. In the first debate, Bush took credit for our kids being unafraid of a nuclear attack. Big deal. Hasn't he noticed kids are dying on our deadly, crime-infested streets? Why isn't the GOP tough on crime?

Children are our largest poverty group: 5½ million hungry, 500,000 homeless. Why hasn't Bush fought child poverty with the gusto he showed Saddam Hussein?

Not the "working man," who Bush pledged to protect Sunday. Last year, in the



BARBARA REYNOLDS
COLUMNIST

midst of a recession, Bush vetoed an extension of jobless benefits and, in 1989, vetoed a minimum-wage raise while

fighting for capital gains tax cuts for the rich. Bush didn't mention working women, although nearly 70% of U.S. women work and make 71 cents for every dollar men earn.

Not all whites. From 1989 to 1991, whites fell into poverty faster than blacks. Today, more whites than blacks are lifted out of poverty by taxpayers, says a newly completed study, *White Poverty in America*.

Not most blacks. Bush's fight against the civil rights bill, his choice of Clarence Thomas for the Supreme Court, his neglect of cities and his recent slap at Magic Johnson are no-nos.

Not women: Not after harping on family values, vetoing the family leave bill and supporting the GOP platform, which rules out abortion even after incest or rape.

Not the ethically minded. After six years of denying that he knew arms were traded for hostages in the illegal Iran-contra deal, Bush finally said he knew all along on the Today show Wednesday.

Also, the current *Village Voice* says hundreds of millions of dollars of taxpayer-backed funds were ripped off from S&Ls and went to benefit Bush's Houston pals, the GOP and the Mafia. The *Voice* says that as veep, Bush was personally involved in

blocking a federal probe of a Florida S&L that cost the taxpayers millions.

Sadly, on some issues, Bush's opponents also fall short. In the first debate, it was clear that the millions of impoverished Vietnam veterans, homeless people and supporters of affirmative action should trust none of them — yet.

None mentioned their concerns. And when a question was asked about Bosnia and Somalia, like self-centered white guys they dismissed the African half of the question.

But it is Bush who keeps talking about trust. Who trusts George Bush? Clearly, there must be someone.

Today's debate is on **LIMITING TERMS** of Congress and whether state laws are necessary to ensure turnover.

Say no to term limits; voters can handle the job

OUR VIEW Voters should turn their backs on term limits if they want to hang on to their clout over Congress.

Before the term-limit train barrels too far down the track, someone ought to figure out where it's headed.

Not where the dreamers who have been stoking its engine in state after state might hope.

Not to a glorious new kind of Congress, steeped in courage and freed from special interests. And not to a blissful era in which voters wield newfound electoral clout.

Fourteen states will have initiatives on the ballot Nov. 3 to limit terms for U.S. senators and representatives, the most states ever to decide on a single issue. Most of the measures are expected to pass, the culmination of growing frustration with an entrenched, sluggish, scandal-ridden Congress.

Too bad. The electoral system has been busy proving just how unnecessary term-limit measures are.

Retirements, primary defeats and re-

districting will remove 90 House members and eight senators without any law telling them their time is up. Voters likely will push that number far higher.

During the Reagan years alone, there was a 60% turnover in House membership, and there's been a 75%-80% turnover since the mid-'70s.

With that kind of electoral clout, who needs term limits?

Not the voters, who now enjoy not only the right to oust members who don't measure up but also the power to keep those they like. Oddly enough, despite their sour mood about Congress, most people think their representative is doing a good job, according to polls.

If term limits were law, Congress would be cheated of the experience and wisdom only lengthy tenure can teach.

And where would an always-amateur congressional crew turn to learn the ropes? To those with more savvy — the very lobbyists, special interests and unelected professional staff whose influence term-limit fans hope to diminish.

New term-limit laws are unnecessary and could prove dangerous.

Far better to use the term-limit tool that's well-tested — the vote.

ELECTION '92

An occasional series

Voters turned on, tuned in

On another subject, USA TODAY notes reasons for the rise in political interest this year.

Former Atlanta mayor Andrew Young says more people in his town were interested in the Atlanta Braves' baseball game Tuesday than in the vice presidential debate a few miles away.

That may be true in Atlanta but not in most places. The debate drew 76 million viewers, up 12% from four years ago.

Last Sunday, with the presidential debate going head-to-head against the American League baseball playoffs, viewers chose the politicians, 4-1.

More than half of all TV sets turned on showed Round 1 of Bush vs. Clinton vs. Perot. The Oakland-Toronto game, featuring one of the most dramatic comebacks in playoff history, drew 13%.

Those are mind-numbing numbers.

Joe and Julie Sixpack, we're told, are turned off by politics. 1988 voter turnout was 57.4%, down from 59%-60% in

the three previous presidential elections.

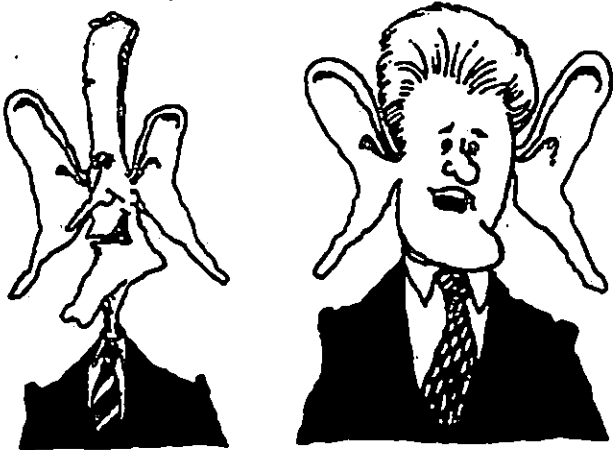
Could it be that the pols have broken through to Joe's and Julie's world?

This is the year candidates brought themselves into living rooms via Donahue, Arsenio Hall, MTV and Larry King. Some pundits complained they were groveling. If so, it's the kind of groveling that the book-publishing and movie industries — to name just two — long have understood reaches the audiences necessary to sell their products.

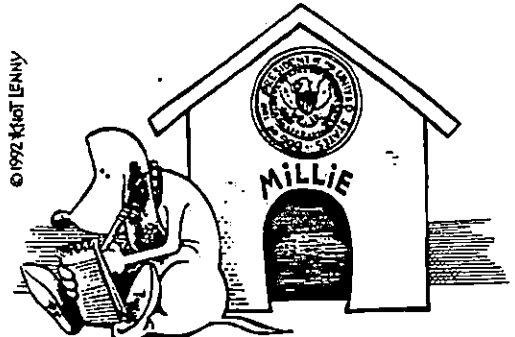
Viewers, intrigued by a candidate on a mass-appeal show, were primed to tune in the debate — another episode, if you will, in a soap opera. Fittingly, Thursday's debate mimicked the TV call-in format.

If more people vote this year, the economy will be cited as a legitimate reason. But some credit should go to the Donahues and Larry Kings and the handlers who put their candidates there.

BUSH AND CLINTON PREPARE FOR THE NEXT DEBATE:



Signe Wilkinson, Philadelphia Daily News, Cartoonists & Writers Syndicate



"DEAR MR. CLINTON, I AM ENCLOSED MY RESUME..."

Kevin Sprague/Knot Lenny Cartoons



THE DEBATE?
HE THOUGHT PEROT
WAS SUPER!
WE LOVE HIS SPUNK,
HIS CANDOR, AND
HIS COMMON-SENSE
APPROACH TO
PROBLEM-SOLVING.

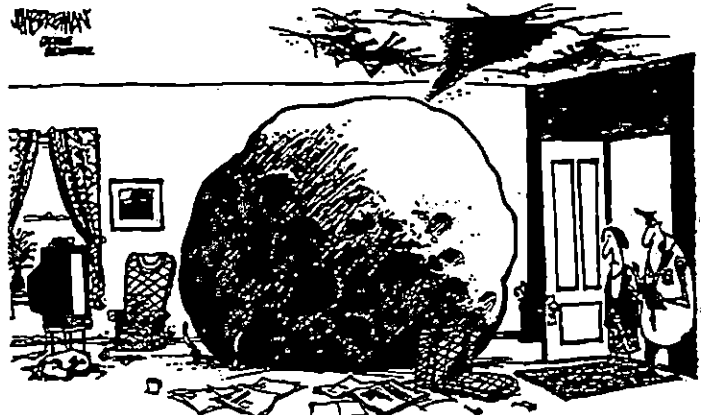
ABSOLUTELY!

AND NOW
WILL YOU
VOTE IN
NOVEMBER?

BUSH.

CLINTON.

Steve Keley, The San Diego Union-Tribune, Copley News Service



"WELL, MAM, AT LEAST THE POOR DEVIL WON'T HAVE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN BUSH, CLINTON AND PEROT LIKE THE REST OF US..."

Jim Borgman, The Cincinnati Enquirer



"I WANT TO ASSURE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT I WANT OVER TO MOSCOW IN 1969 TO PICK UP CHICKS..."

Bob Jorgensen, Extra Newspaper Features



Rob Rogers, The Pittsburgh Press, United Feature Syndicate

Clinton Studies Plan to Cut Tax, Speed Spending

By JAMES RISEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton, fearful the economy could remain in a slump next year, is considering an accelerated recovery program calling for additional federal spending and expanded tax cuts if he wins next month's election, his advisers said Thursday.

Clinton has asked his senior advisers to study ways to restructure his proposed economic agenda, the centerpiece of his campaign to unseat President Bush, by applying extra fiscal stimulus early next year while deferring deficit reduction until the economy is stronger.

The strategy under discussion within the Clinton camp would involve "front-loading" Clinton's proposals for new federal spending on roads, bridges and other infrastructure improvements in an effort to begin creating jobs in early 1993. His advisers said they also are studying the merits of expanding his proposed business tax credit for investments in new plants and equipment during the first year of a Clinton Administration.

"There is a broad consensus [within the Clinton camp] that, if the economy is still dead in the water by January, something needs to be done . . . some short-term strategy will probably be needed," said Robert Reich, a professor at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

Please see **ECONOMY, A7**

ECONOMY: Clinton Weighs New Plan

Continued from A1
ty and a key Clinton economic adviser.

Senior aides stress that Clinton will not make a decision on whether to adopt a more stimulative economic package until after the Nov. 3 election. Although his economic advisers are leaning toward a more stimulative program, they have not yet made a formal recommendation.

An accelerated recovery program might prove popular with voters concerned about the sluggish pace of the economy, but it carries considerable political risks. Any plan that relies on spending increases or tax reductions would run up the federal deficit, and Clinton already has drawn fire from critics who contend that he is not serious about deficit reduction.

Sensitive to those charges, Clinton's advisers said he remains committed to his original target of cutting the deficit in half over four years. That goal could still be achieved even if he agrees to an accelerated stimulus package, they insisted, by making proportionate reductions in the spending and tax provisions later in a four-year term. The commitment to scale back the program during the "out years" would be ironclad, they said.

"Gov. Clinton doesn't want to send out irresponsible signals; he wants to make it clear that he is concerned about the deficit," said Gene Sperling, economic policy director for the Clinton campaign.

Still, some experts worry that an accelerated stimulus package would destroy Clinton's credibility on deficit reduction. Any pledge to make up for the budget shortfalls in later years would sound like traditional Democratic rhetoric to skeptics. The prospect of rising deficits could frighten the financial markets, leading to higher long-term interest rates.

"It is very, very difficult to be credible on deficit reduction when you are saying you are going to do it down the road," noted Rudolph Penner, a former director of the Congressional Budget Office.

"I would approach any stimulus package with a great deal of caution," House Budget Committee Chairman Leon E. Panetta (D-California) said. "It has to be linked to a definite deficit reduction plan. And even then, once you open this up, you are going to have a tremendous amount of pressure

in Congress to do a lot of other things as well. You could lose control."

Clinton and his advisers have been privately discussing stimulative options for months, but the debate within the Clinton camp has taken on new urgency as it has become clear that the recovery is proceeding slowly, if at all.

After picking up steam earlier in the year, economic growth slowed to an annual rate of only 1.4% during the second quarter. The current consensus forecast among economists is 1.8% growth this year and 2.7% in 1993, significantly less than the historic rates recorded during periods of recovery. Many analysts say the economy needs to expand at an annual rate of 3% or more before the nation's stubbornly high unemployment rate will subside.

With President Bush still behind in the polls and the prospect of a Clinton presidency increasingly likely, the Democratic nominee and his advisers have begun to worry about the shape of the economy next January.

The sluggish pace of economic growth despite repeated interest rate reductions appear to have convinced many of Clinton's closest advisers, along with many mainstream economists, that the government may need to provide a stimulative jolt to get the nation moving again.

Fiscal stimulus, in the form of increased federal spending or temporary tax reductions, traditionally has been one of the most effective means to fight recession. But Washington has been reluctant to open the spigots during the current slump because doing so would increase a federal budget deficit already expected to reach about \$300 billion this year.

For months, the Clinton camp has sought to strike a delicate balance between the conflicting policy demands of economic recovery and deficit reduction. While attacking Bush for his failure to take more aggressive action to end the recession, Clinton has been careful to portray himself as a new kind of Democrat, one who takes the deficit issue seriously. He has sought to fend off Republican charges that he is a traditional "tax-and-spend" liberal.

Even within the Democratic Party, Clinton has faced conflicting advice over whether to focus on recovery or deficit control. "We have been getting pulled in two directions, by those who argue we

should do deficit reduction faster and others who say we should get the economy going," Sperling acknowledged.

But as signs of a flagging recovery have mounted, Clinton and his advisers appear to have been moving toward a strategy that would make economic stimulus their top priority, with deficit reduction to be tackled later.

"Obviously, you can't do everything right away," said Derek Shearer, an economist at Occidental College in Los Angeles and another Clinton adviser.

"As the economy has continued to be weak, he [Clinton] has spent more time studying the dilemma of how you balance recovery and deficit reduction," Sperling said. "He is very interested in these ideas."

On the campaign trail, Clinton has offered some hints about his thinking, arguing that the nation really faces two deficits. Besides the chronic budget shortfall, he cites the need to address an equally serious "investment deficit."

Clinton has argued that a sharp decline in public and private investment in recent years has limited the growth in American productivity, undermining employment opportunities and threatening the nation's long-term prosperity. He has said a single-minded focus on the budget deficit ignores the need for the government to address the investment deficit, through a combination of public works programs to upgrade the nation's infrastructure and tax incentives for business to build new plants and hire new workers.

Until recently, however, Clinton did not appear willing to take the next step of considering a short-term stimulus package that would take precedence over deficit reduction. But in the first presidential debate Sunday, his advisers noted, Clinton signaled that he was leaning toward stimulus. He criticized the harsh economic medicine advocated by independent candidate Ross Perot and suggested that he would propose a jobs program on his first day in office.

Clinton's advisers were reluctant to talk about their internal debate over short-term recovery options.

"I think it is important to be clear that nothing has been decided . . . this is a post-Nov. 3 type of decision," said Roger Altman, vice chairman of the Blackstone Group and a close Clinton adviser.

"When Clinton talked about a jobs program, he was referring to

short-term stimulus," said Altman.

Altman and other Clinton advisers acknowledged that they are studying a range of proposals that could be included in a stimulus package. In addition, the campaign has asked leading outside economists to submit papers on how to structure an accelerated recovery program.

Although the final scope of the program has not been determined, Clinton advisers said two key proposals are receiving the most serious consideration: accelerated infrastructure spending and an expanded investment tax credit.

Clinton's aides believe that one of the fastest ways to create jobs early next year would be to speed up multi-year highway construction projects and other programs already approved by Congress as part of last year's transportation bill. Funding for such multi-year projects could be moved ahead to have a much bigger impact in 1993, Clinton aides believe.

They said they are considering the merits of launching an effort soon after the election to persuade state and local governments to speed up preparatory work on such programs so actual construction can begin soon after the next President takes office Jan. 20.

"You could get a jump on infrastructure spending by a few months" if local governments are asked to submit plans before the inauguration, Sperling said.

In addition, Clinton's advisers said they are considering ways to increase the economic impact of his proposal to spend about \$20 billion on infrastructure investments next year. The overall size of next year's infrastructure budget could be increased and accelerated, or the offsetting spending cuts that Clinton has proposed could be deferred. Those cuts were designed to allow Clinton to boost federal investment spending without increasing the deficit.

Similarly, a proposed investment tax credit for corporations could be front-loaded in the first year of a Clinton Administration to give businesses an incentive to rehire workers and open new plants. The size of the investment tax credit would be reduced as the economy improved and the unemployment rate declined.

"The investment tax credit could decline, triggered by a decline in the unemployment rate," said Reich, describing one option under study.

PERSPECTIVE ON PATRIOTISM

One Policy for China, One for U.S.?



Bush encouraged Chinese students here to speak against Beijing; were Clinton's anti-war protests any different?

By GANGLIANG QIAO

Time: Year 2000.

Place: People's Republic of China.

Event: campaigning for the National People's Congress in China's first free election.

Among the candidates running for office is one who was educated in the United States, and who, in 1989 after the massacre in Beijing, participated in demonstrations at the U.S. university where he was studying. One of the controversial issues of the campaign is whether the candidate who demonstrated against the then-repressive regime in China is now fit to serve in public office. Were his activities in the United States unpatriotic? Is it wrong to demonstrate against your own country on a foreign soil?

The recent controversy President Bush stirred up with respect to Bill Clinton's demonstrations against the Vietnam War while he was studying in London 23 years ago directs my thoughts to this possible scenario in Chinese politics. If one's legitimate political involvement can become the central issue of an election in the United States, which treasures its First Amendment rights, it could only become more controversial in a country that had just moved toward democracy.

As a Chinese student who witnessed the massacre in Beijing in June, 1989, and who testified before the Congressional Human Rights Caucus about the brutality and cruelty committed upon my fellow citizens, I seriously question President Bush's statement: "It is wrong to demonstrate against your own country in a foreign country."

If there was something morally wrong about demonstrating against the Vietnam War in London, how can one justify the fact that thousands of Chinese students studying in the United States and other Western countries spoke out and demonstrated against the bloody crackdown on peaceful students and citizens?

On June 6, 1989, two days after the massacre, President Bush met personally in the White House with some Chinese students. During the meeting, Bush told them that supporters of the democratic movement in China should "speak out against the brutality." If President Bush believed at the time that it was morally wrong to speak out against one's own country on foreign soil, why did he say this to the Chinese

students? If he truly believed that Chinese citizens should speak out against a government running amok, then what is the difference between what Clinton did 23 years ago and what the Chinese students did in 1989?

Some people may try to make a distinction between the Johnson Administration and the Beijing regime—the American government was freely elected, while that in Beijing was a dictatorship. But no matter how each government was formed, many thousands of patriotic Americans in and out of this country strongly opposed the Vietnam War. James Madison, one of the founding fathers of this great nation, once said, "If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern

The following has been attributed to Abraham Lincoln: "There is an important sense in which government is distinctive from administration. One is perpetual, the other is temporary and changeable. A man may be loyal to his government and yet oppose the particular principles and methods of administration." To paraphrase, one can argue that a man may be loyal to his country and yet oppose the particular principles and methods of his government.

After my testimony before Congress about what I saw near Tian An Men Square in June, 1989, I received mixed reactions from my Chinese friends. Some thought it was a courageous act. Others resented the fact that I "aired the dirty linen" in public before a foreign government. My response then, and now, is that citizens of a country should, and in fact have an obligation to,



Los Angeles Times

Chinese youths join in burning a Chinese flag on July 1, 1989, outside China's consulate in Los Angeles to protest Beijing's crackdown on students.

men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary." Thus, I fail to see any fundamental difference between the American people demonstrating against the unpopular war and the Chinese students demonstrating against the repressive regime in China, both on foreign soil.

Furthermore, we must distinguish between the government running the country and the country itself. When one speaks out against certain governmental policies, it is done because of love of country. To label such protest as "unpatriotic" is absurd. When thousands of Chinese students at home and abroad demonstrated against the repressive government, they were not acting against the interests of their country. On the contrary, they were deeply concerned about the future of the country.

exercise their constitutionally guaranteed rights no matter where they are. When people fail to tell the truth when their fellow citizens are being killed, how will they live with their inner selves?

In light of this sad scenario in American politics, Chinese students who demonstrated against the Beijing regime in 1989 will have to be prepared for the accusation of being unpatriotic when, one day, they are able to run for public office in China. It is hoped that public sentiment and the final result of the issue in the United States will set a good example for the future scenario in a free China.

Gangliang Qiao, a native of Beijing, is a Georgetown University Law Center graduate currently working in Michigan.

Want Facts? Try This: People Are Fed Up

■ **The debates: Truth, error, distortion—the voters can see through whatever the candidates' handlers dish up.**

By DAVID BRODER

Pause for just a moment, please, and reflect on what we are learning from this remarkable week of political debates about the relationship of facts, truth and modern political campaigns. It is not so simple as it seems.

Reporters live in the tradition of Sgt. Joe Friday—"Just the facts, ma'am." Technology increases our compulsion to be letter-perfect. With tape recorders, we have no excuse for having a word awry in a candidate's quote. And with computerized information-retrieval systems available even through our portable laptops, we can "look up the facts" on almost anything.

What we do not do for ourselves, the campaigns do for us. Covering the vice presidential debate in Atlanta Tuesday night, I was all but buried in photocopied data from the Bush-Quayle staff. No more would the vice president utter an accusation about Al Gore's "environmental extremism" then someone would be handing out a supporting page from Gore's recent book. No sooner would the Democratic candidate deny a change of position on abortion, than the Republicans would rush into the press room with copies of a 1987 letter backing up the statement. Nor were they alone. The Clinton-Gore campaign the next day published a 14-page booklet of Quayle "lies," with more than 75 citations from 36 separate sources.

News organizations do their best to "sort out the facts." On ABC's "Nightline" that

night, and on CNN the next morning, you could see Jeff Greenfield and Brooks Jackson going through the errors, mis-statements and distortions. The major newspapers ran the same kind of stories.

Yet it is clear that the "truth-squad" efforts never catch up to the initial and often erroneous impressions—and not just because much of the audience has gone on to the baseball playoffs or some other diversion. The reality is that voters have their own way of judging politicians—and "the facts" are not central to the process.

This truth, if you will, was borne home to me when I watched the first presidential debate with 11 undecided voters in Cleveland and then heard them discuss George Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot for an hour afterward. Many strong and conflicting views were expressed, but almost nothing was said about the factual accuracy of the three men.

Some would say that just confirms the twin cynicisms that are undercutting the legitimacy of our political process—candidates feel no obligation to "tell the truth," and voters view everything that politicians say through a miasma of distrust.

That conclusion is too quick—and too cynical. There are truths and falsehoods of all dimensions, and a political campaign is really about sorting out the largest—and most consequential—of them.

In the current election, three large truths dominate all others. These facts overshadow all the minuscule quibbles about smaller matters.

One huge fact is the economy. Most people know—not from listening to political speeches or sifting through the data, but from their own and their friends' experience—that things have changed, and not for the better. The squeeze that

working families feel is real, and it's the result not just of another swing in the business cycle but also of the restructuring of the world economy.

The first and maybe most important judgment voters make is whether the candidates recognize this reality and have some sensible ideas about addressing it. Bush's single biggest liability is that people believe that he was late to grasp it and still is vague on how to deal with it.

The second big fact is that the political system has gone awry. People in power are not taking individual or collective responsibility for their wasteful spending and the lack of results. Blame it on incumbency or on divided government or on interest-groups, lobbyists and the influence of money, but the "fact" is that voters are justifiably fed up.

Thus the challenge to people of both parties—not just Bush—already in office. Thus, the potency of Clinton's message of "change." Thus, the revived interest in the radical shake-up promised by Perot.

The third big—and enduring—fact that voters know is that character counts. Bush is a known quantity. Both his strengths and his weaknesses have emerged in the last 12 years in national office. Clinton is far less of a proven entity, and despite how well he has withstood the rigors of this long campaign, misgivings remain. The scrutiny of Perot had barely begun when he dropped out of the race, only to return, a fact of history which looms both large and disturbingly in voters' minds.

Compared to these "facts," the stuff over which the rival camps were battling during and after each debate seem trivial to the voters. And they may be right.

David S. Broder writes a syndicated column in Washington.

A Hard Landing for Legislative Futurists

■ **Politics:** Pete Wilson zaps a bipartisan movement that might have pushed state governance into the 21st Century.

By STEVE PEACE

Throughout history, crisis has been the breeding ground for change. California's recent economic plunge and its offspring, the state budget crisis, presented just such an opportunity, one that could have fundamentally changed the manner in which governments at all levels in California operate.

For a fleeting moment in the spring, it looked as though California's leaders might seize the opportunity and run with it.

What went wrong?

The move toward revolutionary change was hatched in March, as it became increasingly clear that economic and political forces would combine to produce a huge budget deficit with no prospect of improved revenues.

As they had in the past, a core of legislators lobbied the Assembly Democratic Caucus and its leader, Speaker Willie Brown, to take on the budget process as it had never before been addressed. No

'During the budget debacle, Wilson revealed himself as surprisingly one-dimensional—a man without experience outside of government. To cut his bureaucracy was to cut his universe.'

sacred cows. No presumption of value in existing services. A focus on the needs of the future, not the habits of the past. But this time the Democratic leadership supported the bold new approach.

As Democrats broke into working groups to deal with the budget, similarly minded individuals within a skeptical Republican caucus began to recognize the sincerity of the Democratic effort. And quietly, they began to conspire with their Democratic colleagues.

Assemblywoman Bev Hansen (R-Santa Rosa) and others weighed in and the momentum for change began to build. Legislators knew the issues; we had discussed them for years.

We would eliminate useless boards, commissions and bureaucracies; consolidate the overlapping functions of others; comprehensively address the Rube Goldberg local-government-financing contraption that had evolved since the passage in 1978 of Proposition 13. And we would protect funding for school classrooms.

Most important, we would structurally

reform the budget process itself to include multiple-year budgeting. This would allow the state to rationally plan for the future and provide the time to ensure oversight and discipline of a bureaucracy that is out of control.

An aggressive Democratic investment strategy was developed to exploit falling interest rates and maximize the state's ability to influence job creation. We would refinance existing debt—much like American families are doing nationwide; invest in the state's infrastructures—transportation, sewers and communication networks, and, like other states, marry private- and public-sector assets to provide venture capital in targeted job-creating industries.

When Frank Hill of Whittier, the Republican budget conferee in the Senate, publicly embraced a significant portion of the emerging agenda, conspirators began to think that they might succeed.

Then it all came crashing down. Gov. Pete Wilson—with both eyes firmly riveted on the political landscape of the present, and armed with line-item veto power and control over enough votes to block any override—crushed a movement that would have thrust California into the future.

Some of Wilson's opposition was of no surprise. Our plan was, as Ross Perot put it, "a capitalism of the 21st Century," not the GOP/Wilson regurgitation of 19th-Century Adam Smith.

Ironically, many of the bold initiatives proposed, such as the elimination of the Energy Commission and the Franchise Tax Board, were goals long promoted by state Republicans. But why Wilson chose, for example, to target schools for cuts instead of the bureaucracy was a mystery. Was it a lack of understanding?

During the budget debacle, Wilson revealed himself as surprisingly one-dimensional—a man without experience outside of government. To cut his bureaucracy was to cut his universe. Moreover, Wilson recognized neither the goals nor the players—many from a younger generation.

Wilson aligned himself instead with the guardians of the status quo, doing battle with dying dragons of the past—still breathing but no longer with fire.

In the end, Democrats succeeded in protecting funding for schools for one year. But the agenda to fundamentally change state government and prepare California for the future was lost.

But in winning the battle, Wilson may have lost the war. By crushing the revolt, he killed an opportunity for long-term structural change in California's public sector, which could have given him national stature as a powerful agent of change. Instead, he appears mired in petty politics while the rest of the country is squarely engaged in a nationwide debate that will shape America's political landscape for the next 30 years.

Steve Peace (D-Chula Vista) is chairman of the Assembly's Banking, Finance and Public Indebtedness Committee.

PLATFORM

Government Alone Can't Solve Homelessness

MAXENE JOHNSTON, president of the Weingart Center Assn., which owns and operates a 700-bed homeless services center near downtown Los Angeles, believes the way to help the homeless is through a public-private partnership, in which government takes a subordinate role to the private sector. She told *The Times*:

How does George Bush intend to fight homelessness? What about Bill Clinton? Or Ross Perot? Chances are you don't know any candidate's position on this issue, even though homelessness is a national problem, present in every community from Harlem and Scarsdale to Watts and Orange County, and growing worse seem-

ingly by the day.

Forgive the candidates for their silence. The fact is that, although homelessness can be managed down into an insignificant problem, government can't do it.

Many problems of the homeless require bold, creative, even entrepreneurial solutions. But people don't become government workers in order to exercise bold, creative or entrepreneurial skills, and we taxpayers don't pay them to do so.

The solution is to privatize the problem as much as possible. Let local governments

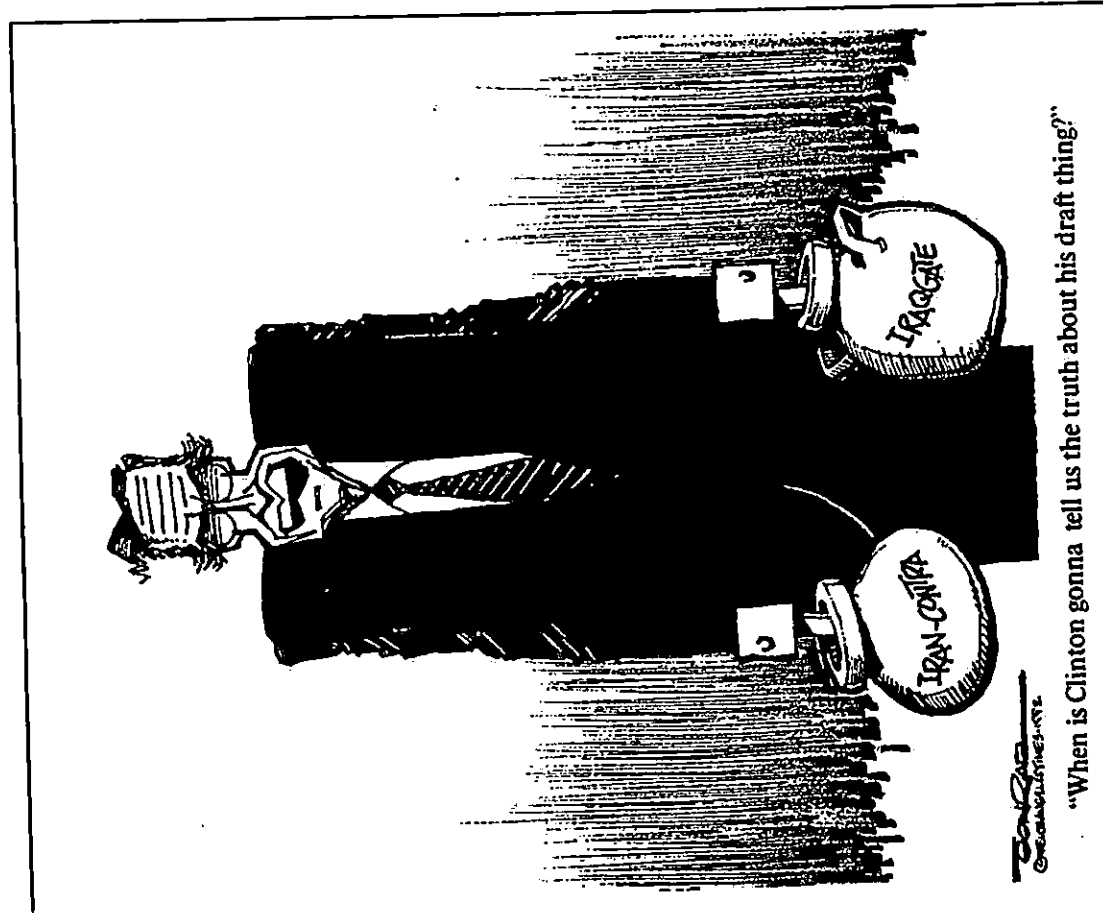
contract with private-sector, not-for-profit enterprises. Turn over the actual care of the homeless to those organizations that have demonstrated the ability to remove homeless people from the streets permanently, not merely provide temporary shelter and meals to an endlessly recycled population of indigents.

Granted, the challenge for government is finding those organizations that produce permanent results, not merely temporary relief. Right now there are only a handful of these new-wave service organizations

around the country. They are managed not like traditional Skid Row charities or government social agencies but like businesses.

These organizations are flexible, customer-driven and goal-oriented. They are in the business of helping customers make successful, permanent exits from street life. And efficiency is their watchword.

So don't ask the presidential candidates what they are going to do about it. The last thing we need is the government trying to cure homelessness by itself.



A Tale of Gridlock City

The untimely death of a would-be urban aid act

At first it seemed as if the Los Angeles riots would prime the urban aid pump in Washington. After all but ignoring the plight of the deteriorating inner cities for years, President Bush promised relief to urban America. So did Congress. Before long all the attention whipped up a \$27-billion tax bill. Sounds good, right? There's one problem: The aid bill is not likely to become law—evidence of the gridlock that has become politics as usual.

The Urban Aid Act that was proposed shortly after the riots promised \$2.5 billion to help the cities by creating 50 enterprise zones—special business districts given tax incentives to entice investors into poor, inner-city neighborhoods. Such zones hold out the promise of jobs for the poor. Now those jobs will be on hold because of the stalemate that paralyzes much of Washington.

Politics and greed derailed the bill. By the time it arrived on the President's desk, it had become a huge tax bill disguised as the proverbial Christmas tree.

In the House, members added a multitude of tax breaks, some worthy, some not so worthy. The so-called urban aid package promised tax relief to real estate developers, veterans, camp counselors, yachtsmen and luxury car fanciers. The horse trading boosted the bill's cost to \$17 billion.

In the Senate, members,

proceeding as if there were no mountainous deficit and no lingering recession, also dabbled in tax code revisionism. The bill, sweetened by this and that tax giveaway, spiraled to \$31 billion.

When the two versions got to conference, wise old pros Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), the House Ways and Means Committee chairman, and

Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), the Senate Finance Committee chairman, managed to whittle the monstrosity down to \$27 billion. Even so, to finance the remaining



WHAT NEXT FOR LOS ANGELES?
■ One in a series

tax cuts there would have to be new fees, revenues and taxes. For that reason alone, President Bush—not wanting voters to doubt his lips just before the election—is not expected to sign it.

The tax bill is not, of course, all bad. The legislation would make permanent the low-income housing tax credit, which encourages investment in affordable housing. The bill also would permanently extend the tax exemption for mortgage revenue bonds, another key source of financing for low-income housing.

The problem was the other proposals—and they eventually overwhelmed the relief promised to the cities. In the final version, only a fraction would have been spent on economic incentives, help for the poor and other aid for the cities.

The urban aid bill promised something for everybody, but delivered nothing. Los Angeles is the biggest loser.

It's Not a Fair Fight

Arms embargo on Bosnia makes no sense given such a well-armed Serbia

"I agree that we cannot commit ground forces to become involved in the quagmire of Bosnia. . . . But . . . there are things that can be done short of that. . . . There are . . . 2 million refugees now because of the problems in what was Yugoslavia, the largest number since World War II. And there may be hundreds of thousands of people who will starve or freeze to death this winter. . . . We should stiffen the embargo on . . . Belgrade . . . and . . . we have to consider whether or not we should lift the arms embargo now on the Bosnians since they are in no way in a fair fight with a heavily armed opponent bent on ethnic cleansing."

Those words of Gov. Bill Clinton last Sunday reflect the views of a growing number of

U.S. foreign policy experts. The genocidal horror that impends in Bosnia must be prevented. That the Balkans are ideal terrain for guerrilla warfare is, as Margaret Thatcher put it, "one for our side." Whether or not any other nation is involved in another Vietnam, Serbia clearly is. The Bosnians, having seen the Serbian death camps, will fight to the death, for nothing but death awaits them if they stop fighting. But that determination will save lives only if Bosnia is given the means to defend itself.

Serbia's army is Europe's fourth-largest. Facing it are irregulars equipped mostly with small arms. U.S. policy, an arms embargo against both sides, resembles nothing so much as the embargo against both sides in the Spanish Civil

War. Franco, armed by Hitler, was the ultimate beneficiary of our "fairness."

On Wednesday a Bush State Department spokesman said: "Are we considering a change in the arms embargo? No, we continue to support the U.N. arms embargo the way it is. We don't support actions that we think could worsen the conflict." That pigheadedness is a mistake.

Iran has tried to rally world Islam to the Muslim side in this struggle, but Bosnia-Herzegovina is not a Muslim state. It is, unique in world polity, a secular state in which Muslims and Christians participate as equals. If the United States will not come to Bosnia's defense, then it must at least allow Bosnia to defend itself. End the arms embargo against Bosnia.

Comment

ON THE DEBATE

A Textbook Example of Politicking

BY PATT MORRISON

Class? Class! Mr. Donahue is out sick today. I'm Ms. Simpson, and I'll be your substitute teacher. Now settle down! Put those away!

I know you're supposed to have your class elections today before lunch . . . will the candidates please stand up? Bill, George, Ross? Ross, will you please stand up? Oh, you are. Well, then. I want to thank Mr. Perrino's shop class for making these little tables, and let's get started.

There was sure no mistaking the fact that Debate II was held on a campus.

The cast was strictly out of Tom Brown's Schooldays: George Bush the class jock, Bill Clinton the class grind, Ross Perot the apple polisher, all neat and polite in their red and blue school ties, and Carol Simpson the hapless substitute teacher, working to keep the civics lesson on track with playground dynamics like, "Who wants to say why you don't like the way the campaign is going?"

The questions from the 209 members of the Undecided Class of '92 were obviously heartfelt and sincere but broad and self-conscious:

Question: Define the universe and give two examples.

Bill: I'll give you three examples, and footnotes to show that nine Nobel Prize winners, 25 generals and hundreds of business people agree me.

George: Seen 43, 44 universes go democratic on my watch—don't need to define them, they've defined themselves.

Ross: I could stand here and talk about that till the cows come home, but when are we gonna stop slow-dancing and get on with it?

Tuesday night, in the Battle of the Ken Dolls, Vice President Dan Quayle and Sen. Al Gore stood at their lecterns and talked like someone had pulled their strings too tight.

Thursday night, three left-handers who want to be president fidgeted down in front, perching on borrowed barstools then hopping off. Should they walk? Should they walk and talk at the same time? Should they walk while someone else is talking? Would Ross Perot ever stop talking?

Question: How can we, as symbolically the children of our future president, expect you to meet our needs? If this class needs ice cream, how are you prepared to meet those needs? Could we cross our hearts? Could we make a commitment?

George: I think it depends how you define needing ice cream. I think each of us should buy his own ice cream. That way more people will be selling it, make it cheaper.

Bill: Just remember three things: chocolate, vanilla, strawberry. I think we can sell all three kinds, and still make sure that people who can't afford to buy ice cream will still get some.

Ross: I started out learning how to make ice cream. Now I have four kids working for me, making ice cream. That's the American way. Sure it's expensive, but you get what you pay for.

Getting good marks in Ms. Simpson's grade book:

Bush, showing that had read Polonius' advice to his son in Hamlet because he said his father told him to write to his mother and tell the truth.

Clinton, showing that he had read both the Cliff's Notes and the book. Any book, you name it.

Perot, showing he had read the transcript of his own sayings from the last debate, plagiarized himself.

Getting bad marks in Ms. Simpson's grade book:

Bush, showing that he can't make up sayings as neat as Perot's.

Clinton, showing that he's not sure how to pronounce "chameleon."

Perot, showing how he got to be the boss—don't let the other kids talk.

Question: I'd like to know why guys like you always gets juice and Twinkies in your lunch every day when the rest of us can't afford it. Doesn't it make you feel bad?

Bill: It does make me feel bad, and you all tell me every day how bad it is, and if elected I will start up a share-the-Twinkies program that will find ways for you to earn money so you can buy your own Twinkies.

George: Are you saying just because I get a bigger allowance than you that I don't feel bad when you have to go without Twinkies?

Ross: Began with nothing . . . American dream . . . my dog . . . show you the pictures . . .

In the deportment department:

Ms. Simpson: Bill, would you like to say something?

Bill: Ross had his hand up.

Ms. Simpson: George, stop looking at your watch.

Ross: I paid for this microphone. In fact I paid for this school!

George: Cooperation, Ross, and you're for that, I'm sure . . . I think we should give a big hand to Ms. Simpson, but please don't take it out of my time!

Class dismissed. Thank goodness.

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

How Business Views the Election

To monitor business's pulse on politics, The Times will present Southland executives' and business owners' opinions about the presidential election. This is one in a series of snapshots.

■ Name: Jane J. Netherton

■ Company: International City Bank in Long Beach

■ Position: Chief executive

■ Registration: Republican

Q. Who are you going to vote for?

A. Undecided.

Q. Why?

A. To date, the candidates have not provided clear answers, or even substantive discussions, on the important issues. They have listed and described the problems facing our country, but they have not provided detailed solutions for me to consider. With such a high turnover expected in Congress, this election provides a unique opportunity for the winner of the presidential race to effectively address these problems, including the policies generated by a Congress that has appeared to be entirely anti-business.



Q. What are the main issues for your business?

A. The top three issues for the banking industry are: (1) over-regulation; (2) over-regulation, and (3) over-regulation. The banking industry is drowning in duplicative and unnecessary regulatory requirements that have nothing to do with safety and soundness of the industry. Most were adopted by Congress in a piecemeal fashion, but never with an attempt to evaluate the impact on the big picture or even the impact on existing rules. The American Bankers Assn. conducted a study on the costs of these regulations. Last year, \$10 billion was spent by the banking industry to comply with regulations—that was 57% of the industry's profits. Clearly then, the regulatory requirements are excessive, and naturally it has affected our ability to make loans to individuals and small business.

Q. What needs to be done to right the economy?

A. Policies established to fuel long-term job creation. Eighty-five percent of job creation comes from small businesses, and community banks are the primary lenders to small businesses. I would first suggest that banks are provided some regulatory relief so that we can get back to the business of lending. Similarly, business in general is suffering from over-regulation. Clearly some regulation is valuable and necessary. But those requirements are becoming excessive, slowing down economic activity—a high price for consumers to pay. Finally, policies that encourage personal savings and capital formation are critical. Without those components, there cannot be a long-term effective turn in the economy.

—JAMES BATES

DATELINE CALIFORNIA



CAMPAIGN

Bush's Toehold in a Black Community

Although few stop in, the recently opened storefront gets plenty of attention.

That's because it's a Bush-Quayle reelection campaign headquarters in the middle of a black community long consid-

ered a Democratic stronghold.

The campaign office is being run by 88-year-old Richard Jones, above, who opened it with \$4,000 of his retirement savings for rent and supplies. Story, B1

Alone in the Crowd

Man Runs a Bush-Quayle Campaign Office in Black Community

By BOB POOL
TIMES STAFF WRITER

The sluggish economy and slow post-riot recovery means that no grand opening in the Crenshaw business district goes unnoticed these days.

The newest storefront enterprise is drawing unusual attention, however.

It is a Bush-Quayle reelection campaign headquarters in the middle of a black community that has long been considered one of the surest Democratic strongholds in Los Angeles.

"I skidded on my brakes the first time I saw the place. I couldn't believe it," said Dolores Spears, a union representative who lives nearby.

"The audacity to put that up in this neighborhood," said Phillip Barnett, a pest control company supervisor who works across the street from the new headquarters.

The campaign office is being run by 88-year-old Richard Jones. He opened it Sept. 26 after spending \$4,000 of his retirement savings on rent and supplies for the office.

GOP leaders say the presidential campaign headquarters is a first for Southwest Los Angeles.

"He's courageous," said Bill Fahey, chairman of the Los Angeles County Bush-Quayle campaign.

Lorelei Kinder, executive director of the state Republican Party, said: "I hope when I'm 88 I have the same courage of my convictions that he does."

Jones acknowledged that the President is unlikely to collect many votes in his neighborhood. Voter registration rolls for the county's 2nd Supervisorial District—which includes the Crenshaw district—list 474,435 Democrats and 88,811 Republicans.

"Most black people are Democrats," Jones said. "But I feel that in a country with two political parties, we should be part of both."

He said he was too young to vote when he first sampled politics as a precinct captain in Chicago 70 years ago.

'I skidded on my brakes the first time I saw the place. I couldn't believe it.'

Dolores Spears
a neighbor

As an adult, he was a campaign volunteer in Detroit, where he worked as an insurance company manager.

Jones moved to Los Angeles in 1956 after a blizzard blew him out of Michigan.

"It had snowed so hard that all the cars were covered," he said. "I went out to get my car and shoveled and shoveled. Then I found out I'd dug out the wrong car. I said: 'I'm getting out of here.'"

In Los Angeles, he worked 12 years as an executive assistant to Mayor Sam Yorty. During that period, Jones helped open City Hall to minorities—including African-Americans who were appointed to city commissions, he said.

Jones draws stares when he wears his Bush-Quayle button or his "Reelect the President" hat on the half-hour bus ride from his home in the West Adams district to the campaign headquarters at 4710 Crenshaw Blvd.

He brushes off criticism from Bill Clinton supporters, who have several nearby campaign offices—including one at 4209 W. Washington Blvd.

"Things are bad on the street—things are tough, I admit that," Jones said. "But let's look at other things. Today we're not living under the threat of the atomic bomb. Nations that have never talked before are sitting down and talking and there's a chance for peace."

More important, he said, a show of black support for Republican candidates could mean that more attention will be paid black communities when Democrats are out of power.

Some in the Crenshaw district applaud the Bush-Quayle headquarters.

"I've heard a lot of comments about it being here. But I say: 'Hey, the Democrats are just as bad,'" said Zaid Tarig, who operates a bookshop on the boulevard.

"It's wonderful that office is here. A true two-party system needs African-Americans in both parties," said Steve Hamilton, a Republican political consultant working in the Crenshaw district on county supervisorial candidate Diane Watson's campaign.

Still, few residents have stopped in for Bush bumper stickers or for brochures that outline the Republican Administration position.

"I don't need to. I've lived it the past 12 years," shrugged one.

Plenty of outsiders have come to Jones' office, though. The reason: The office number is the only Bush-Quayle telephone listed for Los Angeles.

Republican Robert Durio, a customs officer from Playa del Rey, was happy to find the place.

"Good for you," he told Jones as he scooped up campaign materials.

Russian Queries Stall Arms Pact, U.S. Official Says

By NORMAN KEMPSTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The Russian government has raised at least 22 substantive questions about a proposed treaty to destroy two-thirds of the U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals, apparently frustrating President Bush's hope of completing the pact before Election Day, a senior Administration official said Thursday.

Although the official said he is confident the treaty will be completed, the procedure he outlined could take weeks or months. He provided few details but said that Moscow wants to reduce the cost of restructuring its nuclear forces to comply with the agreement.

"It is not unreasonable for the Russians to seek ways to maintain or restore their strategic arsenal by the most cost-effective means possible," the official, who declined to be named, told reporters. "I do not see that we have reached . . . any roadblocks with the Russians."

Bush and Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin agreed last June to reduce their nuclear warheads from the current level of about 10,000 each to between 3,000 and 3,500 during the next 10 years and to ban land-based multiple-warhead missiles. They immediately signed a brief "framework agreement" and instructed diplomats to work out detailed language.

At the time, then-Secretary of State James A. Baker III predicted that the treaty could be completed in just a few weeks, by Sept. 1 at the latest. Bush, who said that the agreement would end "the nuclear nightmare," has made no secret of his hope that the pact could be signed in time to boost his beleaguered reelection campaign.

However, the Russian military appears to have had second thoughts about the agreement, which would require destruction of all of Moscow's SS-18 missiles, the world's most powerful nuclear weapon. It also would ban land-based multiple-warhead missiles, which for years constituted the heart of the Soviet strategic arsenal that Russia has inherited. Sea-based multiple-warhead missiles, Washington's favorite strategic weapon, would be allowed.

At the time the Bush-Yeltsin agreement was announced, some Russian officials grumbled that it would give the United States a permanent advantage in strategic weapons. But Yeltsin said that such considerations are outmoded because the two nations no longer are enemies.

Yeltsin clearly wanted to solidify his relationship with Bush when they met last June. He may be less concerned about that now because Bush's reelection appears doubtful.

The official who spoke Thursday said that the U.S. side drafted a proposed treaty that was submitted to the Russians for approval last summer. Moscow responded by raising 17 questions about specific provisions, said the official, who is a key American negotiator.

Acting Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger delivered the U.S. response to Russian Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozyr-
ev last month at the United Nations in New York.

Quayle Maintaining Focus on V.P. Debate

By PAUL RICHTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

OWENSBORO, Ky.—With a speech, visual props and even jokes, Vice President Dan Quayle and his campaign continued working hard Thursday to get across its view that he won the vice presidential debate with Sen. Al Gore.

At a rally at the Owensboro Grain Co., Quayle insisted that Gore had failed to defend his running mate, Bill Clinton, when Quayle attacked Clinton's character and truthfulness at the debate in Atlanta on Tuesday.

Now, "it's two days after the debate and Sen. Gore still refuses to defend the integrity of Bill Clinton," said Quayle. "Since Bill Clinton refuses to defend his integrity, tonight Bill Clinton will have to defend his own integrity"—a reference to Thursday night's presidential debate.

Quayle was introduced, as "Dan Quayle, the man who won the debate by a knockout." Overhead, a tiny plane towed a sign that read, "Dan, the Great Debater."

Quayle aides seemed to have a wealth of jokes to illustrate the same point. When a reporter asked what Quayle had said when he spoke to Gore after the debate, Quayle's press secretary didn't miss a beat. "He said, 'Al, I ate your lunch,'" David Beckwith replied.

Quayle aides, meanwhile, parried Gore's charge that the Administration was concealing a scandal larger than Watergate in the "Iraqgate" affair.

Iraqgate refers to allegations that the Administration tried to cover up its prewar dealings with Iraq—including whether it withheld key documents from Congress that would describe the extent of that assistance, whether other countries were encouraged to supply Iraq with arms, and whether the Administration blocked or restricted the criminal investigation of \$5 billion in loans to Iraq by the Atlanta branch of Italy's Banca Nazionale del Lavoro.

Beckwith called Gore's charge "just nonsense."

"They're starting to flail away almost desperately," Beckwith said. "It shows that the character issue is starting to hurt and the race is tightening."

"It's amazing how many alleged controversies have arisen now two weeks before the election," he said. "If Gore felt so strongly about this, why hadn't he confronted the vice president in the debate the other night?"

Quayle visited western Kentucky because the election is relatively close in the state, and because the state is a stronghold of so-called Reagan Democrats—those Democrats who have voted Republican in presidential elections since 1980. Quayle is scheduled to travel to Rocky Mount and Fayetteville, N.C., today.

Clinton Sails Clearly Ahead in Format's Familiar Waters

■ **Debates:** Bush lost another chance to pull an upset while Perot's quips seemed a bit dusty this time.

By ROBERT SHOGAN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

WASHINGTON—In full command of himself and a broad range of issues, front-running Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton turned in a performance Thursday night that toughened the task faced by President Bush and independent candidate Ross Perot in trying to catch up with him.

"Nothing happened to change the basic structure of the race," said Lee M. Miringoff, an independent New York pollster who heads the Marist Institute for Public Opinion. "Clinton went in ahead and he came out ahead."

Before the debate began, Clinton's aides noted that the Arkansas governor had ample experience with the format, in which the three candidates fielded questions from members of the audience. And his performance showed it.

"Clinton is just a star in that format," said University of Texas communications Prof. Roderick Hart. "He was direct and personal."

By contrast, Bush seemed to face the same dilemma that plagued him in the first debate last Sunday night—having to defend the dismal condition of the nation's economy and explain how he would improve

NEWS ANALYSIS

Please see AESS, A7

By contrast, Bush seemed to face the same dilemma that plagued him in the first debate last Sunday night—having to defend the dismal condition of the nation's economy and explain how he would improve

ASSESS: Format Boosts Democrat

Continued from A1

it. While Bush valiantly promoted his recently unveiled agenda for economic renewal, he lost a precious opportunity to rebut the frequently heard criticism that he is too remote from the real concerns of the citizenry.

When one audience member asked how the candidates knew what citizens suffering from the recession were going through, Bush seemed at a loss for words. He wound up inviting her to watch him deal with the economy in the White House.

As for Perot, whose homespun wisecracks made a big hit in the first debate, he seemed to run out of fresh material Thursday night.

"Perot was not as funny," said Cliff Zukin, a professor at Rutgers University's Eagleton Institute of Politics. "Some of those jokes seemed tired the second time around."

And Perot seemed nonplussed when moderator Carole Simpson told him: "Everybody thinks you won the first debate because you were plain speaking and you made it sound oh-so-simple. What makes you think that you're going to be able to get the Democrats and Republicans together any better than these guys [Clinton and Bush]?"

In response Perot began talking about creating jobs in the inner city, until Simpson, who at times sought to instill some cohesion in the largely unstructured and often disjointed nature of the debate, cut him off and asked pointedly: "Are you answering my question?"

"If they would talk to one another instead of throwing rocks, I think we could get a lot done," Perot said finally. "I doubt if they'll give me the chance, but I will drop everything and go work on it."

Bush, gamely striving to close Clinton's lead in the polls, sought to deflate an effective gambit that the Arkansas governor had employed in last Sunday's debate. Clinton, in denouncing Bush's criticism of his involvement in peace demonstrations held overseas during the Vietnam War as a "McCarthyism," had invoked the name of the President's father, Prescott Bush.

The elder Bush, then a senator from Connecticut, was among the first Republicans to take a public stand against the red-baiting tactics of Sen. Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin in the early 1950s, Clinton noted.

Not only was Bush's comeback four days late, but it was so complicated and labored that it was difficult to follow.

Clinton "raised the question of my father," Bush said. "It was a good line, well rehearsed and well delivered." Then the President recalled his father's advice to him as he left for Navy service in World War II—"write your mother, serve your country and tell the truth"—to defend his own use of the so-called character issue against Clinton in the campaign.

Bush again briefly mentioned Clinton's opposition to the Vietnam War. "I am deeply troubled by someone who demonstrates and organizes demonstrations in a foreign land when his country is at war," he said.

He added: "The big argument that I have with the governor on this is this taking different positions on different issues . . . what we call waffling."

Then Bush finally arrived at what was obviously designed as the punch line of his rejoinder: "I do think that you can't turn the White House into the 'Waffle House'—you've got to say what you're for."

Clinton, mindful that the "waffling" criticism has been directed at him throughout much of the campaign—including by fellow Democrats during the primary season—seemed determined to rebut it with his debate performance Thursday night.

Asked by an audience member if he would "enter into a legally binding contract with the Ameri-

As for Perot, whose homespun wisecracks made a big hit in the first debate, he seemed to run out of fresh material Thursday night.

can people" not to seek a second term if he did not achieve his deficit reduction goals, Clinton never blinked an eye before answering: "No, and here's why . . ."

After outlining his deficit reduction proposals, he said, "But I can't foresee all the things that will happen, and I don't think a President should be judged solely on the deficit."

He also reminded the audience that there would be another presidential election in 1996. "You'll have a shot at me in four years," Clinton said, "and you can vote me right out if you think I've done a lousy job."

Clinton was similarly forthright in expressing his opposition to congressional term limits, which has gained considerable support around the country as a result of widespread anger and resentment toward government.

And in case no one noticed that he was cutting against perceived public opinion in opposing term limits, which both Perot and Bush backed, Clinton made a point of calling attention to it.

"I know [term-limit proposals] are popular, but I'm against them," he said, arguing that that such a change would weaken the influence of smaller states and increase the leverage of congressional staff members.

He then quickly offered his own approach to reform, such as stricter controls on campaign financing for members of Congress.

State Dept. Blames Clerks in Rush Search of Clinton Passport Records

By DOYLE McMANUS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The State Department on Thursday blamed low-level clerks for the decision to search Democratic candidate Bill Clinton's passport records on a rush basis and said the action was "a mistake."

Spokesman Richard A. Boucher said the clerks took the action on their own, with no instructions from above, and that it was a clear violation of department policy.

Several clerks in the department's Freedom of Information Office marked journalists' requests for Clinton's records with instructions to handle them "expeditiously," he said.

"That . . . [was] clearly a mistake," Boucher said. "The notations were made by low-level people working on the cases, trying to reflect the urgency which the requesters in the media had placed on their requests. They were not done with any instructions."

The State Department launched the search of Clinton's records while President Bush was accusing the Arkansas governor of unpatriotic acts during 1969 and 1970, when Clinton was a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University.

Officials looked for records in Washington, London and the Norwegian capital of Oslo, but turned up no evidence of unusual conduct by Clinton.

One clerk wrote on a memo that the search should be "done by Nov. 3, because we've got an election coming up," Boucher said.

That memo came to the attention of senior officials at the State Department only when it was reported by the Washington Post on Thursday, an official said—raising the question of whether some evidence was hidden from the department's initial inquiry.

But Boucher said the department's inspector general, Sherman Funk, was satisfied that no further inquiry was necessary.

Funk asked several officials involved whether they had acted under instructions from the Bush campaign or the White House,

where former Secretary of State James A. Baker III is now chief of staff, Boucher said. All replied that they had not acted under such instructions, Boucher said, so the department considered the case closed.

Individual passport records cannot be released without the consent of the person in question under the Privacy Act, which carries criminal penalties for violations. But Boucher said State Department policies required officials to examine Clinton's records anyway, in case they included material not covered by the act.

Aides to Democrats in Congress said they consider the department's explanation of the policy violation unsatisfactory, and said the Senate Foreign Relations Committee may investigate the issue after the presidential election.

Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.) and Rep. Howard L. Berman (D-Panorama City), chairmen of the subcommittees with jurisdiction over the issue, said the department was not cooperating with their initial inquiries. "We have asked to interview the principals who requested that the file be examined and we have been denied access to those individuals," they said in a joint statement.

One Democratic aide noted that the top State Department officials involved in the issue are all former Republican Party activists: Undersecretary John Rogers, who oversees the FOI office, is a longtime Baker aide; Assistant Secretary Elizabeth Tamposi, who oversees the Passport Office, is a former GOP fund-raiser from New Hampshire; and Inspector General Funk, who investigated the issue, is a former GOP activist from Maryland.

Meanwhile, in an unrelated development, Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kan.) asked Clinton to release all of his personal documents relating to his draft status during the Vietnam War.

In a letter to Clinton, dated Thursday and simultaneously released to reporters, Dole said: "Governor, you cannot resolve this issue by ignoring it, or talking around it. You could go a long way toward answering them—and removing this cloud on your integrity—by releasing all documents in your possession, custody, or control bearing upon your draft situation."

Gore Asserts that Iraq Issue Could Be Another Watergate

■ **Democrats: Speaking to a meeting of editorial writers, he escalates the rhetoric about Bush's handling of foreign policy before the Persian Gulf War.**

By SAM FULWOOD III
and DOUGLAS FRANTZ
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

LEXINGTON, Ky.—Escalating the political rhetoric surrounding President Bush's handling of foreign policy before the Persian Gulf War, Democratic vice presidential nominee Al Gore Jr. suggested Thursday that if Bush is reelected, a Watergate-like scandal could engulf and paralyze the White House as it did 20 years ago during President Richard M. Nixon's second term.

"George Bush is presiding over a cover-up significantly larger than Watergate," Gore said during a campaign address to the National Editorial Writers Conference. "Watergate began as a two-bit . . . burglary. Iraqgate includes the largest bank fraud in American history."

Gore said Bush's actions to cover up his dealings with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to avoid political embarrassment in the midst of a reelection campaign is perfectly analogous to the 1972 break-in of the Democratic Party headquarters at Washington's Watergate Hotel. The scandal, which was largely

ignored during the presidential campaign, escalated during Nixon's second term, leading to his resignation to avoid an impeachment trial.

"You are seeing the same thing happen right now with the Bush Administration except it's happening at a much faster pace because we've been down this road before," Gore added. "The Bush White House is having its attention diverted trying to manage this cover-up" just as Nixon did in 1973 and 1974 before he resigned.

While Gore avoided saying explicitly that Bush's actions would set in motion a process leading to his impeachment, his comments go well beyond what even the harshest Administration critics have suggested so far in the sometimes-heated debate over U.S. policy toward Iraq and its aftermath.

Gore's comments also come at a time when the Clinton-Gore ticket and Democrats in Congress have sharply escalated political rhetoric.

Congressional criticism of the Administration has centered on specific areas. Did the Administration intentionally block or restrict the criminal investigation of \$5 billion in loans to Iraq by the Atlanta branch of Italy's Banca Nazionale del Lavoro? Did Administration officials knowingly keep from Congress key documents describing the extent of prewar U.S. assistance to Saddam Hussein? Were other countries encouraged to send U.S. arms to Iraq without proper notification of Congress?

These questions have been raised repeatedly, but there is no evidence any laws were broken and no

evidence Bush had a direct hand in these activities.

"To be frank, Iraq was not a big issue for the President until the invasion of Kuwait in 1990," said a senior White House official who asked that his name be withheld. "He was aware of the major policy issues, but not the other actions. Anyway, this was a foreign policy matter and trying to turn it into a criminal matter is utter nonsense."

For his part, Gore framed the issue as a matter of Bush's competence to direct foreign policy. By doing so, he attacked the perceived major advantage Bush has over Clinton, who has virtually no experience in international affairs.

While berating Bush for maintaining friendly ties to Hussein and thus indirectly encouraging him to invade Kuwait, Gore sidestepped questions on whether Bush, like Nixon, might labor under a cloud of personal criminal conduct if he were reelected.

The vice presidential candidate, in fact, carefully avoided talking about the criminal implications of Bush's actions and impeachment hearings, opting instead to urge voters to reject Bush to save the integrity of the Oval Office.

"I'm not using the word impeachment," Gore said. "There are 50 ways to leave the White House. That's one of them. But a much better way is the election Nov. 3. I believe that the American people, unlike in 1972, are going to render a different judgment this November."

Fulwood reported from Kentucky, Frantz from Washington.

Grass Roots Pushing for Victory 1 Vote at a Time

Campaigns' TV advertising gets more money, attention. But volunteers can make a difference in a close race.

By DAVE LESHER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

OAKLAND—Like war, political campaigns are fought in the air and on the ground.

The air war, television advertising, gets vastly more money and attention. The ground war is waged by thousands of unsung staffers, paid and unpaid—the grass roots. They measure their victories one voter at a time.

The headquarters for the state Democratic Party's northern forays is a converted home where organizer Larry Tramutola recently lectured a few of his paid staffers about their assignments.

It's simple, he said: Find voters who support Bill Clinton and make sure they vote. The most important targets, he said, are those who might not make it to the polls without a little encouragement.

The nine staff members clutching clipboards and sitting on folding chairs were responsible for more than two dozen campaign offices and an army of volunteers.

Their search for those lukewarm supporters means hours of late-night and weekend work, knocking on doors, sitting in shopping malls, passing out flyers, even waving signs at commuters.

The biggest job is the telephone banks, which have to reach several hundred thousand Democrats—one by one—to find those who are definite Clinton votes. On Election Day, the campaign moves heaven and earth to get them to the polls.

Otherwise, Tramutola said, "If they're dead or if they've moved or if they're for [President] Bush, they're in the same category for us."

In storefronts and offices throughout California, Democrats and Republicans alike are gearing up their volunteers for a ground assault. Ross Perot's legions fanned out months ago, gathering more than a million signatures—far more than the required 134,781—to place him on the ballot as an independent.

His supporters are in the process of recalling their volunteers and developing a grass-roots strategy.

Statewide, each party's volunteer base is expected to grow to at least 25,000 by Election Day—half of the 50,000 workers Perot had at the peak of his effort. Experts say that if everything works—all of the signs and bumper stickers and phone calls and brochures and rallies—the grass-roots campaign can generate an additional 3 percentage points in the election tally for the candidate.

Theoretically, that could have made up the difference in Dianne Feinstein's 3-point loss to Pete Wilson in the 1990 governor's race.

"It looks like a lot of tedious and boring work, and it is," said Kevin Brown, a college-age Republican who was preparing campaign letters one afternoon at GOP headquarters in Sacramento. "But every envelope I put a stamp on makes a little difference. I believe in the candidate, and you want things you believe in to be heard."

Perot's campaign has maintained five headquarters throughout California during the summer. Spokesman Bob Reid said he expects that the campaign will organize rallies, but the focus of the national strategy is likely to be on television commercials or talk shows.

Perot will have fewer volunteers this time around, Reid said. "But we don't need as many as we had before, because then they were out there collecting signatures."

Most of the attention in a campaign is on television advertising—the air war. That's especially true in a state as large and diverse as California, where some strategists even joke that "California grass roots" might be an oxymoron.

"We have one of the highest rates of unlisted [phone] numbers in the country; we have urban environments where people are not willing to accept somebody knocking on their door; we have a very mobile population and we have huge chunks of the state that are rural,"



Reed Stowe is a volunteer at Perot headquarters in Dallas.

said Sal Russo, a Republican political consultant in Sacramento. "That is why California is the quintessential media state."

Despite the difficulties of organizing voters in California as well as the seemingly small benefit, strategists for the Democratic and Republican parties predict that this year's presidential race will generate one of the most aggressive grass-roots efforts in years.

"Volunteer activities in this campaign are probably going to be more important than in any statewide campaign in the last 25 years," said Jack Flanagan, co-director of the California campaign for Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle.

"The point is, we don't have the financial resources to saturate California with television commercials," he said. "On the other hand, we believe there is a strong Republican core out there who, if motivated, can be a real asset."

Buoyed by polls showing Clinton with a strong lead, state Democratic Party Chairman Phil Angelides said his volunteers also are hard at work.

"Before it is all over, this will be the biggest grass-roots effort in decades," Angelides said. "It looks as though, for the first time in 16 years, we will have out-registered the Republicans all year. That is the result of the enthusiasm for Clinton, but it's also because we worked our fannies off."

The latest registration figures indicate that Democrats have slightly improved their registration numbers since May. As of Sept. 4, they represent 48.6% of the state's registered voters to the GOP's 37.9%. But that gap is narrower than it was in 1988, when the Democrats held a 50.4% to 38.6% lead. Oct. 5 was the last day to register.

The GOP enjoys a reputation as the party with the most effective organization. But this year, Bush's sagging support has been reflected by a drop in the grass-roots enthusiasm: Republicans had for Ronald Reagan's elections in 1980 and 1984. Flanagan acknowledged that many Republican activists this year are motivated as much by their fear of Clinton as by support for Bush.

That, and anger. "Bush has been so beat up and it has been so unfair," said Ozzie Cannon, a retired insurance company chairman who is a volunteer in Orange County. "I just thought whatever I could contribute, I would."

Some GOP leaders said volunteers operating on negative motivation—fear or anger—are not as effective as those inspired by a leader.

"There doesn't seem to be any fire in anybody's belly," said Assemblyman Gil Ferguson (R-Newport Beach), who supports Bush. "It doesn't take a political expert to know the President's chance of winning in California are slim."

Gaffes, Bad Breaks Hobbling Yeakel Bid

By DAVID TREADWELL
TIMES STAFF WRITER

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—For five months, a bitter newspaper strike has left this city without its two major dailies, the Press and the Post-Gazette. So when Democratic Senate contender Lynn Yeakel called a news conference recently, she was banking heavily on television coverage to relay her message to voters.

Her campaign had planned everything for maximum effect. The site was just across from the long-closed Homestead steel mills, one-time employer of thousands of workers in Pittsburgh's "Steel Valley." With the sprawling, shuttered plant as a backdrop, she intended to give her stump speech, blasting her Republican rival, two-term Sen. Arlen Specter, for his support of the White House's economic policies.

What is more, her remarks were to be liberally sprinkled with statistics from the state's latest unemployment report, due for release the same morning.

But that morning also turned out to be the same one in which a far bigger local story unexpectedly broke—an announcement by the owners of the strike-bound Press that they were putting the paper up for sale. Not a single TV camera was there for Yeakel's appearance. And of the three print journalists there, two were from out of state.

The political misfortune that struck Yeakel at the old Homestead plant was nothing new for her campaign. Since blazing to an upset victory in a five-way Democratic Senate primary contest last April by ignoring her challengers and aiming her guns at Specter, the wealthy Main Line Philadelphian and political novice has been plagued by a series of bad breaks, campaign blunders and political gaffes.

On a previous campaign stop in Pittsburgh in July, for instance, she visited an employee-owned bakery and praised it as a shining example of how workers and government can join forces to save precious jobs. She called the public-private effort "a model for the role I will play in the U.S. Senate."

Her campaign suffered no little embarrassment when it was revealed that Specter had been instrumental in capturing a \$500,000 federal grant to help the bakery go into business.

In any ordinary election year, Yeakel's political obituary might already have been written. Indeed, she had committed so many fumbles and was so low in the polls that at one point in her campaign, a Philadelphia newspaper columnist labeled her "Michael Dukakis in a skirt," referring to President Bush's ill-fated 1988 Democratic challenger.

But in Pennsylvania, as in most of the nation, this is no ordinary election year. Angered by the state's weak economy and the failure of the White House and Capitol Hill to effectively do something about it, the state's voters are primed for political change.

And much as it did in her primary bid, when she made Specter's harsh grilling of Anita Faye Hill at

Please see YEAKEL, A7

YEAKEL: Gaffes, Bad Breaks Hurting Bid

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Clarence Thomas' Supreme Court confirmation hearings the symbol of everything wrong in Washington, the electorate's frustration is redounding to Yeakel's benefit, despite her campaign's pitfalls and fierce competition from Specter's well-heeled reelection machine.

A statewide poll conducted by Millersville and Pennsylvania State universities and released last week showed that Specter's once commanding lead over Yeakel had narrowed to where the two candidates were in a virtual tie. The survey also found that 20% of the voters were undecided. A competing poll, released this week, put Specter ahead but Yeakel within striking distance. The survey found the incumbent leading, 49% to 42%, with 9% undecided.

The new results reversed a trend that had seen Yeakel go from leading Specter by 6 percentage points in July to trailing him by 16 points in mid-September.

Her slide corresponded with an unchallenged barrage of Specter commercials, including an "attack" ad that targeted Yeakel's failure to pay more than \$17,000 in back taxes to the city of Philadelphia until the day before announcing her candidacy.

Yeakel's campaign, strapped for cash, did not begin running its ads until the end of September.

The first—and so far only—debate between the candidates was on Oct. 3, and most observers believe it provided her a boost.

Specter continued to stress his record and argued that his seniority in the Senate has been crucial to winning aid for programs benefiting the state. But he often seemed tense and defensive.

Yeakel sounded broad themes and sought to link Specter with what she decried as the failed economic policies of Republican Administrations during his tenure.

"That [GOP] leadership has left us with a staggering deficit, with an economy that is stagnant, with an education system that is failing us and with a health care system that is out of control," she said. "My opponent says that he will fix all these things, but he has been in the Senate for 12 years and he hasn't fixed them."

Analyzing the debate, Penn State political science professor Michael Young said Yeakel "regained her balance and made the race a horse race again."

But a look at the recent Millersville-Penn State poll reveals part of the challenge ahead for her.

While Yeakel enjoyed broad support across the state, that support was largely composed of an anti-Specter backlash and suggests that she has not made a strong case among voters to

replace him. If she hopes to win in November, analysts contend, she must work harder on defining her political persona so voters have a more positive sense of who she is and what she stands for.

Pennsylvania Republican leaders, meanwhile, are concerned that the name at the top of the GOP ticket—George Bush—could cost Specter a large percentage of votes. The recent state polls have shown the President running well behind Democrat Bill Clinton.

Specter has studiously separated himself, where he can, from the Bush Administration and pointed out the places where he has stood in defiant opposition to it.

The Senate contest could come down to turnout. Specter's support is disproportionately higher among upscale voters, who tend to turn out in strength. Yeakel's support is dramatically better among less-affluent voters. If the turnout on Election Day is high, that might not augur well for Specter.

"The two parties are bellying up to the bar now and getting ready to have themselves a good contest," said Penn State's Young. "This is a state where statewide elections like this usually come in tight. It's coming down to fundamentals and partisan support is crucial. Yeakel still has to close the sale and Specter still has a lot of voters sitting on the fence."

Special Counsel Call Is Pressed on Ties to Iraq

By RONALD J. OSTROW
and DOUGLAS FRANTZ
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—Responding to new evidence in a sensitive Iraqi loan scandal, Democrats on the House Judiciary Committee on Thursday formally asked for appointment of an independent counsel to investigate whether Bush Administration officials broke the law in trying to conceal prewar relations with Baghdad.

In requesting the independent counsel's investigation, House Judiciary Committee Chairman Jack Brooks (D-Tex.) said that the

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COUNSEL: Call in the House

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withholding of CIA files with possible Justice Department complicity should persuade U.S. Atty. Gen. William P. Barr to reverse his earlier decision.

"It is beyond dispute that these allegations are extremely serious and demand a thorough and unbiased investigation," said the committee's letter to Barr.

In the Senate, Judiciary Committee Chairman Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.) said that he expects Democrats on his panel to vote for a similar request by Monday. The twin demands sharply expand the controversy over the Administration's secret ties to Iraq, which began emerging months ago.

Barr responded to a similar congressional request in August with a resounding and detailed rejection. But, confronted by new questions about the roles of the Justice Department and CIA in withholding intelligence files from a federal judge, Barr said Thursday that he has not ruled out any options.

"Obviously, the independent counsel statute is something we will consider to make sure this is actively investigated," Barr said in an interview. "My interest is to clear the air. The department has nothing to hide. If there is any wrongdoing by anyone, we want to get to the bottom of it."

Biden told reporters after talking to Barr that he thought it possible the attorney general would change his mind and seek an independent counsel. Republicans, however, were skeptical of the renewed request, which came less than three weeks before the presidential election.

The House request, signed by 18 of the 21 Democrats on the Judiciary Committee, added to the pressure on the Justice Department, which was accused earlier this week of trying to stifle an FBI inquiry into its role in the Iraqi loan case by leaking word that FBI Director William S. Sessions was the subject of investigations.

On Thursday, Sessions refused to be questioned by Justice Department attorneys investigating whether he abused the use of government telephones and provided conflicting accounts about

his tax status. His lawyer demanded the postponement because of news leaks and because he said that the department has not provided Sessions with specifics about the actions under investigation.

However, a Justice Department source claimed that Sessions was being treated more favorably than "any other FBI employee" by being provided with copies of two letters containing the allegations against him.

Word leaked earlier this week that Sessions, his wife and his executive assistant were subjects of an investigation. Democrats suggested that the leaks were orchestrated to chill the FBI investigation into the disclosure that the CIA and Justice Department had withheld CIA files from the judge in the Iraqi loan case. Barr, who ordered the FBI inquiry last Friday, said that there was no connection.

Sessions' wife, Alice, saw a different motive for the inquiry, contending that he is the victim of a smear campaign organized by disgruntled FBI officials.

"He (Sessions) is waking up out of a stupor, realizing he's been had," she told the San Antonio Light, her hometown newspaper.

Sarah Munford, Sessions' executive assistant, was placed on ad-

vice Department lawyer Thursday and told that she will be fired, according to her lawyer.

A source close to Munford said that she was told to clean out her desk and escorted from the FBI building here by two agents and four Justice Department officials.

Munford's lawyer, Paul J. Perito, said that she had done nothing wrong and "has become an unfortunate pawn in what appears to be a high-stakes battle."

In the Iraqi loan case, the CIA admitted last week that it withheld classified cables last month from U.S. District Judge Marvin H. Shoob, who has presided over the case in Atlanta. A bank manager there is accused of making \$5 billion in illegal loans to Iraq. The cables contradicted the prosecution assertion that the manager acted without the knowledge of his superiors at the Rome headquarters of the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro.

The CIA said that its decision came after it received "strong advice" from the Justice Department, but the department contended that its lawyers on the CIA to make its own decision on providing the material to the judge.

Biden also said that the conflicting accounts of the two agencies

render the Justice Department unable to conduct an impartial investigation.

"The dispute between the two agencies, and other facts, raise serious questions about the ability of the Administration to investigate effectively whether criminal obstruction of justice may have occurred," said Biden, who plans to poll Senate Judiciary Committee members to seek support to request a special prosecutor.

Under the Watergate-era government ethics act, the request from the House committee alone requires Barr to begin an inquiry. He has 30 days to determine whether there is enough evidence to warrant further investigation, which could lead to appointment of a special counsel. The 30-day deadline allows Barr to delay a decision until beyond Election Day, Nov. 3.

In the interview, Barr defended the department's handling of the BNL case and said that every possibility of Rome's involvement in the loans had been pursued.

"We've never precluded ourselves from proceeding against BNL Rome if evidence of guilt emerged," said Barr. "We have no hesitation in following the evidence to wherever it leads."



FBI Director William S. Sessions talks with former Democratic National Committee chairman John White near a Washington restaurant. Sessions refused to be questioned about ethics allegations on Thursday.

Associated Press

The Battle of Richmond

Some notable quotes from Thursday's debate, the second of three contests between the candidates:

NOTABLE QUOTES FROM THE DEBATE

'You can't turn the White House into the Waffle House—you've got to say what you're for.'

—President Bush

'You have to decide whether you want to change or not. We do not need four more years of an economic theory that does not work.'

—Bill Clinton

'While we sit here tonight, we will go into debt an additional \$50 million in an hour and a half. Now, it's not the Republicans' fault, of course, and it's not the Democrats' fault. And what I'm looking for is, who did it?'

—Ross Perot



'You'll have a shot at me in four years, and you can vote me right out if you think I've done a lousy job. And I would welcome you to do that.'

—Clinton

'I intend to be there one term. I do not intend to spend one minute of one day thinking about reelection. I would take absolutely no compensation.'

—Perot

'The exciting thing is that the fear of nuclear war is down, and you hear all the bad stuff that's happened on my watch—I hope people will recognize that this is something pretty good for mankind.'

—Bush

'The ideas I expressed our mine. I've worked on these things for 12 years, and I am the only person up here who hasn't been part of Washington in any way for the last 20 years.'

—Clinton

'If they would talk to one another instead of throwing rocks, I think they'd get a lot done.'

—Perot

'I don't think the American people are taxed too little. I think they're taxed too much.'

—Bush

'Now, just for the record, I don't have any spin doctors. I don't have any speech writers—it probably shows. . . . What you see is what you get. If you don't like it you've got two other choices, right?'

—Perot

'If in the next five minutes, a television announcer came on and said, there is a major international crisis . . . or in this country a major threat . . . who would you choose?'

—Bush

'I favor strict controls on how much you can spend running for Congress, strict limits on political action committees, requirements that people running for Congress appear in open, public debates like we're doing now.'

—Clinton

In a Restrained 2nd Debate, Candidates Focus on the Issues

■ **Politics:** In low-key exchanges, the three discuss problems and solutions. The forum offers a clear look at how they would approach the presidency.

By JACK NELSON
and JAMES GERSTENZANG
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

RICHMOND—Faced with an impromptu demand from the audience that they stop "trashing each other" and address the issues, the three major presidential candidates Thursday night devoted the second debate of the 1992 campaign to an undramatic but comprehensive explanation of how they would approach the nation's most pressing problems.

The unexpected call for an end to personal attacks, made by some 200 uncommitted voters assembled here to question the candidates in the nationally televised encounter, made it difficult for President Bush to concentrate on delivering the unrelenting attacks on Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's character that some GOP strategists see as crucial to undermining the Democratic standard-bearer's credibility.

As a result, Bush, Clinton and independent candidate Ross Perot spent most of the 90-minute session spelling out their sharply differing approaches to such issues as jobs, foreign trade, the federal deficit, health care, education, crime, Social Security, race relations and the role of the United States in the post-Cold War world.

In sharp contrast with the raucous and belligerent vice presidential face-off two days before in Atlanta, Thursday's debate in the University of Richmond's Robins Center was an even-tempered, classroom-like discussion of problems and possible solutions. And perhaps more than any moment in the long campaign, the second debate—while unexciting—offered a clear, firsthand look at how the three candidates would approach the presidency.

Bush insisted, as he has throughout a long career in public life, that the key to almost every problem was less government involvement and more reliance on the private sector. Clinton, armed with an array of specific plans for each problem, called for an active government role in bringing about change. And Perot, focusing chiefly on deficit reduction and job growth, vowed to bring Democrats and Republicans together to hammer out consensus solutions.

The low-key debate produced no clear-cut winner, which may have made it yet another setback for Bush. Still trailing badly in the polls, he has been searching for a way to shake up the political equation and make voters rethink their attitudes before they vote Nov. 3.

The debates have been viewed by most political analysts as the President's last, best hope for achieving that goal.

Only one debate remains: Monday night in East Lansing, Mich.

The generally even tone of the exchanges and the effects of tele-

Please see DEBATE, A6

Continued from A1

vision staging made the event seem more intimate than it was—almost like it was occurring in a small hall in a town early on the campaign trail. The debate took place on the basketball court of a large arena. The candidates perched on four-legged stools in a set transformed into a television studio and were free to stroll close to the crowd to make their points.

Perot made the one bit of news during the evening, announcing that he would serve only one term if elected, and would collect no compensation.

Clinton, seemingly relaxed and familiar with the format, moved easily onto the stage.

Going into the debate, GOP strategists had pinned their hopes on a renewed assault on Clinton. And Bush did argue once more that the Arkansas governor's role in the anti-war movement had rendered him unfit to serve as commander-in-chief.

But any hopes he may have had of focusing on that issue in the opening minutes of the debate were dashed by a young woman in the audience who asked if the candidates could stop "trashing" their opponents and start reflecting on "genuine" complex issues that related to the needs of people. Her concern was quickly echoed by the audience as a whole and by the debate's lone moderator, ABC news commentator Carol Simpson.

Simpson asked the audience, a group of undecided Virginia voters selected by the Gallup Organization, "Are you pleased with how the campaign is going?"

A chorus of "no's" came from the audience, and Simpson called on a man who said he was a "domestic mediator . . . meeting the needs of the children . . ." He asked the three candidates if they could "focus on the issues and not the personalities and mud."

"I agree with him," Clinton declared.

"President Bush?" said Simpson. "Let's do it," said Bush. "Let's do it."

While defending his assault on Clinton on grounds that "character is part of being President," Bush launched no more personal attacks on his Democratic rival, though he returned to the issue of trust in his closing statement.

Clinton underscored the lack of acrimony by not taking up an apparent invitation by Simpson to attack Bush on his handling of aid to Iraq prior to the Gulf War.

The Economy

Members of the audience queried the candidates about the budget deficit, the nation's infrastructure, even asking them how they personally had been affected by the national debt.

One questioner asked Clinton whether he would sign a contract barring him from a second term if he failed to meet his own deficit reduction targets. Clinton has said his economic agenda would allow the nation to cut the deficit in half over four years.

The Democratic nominee said he would avoid such a pledge, maintaining that a President "should not be judged solely on the deficit," and warning that reducing the annual shortfall too swiftly would cost jobs. "You'll have a shot at me in four years, and you can vote me right out if you think I've done a lousy job," he said.

Bush then took a shot at Clinton for proposing higher taxes on the wealthy as part of his economic program. The President cited his own pledge to oppose tax increases

and his endorsement of a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. "I went for one tax increase, and when I make a mistake, I admit it—said it wasn't the right thing to do," Bush said.

The President put in a plug for his proposed 10% income tax check-off, which in theory would enable taxpayers to cut federal spending themselves. "Some sophisticated think it may be a little gimmicky," he said. "I think it's good."

Perot, who has turned battling the national debt into a personal crusade, complained that neither the Republicans nor the Democrats take responsibility for the economy's weakness, and he vowed to solve the deficit problem once and for all.

"Put it to you bluntly: American people, if you want me to be your President, we're going to face our problems. We'll deal with the problems. We'll solve our problems," said the Texas billionaire.

One member of the audience asked the candidates how they would deal with projections that Medicare, Social Security and the government's pension guarantee funds all would run out of money in coming years, starting with 1997 and ending in 2036.

Bush avoided any details in his answer but insisted that the Social Security trust fund had been "fixed" and assured the audience that the "full faith and credit" of the United States was still well respected.

"A sound fiscal policy is the best answer," Bush concluded. He said he has proposed financial reform legislation to bring the banking and credit systems into the modern age.

Perot, in a rambling answer, said that proper leadership could bring a consensus on the best approach to difficult problems: "Medicare and Medicaid are a mess," he declared. "There are people all over the government who if they could touch it with a screwdriver could fix it."

When he was told by moderator Simpson that he was out of time, Perot snapped: "Do you want to fix the problem or sound-bite it?"

In a rare display of humor after Perot's long answer, Clinton quipped: "I think I remember the question," drawing laughter from the crowd.

The Arkansas governor loaded detail into his responses to several questions, declaring that the Social Security trust fund is now running a \$70-billion annual surplus because of six payroll tax increases in recent years on those making \$51,000 a year or less.

Medicare and Medicaid costs cannot be controlled without overall health care cost controls, he said. As for private pension funds, he said there would have to be stronger financial requirements to assure that they would be able to pay retirees without a government bail-out.

He also took a jab at Bush's famous "read my lips" declaration in 1988: "I don't want you to read my lips, and I sure don't want you to read his," Clinton said, nodding toward the President. "I want you to read our plans."

Trade

In contrast to Clinton and Perot, Bush was an unabashed advocate of free trade, emphasizing its benefits for the U.S. economy. "I want to have more of these free trade agreements, because export jobs are increasing far faster than jobs are going overseas," Bush said, suggesting that the United States should pursue trade pacts with Eastern Europe and Chile. "Some

believe in protection—I don't," he added. "I believe in free and fair trade."

Clinton, who has expressed qualified support for the North American Free Trade Agreement, said that the United States should trade on equal terms with its partners and eliminate any tax benefits U.S. corporations may enjoy by shifting production overseas. "The trick is to expand our export base and expand trade on terms that are fair to us," Clinton said.

Perot, sounded a similar theme and bemoaned the export of U.S. jobs as a result of the nation's declining competitiveness. "We've shipped millions of jobs overseas," he complained.

Education

The discussion over reform of the American education system perhaps most clearly captured the three candidates' different approaches to national problems. Bush called for innovative programs tested in local areas with minimal "federal mandates." Clinton reeled off a detailed, multi-point program with an array of government incentives; and Perot vowed just to sift through the ideas posed by all sides and pick the best ones.

"We've got to get the power into the hands of the teachers, not the teachers' union," Bush said, stressing that less government intervention, not more, was the answer to providing better schools. His allusion was to Clinton's support from the National Education Association, a labor organization with 2 million members.

He extolled his proposal to give parents federal vouchers and let them choose whether to use them to send their children to a public, private or religious schools—a system that he said would generate constructive competition among schools.

"Schools that are not chosen, improve," he insisted.

Clinton challenged Bush on that point, saying: "I don't think we should spend tax money on private schools." He pushed his proposal for a federal-state program to boost literacy and to allow high school graduates to repay their college tuition by a term of public service. Head Start programs for preschool children should be made available to all youngsters, he said, at a cost of \$5 billion over six years.

Perot's wide-ranging answer called for breaking up large schools into smaller units and included pointed gibes at big city schools he said were more interested in fielding powerful football teams to "win district" than in provide a good education.

Health Care

Perot, reciting statistics indicating that Americans pay the most but receive from the best care, blamed Washington lobbyists for a system he says now serves special interests rather than average people.

If he is elected and Congress is forced to address people's needs, he said, improvements for health care will "be just apples falling out of a tree."

Clinton again countered with a five-point plan he said would extend coverage to all Americans and reduce spiraling costs. "We need a drastic simplification of the health care system," he said, including restrictions on the insurance industry and limits on increases in pharmaceutical costs.

Bush stressed one of his favorite approaches—new limits on medical malpractice lawsuits.

DEBATE: Discussion of the Issues

Foreign Affairs

Bush stressed that despite the nation's domestic woes, it can "not pull back into isolation" as it has at times in the past.

"We are the United States and we have a responsibility to lead," he said. Bush boasted of his foreign policy record, declaring, "Forty or 45 countries have gone democratic since I've been President," he said. "This is exciting. . . . You hear a lot about the bad things that happened on my watch but I would hope people think this is pretty good."

Alluding to the military victory over Iraq, he added: "If it weren't for us, Saddam Hussein would be sitting on top of three-fifths of the world oil supply and he'd have nuclear weapons."

Clinton and Perot also spoke of an active international role, particularly in helping the former Soviet states with their political conversion, but asserted that the United States must strengthen its economy so that it can afford to exert its influence. Perot demanded that American allies begin paying for more of their defense costs and Clinton advocated deeper cuts in American overseas troop deployments than the Administration has proposed.

"For 45 years we were preoccupied with the Red Army," said Perot. "I suggest now that that our principal preoccupation has to be red ink."

Character Issues

Bush turned to the major recent theme of his campaign—trust—early in the debate when a young woman questioner suggested that candidates stop negative campaigning and concentrate on the issues.

All three responded by disavowing mudslinging, but Bush disagreed with the premise that the campaign should be about issues only. A candidate's character and integrity is important he said.

Bush again pressed his criticism of the Arkansas governor for taking part in anti-Vietnam war demonstrations in Europe 23 years ago. "I am deeply troubled by someone who demonstrates and organizes demonstrations in a foreign land when his country is at war," he said.

Clinton blamed negative campaigning on the President. "I am as sick as you are of waking up and having to defend myself everyday," he said. He added that he would be content to restrict campaign rhetoric to substantive issues, and expressed thanks that the news media was checking the accuracy of statements by his opponents in the first debate.

Perot suggested that the mudslinging has gone on between Bush and Clinton.

"I don't have any speech writers," he said. "I don't have any spin doctors." "And I guess it shows."

Crime

The Democratic candidate said he supports the so-called Brady bill, proposed legislation which would establish a waiting period before the purchase of a handgun. Clinton also said he favors imposing restrictions on the sale of assault weapons.

The Brady bill was named for Jim Brady, President Reagan's first press secretary, who was paralyzed during a 1981 assassination attempt on Reagan.

By contrast, Bush said he is opposed to the Brady bill because it is "not tough enough on criminals."

SEC Orders Disclosure of Executive Pay

By ROBERT A. ROSENBLATT
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The Securities and Exchange Commission ordered corporations Thursday to provide shareholders with easy-to-understand reports on the compensation of top executives and opened the door for easier challenges to management policies.

The new rules, adopted after more than two years of study, are a significant expansion of shareholder rights. The measures take effect against a backdrop of public revulsion at excessive executive pay and complaints of entrenched corporate management.

"These sweeping re-
Please see FIRMS, A12

FIRMS: Disclosure of Executive Pay

Continued from A1

forms pave the way for shareholders to take back their companies," said Ralph V. Whitworth, president of the United Shareholders Assn., a stockholder rights group based in Washington.

A rising chorus of complaints about huge salaries, bonuses and stock options provided to managers of corporations—often poorly performing ones—led the SEC's approval of the directive to make better disclosure of the pay, bonuses and other compensation of top executives.

The SEC, embracing the philosophy that informed shareholders are the best judges of corporate conduct, stopped short of approving stockholder approval of executive compensation. But it is making it much easier for stockholders to learn about it.

"The best protection against abuses in executive compensation is a simple weapon—the cleansing power of sunlight and the power of an informed shareholder base," SEC Chairman Richard C. Breeden said. The issue became a hot political issue this year when President Bush was visiting Japan on a trade mission. When he complained about unfair trade, Japanese officials pointed to excessive U.S. executive salaries as a reason for the lack of U.S. competitiveness.

Under the new rules, the SEC will require companies to display executive compensation in a clear, concise manner. The information is now scattered in different sections of the company's proxy statement—a required annual report to shareholders—and often in murky prose.

Now the SEC says the information should be presented in a new summary table on a single page. The table "will capture all forms of compensation over a three-year period," Breeden said.

Another table will show the number of stock

options—a promise by a corporation to allow executives to buy the firm's shares in the future at a price fixed today. If the stock rises, the options can be tremendously profitable, allowing the executive to purchase the shares at a cost far below the market value. The table will show either the current value of the stock options, or the potential value at various prices.

Breeden, a stern critic of what he views as excessive pay by poor corporate performers, noted that one firm gave its chief executive a "mega-grant," 10-year options to buy 2,750,000 shares of stock. If the stock rises at the same rate for the 10 years as it did during the last decade, the options would be worth a staggering \$1.1 billion.

"Mega options make mini-sense for shareholders," Breeden said.

Sometimes, corporate chieftains' pay is so big that "you are not able to square it with a normal person's idea of what is right and wrong," he said.

The SEC also passed regulations, over the opposition of corporate management lobbyists, designed to ease constraints on shareholder activism.

The agency voted, 4 to 0, to dismantle its complex structure of restrictions and permit unlimited freedom of speech for disgruntled shareholders and corporate critics.

"Shareholders will be completely free to publish their views in the press or the media without the SEC's permission," Breeden told the packed hearing room before the commission held its historic vote.

The SEC now forbids stockholders to communicate with more than 10 other shareholders without getting advance clearance from the agency, a cumbersome and costly process.

The law was written to cover battles for control of a company but expanded over the

years to include any comments at all, even a statement in a newspaper or on television. A corporation could send "a battalion of lawyers" against dissident shareholders, accusing them of violating securities law and tying them up for years in court at huge personal expenses. Breeden said.

"Madison and Jefferson would be rolling in their graves if that's what they thought the First Amendment had come to," Breeden said. "We want the maximum latitude for people to speak up about the fate of their investments."

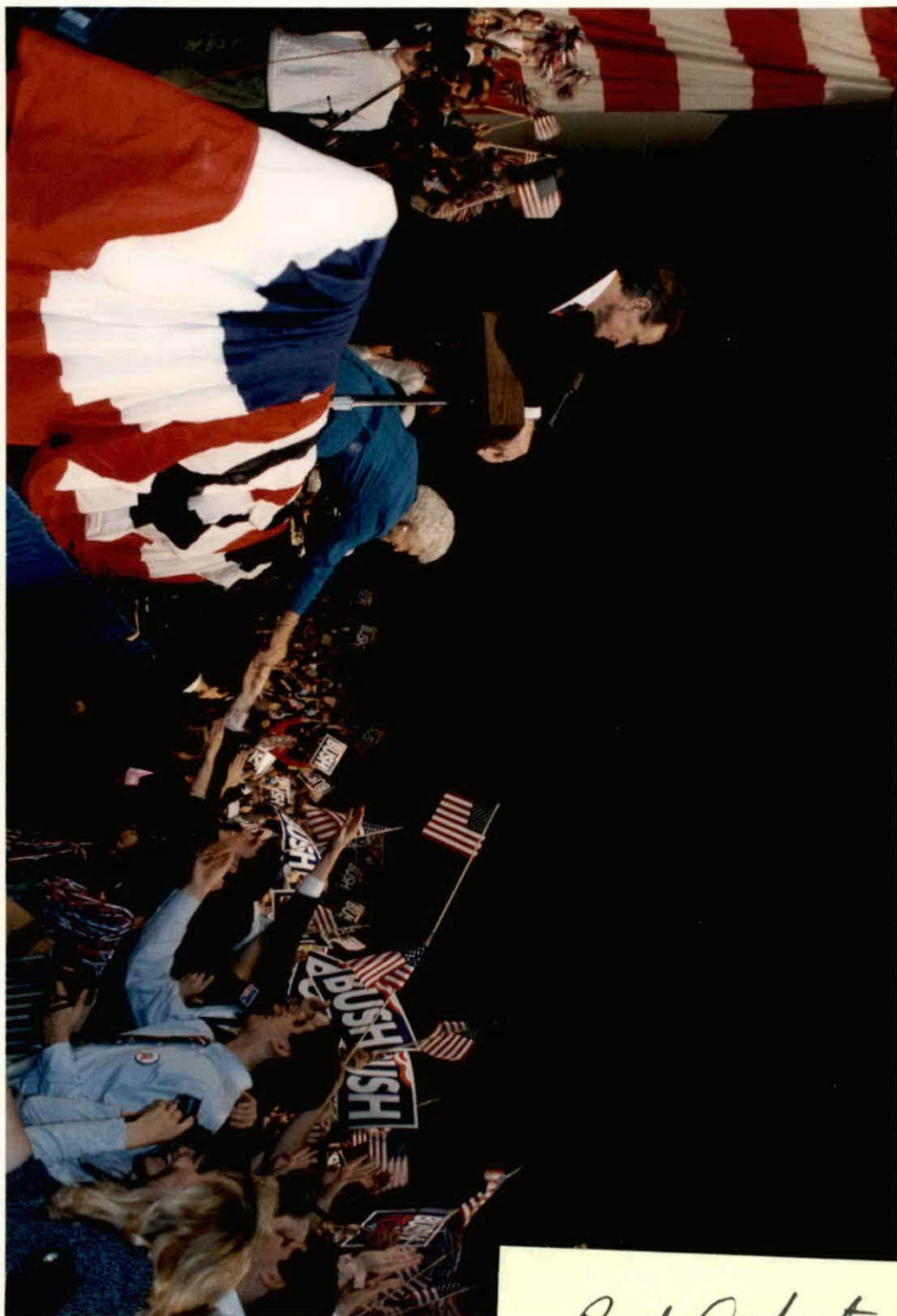
If politics worked the same way the SEC has been operating, Breeden said, "every time citizens wanted to discuss their views on President Bush, Bill Clinton or Ross Perot, they would have to file a description of themselves and their views with the SEC."

The new rules also will give shareholders a line-item vote, enabling them to support a single proposal, or a particular person for the board of directors. Currently, they must accept or reject an entire package of management proposals or a full slate of directors.

Shareholders will now be able to support dissident directors and still vote for selected individual members of the management slate.

When the new rules were proposed, they drew more than 2,000 comment letters, the most extensive public response of any SEC proceeding. The agency was flooded with pleas from corporations and big business organizations to delay, weaken or abandon the sweeping regulatory changes.

Some executives complained that the new voting rules could lead to more dissident directors on corporate boards, resulting in a tense atmosphere, a "loss of collegiality," said SEC member Mary Schapiro. But corporate boards "are not intended to be fraternities," she said.



Post Debate Rally
Richmond, Va.

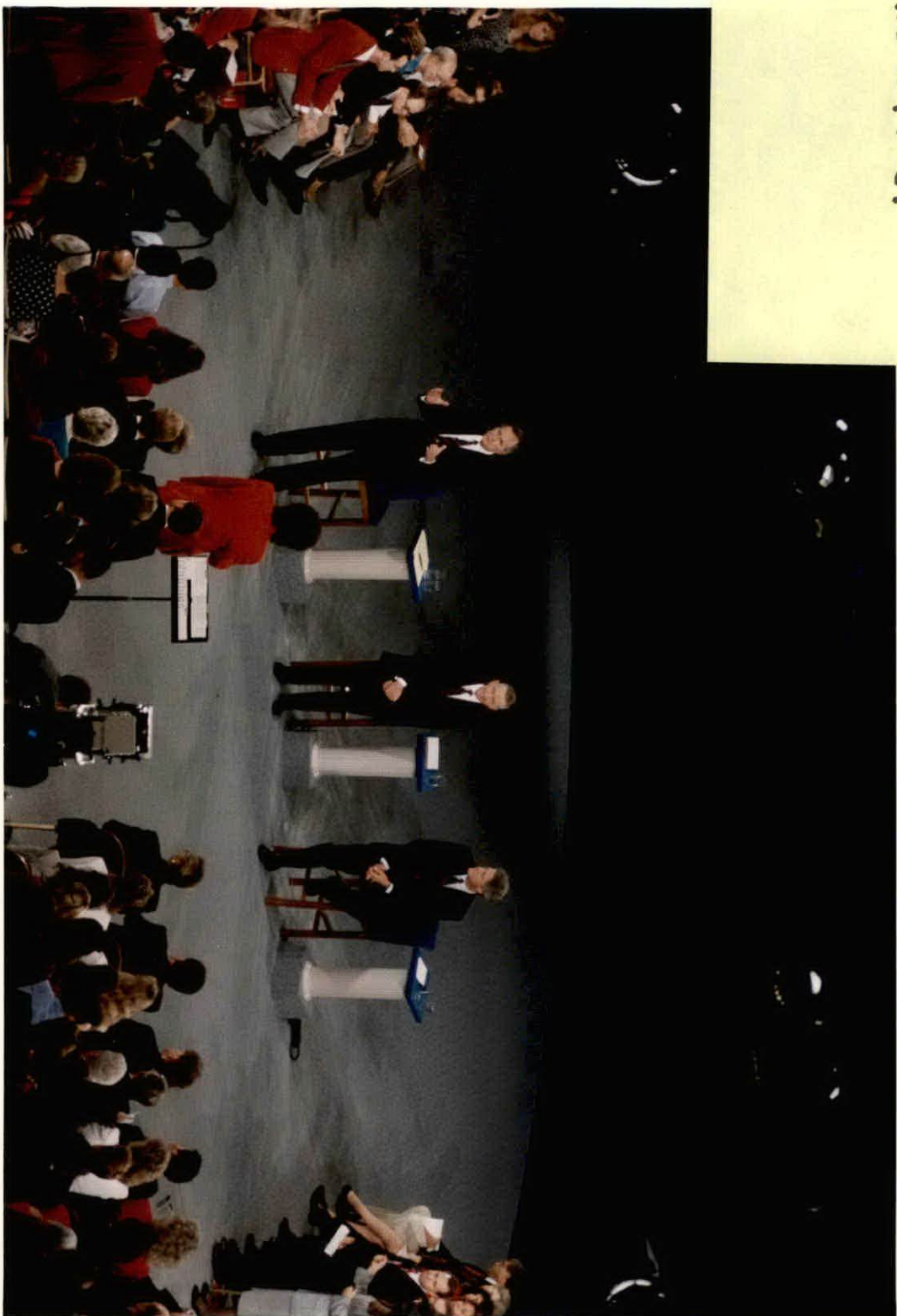
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GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

October 15, 1992

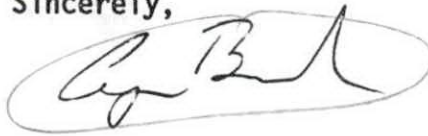
Dear Jo Ann and Victor,

Thanks so much for the phone message. I appreciate your calling in your support.

Hastily off to Richmond for another Presidential debate. Only 19 more days to go, but I remain confident.

Our best wishes and family love to you both, and thanks for all you're doing.

Sincerely,



WASHINGTON

Mr. and Mrs. Victor J. Hancock
2009 Nantucket
Richardson, Texas 75080

Jo Ann
This letter was given to OPA to be transferred to the Bush/Quayle Committee for mailing.