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Friday, October 30, 1992

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Subject: FM-Weinberger, 220

Hux, Sittman, Hill

daily 10/30

FM-Weinberger 10-30 0248
FM-Weinberger, 220

URGENT

Re: Weinberger Indictment Contradicts Bush on Iran-Contra

BY LARRY MARGASAK-

Associated Press Writer-

WASHINGTON (AP) President Bush's account of his role in the Iran-Contra affair was contradicted today in a second indictment of former Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger.

The indictment, based on Weinberger's handwritten notes, said that Bush attended a Jan. 7, 1986, meeting where President Reagan and his top aides discussed a straight swap of arms for hostages in Iran. Something Bush says he did not know about.

Bush has always maintained that he left the Reagan White House before sending arms to Iran and knew that the hostages were being freed from Lebanon, but didn't realize the U.S. was engaging in arms-for-hostages deals.

Bush said he didn't know until mid-December 1986 about the arms-for-hostages trades.

The indictment also reveals that Bush knew from the same meeting that Weinberger and Shultz opposed the Iran arms sales.

Weinberger's notes directly contradict Bush on that point:

"Met with president, Shultz, Poindexter, Bill Casey, Ed Meese, CIA Office. President decided to go with Isaakli-Iranian offer to release our 5 hostages in return for sale of 4000 TOWs to Iran by Israel. George Shultz + I opposed. Bill Casey, Ed Meese + VP favored as did Poindexter."

Casey was CIA director, Meese the attorney general and Poindexter the national security adviser at the time.

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TIME OF TRANSMISSION

TIME OF RECEIPT

**WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM**PRECEDENCE: **IMMEDIATE**
PRIORITY
ROUTINERELEASER: *JB*DTG: 290234Z OCT 92

MESSAGE NO. 8 CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED PAGES 5
FROM Robert E. Grady
(NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION _____

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBER
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WARRENMR. BAKERMR. BATES

REMARKS:



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

October 28, 1992

MEMORANDUM TO SECRETARY JAMES BAKER
DAVID BATES

FROM: Robert E. Grady
Paul Gilman

Attached is the Central Valley Project (CA) side-by-side and
explanatory note as requested.

daily 10/30

COMPARISON OF TITLE XXXIV PROVISIONS IN H.R. 429
SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION

1. Water for Fish & Wildlife - Miller-Bradley would have dedicated 1.5 million acre-feet of Central Valley Project (CVP) water for fish and wildlife purposes. This is about 20 percent of the total annual CVP water supply of 6 to 8 million acre-feet. The 1.5 million acre-feet could not have been reduced by more than 25 percent for dry years under any circumstances. Most farmers and urban users would have been subjected to greater water supply reductions for dry years. The final bill allows the up to 25 percent reduction for dry years to occur under more circumstances, and authorizes further reductions if public health or safety is affected.

Note: Miller-Bradley was never a single, homogenous bill. The term is used here to mean the "worst" version of each relevant provision.

2. Citizen Suits - Miller-Bradley would have authorized any citizen -- environmentalist or farmer -- to commence a civil suit, alleging a failure of the Secretary to perform duties under the act.
3. Water Auction - The Miller-Bradley would have authorized the Secretary of the Interior to auction 100,000 acre-feet of CVP water for 20 years to municipal and industrial (M&I) users based exclusively on the highest bid.
4. Contract Renewals - There are almost 300 water contracts within CVP. Interior signed 40-year, fixed-price contracts with water users as various facilities were completed. The first group of contracts came up for renewal in 1989 in the Friant Unit of CVP (on the San Joaquin River near Fresno), and are currently the subject of litigation in Federal district court.

Miller-Bradley would have prohibited the renewal of any contracts prior to completion of an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for CVP and a long list of additional environmental requirements. Miller-Bradley would have only permitted 1-year interim contracts pending EIS completion.

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WHITE HOUSE CONTACT

The final version of the bill guarantees an initial 25-year contract renewal period upon request, following completion of the EIS, and a shorter list of environmental requirements. The final bill also allows interim contracts for 3 years (and successive 2-year periods, if necessary) pending EIS completion.

5. New Contracts - Miller-Bradley would have prohibited any new contracts for water users (i.e., for any water user without an existing contract for CVP water, or additional water for existing CVP contractors, with the exception of the auction of 100,000 acre-feet discussed above). The final bill permits the Secretary of the Interior to sign several proposed new contracts, which the Secretary has been prohibited from signing by appropriation bill language. Included among them is 850 acre-feet for the San Joaquin National Veterans' Cemetery supported by Senator Seymour.
6. Voluntary Water Transfers of CVP Water - Miller-Bradley would have authorized voluntary water transfers subject to State law. Miller-Bradley contained less stringent conditions on water transfers than Senator Seymour, whose version essentially gave CVP water districts veto rights on any proposed transfer. The final bill provides significant protection for farmers and local communities, but is more market-oriented (i.e, all transfers are subject to a right of first refusal, and water-districts may veto transfers in excess of 20 percent of total water contracted from a given district).
7. Water Pricing - Miller-Bradley would have established an inverted block price system. The lowest price would have been in effect for the first 60 percent of contracted water, with prices increasing for each successive 20 percent increment. In the final bill, the lowest rate remains in effect for deliveries up to 80 percent of the contracted amount. Price increases go into effect for the remaining two 10 percent increments. In addition, there is a provision that the maximum price charged would be based on a farmer's "ability-to-pay" (as calculated by Interior looking at farm budgets).
8. Transfer CVP to State - At the request of Governor Wilson, the Department of the Interior and the Governor's Office in March 1992 initiated discussions concerning possible transfer of the CVP to the State. A draft Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) is nearly complete. The MOA would establish a 3-year process to further evaluate the transfer issue, including specific terms and conditions and price. Actual transfer would require Congressional authorization.

daily 10/30

FACT PAPER

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The Weinberger Additional Indictment

Key Points:

- The Weinberger note adds no new facts to the record.
- Neither President Reagan nor then-Vice President Bush held the view that this was a straight "arms for hostages" proposal. Weinberger's note reflects his perspective -- and adds nothing to the public testimony he and Shultz gave more than five years ago. See, for example, the detailed account on pages 201-203 of the Congressional Report.
- The President has claimed only that he didn't understand at the time how strongly Shultz and Weinberger opposed the Iran initiative, and did not understand that there had been a "raging fight" over it. Nothing in the note resolves this "failure of communication."
- The President has always acknowledged that he supported President Reagan's decision to undertake the Iran initiative.

Background:

Because the trial judge dismissed an obstruction of Congress count from the Weinberger indictment, the Independent Counsel restyled it as a false statement (18 U.S.C. 1001) -- not as before, that he withheld his notes, but that he falsely claimed he had made no notes of the meetings where the Iran initiative was discussed. In fact, he had made the note of the January 7, 1986 meeting, which is quoted in the indictment. (He may have made notes of other meetings, but the Independent Counsel chose this one.)

Weinberger's note of the January 7, 1986 meeting reads as follows:

"Met with President, Shultz, Poindexter, Bill Casey, Ed Meese, in Oval Office - President decided to go with Israeli-Iranian offer to release 5 hostages in return for sale of 4000 TOWs to Iran by Israel - George Shultz & I opposed - Bill Casey, Ed Meese & VP favored -- as did Poindexter."

Daily 10/30

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 30, 1992

file

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY BAKER
MARLIN FITZWATER
ROBERT B. ZOELICK

From: Robert E. Grady *RG*

Re: Economic Facts

Attached is a memo from Chairman Boskin. Key points for the President (some of which are not included in the memorandum) are:

- Clinton's charts left out the early Truman period (negative growth) and the late Bush period (positive growth). [This is the main import of the Boskin memo.]
- The Bush record is far better than the most recent Democratic President:
 - In the 1978 to 1982 recession caused by President Carter's policies, the economy actually shrunk in real terms. In contrast, the economy has grown by about 4.4% in real terms from the 1988 average GDP -- despite the intervening recession.
 - 1980 was the single greatest year in post-war history of loss of average family income. Real mean family income fell by 3.4% in 1980.
 - Inflation in 1980 averaged 13.5 percent. This year, it is running at less than 3 percent.
 - President Carter's policies caused interest rates to rise to over 21 percent. Today, they are just above 6 percent.
- In this global slowdown, the U.S. is doing better than either Japan or Germany:
 - In the last quarter, the U.S. grew twice as fast as Japan. Real economic growth in Germany was negative.
 - The U.S. has surpassed Japan and Germany as the world's number one exporter.
 - The U.S. has the highest per capita income and the most productive workers in the world.
- We must increase jobs and economic growth still more:
 - The Clinton plan will destroy jobs.
 - The Bush plan will increase jobs.



THE CHAIRMAN

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

October 29, 1992

MEMORANDUM TO SECRETARY JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: MICHAEL J. BOSKIN

RE: Clinton Charts from Larry King Show

- o Since the President is due to appear on the Larry King Show Friday night, it is extremely important that he have a response to the Clinton charges/charts from the Wednesday night show with Governor Clinton. This memo and the attached charts are a first cut at doing so.
- o One of Governor Clinton's charts purported to show that economic growth per person under President Bush has been the worst of any post-WWII President and had been negative. This chart was correct, except for two very important points.
 - The data used to represent President Bush's term conveniently ended in 1991 and ignored the stronger growth experienced thus far in 1992.
 - The data used to represent President Truman's term conveniently began in 1948, thereby omitting his first term, which included two years of falling output as the economy adjusted to the post World War II demobilization.
- o The CEA attempted in Chart 1 (attached) to duplicate Clinton's chart. The measure of economic growth used in Clinton's chart was not specified. The most straightforward measure would be growth in GDP and, in fact, this tracks closely, though not exactly, with Clinton's chart.
- o Chart 2 (attached) corrects for the two omissions from the Clinton chart.
 - Using the most recent data, specifically, including the first three quarters of 1992, shows output per person to have been approximately flat--not declining as Clinton's chart showed--over the Bush Administration.
 - The first term of the Truman Administration is included so that the data begin in 1945 rather than in 1948. The economy suffered a wrenching decline in 1945-1946 as the U.S. went through a dramatic

defense build down--just as our economy today is going through a defense build-down. This chart helps draw the parallel between the short-term economic difficulties of winning the Second World War and winning the Cold War.

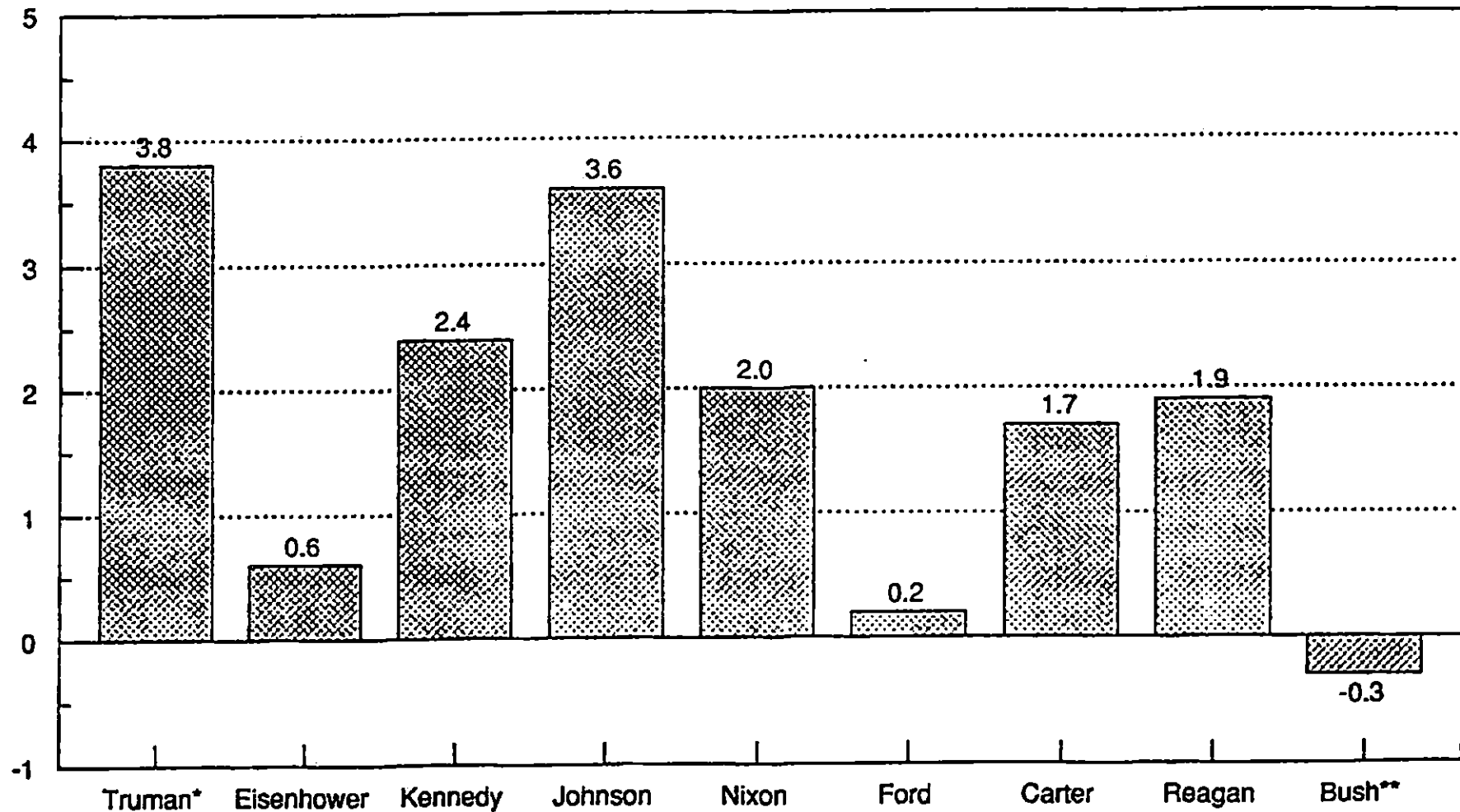
- o In brief summary, in answer to the charges that the Bush Administration has had the worst growth per person, and has even been negative, of any since Herbert Hoover, the President can confidently say this is clearly wrong: Growth has been too sluggish in my first term, but it was much worse in Truman's first term, and there is an important parallel between them--in both cases we had to work through the difficulties of a major defense build-down. And as in President Truman's second term, we are now poised for more rapid and sustained growth.

Attachments

**Chart 1 Clinton's Version:
Real Per Capita GDP Growth
Post World War II Presidents**

As of 10/29/92

Percent change, annual rate



Source: Department of Commerce.

Note: Figures for Truman, Eisenhower use GNP in 1982 dollars.

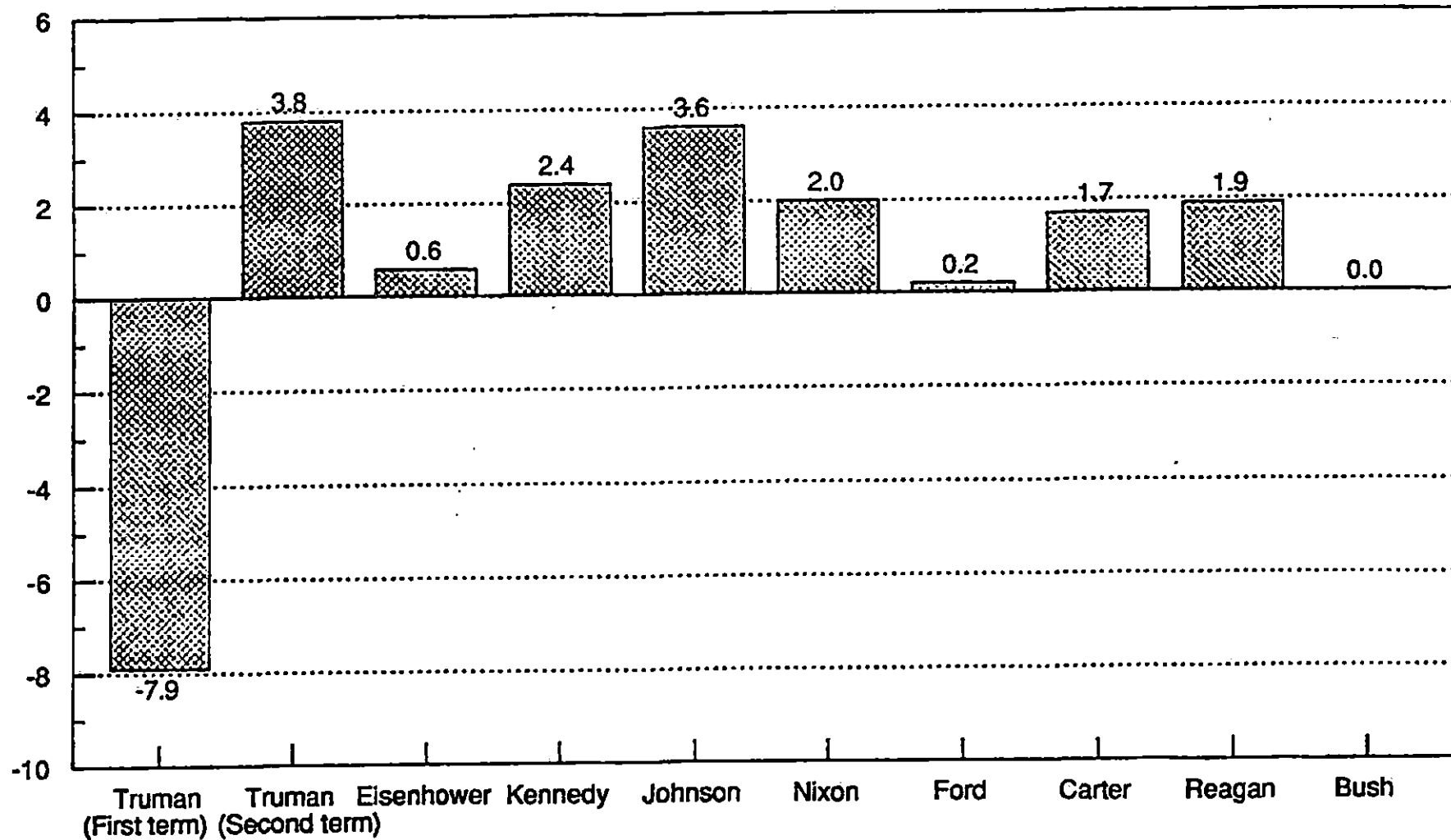
* Figures for Truman 1948-52, ignoring decline in first term.

** 1989-91 only, omitting the growth of 1992.

Chart 2 Corrected Version:
Real Per Capita GDP Growth
Post World War II Presidents

As of 10/29/92

Percent change, annual rate



Source: Department of Commerce.

Note: Figures for Bush use Blue Chip consensus forecast for fourth quarter 1992.

Figures for Truman, Eisenhower use GNP in 1982 dollars.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

THE CHAIRMAN

October 29, 1992

MEMORANDUM TO SECRETARY JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: MICHAEL J. BOSKIN *MJB*

RE: Useful Chart on the Economy for the Larry King Show

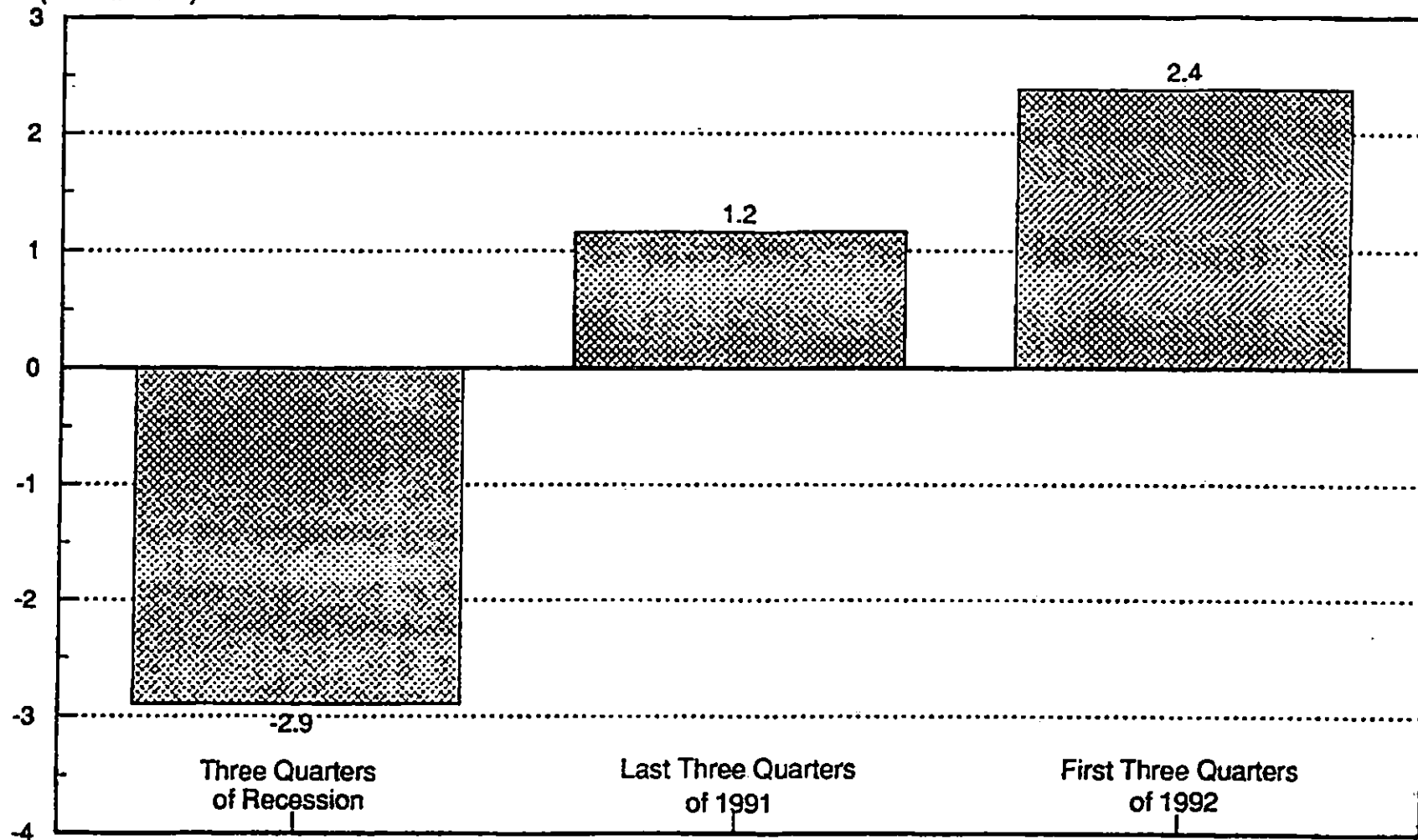
- o The President will probably want to have his own charts for Friday night's Larry King Show. The attached chart might be helpful. It shows that the economy is improving steadily and is on the right track. It compares the three quarters of recession with the slow but positive growth in the last three quarters of 1991 and the stronger growth in first three quarters of 1992. The clear visual implication is that the economy is growing and that the economy is on the right track.
- This graph should not be used to argue that the economy is growing strongly, or that the President is satisfied with this growth.

Attachment

Improving and on the Right Track

Change in GDP
(Annual Rate)

10/29/92



Source: Department of Commerce

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ZAMARIA

AM-BUSH-IRANARMS

BUSH SAYS NOTHING NEW IN IRAN-ARMS CHARGE

536

RACINE, Wis., Reuter - President Bush said Friday there was nothing new in a note that put him at a 1986 White House meeting where the arms for hostages deal with Iran was discussed.

The note from former Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger was released by the Iran-Contra independent counsel's office Friday as part of a new indictment against Weinberger.

Democrat Bill Clinton said the note contradicted Bush's claim that he was "out of the loop" about the Iran-Contra affair, but Bush rejected Clinton's charge.

"It isn't anything new," Bush said in an interview on Cable News Network's "Larry King Live". "That's all been testified to over and over again. It is absolutely absurd."

Bush said he had said many times that he supported President Reagan's actions in selling arms to Iran but did not know about the details, such as diverting money from the arms sales to the Contras fighting the Sandanistas in Nicaragua.

REUTER

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Date: 10/30/92 Time: 21:57

Weinberger Notes Contradict Bush Statements on Iran-Contra

WASHINGTON (AP) A new indictment of former Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger on Friday contradicted President Bush's claim he never knew that arms were being traded for hostages in the Iran-Contra affair or that two Cabinet members were opposed to the deal.

Bush claimed there was nothing new in the indictment, the timing of which he called "peculiar." Aides noted that it was revealed four days before the presidential election.

Democrat Bill Clinton said the indictment showed Bush "has not been telling the truth" about what he knew of the Iran-Contra affair.

"This is the smoking gun," said Clinton's running mate, Sen. Al Gore.

But Bush said, "If there is a smoking gun out there, I'd have been hauled up by one of those Senate committees" or the Iran-Contra prosecutors long before. Prosecutors, however, discovered the notes only last year, long after the congressional inquiries ended.

"I have told the truth," Bush insisted on CNN's "Larry King Live."

The indictment was based on Weinberger's handwritten notes of a Jan. 7, 1986, meeting in which President Reagan, then-Vice President Bush, Cabinet members and presidential aides discussed a straight swap of arms for hostages with Iran.

The indictment, obtained by the independent counsel investigating the Iran-Contra scandal, maintained that Bush knew from that meeting that Weinberger and former Secretary of State George Shultz opposed the Iranian arms sales.

Weinberger's note said:

"Met with president, Shultz, Poindexter, Bill Casey, Ed Meese, in Oval Office. President decided to go with Israeli-Iranian offer to release our 5 hostages in return for sale of 4000 TOWs to Iran by Israel. George Shultz + I opposed. Bill Casey, Ed Meese + VP favored as did Poindexter."

TOWs are antitank missiles.

Bush has said he knew the White House was sending arms to Iran and that some hostages were being freed from Lebanon.

But he said, on ABC-TV's Nightline on June 9, 1988, it "never became clear to me" that there was an arms-for-hostages swap until he was briefed in December 1986 a month after the operation became public by the chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee.

He reiterated that Friday.

In a television interview in Racine, Wis., hours after the indictment was announced, Bush said, "There's nothing contradictory in there of what I've said ... I know nothing contradicts what I've said under oath. So it's a little flurry here."

Casey was CIA director, Meese the attorney general and John Poindexter the national security adviser at the time.

Bush told The Washington Post on Aug. 6, 1987: "If I'd have sat there and heard George Shultz and Cap express it (opposition) strongly, maybe I would have had a stronger view. But when you don't know something, it's hard to react. ... We were not in the loop."

And in his own 1987 autobiography, "Looking Forward," Bush wrote: "As it turned out, George Shultz and Cap Weinberger had serious doubts, too. If I had known that and asked the President to call a meeting of the NSC, he might have seen the project in a different light, as a gamble doomed to fail." The NSC is the National Security Council.

In a separate television interview in Wisconsin, Bush changed the emphasis from those earlier assertions. "I did know of the objections," he said flatly for the first time, adding, "but I didn't know how strongly."

"I knew they had reservations," Bush said of Shultz and Weinberger. "I didn't know there was a raging fight ... They weren't shouting and yelling," Bush said of the two Cabinet secretaries.

Bush spokesman Marlin Fitzwater maintained to reporters on Air Force One, flying from a campaign stop in St. Louis to Milwaukee, that the only legally questionable part of the Iran-Contra plan was the diversion of proceeds from the Iran arms sales to the Contra rebels in Nicaragua, and Bush "didn't know about the diversion of funds."

Clinton, who has made Bush's truthfulness about the Iran-Contra affair an issue, said the indictment "clearly shows that President Bush has not been telling the truth when he says he was out of the loop." He said it shows that Bush "knew and approved of President Reagan's secret deal to swap arms for hostages."

"President Bush says this election is about trust, character and judgment," Clinton said. "He has seriously called into question those issues and now has to answer your questions on all three counts,"

Fitzwater questioned the indictment's timing, just days before the election, saying, "It does seem mighty suspicious that the Clinton people are trying to turn it into something."

But Mary Belcher, spokeswoman for Independent Counsel Lawrence E. Walsh, said there was no political motive involved.

White House Counsel C. Boyden Gray has written two articles in recent weeks attacking the news media's coverage of Bush's role in the arms-for-hostages issue.

In one article, Gray acknowledged that Bush had attended the Jan. 7, 1986 meeting. But Gray then suggested that Bush was not present for the part of the meeting when Shultz and Weinberger voiced their objections.

Gray did this by relying on the recollection of Reagan, who has stated that Bush wasn't present during the part of the meeting when Shultz and Weinberger were complaining.

Weinberger was charged in the new grand jury indictment with one felony count of making false statements to Congress about whether he took notes relevant to its investigation of the Iran-Contra affair. Including the new indictment, he faces trial Jan. 5 on three false statement and two perjury charges.

Each charge carries a maximum penalty of five years in prison and \$250,000 in fines.

Bush has criticized Walsh's \$32.8 million investigation as too lengthy and too expensive. Walsh said in September that he was closing the criminal investigation, but would proceed with the prosecutions already begun.

AP-NY-10-30-92 2155EST

NETWORK NEWS SUMMARY
for Friday Evening, October 30, 1992

CLINTON CAMPAIGN/IRAN ARMS

ABC's Peter Jennings: The question of truth and character came up again today for President Bush. The President has always denied knowing that the Reagan-Bush Administration was trading arms for hostages with the Iranians in 1986. "I was," he's always said, "out of the loop." Today a note by then-Secretary of Defense Weinberger puts Mr. Bush at an Oval Office meeting where a specific deal, missiles for hostages, was discussed and approved. The note says: "President decided to go with Israeli-Iranian offer to release our five hostages in return for sale of 4,000 TOWs...to Iran by Israel. George Shultz and I opposed. Bill Casey, Ed Meese and V.P. favored." The note was released by the special prosecutor, who was seeking a new indictment of Mr. Weinberger for lying to Congress about the Iran-contra affair. Gov. Clinton's campaign said this was the smoking gun which shows the President has been lying.

ABC's Chris Bury: This afternoon, the Governor used the Iran-contra revelations to attack the President on the very issues Bush has raised so often against him.

(Gov. Clinton: "President Bush says this election is about trust, character and judgement. He has seriously called into question those issues and now has to answer your questions on all three counts.")

Clinton said questions about his behavior as a student cannot be compared with questions about Bush's behavior as Vice President.

(Clinton: "He has vigorously attacked me for going to the Soviet Union as a student or my actions with regard to the draft. This deals with what he did as Vice President.")

For Clinton it was a full day of attack and counter-attack in states that have become more important in a tighter race. In New Jersey, Clinton noted the President yesterday had called Al Gore crazy.

(Clinton on airport tarmac: "What's crazy is an Administration that produces declining incomes, higher unemployment, 100,000 people a month losing their health insurance.")

Later, at a rain-soaked rally in Pittsburgh, Clinton repeated Bush's attack lines in the belief they will backfire.

(Clinton: "Then he called us 'bozos.' Well, all I can say is Bozo makes people laugh and Bush makes people cry and America's going to be laughing on Tuesday." Crowd cheers.)

The Clinton strategy has always assumed a tight race at the finish. Now his fortunes hinge on turning out the right blocs of voters in the right states. Campaign field workers are concentrating get out the vote efforts among young people, blacks and women especially. And the remaining tv budget is being spent in only 20 states where the race is traditionally close. And Clinton plans to visit at least 11 of them in the next three days during a marathon campaign trip that will have him running nearly around the clock until Tuesday.

(Clinton: "I'm gonna run like the underdog.")

From here on out, Clinton says his campaign is not political science; it's combat.

(ABC-Lead)

White House News Summary

Friday, October 30, 1992 -- 2

NBC's Andrea Mitchell: The Iran-contra developments were a gift to Bill Clinton, who has been struggling to counteract Bush's attack on his credibility. Campaigning in Pittsburgh, Clinton quickly interrupted his schedule to pounce on the revelations in the Weinberger indictment.

(Gov. Clinton, to reporters: "Today's disclosure that President Bush knew and approved of the arms for hostages deal with Iran not only directly contradicts the President's claims, it diminishes the credibility of the presidency. Secretary Weinberger's notes clearly show that President Bush has not been telling the truth when he says he was out of the loop.")

In Maine, Al Gore also attacked.

(Sen. Gore, to reporters: "I think it's a real bombshell. The memorandum is a real smoking gun. I think it devastates his claim to the trust of the American people.")

The news comes at a good time for Clinton. His lead was narrowing. He re-visited Pennsylvania, a state that should be solidly his, and will return twice more in the next two days.

(TV Coverage of Clinton at rally, holding up hands of Sen. Wofford and candidate Yaekel.)

(Reporter: "Are you worried about -- "

Clinton: "Well, let me say this. I think we have to win Pennsylvania. I've worked hard here and we're gonna keep working hard here. I'm gonna be back.")

Wherever he goes, his core message is that he represents a needed change from Bush economics. He even worked it into a response to Bush yesterday calling him Bozo and Al Gore crazy.

(Clinton to crowd: "I'll tell you what I think is crazy. I think crazy is unemployment going up and incomes going down.")

Clinton has made light of Bush's latest attack, thinking they make the President look foolish.

(Clinton: "Then he called us bozos. Well, all I can say is Bozo makes people laugh and Bush makes people cry and America's gonna be laughing on Tuesday." Crowd cheers.)

But Clinton is not laughing yet, not with the race tightening up and the recent momentum in Bush's favor.

(Clinton: "We've gotta keep trying to break through with our message of hope and change. To do that, I've got to press harder, work longer, hit stronger. And that's what I intend to do. I'm gonna run like the underdog.")

Running like an underdog means a nonstop 24-hour tour of at least nine states on Monday and Tuesday, hammering Bush on the economy and now Iran-contra.

(NBC-3)

CBS's Richard Threlkeld: All along, the Clinton campaign has been trying to make an issue of George Bush's credibility. The revelations today about Iran-contra played right into that theme.

(Gov. Clinton: "Today's disclosure that President Bush knew and approved of the arms for hostages deal with Iran not only directly contradicts the President's claims, it diminishes the credibility of the presidency. It raises the question, first and most importantly, about whether he's told the truth in this campaign and for the last five years. And secondly, raises the whole question of his support for the policy. But the far more important thing is whether for five years he's been telling the American people something about his conduct of foreign policy as Vice President which was simply not true.")

-more-

White House News Summary

Friday, October 30, 1992 -- 3

Threlkeld continues:

(Sen. Gore: "We now have the evidence, the smoking gun memorandum, the clear proof that what George Bush has said about his role in creating one of the worst, most embarrassing catastrophes in American foreign policy is simply untrue. How can he now ask the American people to trust him?")

Despite this bombshell, the Clinton campaign still thinks this election will turn on the issue of the economy, and that's the issue that Clinton will be stressing in a campaign marathon the next three days that will take him to more than a dozen states, winding up at dawn on election day in Denver. (CBS-2)

PRESIDENT'S CAMPAIGN/IRAN-CONTRA

CBS's Dan Rather: There is new written evidence tonight concerning what President Bush knew and when he knew about the secret deal that sent some of America's best missiles to Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini. The grand jury evidence raises new questions about whether Mr. Bush is telling the truth.

CBS's Rita Braver: An embarrassing revelation for George Bush. Evidence released for the first time today contradicts his previous statement that he was out of the loop on the Reagan Administration's deal to ship arms to Iran in exchange for American hostages. New charges returned in the ongoing case against former Secretary Weinberger detail Weinberger's handwritten notes of a meeting Bush attended January 7, 1986. Weinberger writes that President Reagan decided to approve a scheme to release hostages in return for the sale of 4,000 TOW missiles to Iran by Israel. Weinberger opposed. Others, including Vice President Bush, favored the deal.

(Anthony Lewis, columnist: "This is further very strong evidence that George Bush knew all about the trading of arms for hostages, which he has consistently denied.")

For years, over and over again, Mr. Bush claimed neither he nor President Reagan knew the details.

(Vice President Bush, December 3, 1986: "The President is absolutely convinced that he did not swap arms for hostages.") President Bush has changed his story several times, and in fact earlier this month appeared to admit he knew something about the deal.

(Katie Couric: "That you knew about the arms-for-hostages.")

President: "Yes, and have said so all along.")

But in that same interview, the President also denied being at key meetings, including the one in the note released today, where Weinberger opposed the trade. Columnist Lewis, who has been tracking the President's Iran-contra connection, said it's ironic Bush is trying to make Clinton's truthfulness an issue.

(Lewis: "It's the President of the United States deliberately, knowingly, forcefully telling you an untruth year after year, month after month. That's going to destroy our faith in our political system.")

The independent counsel insists the release of the note was timed to meet the schedule for Weinberger's trial, not to embarrass the President in the final days of the campaign.

-more-

White House News Summary

Friday, October 30, 1992 -- 4

Rather: The grand jury evidence appears to be at variance with what then-Vice President Bush said in an interview on this broadcast in 1988. The President sent one of his spokesmen out today to say there is nothing new in the Weinberger note.

CBS's Susan Spencer: The Bush campaign was both very angry and very defensive about this story, saying that any claim that this somehow contradicts Mr. Bush's assertion that he was not in the loop on the arms sale is "pure political hogwash." Aides insisted the President has answered every question on this, that nothing has changed, and that everything in this memo was already known. So when asked about the new memo, spokesman Fitzwater had this somewhat odd reaction.

(TV Coverage of Fitzwater boarding plane, waving hat.)

The campaign may try to laugh it off, but Mr. Bush does not need questions about his truthfulness while he's trying to convince voters that he, unlike Clinton, is a man of honor and trust, a point he made today at a surprisingly-small afternoon rally in Missouri.

(President Bush: "What the President does reflects all around the world. People judge our country to a large degree by that. They are interlocked, and I don't believe that you can have a person in the White House who's gonna try to be on all sides of every issue, flip-flopping. The pattern of deceit is wrong for America." Aides said none of this would lessen Mr. Bush's enthusiasm for the character issue. Added Fitzwater: I hate to accuse anyone of politics, but it does seem mighty suspicious that the Clinton people would try to stir this thing up. (CBS-Lead)

NBC's Tom Brokaw: And tonight, new material that directly contradicts President Bush's claim that he was out of the loop in the Iran-contra affair. A handwritten note from Weinberger.

NBC's John Cochran: In the final days of the campaign, the last thing George Bush needs is a reminder of the arms-for-hostages deal with Iran.

(TV Coverage of the President at podium being cheered by placard-waving crowd.)

While Bush was trying to convince voters they can't believe Bill Clinton, his own credibility was in question. Bush has always said he was out of the loop of information when President Reagan approved the arms-for-hostages swap. But a federal indictment of Weinberger places Bush at a key meeting. Weinberger's notes about a Jan. 7 1986 meeting say: "George Shultz and I opposed. Bill Casey, Ed Meese and Vice President Bush favored." Two weeks ago, Bush told Katie Couric he was not present.

(President Bush: "What was asked was whether I knew that Casper Weinberger and Shultz, how strongly they opposed it. And I said to that, there were two key meetings where they almost got into a shouting match, I am told, that I did not attend. I don't believe there's anything in there that's gonna contradict the \$40 million that has been spent on these hearings and I don't think anything - I know nothing contradicts what I have said under oath.")

The Bush camp hopes the Weinberger note will not slow down the President's advance in some polls. He started the day in Al Gore's home state, Tennessee, where independent polls show Bush very close to Clinton.

-more-

White House News Summary

Friday, October 30, 1992 -- 5

Cochran continues:

(TV Coverage of the President shaking hands with cheering supporters.)

But this afternoon, he was in Missouri, which Bush aides tell NBC News is probably a lost cause.

(TV Coverage of the President autographing supporters' placards, shaking hands with cheering crowd.)

The party's internal polls show Clinton leading by double digits. Bush needs every state he can get, including Alaska's three votes. Today, Bush may have picked up some support there by easing restrictions on commercial development of Alaskan wetlands. The Bush campaign figures most environmentalists will vote for Clinton and Gore, whom Bush calls "Ozone."

(President at rally: "Hey, listen. Put Ozone in there and every worker is going -- who depends on reasonable balance between the environment and growth and business is gonna be out of work.")

But Bush did not repeat earlier references to his opponents as far out or crazy or bozos. His aides want him to continue attacking with gusto but not at the cost of sounding undignified or unpresidential. (NBC-2)

Jennings: President Bush's schedule is not quite so frantic, but he will also be on the road full time from now until election day. Mr. Bush started this day by accusing Clinton of what he calls trample-down economics. He ended it by having to answer those new questions about his role in Iran-contra.

ABC's Brit Hume: The wildness of yesterday's campaigning gave way today to a more solemn and basic message from the President. He stopped calling his opponents bozos, something even Mrs. Bush said she disapproved of. Instead, he framed his direct appeals for votes in terms of his own record.

(President Bush: "Ideas, action, character. I believe I have demonstrated, I certainly have tried to demonstrate all three, and so I ask you, go to the polls on November 3rd, give me your vote and let us lead America to new heights of prosperity." Cheering.) In Nashville earlier, he made a similar plea based on his decisions in sending U.S. forces into combat.

(President: "It is a responsibility I believe I have fulfilled with honor and duty and above all, integrity." Applause. "That is your call on November 3rd. Then the polls and the pundits don't matter anymore, and, God bless 'em, it's all up to the people.")

The President got a little boost today from Democratic Gov. Donald Schaefer of Maryland, who came to St. Louis to announce he's endorsing Mr. Bush. But there also was the persistent issue of the Iran arms sales, fueled today by the release of that Weinberger note. The President insisted that it was all old stuff that had been fully investigated.

(President: "There is nothing contradictory in there of what I've said, and I don't believe there is anything in there that's gonna contradict the \$40 million that has been spent on these hearings." The questions raised by that Weinberger note may not be new, but its public release is. It may not prove anything; the President has always said he missed part of that meeting. But it gives the whole issue new life, hardly a help to him as he seeks re-election on the issues of character and trust. (ABC-2)

White House News Summary

Friday, October 30, 1992 -- 6

PEROT CAMPAIGN

NBC's Jim Cummins reports Ross Perot is taping the last of those famous 30-minute commercials to air Sunday and Monday night on all three networks. This weekend, Perot is campaigning in public for a change, with trips to Florida, Missouri, California and back to Texas for a rally Monday.

He's been more likely to attack Republicans.

(Perot on Larry King Live: "This is the same party that gave us Watergate. This is the same party that gave us Iran-contra. This is the same party that's up to its ears in Iraq-gate now.")

At the same time, Perot seems to go out of his way to avoid attacking Clinton. For instance, James Stockdale has harshly criticized Clinton and other war protesters, accusing them of prolonging the war, resulting in the deaths of thousands of American troops. In an interview with David Frost, airing tonight on PBS, Perot is asked whether he agrees with Stockdale.

(Perot to David Frost: "Let's assume that privately I agree completely. I'm not going to make that a campaign issue.")

But Perot will make an issue of George Bush in the closing days of this campaign, saying a vote for Bush is a wasted vote. (NBC-4)

CBS's Bill Lagattuta reports the Perot campaign is privately delighted at the timing of this Irangate development. They say it makes their candidate look more credible when he attacks the party of George Bush.

(Ross Perot on Larry King Live: "This is the same party that gave us Watergate. This is the same party that gave us Iran-contra. This is the same party that's up to its ears in Iraq-gate now.") Revisiting his political birthplace last night, Perot also talked about his plan for the future, which sounded more like a plan to one day have a plan. (CBS-3)

POLLS

Brokaw: This is a closing act that has everyone on the edge of their seats. We go into the final weekend of the campaign with most of the national polls of likely voters indicating a very tight race. And with new questions tonight for President Bush about Iran-contra.

First, the polls. CNN-USA Today have a 1-point spread among likely voters (Clinton 41%; Bush 40%; Perot 14%).

ABC's likely voters show a 4-point lead for Clinton (Clinton 41%; Bush 37%; Perot 17%).

But a poll by CBS gives Clinton a 10-point lead. (NBC-Lead)

Jennings reports the latest ABC News national poll taken over the last two days shows Clinton leading President Bush by four points, 41-37%. That's down three for Clinton since yesterday, up two for Bush. (ABC-3)

Rather reports that according to the poll, which was taken before today's Iran-contra revelations, the Clinton-Gore ticket appeared to be the choice of 45% of likely voters; Bush-Quayle 10 points behind and Perot-Stockdale with 15%.

-more-

White House News Summary

Friday, October 30, 1992 -- 7

CBS's Mark Phillips reports there are some worrying numbers for the President in the poll about whether people believe what he says. The poll shows twice as many people don't believe the President on Iraq-gate as do. That's fewer people than believe Clinton's version of his Vietnam war draft history; here the public is split between belief and disbelief. A general tightening in the polls means this race, when transferred to the state-by-state electoral college map, is getting a lot closer. Some of the big prize states the Clinton camp was counting on are now in play. New Jersey and Ohio are a tossup; Michigan is tightening; Texas and Florida are now leaning toward Bush. (CBS-4)

UNDECIDED VOTERS

Jennings updates on the undecided voters ABC has been tracking in New York, North Carolina and California.

Eight of 10 in New York said they would vote for Clinton; the idea of change was appealing to them.

The group in Charlotte, N.C. is still having a hard time choosing. Five are still undecided. But one will vote for Perot and three for Bush.

The President has not convinced anyone as yet in the group from Northern California. Four remain undecided, Clinton got three and three think Perot's straight talk and business experience are what the country needs.

(Totals -- Clinton 36; Perot 16; Bush 13; Undecided 30)

(ABC-5)

Rather interviews three voters. One woman is "vehemently against" President Bush and is now an enthusiastic Clinton supporter. A man said that given the reality of the least of "three evils," he will go with Clinton because he does not trust Bush. Another man says he trusts President Bush, recounts some of the President's accomplishments, and says he does not trust Clinton.

Newsweek's Joe Klein says the race is "fairly stable," with Clinton maintaining his lead. Klein says the President has not been addressing the economy very directly over the last month, which may be part of his problem. (CBS-8)

VILLALPANDO INVESTIGATION

ABC's Bill Greenwood reports on the investigation of Treasurer Villalpando for allegedly receiving money from a company after becoming Treasurer. Authorities are still gathering evidence. She denies wrongdoing. (NBC-8, ABC-6)

HEALTH INSURANCE

NBC's Lisa Myers reports from Austin, Texas on how the candidates' health plans would affect people. Perot has no plan, but promises one if elected. Bush and Clinton have vague plans with sharply different approaches.

(President Bush: "My program is this: Keep the government as far out of it as possible.")

Bush emphasizes individual choice. He'd give workers tax credits or vouchers to help them buy private insurance. But there is a problem for middle income families.

-more-

White House News Summary

Friday, October 30, 1992 -- 8

Myers continues: Critics say as many as 25 million Americans would still lack insurance under the Bush plan.

(Gov. Clinton: "Under our plan, health care will become a right, not a privilege.")

Clinton's plan would provide insurance for everyone by requiring employers to cover their workers. Most workers like that idea. Many small business owners don't. Clinton says small businesses will get tax credits to ease the burden. Still, workers worry the burden will be too great.

(Worker: "Then we'll all be without jobs. Then we don't have jobs and we don't have insurance. So I don't like it.")

Bush and Clinton agree on the need to reduce spiraling health costs. Clinton's solution: government intervention to control health care spending. Bush says that will reduce quality and bureaucratize the system. Bush's prescription: more competition. Clinton says that won't work. Both candidates claim they can save enough by reigning in health care costs to pay for insurance for tens of millions of Americans who need it. Experts say in the short term, at least, that's fantasy.

These workers believe that one way or another, the money will come from them. (NBC-7)

HOME SALES

Rather reports the Commerce Department says sales of new homes fell 1% in September, the first outright drop in five months. For the first nine months of the year, sales are more than 20% above the same period of last year. (CBS-6)

###

Presidential Phone Calls

Aboard Air Force One



DATE: 12-30 TIME: _____

incoming / outgoing

WITH: A1 Austin

SUBJECT: _____

talk wife AM

N hunting now

see if I can go
with you

FOLLOW UP: _____

one thing he did -
Cryst. Cathedral
show 10 AM Sunday
positive for you

let try to get N to
go w/ me just do

daily 10/30

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Rose,
Andy asked that I pass
this along to you.

Will.

National Committeewoman
Harold B. Smith, Jr.
National Committeewoman
Mary Jo Aradi
Secretary
Ronald C. Smith
Treasurer
Thomas W. Ewing
Finance Chairman
Allan J. Hamilton



Illinois Republican State Committee

Albert M. Jourdan
Chairman

Miki Camper
Chairwoman

State Headquarters
320 North Fourth Street
Springfield, IL 62701-1702
217/525-0011
FAX # 1-217-753-4712

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Naperville

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Chairman
Alton

13th District
RONALD C. SMITH
Springfield
Lombard

14th District
DALLAS INGENUNSON
Yorkville

15th District
THOMAS V. EWING
Springfield
Mendota

16th District
TONY HAYES
Morton

17th District
J. STEPHEN KELLOGG JR.
Springfield

18th District
MARYALICE BRUCKSON
Morton

19th District
MARCO BODEMIANI
Chicago

20th District
DON V. ADAMS
Springfield

21st District
RON. STEPHENS
Chicago

22nd District
LARRY COOPER
Naperville

FACSIMILE

TRANSMITTAL FORM

TO: ROSE ZAMARIA FAX #: _____

FROM: ANDY FOSTER

DATE: 10/29/92 TIME: _____

SUBJECT: JIM OBERNETTER ARTICLE

Total number of pages (including this one): 2

If not received, call _____ at 217/525-0011.

COMMENTS: THOUGHT YOU WOULD LIKE TO

SEE THIS - FROM TODAY'S CHICAGO

SUN-TIMES OP/ED PAGE. WE'RE NOT

SURPRISED! HOPE ALL IS WELL.

A

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1992

Honesty Pays Off For Genuine Hero

Maybe Jim Oberwetter should be running for president.

If you've already forgotten who Jim Oberwetter is, you've proven once again that the good guys get no recognition, or at least none that is as lasting as four days.

Jim Oberwetter, a modern hero, is the Bush campaign chairman in Texas who was too honest to fall for an FBI sting in which he was offered audio tapes and documents from Ross Perot's offices for \$2,500.

Perot had provided the FBI with the tapes and documents as part of an undercover operation to check out Perot's claim he was being spied on by the Bush campaign. Oberwetter, incredulous when he was approached by an undercover agent he called "Cowboy Bob," asked: Haven't you ever heard of Watergate?

After throwing the creep out, Oberwetter picked up the phone and reported the crime to the local constabulary.

It would be most gratifying now to see the local constabulary turn around and try to nail the FBI for entrapment, for going after someone whom the FBI apparently didn't have enough evidence on to even get a search warrant. It makes me shudder to think what Oberwetter's fate might have been if he had not immediately reported Cowboy Bob's offer.

"These people had no probable cause to come calling on me," Oberwetter said. "Outrage is a word that understates my feelings. Mine, too."

It occurs to me that with many voters believing that two of the presidential candidates come up just a little short in the honesty department and the third might be a bit teched, presidential candidate Oberwetter could have been just what the doctor ordered.

But aside from all this, I'm for giving Oberwetter a trophy for: (A) providing the exception to the operative assumption that every politician is a lying crook and (B) stopping, before they could get

going, the conspiracy nuts (Oliver Stone, et al) who would have us believe there's a microphone behind every lampshade and a tape recorder wired to every phone.

Or will it?

For most people, Oberwetter helped disprove Perot's spying charge. But for the conspiracy nuts, it'll be only further proof of the existence of the Big One.

Here, let me beat them to it by offering the most cock-eyed, off-the-wall explanation of why Oberwetter's refusal to buy the tapes proves that a conspiracy exists.

See, it's all a set-up. If Oberwetter had bought the tapes, he would have been arrested, and his complicity in the web of spying would have been exposed. It would have meant, too, that a law enforcement agency was doing its job by

cracking the conspiracy.

But, you see, that's not possible, according to the conspiracy theorists, because everyone is supposedly a part of the conspiracy. Ergo, the conspiracy never can be exposed, not by normal, legal means, anyway.

Or think of it this way: Oberwetter protected the conspiracy by proving that it doesn't exist. By refusing to buy the tapes, he helped demonstrate that Perot's spying charges were false.

But, you protest, Oberwetter then would have had to have known in advance that the offer of the tapes was actually an FBI sting or he might have purchased the tapes. Well, that's easily explained: Oberwetter was tipped off about the sting by the CIA. Or by the FBI itself.

If you're confused by all this, don't worry. Just join the rest of us who believe that the simplest explanation is often the most accurate one—Oberwetter is honest. And that the real world isn't always populated with hit squads running across your lawn.

Dennis Byrne is a member of the Chicago Sun-Times editorial board.



Pool Report #19
Nashville to St. ~~KKK~~ Louis
October 30, 1992

After the speech to the KFC folks, the President walked through a side lobby of the Opryland Hotel. About 400 to 500 people, most with Bush/Quayle signs, were well packed in behind a rope. Bush spent about three ~~minutes~~ minutes working the rope ~~line~~ line, shaking hands, giving forth ~~a~~ an open-mouth, toothy grin. When he realized he missed some, he doubled back.

As he pulled away ~~from~~ the hotel, he shouted out (just before boarding limo: "Amnesty. Look at it this way ONLY THREE MORE DAYS of assaults." (this to the pool. he gave a thumbs up sign). in car, he used the microphone to say to pool: "Amnesty for the cameramen. Amnesty for the photo dogs." (he included Compton in the amnesty, and then said it covered everyone "but those ~~sunday~~ talk show....")

Nothing from Air Force One

Jim Gerstenzang
Los Angeles Times

Doriean Friedman
US News

POOL REPORT #20

October 30, 1992

(St. Louis, Missouri)

This was from Marlin Fitzwater, aboard Air Force One, approximately 3:30 p.m. Central Time en route to Milwaukee. I talked to the Legal Counsel's Office in D.C. regarding the Weinberger note. It's important to point out that the meeting involved -- in this indictment is the same one that was the subject of discussion in the first indictment. There are no new facts that have been introduced by this Weinberger note and the situation has not changed one iota in terms of vice presidential involvement. The fact remains, as we have always said, that all these issues that were looked into by hundreds of lawyers spending some \$40 million, and there is just no change in the situation by virtue of this indictment.

Apparently what's happened is Judge Walsh has changed the indictment.....against Mr. Weinberger. But in terms of relevance to the vice president, now President, there isn't any change at all. Marlin was asked about the timing of the note, and said, "The President said he was not in the loop in knowing about the diversion of funds, and he certainly wasn't. No one knew about that, including the Vice President. But in terms of knowing about the loan initiative, the Vice President always said all along that he supported President Reagan. There were a lot of meetings that he did miss. And there were a lot of meetings that were not regular NSC meetings that he wasn't invited to. But, nevertheless, that all has not changed at all."

Asked if, in other words, President Bush did not know about the diversion but knew about the swap, Marlin said, "I don't know about what he did know or what he recalls from the meeting. But he didn't know about the diversion of funds. That's the really only relevant case. The issue about knowing about the Iran initiative -- so what? The diversion is the only thing that was subject to legal review. Knowing about the Iran initiative was not a problem. President Reagan, to this day, does not think there were arms for hostages swapped."

Asked about the political timing, Marlin said, "I hate to accuse anyone of politics, but it does seem mighty suspicious that the Clinton people are trying to churn this up. They're calling all over town. It's part of the political game, I guess." Otherwise, the flight and motorcade to hotel were uneventful.

Muriel Dobbin, McLatchey Newspapers
Dorian Friedman, U.S. News

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

Friday, October 30, 1992

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

Chicago Tribune, Thursday, October 29, 1992



AP photo

First Lady Barbara Bush gestures for quiet while holding a baby Wednesday at a campaign stop in Winooski, Vt.

THE BOSTON GLOBE • THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1992

C A M P A I G N 9 2

Barbara Bush tours Vermont

WINOOSKI, Vt. — Barbara Bush kissed a Democratic mayor, cuddled a baby, poo-pooed political polls and earned a roomful of goodwill during a brief campaign stop yesterday in Winooski.

"She's great . . . she's everything she says she is," said Pat Williams, who drove up from Manchester to hear the president's wife speak at the Winooski Senior Center.

Williams is a Bush-backer in the presidential race, but said if she had been undecided, Mrs. Bush would have convinced her to vote for President George Bush next week.

Mrs. Bush started her Vermont visit with a brief meeting with local supporters at the Burlington International Airport. From there she was driven into staunchly Democratic territory — Winooski — where she spoke with about 150 supporters.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

THE BOSTON GLOBE • THURSDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1992

Poll says many N.H. Republicans disaffected

By John Milne
GLOBE STAFF

CONCORD, N.H. — Significant numbers of New Hampshire GOP voters are rejecting their party's candidates, an independent poll released yesterday found. Republicans are so disaffected that state party leaders reportedly rejected a visit from President Bush in favor of yesterday's appearance by his wife, Barbara.

According to a poll of 523 registered voters conducted by the University of New Hampshire Survey Center, Republican Gov. Judd Gregg is trailing Democrat John Rauh in his effort to be elected to the US Senate seat being vacated by Sen. Warren B. Rudman.

Rauh, a retired Sunapee businessman, led Gregg 47 percent to 38 percent, the survey said. However, the poll found that Gregg's support increased during the Oct. 21-26 polling period.

Republicans, at 230,000 registered voters, outnumber Democrats by 30,000 in New Hampshire, while there are about 200,000 independent voters.

The governor's race is a dead heat, with Republican Stephen E. Merrill, a former attorney general from Manchester, leading Rep. Deborah Arnesen of Orford by 44 percent to 42 percent, the survey showed. That gap is within the poll's 3.6 percent margin of error.

Breaking out GOP voters, the poll found that Bush had the support of only 52 percent of Republicans surveyed, Gregg 62 percent and Merrill 67 percent.

In the state's two congressional races, incumbent Republican Wil-



GLOBE STAFF PHOTO / JONATHAN WIGGS

Barbara Bush squeezes in a bit of campaigning while heading for a rally at Brown's Lobster Pound yesterday in Seabrook, N.H.

liam Zeliff was in a virtual tie with Democrat Robert Preston, 36 percent to 34 percent, with nearly one out of four voters undecided. Incumbent Democrat Dick Swett had 57 percent of the vote compared to 22 percent for Republican Bill Hatch.

Republican strategists say their polls show GOP candidates with bigger leads, but William E. Cahill, chairman of Bush's Victory '92 committee, said, "We need to reach out to disaffected Republicans" to stave off possible Democratic victories.

The same poll showed Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton leading Bush 42 percent to 30

percent, with 16 percent backing independent candidate Ross Perot. In a similar UNH survey in September, Clinton led Bush 45 percent to 29 percent.

A Democratic lead is rare in New Hampshire, where Republicans usually win by large majorities. A Democratic presidential candidate has not carried the state since 1964, but New Hampshire's four electoral votes have become important in a three-way race.

During a telephone conversation last week state officials were offered a presidential visit, but Republican sources said yesterday that plans were changed after the opinions of

state candidates were received. Barbara Bush came instead.

"There were some discussions about the president campaigning in New Hampshire, but it made more sense to have him in other parts of the country," Cahill said.

Gregg confirmed the phone call but said he would have welcomed the president.

✕ Barbara Bush came to New Hampshire after campaign stops in Maine and Vermont.

The Republican defections continued yesterday. Peter W. Powell, a Lancaster developer and the son of the late Gov. Wesley Powell, an outspoken conservative, announced that he will vote for Arnesen. "Like other Republicans, I am concerned about building our party for tomorrow, but I know I must vote for good government today," Powell said.

Voters are uneasy because of the still-sliding economy, said Madeleine M. Kunin, former governor of Vermont, at a get-out-the-vote rally last night for Democrats at the State House.

"New Hampshire, in the primary, revealed how deep-seated the economic worries are," she said in an interview. "I'm only surprised that it didn't happen before."

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

THE WASHINGTON POST

The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ Ross Perot seemed pretty pleased with himself last night when Cher phoned him up on CNN's "Larry King Live" to let him know she has just cast an absentee ballot for him. "I was really nervous, I was really frightened," Cher confided to the Texan, adding soulfully, "but my conscience is clear."



Neil Bush, bullish.

✕ Presidential son Neil Bush did not go unnoticed at a bullfight near Cancun, Mexico, on Wednesday. His presence was announced over a loudspeaker, and a bull was thoughtfully dedicated to him.

Albany TOWN

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

Going in style at museum benefit

Local celebrity women had a Cinderellalike experience Tuesday when they underwent a major physical transformation at the Best of Washington's 11th annual Fashion Parade and Luncheon Benefit for the Capital Children's Museum.

After arriving at the Ramada Renaissance Techworld with no makeup, uncoifed hair and everyday clothes, the business, political, sports and community leaders were revamped rapidly by professional hairdressers, makeup artists and local and national retailers before sashaying down a long ramp in front of a sold-out crowd of more than 1,000 guests.

Many of the well-known personalities were hardly recognizable in their silks, chiffons, leathers, blue jeans, platform shoes and hats.

Some admitted to feeling a little ridiculous.

Megan Beyer, wife of Virginia's lieutenant governor, wore a snug-fitting black leather skirt and red leather jacket by Chanel. "I didn't think I'd ever wear these again," she said, pointing to her platform shoes. "I can't see me campaigning in Southwest Virginia in this outfit, but I kind of like it.

"I'd probably have to take a second mortgage on the house to be able to purchase these clothes," she added.

Mrs. Beyer wasn't the only one feeling a little outlandish. "This is not exactly my image," said Channel 7's Paul Berry, one of the few men in the show. Sporting a jacket with Mickey Mouse logo, the jovial newscaster said it was worth it to digress from a typical workday to support a good cause. "People in Washington like to see and be seen," he said.

Not everyone was feeling self-conscious in the borrowed apparel. Donatella Andreani, wife of French Ambassador Jacques Andreani, seemed quite at home in her Chanel ensemble. Though Mr. Andreani enjoyed admiring his wife's graceful appearance in the red chiffon outfit, he said, "I hope she doesn't get too comfortable in it."

One model, who wasn't at all at ease in a \$31,000 fur coat by Fendi, had her own way of offsetting the preposterous cost of high fashion. "I don't know if Fendi would be offended, but I'm wearing my Kmart shoes!" exclaimed Liz McEwen,



Sen. Ted Kennedy with his sister, Jean Kennedy Smith



Above: Margaret Bush and her children, Marshall and Walker. Right: Former Olympians Dave Hartcorn, Jim Brady, Kenny Carnes and Donna de Varona

wife of Ohio Rep. Bob McEwen.

The celebrity models looked as if they were enjoying their freebie make-overs, and they took full advantage of the anything-to-please beauticians willing to spend ample time on potential future clients.

Victoria Reggie Kennedy seemed to be in no hurry as she tried a couple of different looks. And a herd of Hafts, including pompadoured paterfamilias Herbert Haft, kept hairstylists entangled in plenty of big hair.

Besides the fashion extravaganza and celebrity turnout, guests were impressed with the all-American theme in which 50 models paraded down the runway accompanied by 1992 Olympic athletes, members of the Youth Marine Color Guard, Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus clowns, Bugs Bunny and decorated golf carts. But it was Redskin Mark Stock whose athletic strut down

the aisle really awoke the mostly female audience.

The red, white and blue occasion was also a reminder that the elections were only a week away.

"Things are looking a little more sane these days," reported presidential daughter-in-law Margaret Bush, who was passing through town before meeting the president on the campaign trail in Ohio.

From the other side of the political fence came a contingent of Kennedys to cheer Victoria's turn in the limelight: sisters-in-law Ethel Kennedy and Jean Kennedy Smith (who received a Humanitarian Award) and, of course, a proud and beaming husband, Massachusetts Sen. Ted Kennedy.

Among the models were such

political ladies as Ginger Sullivan, Alice Sessions, Elizabeth Reilly, Lois Breaux, Mary Johnston and Mary Sasser. The media contingent included Kate Leherer, Diana McLellan, Lea Thompson, Susan King, Barbara Harrison and Rene Poussaint.

Also at the event: D.C. Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly, Capital Children's Museum founder-executive director Ann Lewin, lobbyist Anne Wexler, Bitsy Folger, Ann Vanderpool, Evelyn DiBona, Sally Chapoton, Mercedes Cecchi, Ailki Bryant, Marlene Malek, Esther Coopersmith, Estelle Gelman, Grace Bender, Barbara Landow, Janmarie Prutting and event co-chairs Gloria Haft and Deborah Siebert. — Siobhan McDonough

The Washington Times

/ FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

Merrie- Go-Round Merrie Morris

The house on the hill:

Forget the election. What's really scary is the Quayles' haunted-looking house Halloween night.

Word is a ghoulish gang with an uncanny resemblance to the second family will be passing out candy to trick or treaters, ages 10 and under, from 6:30 to 7:30 p.m. However, the little souls must be brave enough to approach the house without their adult companions. Tricks not required.

FAMILY VALUES: A survey by USA WEEKEND finds Republican and Democratic presidential camps don't always differ — especially regarding family values.



By Tim Dillon, USA TODAY
GORE: Kids need
'love, acceptance'

In the survey out today, President Bush berates media snooping: "I don't believe anybody has the right to disrupt a family just to get a news story. Character is important, but if reporters must tear up a family and destroy family privacy to get a story — that story isn't worth printing."

Democratic vice presidential candidate Al Gore and his wife, Tipper, say they'd accept it if their children were homosexual: "The most important thing that a parent can communicate to a child is love and acceptance."

Vice President Quayle agreed: "I will always love and support my children, even if I don't like choices they've made."

Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary, agree with the Bushes that some popular music and TV shows undermine family values. "Children deserve to have some innocence," the Clintons said.

Independent presidential candidate Ross Perot and his running mate did not respond to the survey.

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

For Immediate Release

October 30, 1992

NATIONAL MEDICAL STAFF SERVICES AWARENESS WEEK, 1992

- - - - -

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

The professionals who direct or manage medical staff services, from hospital communications to the accreditation of physicians and nurses, play an important role in our Nation's health care system. In addition to serving in hospitals and other primary care facilities, these professionals also work in health maintenance organizations, medical societies, State licensing boards, and consulting firms. By administering rules and regulations, by ensuring accreditation compliance, and by providing a wide range of support to physicians, medical staff coordinators help to promote the quality and efficiency of health care.

Today many medical staff services professionals are striving to promote efficiency and professionalism in health care by working through the legal, financial, and regulatory requirements that have increased along with new challenges and opportunities in the health care industry. This week, we acknowledge the value of such efforts.

The Congress, by House Joint Resolution 399, has designated the week of November 1 through November 7, 1992, as "National Medical Staff Services Awareness Week" and has requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of November 1 through November 7, 1992, as National Medical Staff Services Awareness Week. I invite all Americans to observe this week with appropriate programs and activities.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-ninth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and seventeenth.

GEORGE BUSH

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

For Immediate Release

October 30, 1992

NATIONAL MEDICAL STAFF SERVICES AWARENESS WEEK, 1992

- - - - -

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

OCTOBER 30th

, 19⁹²

[illegible]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

October 30, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
XXX INC	5:42 AM PM	5:52	Mrs. Barbara P. Bush Residence, Washington, D.C. White House Admin x551	Tlkd-ok 5:43 AM
XXX INC	7:24 AM PM	7:32	Mr. C. Boyden Gray Office, Washington, D.C. 456-6611	Tlkd-ok 7:27 AM
OUT XXX	7:54 AM PM	7:56	Doctor Burton J. Lee III Opryland Hotel Nashville, Tennessee Nashville Signal 3-3000	Tlkd-ok 7:55 AM
OUT XXX	7:57 AM PM	7:58	Admiral Jonathan T. Howe Opryland Hotel Nashville, Tennessee Nashville Signal 3-3315	Tlkd-ok 7:57 AM
XXX INC	8:34 AM PM	8:48	Mr. Roger E. Ailes Office, New York City, New York 212-685-8400	WCB 8:35 AM Tlkd-ok 8:43 AM
OUT XXX	11:01 AM PM	11:05	Ms. Patty Presock Office, Washington, D.C. White House Signal 7-2198	Tlkd-ok 11:02 AM via Cellular STU-III
OUT XXX	11:16 AM PM	11:24	Mr. Alan S. Austin Office, Tampa, Florida 813-289-3886	Tlkd-ok 11:18 AM via Secure Satellite
OUT XXX	11:25 AM PM		Attorney General Griffin B. Bell Grosvenor House Hotel London, England 499-6363	PRESUS Cancel 11:50 AM
XXX INC	AM 1:35 PM		Mr. Raymond D. Siller Office, Washington, D.C. 456-2930	Tlkd with Mr. Farish 1:56 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

October 30, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT XXX	AM 2:36 PM		Mr. C. Boyden Gray Office, Washington, D.C. White House Signal 7-2258	WCL 2:40 PM PRESUS Cancel 3:50 PM
OUT XXX	AM 2:43 PM	2:49	Mr. John P. Schmitz Office, Washington, D.C. 456-2632	Tlkd-ok 2:45 PM via Secure Satellite
OUT XXX	AM 3:30 PM	3:41	Mr. C. Boyden Gray Office, Washington, D.C. White House Signal 7-2258	Tlkd-ok 3:31 PM via Secure Satellite
OUT XXX	AM 5:05 PM	5:13	Governor John H. Sununu Office, Washington, D.C. 898-7655	Tlkd-ok 5:06 PM
OUT XXX	AM 5:14 PM	5:21	Secretary Manuel Lujan, Jr. Republican Headquarters Los Alamos, New Mexico 505-662-4212	Tlkd-ok 5:10 PM
OUT XXX	AM 5:14 PM	5:40	Secretary Edward R. Madigan Holiday Inn, Des Moines, Iowa 515-283-0151	Tlkd-ok 5:39 PM
OUT XXX	AM 5:30 PM	5:38	Mr. Joe McQuaid Office, Manchester, New Hampshire 603-668-4321	Tlkd-ok 5:31 PM
OUT XXX	AM 6:02 PM	6:19	Mr. Marlin Fitzwater Office, Racine, Wisconsin Racine Signal 4-3281	Tlkd-ok 6:14 PM
OUT XXX	AM 6:05 PM		Ms. Judy A. Smith Office, Racine, Wisconsin Racine Signal 4-3228	PRESUS Cancel 6:07 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

October 30, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT XXX	AM 6:19 PM	6:31	Mr. C. Boyden Gray Alibi Restaurant, Washington, D.C. 347-8559	Tlkd-ok 6:29 PM
XXX INC	AM 6:37 PM	6:47	Mr. Jonathan E. Bush En route Residence, Miami, Florida 305-775-4221	Tlkd-ok 6:40 PM via Cellular Phone
XXX INC	AM 7:25 PM	7:36	Mr. George W. Bush, Jr. Residence, Dallas, Texas 214-692-6604	Tlkd-ok 7:32 PM
XXX INC	AM 9:27 PM		Mr. William Bush Residence, St. Louis, Missouri 314-993-1210	LW with Mr. Farish 9:29 PM
OUT INC	AM PM			
OUT INC	AM PM			
OUT INC	AM PM			
OUT INC	AM PM			
OUT INC	AM PM			

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

Nashville, Tennessee

St. Louis, Missouri

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

LOCATION

Racine, Wisconsin

DATE 30 October 1992

TIME

MOVEMENTS

[illegible]

10/29/92

13:48

6174951364

INST OF POLITICS

002

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

INSTITUTE OF POLITICS
79 John F. Kennedy Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
617-495-1360
FAX 617-495-1364

Thursday, 29 October 1992

Dear Mr. President:

I got the message you called. Attached are two memos I wrote about the campaign. One was written two weeks ago and is about Perot and the campaign. The other is about what we might do now.

I am convinced you will win. Slick Willie is hitting the panic button and "the feisty little guy from Dallas" is not dealing from a full deck.

Keep on trucking. I'm praying for you and for my country. The Kennedy School Contras are hanging in there, surrounded but undefeated.

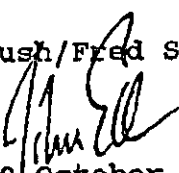
All Best,

John Ellis

mailed from
AFI
10/30/92

To John E
John - thank for
these memos
are rolling!!
Your Mom is doing
great -
CB
10-30-92

MEMORANDUM

To: President Bush/Fred Steeper/George W. Bush
From: John Ellis 
Date: Thursday, 29 October 1992
Re: Campaign Endgame

Governor Clinton's lead has now evaporated. Perot's authentic message of change has obliterated Clinton's "change" argument. Perot's paranoid dementia has now raised the "character/temperment/experience" question to a new level. Natural movement of Republicans and conservatives back to GB accounts for the rest of the voter shift away from Clinton. The Clinton campaign is headed for the Panic Zone. This is what we need to do to continue to drive the election.

1. Increase the frequency of the "Commander-in-Chief" spot. Perot's paranoid episodes on "60 Minutes" and at the various press conferences since has raised the whole issue of character/temperament/fitness/experience to a new level. This works to our advantage and against Clinton. "Commander-in-Chief" drives that message better than anything else we have.

2. Maintain and Emphasize our position as The Underdog. This is a critical component. The President gains when he is perceived as the Underdog. He is seen as a fighter, battling the odds. It is a naturally sympathetic stance. We should enhance this perception by doing the following:

- a) Have signs made for all GB/BB/DQ/MQ rallies that say: "You Gotta Believe." This will establish a direct link to famous "come-from-behind" baseball teams of the past (Miracle Mets '69 and the Pirates of '79). Bush staffers on the plane should wear "You gotta Believe" buttons.
- b) Constantly emphasize in our conversations with the press that we are still behind but gaining.
- c) Paint Clinton as taking victory for granted and overconfident.

3. Continue to hammer the Washington Press Corps and the Washington Establishment as having "decided" the election in Clinton's favor. This is a critically important element. In 1968 and 1972, in 1980, 1984 and 1988, we were able to run against the Liberal Establishment, thus establishing our credentials as outside of the Washington system. Up until the last two weeks, we were the Washington establishment. Then the press decided the race was over and Clinton was declared the victor (cover of Newsweek/cover of Time). This gives us our opening. We can accurately say that the Washington insiders and talking heads have decided the outcome of the presidential campaign of 1992. Clinton won. Well.....fuck them, fuck him and fuck that....the election is next Tuesday and we'll count the votes then.

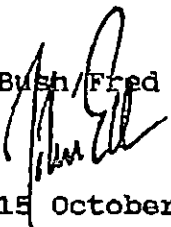
4. GB needs a new speech for the last three-four days. It should be a direct appeal, possibly written along the following outline:

- a) I want your support to (a) enact The agenda for American renewal, (b) continue conservative governance, (c) improve the prospects for world peace and (d) continue to grow America's enormous economic potential.
- b) I need your support to (a) make sure that when a crisis comes we're able to deal with it, (b) hold the line on taxes, (c) stop runaway Federal spending and (d) maintain conservative values in the bully pulpit.
- c) I ask for your vote because my political life is on the line. If I leave the stage now, I will have not completed the mission. I know better now what that mission is (see above). With your help, I will complete it.

5. We should roadblock the networks on Monday night at 10:55 eastern for a last 5-minute speech to the nation. This is the prime network time slot, just before the late news. It should mirror the themes in point #4.

6. We should continue (as hard as it might be) to bolster Perot's credibility on issues and change. After last night in Denver, it is clear that Perot and Stockdale have targeted Clinton. We need to keep Perot up on the radar in order for him to be effective in his attacks on Clinton.

MEMORANDUM

To: President Bush/Fred Steeper/George W. Bush
From: John Ellis 
Date: Thursday, 15 October 1992
Re: The Campaign

Bill Clinton's presidential candidacy is headed for the rocks. The evidence is only beginning to emerge in public opinion polling. But the debates have created a new dynamic and if we execute correctly we will win the election. Following are the key elements to the new dynamic:

1. Ross Perot went from little-known, slightly eccentric Dallas businessman to the front-running independent candidate for President of the United States in a matter of two months (April 15-June 15) on the strength of his message. The three components of his message were (and are) the same three that made George Wallace a major player in the late 1960s and early 1970s: (1) Send Them a Message; (2) There's Not a Dime's Worth of Difference between the two political parties; and (3) Stand Up for America. Perot dropped Wallace's racist rhetoric and has instead focused his wrath on what Wallace used to call "pointy-headed bureaucrats in Washington." Perot calls them "special interests," "Beltway insiders" and "lobbyists in \$1000 suits and alligator shoes."

2. The reason Perot vaulted as far and as fast as he did is because his message resonated across the country. A majority of voters believe that our political system is a rigged game, in which only insiders in the government, business, special interests and the media reap the returns.

3. When Perot dropped out, Bill Clinton uneasily inherited the majority of the Perot voters. It was not an easy fit. Clinton, after all, is not an authentic agent of change. His whole life revolves around playing and using the "system" to his advantage.

4. Clinton is perhaps the best politician of his generation. So he has been able to frame the presidential race on his terms, which are: "Who are you for? Are you for Bush or not-Bush? If you are for not Bush, then you are for me!"

5. And it has worked, so far. This whole race has defied all of the laws of political gravity because it has not been a choice between Bush and Clinton, but rather a hypothetical question about Bush vs. not-Bush.

6. Perot changed that dynamic by getting back in the race and getting into the debates. The authenticity of his message reveals Clinton's message for what it is. It's bullshit. And everyone knows it. When Bill Clinton wishes his wife a happy anniversary during the first debate, everyone thinks: "What about Ms. Flowers? This guy's full of shit." When Bill Clinton talks about "change," the change he describes sounds like the Nightmare from Democratic Hell. Billions in new spending, billions in new taxes. He does not talking about changing the system, which is what a majority of voters desperately want changed.

7. The authenticity of the Perot message diminishes Clinton's message and raises direct questions about Clinton's character (honesty and integrity). When VP Quayle hammered Clinton on Tuesday night for being a "liar," Albert Gore did not even bother to refute the charge.

8. This is our opening. We need to hammer Clinton on three things: (1) Character (he won't tell you the truth); (2) Clintonomics (Arkansas?/Carter-Mondale policies of the past which will make things worse) and (3) Commander in Chief (somewhere, sometime, there will be a crisis that will come up, who do you trust to deal with it?)

9. Perot, in order to redeem himself, will only find votes among Clinton supporters and the undecided. Our 37% is solid and will not move. So he must go after Clinton. It is his only way to redemption.

10. Clinton is then caught in the ugly logic of his candidacy. He is inevitable, he is electable, he is "for change," but no one is voting for him. They are voting against Bush or for Perot but amazingly few voters are actually for Clinton.

11. In order to vote for Perot, voters must be reassured that their votes will not be thrown away. Thus it is imperative for Perot to make the case in the final debate (and if not then, then in his last advertisements) that a vote for him will in fact Send Them a Message and allow them to Stand Up for America. It seems to me his Monday night game plan will have to focus on that.

12. After Monday's debate we must go negative by going positive. In other words, we must make the case for President Bush as "commander in chief" and by unstated implication find Clinton untrustworthy and unworthy in that role. We must make the case for President Bush's agenda for American Renewal while disparaging past Democratic economic performance (Arkansas?/Carter-Mondale). And we must emphasize President Bush's character positively (with shots of Bar and the kids and testimonials from friends) and let Clinton hang by unstated comparison.

13. Clinton is extraordinarily vulnerable and currently is below 50% in every state except those that are safely Democratic to begin with. We can assist his political collapse by relentlessly focusing on his character (with direct negative through Tuesday, 20 October) and then by making the larger case for President Bush in the final two weeks. We need one more "different philosophy" speech to outline our sharply different views of the role of government.

14. There should definitely be two key ads for the last two weeks: One that executes the whole concept of Commander in Chief and another that compares Arkansas?/Carter/Clinton economics with President Bush's mea culpa/agenda for renewal.

15. President Bush should do everything we can think of to bolster Perot's candidacy and, more importantly, credibility. Every vote that Ross gets above 8% is a vote off Clinton. Perot is the enemy of our enemy. Therefore he is our friend.

Daily

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON



Mr. John E. Stein
Sunwater Farm
SR 4, Box 184-D
Brightwood, Virginia 22715

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

October 30, 1992
(Racine, Wisconsin)

Dear John,

Thanks so much for your warm letter of October 23. As we head further down this final stretch, my spirits are high and the crowds are more and more enthusiastic. I'll remain on the road through election day, but with only four days to go, I feel confident of winning.

Barbara and I appreciate all you're doing and send our family love.

Sincerely,

George

JOHN ELLSWORTH STEIN
SUNWATER FARM
BRIGHTWOOD, VIRGINIA 22715

Friday, October 23, 1992

Dear George,

Just a note before the last week to let you know that you're going to win. Abbe and I have been talking and debating with our friends and neighbors non-stop in Culpoper, Orange, Charlottesville and here in Madison, Virginia. Things are definitely moving toward you; it is clear and sure.

Abbe wrote a letter to the editor of several local newspapers supporting your candidacy and has received a number of encouraging calls since. We tell everyone to go out and convince someone else of the merits of your reelection.

Keep your spirits high. Of our area of Piedmont, Virginia is representative of lots of places in this County (and I believe it is) Things are definitely moving toward Bush/Dunlop!

My very best,

John

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON,



Ms. Elizabeth Rice
Younger Companies
Suite 200
2575 West Bellfort
Houston, Texas 77054



GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON
October 30, 1992
(Racine, Wisconsin)

Dear Elizabeth,

Your thoughtful letter of October 26 has caught up with me on the road. Thanks so much for your kind words of support and encouragement. The media has been terrible in this election, but with four days to go, I am confident the American people will make the right choice on November 3rd and we will win.

Barbara and I are sincerely grateful for your support. We've been traveling nonstop these past two weeks and will be in Houston on Monday night. I appreciate your kind offer to help and will keep it in mind. Thanks, again.

Sincerely,

George Bush

YOUNGER COMPANIES

October 26, 1992

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, DC 10205

Dear Mr. President:

You certainly are proving the old saying, " If you tell the truth, it will never come back to haunt you" and "If you tell the truth long enough people will believe it and accept it."

Strange that many Democrats are now faced with the decision, do we vote for our party or do we vote for the truth.

Republicans are strange creatures. We don't make quite as much noise as the democrats.....but we Vote. We study all the facts, weigh and measure the candidate carefully, and we Vote. When all the smoke clears on November 3, I am confident that the Republicans, along with many Democrats and many who do not claim an affiliation with any party will Vote and it will again be President George Bush in the White House.

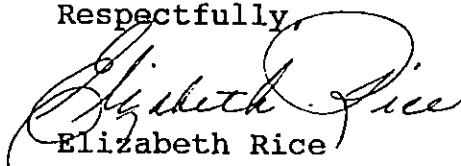
It would serve the American people well to listen carefully to your closing remark each time you speak to them...."and God bless the United States of America". We need a leader who recognizes God's existence and blessings and who is not afraid to acknowledge that His grace has made this a great nation.

The media has crucified this election and at some point they will be held accountable for the future. One thing for sure, that reporter only gets ONE vote just like me. The thing we the people have done wrong, is to give the media an open door to plant their opinions in the American mind instead of just reporting the news.

Mr. President, I'm sure if you endorsed a vitamin it would make a fortune....you look extremely fresh and healthy and Mrs. Bush looks radiant.

My prayers are with you and again, if I can be of any service to you here in Houston, please let me know.

Respectfully,


Elizabeth Rice

OPID PD
DOCDATE 920817
RECTYP OBA
MEDIA L
NAME MS. ELIZABETH RICE
ORG YOUNGER COMPANIES
STREET SUITE 200
2575 WEST BELLFORT
ADDR HOUSTON TX 77054
SUBJECT THANKS FOR THE GIFT OF THE GOLF HAT
SUBCODE GI002
RE011
INDCODE 4000
ACTION RM DSP 920821 CP2A A 920817
COMMENTS CC: GIFT UNIT

I0601 * End of documents in list. Press ENTER or enter another command.

Sanders DOCUMENT= 1 OF 2 PAGE = 1 OF 3
NAME Mr. Douglas Sanders
SPOUSE Mrs. Scotty
SAL OUT Doug & Scotty
DESCR Professional golfer.
CODES DB2 5 CC5 TXHSTN PLITCL SELEBZ SPORTS HUFRAQ
ISSUES SPGOLF KNPORT PRAYRZ
FFNAME "George," "George B" and "GB" out.
HOME1 8828 Sandringham
 Houston, TX 77024
 (713) 681-6134
 Or: 681-6135.
BUSINESS1 Doug Sanders Enterprises, Inc.
 Suite 115
 8100 Washington Avenue
 Houston, TX 77007
 (713) 864-3684
 Kingwood Celebrity Classic.
 Elizabeth Rice was 1990 Tournament Director.
 Asst: Ianne Shuler.
LUPDATE 921027

4BÜ

Sanders DOCUMENT= 1 OF 2 PAGE = 2 OF 3
UPDATE BY CT02
DATES

PRIV COMM

. FYI: Born approximately 1934.

CONTACT

. Children: Brad, Scott and Stacey.
. His annual Doug Sanders Kingwood Celebrity Classic, a highlight of the Senior PGA Tour, identifies and provides scholarships for gifted student golfers.

CORSPNDNC

. 5/90 GB attended Doug Sanders Kingwood Celebrity Classic in Houston TX.
. 9/22-23/90 Overnight guest at Camp David.
. 8/89 They both spent time in K'port with GB and BPB.
. ChrisCard: 1990, 1991.
. 2/9/90 GB thanked for 1/2 letter and invitation to golf in May. Schedulers will take closer look as date approaches.
. 3/1/91 GB thanked for support phone call.
. 4/91 GB sent signed photo.
. 5/6/91 GB thanked for get-well phone call.

4BÜ

Sanders DOCUMENT= 1 OF 2 PAGE = 3 OF 3
. 6/11/91 GB thanked for letter. Invites him to lunch in D.C.
. 8/26/91 GB thanked him for invite to May 16 tournament.
. 10/16/91 GB thanked for golf shirts.
. 10/24/91 GB thanked for clothes. Maybe they could golf in TX
. 12/91 Made donation to St. Judes Ranch for Children for Christmas present, picture shows kids at their home.

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON.



The Reverend Morris H. Chapman
Executive Committee
Southern Baptist Convention
901 Commerce Street
Suite 750
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

e letter from
Southern Baptist
t's fax it to
it would encourage

ty

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON

October 30, 1992
(Racine, Wisconsin)

Dear Reverend Chapman,

Your wonderful letter of October 29 has caught up with me in Wisconsin. Thank you for the very kind and supportive words and for your prayers.

I'll remain on the road through election day, but with only four days remaining, I feel confident of winning.

Thanks, again, and best wishes to you and Jodi from all the Bushes.

Sincerely,

Morris H. Chapman

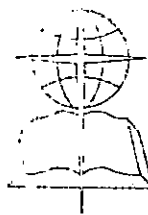
MHC:bc

Home telephone: (615) 661-5191

convinced victory

of the campaign;
and a profound
nt.

God bless these



Executive Committee
Southern Baptist Convention

Harold C. Bennett *President and Treasurer*

Morris H. Chapman
*President and
Treasurer-Elect*

October 29, 1992

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Keep the faith. The battle is the Lord's. The tide has turned. I am convinced victory is within your grasp.

I am praying for you supernatural wisdom in these last few days of the campaign; keenness of mind especially during Larry King Live Friday evening and a profound peace which passes all understanding (Philippians 4:7) on election night.

May God bless you and your family. And as you have said often, "God bless these United States of America."

Sincerely,

Morris H. Chapman

MHC:bc

Home telephone: (615) 661-5191

Previous Correspondence

319061 DOCUMENT= 3 OF 6 PAGE = 1 OF
OPID KM
DOCDATE 920313
RECTYP OBA
MEDIA L
NAME DR. MORRIS CHAPMAN
TITLE PRESIDENT
ORG SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
STREET 901 COMMERCE STREET
SUITE 750
ADDR NASHVILLE TN 37203
SUBJECT THANKS FOR ACCOMPANYING THE VICE PRESIDENT
TO SHREVEPORT, LOUISIANA ON MAR 8 92. HE
GAVE ME A TERRIFIC TRIP REPORT AND NOTED
YOUR INVALUABLE SUPPORT.
SUBCODE ME001
FG038
INDCODE 4500 4900
ACTION RM DSP 920316 CP2 A 920313
COMMENTS REQUESTED BY VPOTUS DATED MAR 13 92
CC: VPOTUS AND ROSE ZAMARIA

4BÜ

348524 DOCUMENT= 6 OF 6 PAGE = 1 OF 1
OPID PD
DOCDATE 920828
RECTYP OBA
MEDIA L
NAME REV. MORRIS H. CHAPMAN
ORG SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
STREET SUITE 750
901 COMMERCE STREET
ADDR NASHVILLE TN 37203
SUBJECT THANKS FOR THE SUPPORT FROM YOU AND JODI FOR
MY REELECTION
SUBCODE PL
PR003
INDCODE 4500
ACTION RM DSP 920831 CP2 A 920828

I0601 * End of documents in list. Press ENTER or enter another command.

4BÜ

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 22, 1992

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON



Mr. Jerry Hart
1537 Kirby Drive
Houston, Texas 77019

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON

October 30, 1992
(Racine, Wisconsin)

Dear Mr. Hart,

I would like to personally thank you for donating the use of your lovely furniture at our 1992 Republican National Convention. Not only was the furniture beautiful, it added a feeling of warmth to each room. It was very kind of you help in this way, and I appreciate your support.

I've been out campaigning almost nonstop since then, and with only four more days to go, I remain confident of winning this election.

Best wishes to you and Wynonne.

Sincerely,

George Bush

Hart
thank-you
Hart.
ished the
ff room
met the
re. They
talked
told me
vention or
ou. Mr.
ote should

fice, who
ximately
th their
(FYI: if a

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 22, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR NANCY HUANG

FROM: BARBARA BLACKBURN 
SUBJECT: Presidential Thank you

Per our conversation, Tim Parker, a designer from the Hart Galleries called our office asking for a Presidential thank-you from the President to the Hart Galleries owner, Jerry Hart. Apparently, at the Convention, the Hart Galleries furnished the Presidential suite, First Family room and Chief of Staff room with antiques, artwork, etc. Mr. Hart claims that he met the President who was very thankful for the lovely furniture. They have been thanked via the Convention people but I have talked with Bill Harris' (Convention Manager) office and they told me that someone (and we don't know whether they were Convention or campaign people) promised them a Presidential thank you. Mr. Harris' office felt strongly that a POTUS thank you note should be sent to Mr. Hart.

In addition, I spoke with Jeff Monk, B/Q Counsel's office, who told me that some of the furniture was damaged (approximately \$3000 worth), and they (B/Q) are presently working with their insurance company to try and rectify the situation. (FYI: if a note is sent, they would like a copy for their file.)

The note should be addressed to:

Mr. Jerry Hart (wife-Wynonne)
1537 Kirby Drive
Houston, TX 77019

Tim Parker's telephone #713-266-3500



10-25-92
JEB BUSH, CODINA-BUSH GROUP

daily 10/30
HE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/30

Dear Dad,

You were great in Florida.
We will win. By the time you
get this, the race will be over.
The results will be Bush 43% Clinton 39%
and Perot 17% with 1% for minor candidates. You
will have defeated the pundits and many in

our own camp. We will win because of
you ... your determination, your spirit, your
leadership.

If it doesn't turn out as I have predicted,
life goes on. You taught me that and you are right.
We will have given it our best shot and what else can
one ask for. Right?

We love you very much! Congratulations on
your victory!

Sincerely,
"Columbo"
Jelli Bush - I love you.
Jeb Sr., George P. Bush

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON

Mr. and Mrs. John W. Young
221 Lakeshore Drive
Seabrook, Texas 77586

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON
(Nashville, Tennessee)
October 30, 1992

Dear Susy and John:

Your good letters caught up with me on the campaign trail.

We're going to win this thing regardless of the relentless pounding by the news media.

Bar joins me in sending our best wishes. Hope our paths cross soon.

Sincerely,

*An ugly year
but we'll win!*

George Bush

Dear Chief and Chief Bar,

My apologies for not having written sooner, particularly since mid-February when you, shall we say, assisted in the departure from NASA of my least-liked person on this earth. And, we are thrilled with our new administrator. My life is back to the future and back to wonderful. Thank you so much.

'Nuff NASA stuff. I was particularly remiss in not having written when all was going so wonderfully for you. What I needed to tell you then was you both did one heckuva job. We were always proud to know you; you both added class and integrity to an area not always known for such qualities, and humor and intelligence when both were sorely needed.

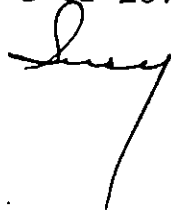
like '96

When all this major wonderful stuff is over, we hope to see you again. (Johnny says you're probably mad at me 'cause you've had us and I've not

had you for dinner, but I will remedy that if you will come.)

Anyway, lots of good thoughts sent to you from us for good things in November, and, as always,

Lots of love,

A handwritten signature, possibly reading "Luey", written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping tail.

221 Lakeshore Drive
Seabrook Texas 77586
18 October 1992

Dear President Bush,

The NASA Administrator, Mr Dan Goldin, presented me with your very nice letter of 1 October 1992. He made the presentation in front of about a thousand people at the ribbon cutting ceremony opening Space Center, Houston. I was completely, pleasantly surprised. Susy was very touched by the entire proceedings.

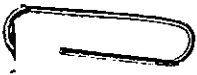
Susy and I wish you and Bar all the best in the election. Our vigor in Space Exploration should be an important issue to Americans concerned about our Nation's future.

Again many Thanks.

Sincerely yours,
John Young

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON

Monsignor William J. Lyons
8200 Natural Bridge Road
Saint Louis, Missouri 63121



GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON
(Nashville, Tennessee)
October 30, 1992

Dear Father Lyons:

Thank you for your kind note.

Your support means a lot. The media is
relentless, but we're going to win this thing.

Barbara joins me in sending our best wishes.

Sincerely,

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

WILLIAM JOSEPH LYONS
8200 NATURAL BRIDGE ROAD
SAINT LOUIS, MISSOURI 63121

Mr. Resident and
Mrs. Bank

AM
WITH
YOU BOTH!

(Miss) Joe Lyons

DINNER GUEST WITH
CARDINAL LAW AT
KENNEBUNK PORT
NOV. 24, 1988

(?) 10-30-92

daily

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DAD —

W

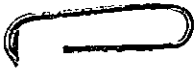
Keep up the fight!

We are incredibly
proud of you!

This will be
the greatest victory
since the ~~B~~ Sweet 16
Victory! ^{shows}
Love, Mom

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON

Miss Eldred Brown
Post Office Box 594
Big Timber, Montana 59011-0594



GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON

(Nashville, Tennessee)
October 30, 1992

Dear Eldred:

Thank you for your great letter.

Your kind words warmed my heart. We're going to win regardless of the relentless bias of the news media.

Again, thanks so much, Best wishes to you and yours.

Sincerely,

Miss Eldred Brown
Box 594
Big Timber, MT 59011
October 20, 1992

Attn.: Don Rhodes

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

Dear President Bush:

I can imagine that you and your staff are even more weary of this long campaign than is the average American. It must be grueling beyond belief, and there must be times of utter frustration in view of the bias of the media.

Even so, I beg of you to stay the course, as I know you will. I appreciate your commitment to public service since you were a young man. I believe in you, I trust you, and I know you are fighting the good fight.

Thank you for all you have done for this nation in the past, and God bless you in the weeks ahead!

Sincerely,
Eldred Brown

You were great in Florida.
 By the time you
 we will see. By the time you
 get this, the race will be over.
 The results will be But 432Cina-392
 and Peab. 176 and 12 for me and you.
 will have defeat the private and many in
 our own camp. We will win because of
 you ... your determination, your spirit, your
 leadership.
 If it doesn't turn out as I have predicted,
 You brought me that and you are right.
 Life goes on. You brought me that shot and what else can
 we will have given it out best shot and what else can
 we not for. Right?
 Let me see you very much! Congratulations on
 your victory!
 "Sincerely,
 "Charles
 JEB BUSH, CODINA-BUSH GROUP
 10-25-92

Best Dad,



JEB BUSH, CODINA-BUSH GROUP

10-25-92

daily 10/30

JEB SR, George Bush
 "Sincerely,
 "Charles
 JEB BUSH, CODINA-BUSH GROUP
 10-25-92

**WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM**PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY *
ROUTINE

RELEASER: _____

DTG: _____

MESSAGE NO. _____ CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED PAGES 1
FROM ROBIN MACLEAN X2328 FF/WW
(NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION _____

TO (AGENCY) _____ DELIVER TO _____ DEPT/ROOM NO. _____ PHONE NUMBER _____

ROSE ZAMARIA - AIR FORCE ONE

* (ROSE Z. IS EXPECTING TO
RECEIVE THIS WHEN SHE
BOARDS AF1 THIS AM EN ROUTE
ST LOUIS.)

REMARKS:

ROSE,
HERE'S THE LETTER WE
DISCUSSED. R.



10:00 A.M. EST/9:00 A.M. CST NEWS UPDATE

PRESIDENT'S INTERVIEW (Reuter) -- President Bush said in an interview broadcast today that he is encouraged by his improvement in the polls that he recently has been dismissing as "nutty." But Bush said on NBC's Today that he was still not convinced they were right. "Obviously, we're encouraged," he said in the interview videotaped Thursday night aboard Air Force One. "But we can't put great faith in the polls." Bush said that despite the polls showing he still trails Clinton by various margins, "I never lost confidence in winning the election."

Bush declined to repeat his pledge on not raising taxes in a second term, recalling that he had to roll back his 1988 pledge of "Read my lips: no new taxes." "I'm not going to go the pledge route," he said. "You don't try to retrace the mistakes of the past."

CAMPAIGN (Karen Ball, AP) -- President Bush and Bill Clinton fought over the sluggish economy as they headed into the last weekend of their presidential race, with the Democratic nominee lashing out anew at his rival's record on jobs and growth. "If you look at what's happened over the last 10 or 12 years...the overall line is going down," Clinton said on ABC's Good Morning America in a broadcast from a diner in nearby East Rutherford.

Both Bush and Clinton were campaigning at a breakneck pace in tossup states. They and Ross Perot snapped up free air time to take their case to the voters.

In a taped interview on NBC's Today, Bush was asked if he would promise not to raise taxes in a second term and said: "I'm not going to go the pledge route."

GORE/ENVIRONMENT (Beaumont, Tex./AP) -- Sen. Gore accused President Bush of insulting Americans who are concerned about the environment by making light of the issue with expressions such as "Ozone Man" instead of providing leadership. His comment came in an interview on NBC's Today.

POLLSTERS/DECLINING RESPONSES (Scripps Howard, adv. 10/31) -- Some survey experts are wondering: have they misread public opinion because Americans increasingly refuse to answer questions by phone? In the 1970s, about 80% of those surveyed completed polls. today, response rates hover at about 60%, pollsters say. Since the accuracy of a survey depends upon reaching people at random, some pollsters are wondering whether certain types of people are consistently choosing not to answer. San Francisco pollster Mervyn Field blamed the trend toward declining response rates on changing lifestyles in the family, the rapid spread of answering machines and tricky telemarketing tactics that have contributed to a diminished regard for opinion surveyers.

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News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992
6:00 A.M. EST EDITION

TRIP NEWS

BUSH FINDS FUEL FOR FIRE ABOUT STATE, IN SUBURBS -- If President Bush needed any fuel for his finishing kick, he may have found it in Michigan on Thursday. (Detroit Free Press)

CONFIDENT BUSH BARES HIS KNUCKLES -- The surging Bush campaign machine thundered through Michigan and into enemy territory -- Tennessee -- Thursday in a bid to stage an upset victory, as the campaign rhetoric on both sides got nastier. (Washington Times)

BUSH, CLINTON BEGIN FINISH-LINE SPRINT -- Pumped up by the polls and the moment, President Bush raced across Michigan Thursday in rhetorical overdrive, attacking the "way-out, far-out" Democratic ticket. (Washington Post)

NATIONAL NEWS

CLINTON CAMPAIGN SEEKS PERMISSION FOR LOAN -- The Clinton campaign, planning to spend its \$55 million in federal money down "close to zero" by Election Day, has asked permission to borrow \$1 million to pay bills right after Tuesday's voting. (Washington Post)

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

ISRAEL AND JORDAN HAMMER OUT AGREEMENT -- Israeli and Jordanian negotiators at the Middle East peace talks have made the first tangible breakthrough by agreeing on a document that lays out the agenda for their talks. (UPI)

NETWORK NEWS (Thursday evening)

PRESIDENT'S TRIP -- The Bush campaign, bursting with last-minute hope and new-found pep, seemed almost out of control.

President Bush got a much-improved forecast from Michigan Republicans.

CLINTON/AIDS -- Bill Clinton is promising to lead an all-out effort against AIDS if elected.

TRIP NEWS.....A-1

NATIONAL NEWS.....A-5

INTERNATIONAL NEWS...A-15

NETWORK NEWS.....B-1

TRIP NEWS

BUSH FINDS FUEL FOR FIRE ABOUT STATE, IN SUBURBS

DETROIT -- If President Bush needed any fuel for his finishing kick, he may have found it in Michigan on Thursday. Bush stormed the state from east to west, and was visibly boosted by a crowd of 7,300 people in Macomb County who roared when he described the Democratic ticket as "those two bozos."

At a business group's luncheon in Southgate, he almost pleaded: "I need your support. I need your vote. Do it on the basis of economics, character, trust. Whatever it is, I don't care."

And in Grand Rapids, 10,000 people waited two hours in foot-stomping cold to give Bush a warm welcome and let him know he can count on western lower Michigan, a traditional Republican stronghold. (Patricia Montemurri, Wylie Gerdes and Dawson Bell, Detroit Free Press)

BUSH TELLS MICHIGAN: 'ECONOMY NOT AS SICK AS THEY SAY'

WARREN -- President Bush campaigned in the heart of "Reagan Democrat" country Thursday, reassuring worried Americans that "the economy is not as sick as the opposition would have you believe."

With five days left, Republicans claimed Bush was rapidly closing in on Bill Clinton in Michigan.

"Michigan is absolutely essential," Bush told a riverfront rally in Grand Rapids. "We must and we will win the state of Michigan." In a state plagued by big layoffs in the auto industry, Bush trumpeted the message that the economy is not in recession and has grown "albeit anemically" in the last six quarters.

Taxes and trust are Bush's main issues in the final days, and he underscored both in a speech to several thousand people at Macomb Community College....

Recalling tough economic times under Jimmy Carter -- and figuratively moving his foes back to the late 1970s -- Bush said, "We cannot go back to that Clinton-Gore inflation by raising taxes and raising spending." (Terence Hunt, AP)

BUSH INVADES 'OZONE LAND,' GIVES NUTTY POLLSTERS REPRIEVE

NASHVILLE -- President Bush Friday invaded the home state of Al Gore, who he has dubbed "Ozone Man," and was on the verge of forgiving pollsters who he called nutty and crazy before their surveys showed him catching up. "You don't consider them nutty pollsters anymore?" asked a TV interviewer Thursday night in Michigan. "Uh, well, I'm less inclined to say that," replied the President. But then again, maybe they are nutty. "Look, how do they jump around? How does one poll have (a spread of) of 10 points, and the very same day the other one has two, or 20 points, and three? Something's strange," Bush said in a televised town meeting from Grand Rapids, Michigan. Strange polls they may be, but Bush and his campaign were scouring every one of them for signs that the President is riding a true surge of support and can beat the odds to win re-election against the favored Clinton next Tuesday. (Steve Holland, Reuter)

CONFIDENT BUSH BARES HIS KNUCKLES
Campaign Tastes Upset Victory

GRAND RAPIDS -- The surging Bush campaign machine thundered through Michigan and into enemy territory -- Tennessee -- Thursday in a bid to stage an upset victory, as the campaign rhetoric on both sides got nastier.

With his campaign gaining momentum and aides giddy with talk of a historic upset against Bill Clinton, Bush told a frenzied crowd outside of Detroit, "You guys are fired up. That makes me feel like victory is ours."

He later flew here, where President Ford said, "I think momentum has turned."
(Paul Bedard, Washington Times, A1)

BUSH SAYS CLINTON TRYING TO WIN THROUGH FEAR

GRAND RAPIDS -- President Bush, dismissing his Democratic rivals as "bozos," Thursday accused Bill Clinton of trying to scare Americans into believing the economy is worse than it is to cling to his lead in opinion polls.

"The only way they can win is to convince America we're in a recession," Bush told a cheering crowd at an outdoor rally....

Bush, who has been urging Americans to ignore opinion polls, told supporters at a Chamber of Commerce luncheon near Detroit that he was "encouraged that these polls that we live and die by are shaping up."
(Laurence McQuillan, Reuter).

BUSH, CLINTON BEGIN FINISH-LINE SPRINT
Upbeat President Charged By Polls, Steps Up Rhetoric

WARREN -- Pumped up by the polls and the moment, President Bush raced across Michigan Thursday in rhetorical overdrive, attacking the "way-out, far-out" Democratic ticket on everything from northern spotted owls to his opponent's draft record.

Bush, during his 12th campaign trip to this vital state, was introduced at three stops in Detroit suburbs by Gov. Engler, who called the contest here "dead-even," the Democratic campaign "dead in the water" and the Bush campaign "hot."

And hot Bush was.

At a midday GOP rally at Macomb Community College, the President unleashed a rhetorical fusillade on Bill Clinton and Al Gore, attacking their fitness for office, their character and charging, "My dog Millie knows more about foreign policy than these two bozos.

In particular, Bush targeted Gore, whom he now calls "Ozone Man," or just plain "Ozone." "You know why I call him Ozone Man?" the President said. "This guy is so far out in the environmental extreme, we'll be up to our neck in owls and outta work for every American. He is way out, far out, man."

(Ann Devroy, Washington Post, A1)

BUSH, CLINTON TARGET EACH OTHER AS PEROT TARGETS THE PRESS

Jostling for advantage in key Midwestern states Thursday, President Bush warned Bill Clinton not to "pick out the drapes" in the White House yet, and Clinton promised to "slam him home the last five days."

Clinton accused Bush of distorting his record as governor of Arkansas in a desperate bid to keep the White House. Bush has been airing radio ads throughout the South that Clinton people describe as "baldfaced lies."

"We're going to slam him home the last five days about all of these incredible, incredibly dishonest things he's said about my record," Clinton said before a jog in Toledo, Ohio. "The American people are going to see him for what he is, a desperate person who just wants to hold power and doesn't give a rip about them."

Fielding viewers' calls on "CBS This Morning," from Dearborn, Mich., Bush took on the speculation that his political career may be almost over.

"Governor Clinton has already started picking out the drapes in the White House," said Bush. "They're a little premature. People like somebody (who's) fighting back against all the odds, and that's what we're doing."

(Charles Green and R.A. Zaldivar, Knight-Ridder)

Bush, Clinton Trade Attacks As Race Stays Tight

President Bush and Bill Clinton are stepping up their personal attacks on each other as polls showed the race for the White House remains tight.

Bush on Thursday called Clinton and Al Gore, "bozos" who knew nothing about foreign affairs while Clinton said Bush has no standards and would say or do anything to win.

New polls Thursday raised Bush's hopes that he can catch Clinton by election day.

The CNN/USA Today/Gallup poll had Clinton ahead, 41% to 38%, with Ross Perot at 16%.
(Robert Green, Reuter)

WHITE HOUSE EFFORT TO ARRANGE TELEVISED TOWN-HALL MEETING FAILS

ST. LOUIS -- White House efforts to arrange a televised town-hall meeting here with President Bush collapsed after local TV executives raised questions about the fairness of airing it twice.

The news directors of KMOV (Channel 4), KSDK (Channel 5) and KTVI (Channel 2) said they had assured the White House that a town-hall meeting here would get significant live coverage. But they said they had balked at suggestions that the stations replay a tape of the event in prime time.

A Washington spokesman for the Bush-Quayle campaign [Tony Mitchell] said that scheduling problems were responsible for scrubbing the event, not the failure to secure prime-time exposure.

(Eric Mink, St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

BUSH SAYS MIDEAST PEACE IS POSSIBLE IF HE WINS

GRAND RAPIDS -- President Bush said Thursday that he thought a final Middle East peace accord would be possible if he won re-election next week.

Asked if he thought there were chances for a peace settlement between Israel and its Arab neighbors if he won next Tuesday's election, Bush replied: "I would think it's possible. I wouldn't want to hold out any false goal, but I think it's possible."

(Reuter)

BUSH SIGNS BILLS TO HELP DISABLED, POLICE COMMODITIES MARKETS

GRAND RAPIDS -- President Bush on Thursday signed bills intended to improve federal programs for the disabled and to strengthen federal oversight of the commodities futures market.

Bush signed the Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1992 during a break in campaigning in western Michigan. He said the legislation was aimed at helping end discrimination against Americans with disabilities and helping them enter the job market.

The commodities bill outlaws insider trading in the futures pits for the first time and imposes fines up to \$500,000 on brokers who cheat customers.

(AP)

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NATIONAL NEWS

CLINTON CAMPAIGN SEEKS PERMISSION FOR LOAN

The Clinton campaign, planning to spend its \$55 million in federal money down "close to zero" by Election Day, has asked permission to borrow \$1 million to pay bills right after Tuesday's voting.

Bush-Quayle campaign officials immediately attacked the Democrats' request to the FEC, saying it was an improper attempt to change campaign rules just before the election to free up money for last-minute expenses, such as TV commercials.

Fred Malek said at a news conference that the "panicked request for relief from profligate spending" should be rejected. "They're broke. They're embarrassed," Malek said. "This is the first real test Bill Clinton has had in managing federal funds and he's failed it."

Christine Varney, general counsel to the Clinton-Gore campaign, who filed the request, said in an interview that her committee is "targeted to hit close to zero on Nov. 3." But she said the loan request was "not about politics, and buying more TV ads, but cash flow." (Charles Babcock, Washington Post, A16)

BUSH CAMP SAYS CLINTON MISHANDLES CAMPAIGN SUBSIDIES

The Bush campaign Thursday charged rival Bill Clinton was mishandling his federal campaign subsidies and trying to stretch campaign finance rules, a charge the Clinton camp said was fabricated.

"Bill Clinton has just acknowledged he has run out of money five days before the election," Fred Malek said at a news conference.

But Clinton spokeswoman Avis Lavelle responded, "We're not out of money, honey. This is just a flat out fabrication."

(Reuter)

DEMOCRAT SCORNS FOE'S 'POLITICS OF DENIAL, DIVISION'

JERSEY CITY -- Fighting to hold together the coalition that has put him within striking distance of the White House, Bill Clinton swept across the nation's industrial heartland Thursday appealing to voters to reject "the politics of denial and division and blame which the Bush Administration has visited on this country for too long."...

On the surface Clinton was serene and confident, but as the days before Tuesday's voting dwindle there is renewed tension within his campaign and a gnawing worry about the impact of President Bush's continuing assault on his character and trustworthiness.

"The man has no core convictions," Clinton said of Bush before a morning jog in Toledo. "This is a guy here who would literally say or do anything to get elected. And anytime you're an incumbent president and you don't have any standards, you have a chance to win. I have always thought I was the underdog."

(Ed Walsh, Washington Post, A1)

CLINTON HITS BUSH FOR POLITICAL NAME-CALLING

SECAUCUS, N.J. -- Bill Clinton admits he has trouble respectfully calling his rival "President" Bush -- especially after the Republicans dubbed the Clinton-Gore team "Bozos" and "crazy" on foreign affairs during a Thursday night speech.

"I've never done that to him," Clinton said Thursday night on a televised "town hall" meeting in Secaucus. "I don't mean to be disrespectful." When a woman berated Clinton for referring to his rival as "Mr. Bush" instead of "President Bush," Clinton defensively said he often gives the incumbent the presidential title, but -- referring to Bush's Thursday speech -- added, "I'll tell you this, he referred to Sen. Gore and I as 'Bozo' and 'crazy'" on foreign policy. "Maybe I should always say 'President Bush,' but maybe it is hard for me because of the way that the campaign has operated," Clinton said. Clinton noted also that many media reports have shown Bush campaign ads to be false or misleading about Clinton's tax proposals. (Thomas Ferraro, UPI)

EUROPEANS PICK CLINTON AS A CLEAR WINNER

BERLIN -- Europeans respect President Bush for his steady hand at the world's helm as the Soviet empire collapsed, but they clearly favor Bill Clinton to win the election. Bush gets a lot of praise around Europe for his foreign policy experience, his close friendships with many of the continent's leaders and his ability to cobble together the anti-Iraq coalition during the Gulf War. But it's Clinton who gets the sort of adulation that put him on the cover of Germany's respected Spiegel magazine last week, staring boldly at the future and standing under the headline, "America's Hope." The cover story called Clinton an "intellectual," said he had "political qualities unseen in America since Lyndon Johnson's days" and just about declared him the election's winner. An accompanying story, quoting only unidentified sources, said Chancellor Kohl was so confident of a Clinton victory that his aides had established confidential contacts with the Clinton camp. (Juan Tamayo, Knight-Ridder)

CLINTON SAYS AIDS WOULD BE MAJOR PRIORITY IN HIS ADMINISTRATION

JERSEY CITY -- Bill Clinton promised Thursday that if he is elected president AIDS will be a major priority for him.

In a shift away from his recent effort to steer clear of controversial topics, he stood in the rotunda of the courthouse here Thursday night with 500 people crowded inside and said that schoolchildren have to be told in a clear but sensitive way how AIDS is transmitted. President Bush and Ross Perot have said very little about AIDS in the current campaign. Clinton is the only one to devote an entire speech to it, even though presumably he already had the support of most AIDS activists and gays. But it may stimulate a final get-out-the-vote blitz and demonstrate the Democratic nominee's heightened sensitivity to the subject. Clinton said he would appoint an AIDS czar, increase funding for AIDS research and propose a national insurance program with large pools for self-insured businesses to try to prevent those who discover they have AIDS from being dumped off their insurance.

(Ann McFeatters, Scripps Howard)

CLINTON SAYS HE OPPOSED USAIR DEAL

Bill Clinton has joined Ross Perot in making a campaign issue out of the proposed alliance between USAir and British Airways.

Clinton said on "Larry King" Wednesday that if he were president he would refuse to sign off on the proposed \$750 million deal because, "we get no access to the British market if we do it."

Thursday, however, Secretary Card said that he planned to decide on the alliance sometime between the election and Dec. 24, the date either of the two airlines could walk away from the deal.

(Martha Hamilton, Washington Post, F1)

CLINTON'S POLICE FORCE IDEA CALLED 'GOOFY'

Law enforcement officials say Bill Clinton's proposed National Police Corps is a "goofy idea" that could cost taxpayers more than \$3 billion and divide the country's police agencies.

"It's absolutely absurd, a goofy idea that won't work," said Officer Ron Robertson, vice chairman of the Labor Committee of the D.C. Fraternal Order of Police. "He's proposed a plan that doesn't make any sense, will cost too much money and isn't going to save anyone a dime in taxes."

(Jerry Seper, Washington Times, A5)

GORE STUMPS IN ECONOMICALLY DEPRESSED NEW ENGLAND

BURLINGTON, Vt. -- Al Gore crisscrosses economically depressed New England Friday, concentrating during the final days of the campaign on the small states with much needed electoral votes....

"George Bush and Dan Quayle have driven this country into the ditch. They don't know how to get it going again. They don't have any proposals for lifting out country and putting our people back to work," Gore told a rally earlier Thursday in east Texas.

(Judith Crosson, Reuter)

FLOWERS: CLINTON SAVED MY STATE JOB

Bill Clinton interceded with an associate in the state government to make sure Gennifer Flowers kept her job, Flowers said Thursday.

Flowers, in a radio talk show [Rush Limbaugh] interview broadcast Thursday, said she was unaware that Charlette Perry, a black employee of the Arkansas Board of Review, was passed over for the job that was given to her.

A grievance board in June 1991 ruled in Miss Perry's favor, saying she was unfairly denied the position given to Miss Flowers. "I talked to Bill about it," Flowers said of Bill Clinton.

"Don Barnes is the head of the agency and I said, 'Charlette has won this grievance,' and he said, 'Don't worry about it. Barnes will take care of it.'" Barnes, the political appointee who hired Flowers, rejected the grievance committee ruling, thus keeping Flowers in the position.

(Bill Gertz, Washington Times, A5)

TIPPER GORE MESHERS POLITICS, MOTHERHOOD AT ST. LOUIS RALLY

ST. LOUIS -- ...Tipper Gore addressed 200 supporters at a rally at the University of Missouri at St. Louis. She blasted President Bush and the Republicans on a number of fronts. For instance, on the environment, she said they touted the view, "We've got ours and we're not leaving the next generation anything. That's wrong."

She said Bush was calling her husband "Senator Ozone" to divert public attention from his own "dismal environmental record."
(Jo Mannies, St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

CLINTON LEADS BUSH BY 16 POINTS IN CALIFORNIA, POLL SAYS

SAN FRANCISCO -- Bill Clinton is leading President Bush by 16 points among likely California voters in the final week of the campaign, according to a poll published Friday. The survey by independent pollsters California Poll found Clinton maintaining a large lead over Bush in California despite a huge surge of support for Ross Perot. The poll of 1,106 likely California voters found 45% would vote for Clinton against 29% for Bush and 23% for Perot.
(Reuters)

THREE MORE POLLS AND BUSH STILL RUNS SECOND

NEW YORK -- Polls released by three television networks Thursday showed Bill Clinton leading President Bush by 3, 5 and 9 percentage points. Clinton's biggest lead, 44% to 35%, was in an ABC news tracking poll of 903 likely voters surveyed on Tuesday and Wednesday. Perot was at 16%, and the poll has a four-point margin of error. A one-night poll taken Wednesday for NBC News and the Wall Street Journal had Clinton at 43%, Bush at 38% and Perot at 11%. That was a 2-point gain for Bush and a 4-point drop for Perot from a comparable poll the previous night. But the changes were within the 5-point margin of error.
(AP)

PEROT'S SUPPORT SLIPS, BUT IMPACT IN RACE REMAINS
Where His Supporters Go May Determine
If Bush Has A Chance of Winning

Support for Ross Perot is slipping, and where it goes probably will determine whether George Bush has any chance of pulling off an upset in Tuesday's election. The latest Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll gives Bill Clinton a 44% to 34% lead over Bush among registered voters, with Perot at 15%. Among those who vote regularly, Clinton's lead drops to six points, 43% to 37%, with 13% for Perot.

(David Shribman and James Perry, Wall Street Journal, A16)

QUEST FOR VOTES QUICKENS

The presidential candidates blanket key states this weekend in a last round of saturation campaigning. President Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot will seek votes on the road, in a blitz of TV ads and a flurry of interviews. All three are hoping to open up a race that the latest CNN/USA Today/Gallup poll finds too close to call. With 270 electoral votes needed for victory Tuesday: Clinton leads in 18 states and D.C., totalling 223 votes. Bush is solid in four with 17 votes. (Richard Benedetto, USA Today, 1A)

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ADDING UP THE VOTES THAT COUNT

Bill Clinton heads into the final campaign weekend with far more electoral votes safely in his pocket than President Bush, regardless of how tight the national polls show the race getting.

"Right now, this is an Electoral College blowout" say Del Ali of the Mason-Dixon poll.

Indeed, with 270 electoral votes needed to win, Clinton's comfortably ahead in 18 states and the District with a total of 223 votes....

A new Detroit News Michigan poll today shows Bill Clinton ahead by 10 points. (Richard Benedetto, USA Today, 4A)

BUSH, CLINTON GET PERSONAL

President Bush and Bill Clinton spoke with Sam Donaldson on "Prime Time Live" Thursday night.

Clinton on Bush: "He really has made a total separation in his own mind between how he is as a person, how he is as a president, and how he is as a candidate. You saw the story...where he told Mr. Gorbachev not to pay any attention to what he said in the domestic political campaign, that he just had to say things to get elected.

"I think that one of the reasons that his Administration is in so much trouble today is that he is a nice man in his personal life...and then as President, hasn't focused with any kind of intense passion on the real problems of real people in this country. ("Final Week," USA Today, 3A)

BUSH UNSURE OF BAKER'S ROLE IN NEXT ADMINISTRATION

President Bush, who has repeatedly accused Bill Clinton of waffling on key issues, said Thursday he could not say what job James Baker would have if Bush is re-elected next week.

Asked by Sam Donaldson on "Prime Time Live" Thursday night whether Baker would be economic policy coordinator for all of Bush's second term or go back later to the State Department, Bush at first avoided a direct answer then finally said he did not know what Baker would do.

According to a transcript supplied by ABC, Bush replied to Donaldson's question by saying, "I guarantee you that is going to be the best coordinator we possibly could have not just for economics....,"

"For the entire term?" Donaldson interjected.

"...but for domestic, I don't know," Bush continued.

"But, so it's not for the entire term" Donaldson said.

"I didn't say that -- don't know whether it...," Bush replied.

"Well, which is it?" Donaldson asked.

"...for the, well, we don't know Sam, I don't know, what are you going to be doing three years from now?" Bush said. (Reuter)

REAGAN STUMPS FOR BUSH IN CLOSE STATES

With President Bush tantalizingly close to catching Bill Clinton, the Republicans plan to launch an offensive today by bringing out their not-so-secret weapon -- President Reagan.

Reagan will hit the stump today and tomorrow to wrap up four key states for the incumbent president.

He also taped radio spots this week for Bush.

By calling Reagan out of retirement days before the election, Bush campaign officials are hoping to tilt the balance in GOP-leaning states by rallying disaffected conservatives and blue-collar Democrats. (Valerie Richardson, Washington Times, A4)

**SCHAEFER EXPECTED TO BACK BUSH
Governor Accepts Invitation To Rally**

ANNAPOLIS -- Maryland Gov. William Schaefer, a Democrat, will travel to St. Louis on Friday to appear at a rally with President Bush and is expected to give his endorsement to the Republican incumbent.

Schaefer, has a long and warm acquaintanceship with the President and has frequently spoken of him in flattering terms.

Schaefer spokeswoman Paige Boinest said this evening that Schaefer decided to make the appearance with Bush after receiving a call Thursday from Robert Teeter. "He hasn't said anything so far in the presidential election, and he felt it was time to go with his conscience," Boinest said. Boinest said Schaefer plans to address the rally. She said Schaefer will likely endorse the President at that time. (Richard Tapscott, Washington Post, D1)

Schaefer Plans To Attend Campaign Rally With Bush Friday

ANNAPOLIS -- Governor Schaefer plans to fly to Missouri Friday to attend a campaign rally with President Bush....

Kevin Igoe, executive director of the Maryland Republican Party had been asked before Schaefer's plans were announced whether an endorsement by the governor would help more than hurt, given Schaefer's low standing in state public opinion polls.

"The Clinton people certainly didn't go out of their way to get his endorsement, so that certainly tells you something," Igoe said.... "Clearly the governor has had his battles and his enemies lately, but let's not be crazy about this, he still has a lot of influence in this state," said House Majority Leader D. Bruce Poole, a Democrat. "If I were in a battle, I would still rather have the governor with me than against me," Poole said. (AP)

RATHER AND CO.

...As for differences in reporting, CBS by far was the toughest on President Bush, while ABC was the most balanced, according to the Center for Media and Public Affairs, after having done analysis all the presidential election stories ever reported by the three networks. It turns out that 72% of the CBS sources commenting on Bush were critical, while 56% of those commenting on Bill Clinton were negative. ABC, had only a 4-point difference in negative evaluations (65-61); while NBC had a 9-point gap (69-60). ("Inside the Beltway," Washington Times, A6)

OUT WEST, QUAYLE SCOURING USUALLY REPUBLICAN STATES FOR VOTES

CASPER, Wyo. -- Campaigning near the edge of the known Republican world, Vice President Quayle is trying to reclaim the mountain West for President Bush, telling voters they can't trust Bill Clinton and shouldn't waste ballots on Ross Perot.

At every stop, Quayle's message was the same, with minor variations in the wording.

Quayle called Clinton a waffler and said he'd be "a patsy for that liberal greedy Democratic Congress." (Walter Mears, AP)

BARBARA BUSH SEEKS TO ENERGIZE GOP WOMEN IN FLORIDA

FORT LAUDERDALE -- Facing a dead heat in Florida with only five days to the election, Barbara Bush flew into Miami on Thursday to energize Republican women and turn out the GOP vote.

Mrs. Bush urged 1,000 women at a lunchtime rally at the Omni International Hotel to work hard for her husband between now and Tuesday.

The First Lady's speech emphasized Women's issues and each member of the audience was given a brochure titled "President Bush: Meeting The Concerns of America's Women."

(Buddy Nevins, Fort Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel)

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

After dismissing for months an invitation to appear on MTV by saying he didn't want to be a "teeny-bopper at 68," the President of the U.S. has relented. Partially. He'll be interviewed by the pop music cable network during a whistle-stop train trip through Wisconsin tomorrow for a Sunday show. No questions from the audience, though. ("The Reliable Source," Washington Post, B3)

CONSERVATIVE GROUP'S ADS LINK CLINTON-JACKSON

A conservative group placed ads in 27 small newspapers claiming a Clinton presidency could mean a Senate seat for Jesse Jackson.

The ads were prepared by the Freedom Leadership Political Action Committee, a group based in Chantilly, Va., that promotes conservative issues and candidates and opposes statehood for D.C.

The ads read: "Before you vote for Bill Clinton, ask yourself: Do you want Jesse Jackson in the U.S. Senate?"

Clinton supports D.C. statehood, and Jackson could run for the Senate in D.C.

"This appeal to race-based politics has worked for Republicans in national campaigns in the past," said Frank Watkins, press secretary to Jackson. (Scot Lindlaw, AP)

PEROT SLAPS AT GOP ON LARRY KING SHOW

DALLAS -- Ross Perot...slapped at President Bush for living in an "insulated bubble," failing to acknowledge the weakness of the economy and believing that all his rivals are "crazy."

"He's history," Perot said of Bush during an appearance on "Larry King" Thursday night.

Perot defended his controversial charges that the GOP had targeted him with dirty tricks.

"It is unthinkable that these wonderful people in the Republican Party might do that?" Perot said in response to a question from King. "This is the same party that gave us Watergate. This is the same party that gave us Iran-contra. This is the same party that's up to it's ears in Iraggate right now. This is the same group that is always hands off: 'Gee, we didn't do it.' So there's a pattern here." (Marcus Stern, Copley)

PEROT PREDICTS A 'LANDSLIDE VICTORY' TUESDAY
Independent Candidate Says He 'Absolutely'
Regrets Raising Allegation Of Dirty Tricks

DALLAS -- As new polls showed his support eroding, Ross Perot sought to rally his troops Thursday night, touting a new blitz of network "informercials" he will run the last two nights before the election and predicting a "landslide victory" on Tuesday.

Appearing on "Larry King," Perot said he "absolutely" regrets raising his unsubstantiated allegations of Republican "dirty tricks" on national television last weekend....

Attempting to refute charges that Ross Perot is trying to buy the presidency, campaign aides to Perot released figures they said show Perot has been greatly outspent by his two major rivals, and the aides called for an overhaul of the nation's campaign-finance system. At the same time, the campaign announced that Perot has rejected news media request to release his tax returns and medical records....

Perot concluded that releasing his tax and medical records at this late date would only "deflect" attention from the major issues, campaign spokeswoman Sharon Holman said....

Perot adviser Clay Mulford said that when "soft money" contributions to the two political parties are counted along with federal government matching funds received by the Bush and Clinton campaigns, the Republican and Democratic presidential campaigns outspent Perot by close to 3 to 1 for the entire year.

(Michael Isikoff, Washington Post, second edition, A24)

EX-PEROT ADVISER DISPUTES CLAIM OF DIRTY TRICKS

CONWAY, Fla. -- Ed Rollins on Thursday disputed Ross Perot's assertion he left the presidential race because of threatened Republican dirty tricks against his family.

Rollins said he never heard of any scheme to smear Perot's daughter with a doctored photo and to disrupt her wedding.

"I can tell you that there would never be any effort on the part of Republicans or Democrats to go after someone's family when they had so much other stuff to go after him on," Rollins said. "What he doesn't want to discuss is the week before he dropped out of the race, he lost nine points (in the polls). He was dropping like a rock."

(Scott Morris, Knight-Ridder)

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FOR THE RECORD

The Cincinnati Post quoted Oliver North as saying to the Junior League of Cincinnati this week that "President Bush has been honest with the American people regarding the then-vice president's role in the Iran-contra scandal."

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

FBI RAIDS U.S. TREASURER'S HOME IN CRIMINAL PROBE

The FBI Wednesday raided the home of U.S. Treasurer Catalina Villalpando to investigate allegations that she collected payments from a former employer after President Bush named her treasurer, government sources said.

Villalpando "requested and was placed on administrative leave" Thursday, Claire Buchan, a Treasury Department spokesman, said Thursday night. Villalpando has not been charged.

Federal agents searched five locations for evidence, and their search warrants cited possible violations of eight statutes governing fraud, bribery, racketeering, conspiracy to defraud the government, fraudulent claims and false statements.

(Sharon LaFraniere, Washington Post, second edition, A1)

CRAY, U.S. LABS PLAN SUPERCOMPUTER PROJECT

The Department of Energy, stepping up efforts to shift the priorities of its defense labs to commercially useful research, Thursday announced that two nuclear weapons facilities would work with Cray Research Inc. to develop supercomputers capable of carrying out a trillion calculations per second.

Steven Fried, a DOE spokesman, said the \$72 million government-industry project would be one of the largest cooperative ventures ever undertaken by the department.

(Daniel Southerland, Washington Post, F2)

GROWTH IN INEQUALITY OF INCOMES HIGHLIGHTED BY 2 REPORTS

Two reports released Thursday underscore the widening gap between the rich and poor in this country, a trend that began in the early 1970s and accelerated in the 1980s.

In one study, a New York University economist argues that the very richest Americans -- the top 0.5% in wealth -- received 55% of the total increase in real household wealth between 1983 and 1989. The study, released by the Economic Policy Institute, said wealth among the lowest 60% of families either fell or stagnated during that period....

The second report, a compilation of papers issued by the Census Bureau,...showed that among five industrialized countries -- Canada, Sweden, Australia, West Germany and the U.S. -- the U.S. had the most unequal distribution of earnings during the mid-1980s. Sweden had the least inequality.

(Barbara Vobejda, Washington Post, A4)

REPORT CRITICIZES JUSTICE DEPARTMENT'S PURSUIT OF CRIMES

A new report by a George Washington University professor alleges the Justice Department has discouraged and sometime blocked federal prosecutors and investigators from pursuing environmental crime cases.

John Turley, who authored the report for Rep. Schumer, said it is based on interviews with more than two dozen federal prosecutors and EPA investigators. It contends that the Justice Department officials have imposed "an unreasonably high standard" for environmental prosecutions and at time intervened directly with local prosecutors to lessen the charge or the penalty.

Roger Clegg, a deputy assistant attorney general in the environmental division, attacked the report in an interview, saying: "This is an obvious political hatchet job. This was commissioned by a Democratic congressman and written by law students supervised by a liberal junior law professor."

(Sharon LaFraniere, Washington Post, A3)

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS

ISRAEL AND JORDAN HAMMER OUT AGREEMENT

Israeli and Jordanian negotiators at the Middle East peace talks have made the first tangible breakthrough by agreeing on a document that lays out the agenda for their talks.

The agreement has been forwarded to Jerusalem and Amman for final approval, but the head of the Jordanian delegation, Abdel Salam Majali, said Thursday that "most of the language has been accepted."

"The year was not spent in vain," he said. (Sid Balman, UPI)

U.S. SEES PROGRESS IN PEACE TALKS, TIES IRAN TO AMBUSH OF ISRAELIS

While tying Iran to a terrorist attack against Israel, the Bush Administration is challenging Arab assertions that Mideast peace talks are near a standstill.

Assistant Secretary Ed Djerejian on Thursday said all the key issues -- land, peace and security -- were being addressed in the talks. He urged the Palestinians to seize the opportunity offered by Israel for self-rule elections in May.

At the same time, an anonymous senior U.S. official linked Iran to a bomb ambush by the Hezbollah that killed five Israeli soldiers on Sunday.

"There is one country that is important, Iran, that has made it abundantly clear it is opposed to the Arab-Israeli peace process, and Hezbollah is one of its instruments," the official told reporters at the State Department.

The official said the U.S. has no evidence that Syria was involved in the attack. (Barry Schweid, AP)

U.N. EXPERT SAYS GAPS CLOSED IN IRAQI INFORMATION

BAGHDAD -- The head of the U.N. arms team wound up a 14-day inspection of sites across Iraq Friday saying his mission closed several gaps in information on Iraq's weapons programs.

"We have covered all uncleared areas, many gaps were closed," Nikita Smidovich told reporters before departure to Bahrain.

On Monday, Smidovich said there were significant gaps in information provided by Baghdad on its ballistic missile program.

But the Russian expert said as he left his hotel that intensive inspections in the last two days helped in gathering the necessary data. (Leon Barkho, Reuter)

U.S. SOUGHT SAUDI AID TO BLOCK IRAN SUBMARINE BUY

The Bush Administration was so alarmed earlier this year by the prospective sale of Russian attack subs to Iran that it tried to interest Saudi Arabia in paying Russia to abandon the transaction, according to U.S. and British officials. That gambit failed, as did direct U.S. diplomatic entreaties to Moscow. "It's not clear that there's a price that would stop the sale that the Saudis are willing to pay," said one official involved in the negotiations. (Barton Gellman, Washington Post, A1)

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NATIONS VOW MORE AID FOR EX-SOVIETS, CALL FOR QUICKER CHANGE

TOKYO -- Developed nations promised a new wave of aid to help the former Soviet republics survive the coming winter but warned that the West cannot continue to help unless the new states hasten their switch to market economies and democratic governments.

Addressing leaders from 12 former Soviet republics and some 60 donor nations at the Tokyo Conference on Assistance to the New Independent States, Lawrence Eagleburger said, "We cannot aid those who are unwilling to help themselves. Reform must be accelerated.

"The new states must promote competition, tax reform, genuine property and contract rights.... They must stay the democratic course." But to help the former republics make it through the winter, Eagleburger announced new U.S. grants of \$274 million in food and medical assistance, plus other loans and assistance programs valued at \$158 million. (T.R. Reid, Washington Post, A30)

U.N. ASKS U.S. FOR HELP IN SOMALI RELIEF EFFORT

U.N. -- The U.N. has asked the U.S. to provide air and sea transport to ferry equipment and peace-keeping troops to war- and famine-torn Somalia in an effort to speed lagging humanitarian relief efforts there.

Officials here say the plan is to move equipment into the country ahead of peace-keeping forces from Canada, Belgium, Egypt and Nigeria, thus shortening the time required for an eventual deployment of the troops. (Trevor Rowe, Washington Post, A31)

-End of A-Section-

NETWORK NEWS

(Thursday evening, Oct. 29)

CAMPAIGN/PRESIDENT'S TRIP

ABC's Peter Jennings: Unless you live in a battleground state like Michigan, with its 18 electoral votes, you're not going to see much of the candidates in person between now and election day. When Gov. Clinton was in Detroit, the President was out in the nearby suburbs.

ABC's Brit Hume: For much of today, the Bush campaign, bursting with last-minute hope and new-found pep, seemed almost out of control. First it was Bruce Willis introducing the President and attacking his opponent at a campus rally outside Detroit.

(TV coverage: President Bush waving to supporters.)

(Willis: "I'm pissed off. I am angry that this man can stand up there and say that he's qualified to be commander-in-chief.") The President, getting into the spirit, called his opponents two bozos, and then let fly at Clinton running mate Al Gore's passionate environmental views. He called Gore, as he has for days, the ozone man.

(TV coverage: President Bush speaking at rally.)

(President Bush: "You know why I call him ozone man? This guy is so far off in the environmental extreme, we'll be up to our necks in owls and out of work for every American. This guy's crazy. He is way out, far out, man.")

The partisan crowd loved it all, and the President seemed to feed on that. He worked himself up even more in his finale.

(TV coverage: President Bush speaking to cheering crowd.)

(President Bush: "And let's lead the world to new heights of prosperity for every single American. Don't let them tear it down. God bless America. Thank you all very much.")

Things seemed to settle down a bit as the President campaigned later in Grand Rapids with former President Ford, though Ford seemed not to quite understand a question about how the President would do in Michigan.

(TV coverage: President Bush leaving Air Force One with Ford.)

(Reporter: "Is he going to win Michigan?"

Ford: "Forget it, forget it.")

Ford, obviously, thought the question was about Gov. Clinton. In an odd way, though, his answer was an example of something the Bush campaign hopes could save their man yet, the sheer unpredictability of politics.

(ABC-2)

NBC's John Cochran: Michigan is a prime example of a state where Bush is trying to win back voters who went for him four years ago -- not the Republicans but the so-called Reagan Democrats who have seemed likely to go for Clinton. Bush got a much-improved forecast from Michigan Republicans.

(Gov. John Engler: "Bill Clinton's support is eroding in Michigan. It's eroding across the country.")

Cochran continues:

Bush's aides give much of the credit to Ross Perot, who cut into Clinton's lead. Bush also feels he has drawn blood with his attacks on Clinton. His new ad is strictly negative. The announcer never even mentions Bush's name. It's a 30-second assault on Clinton.

(TV coverage: President Bush waving to crowd and speaking.)

(Bush ad: "And now Bill Clinton wants to do for America what he's done for Arkansas. America can't take that risk.")

Bush also includes Al Gore in his attacks when he accuses both Democrats of knowing nothing about foreign policy.

(President Bush: "My dog Millie knows more about foreign affairs than these two bozos.")

Bush has taken to calling environmentalist Gore Mr. Ozone.

(President Bush: "You know why I call him ozone man? This guy is so far off in the environmental extreme, we'll be up to our necks in owls and out of work for every American. This guy's crazy. He is way out, far out, man. [Applause] Hey, listen. You think you would save General Motors by slapping more regulation on them? Less regulation, less taxes. Bring that back.")

(TV coverage: President Bush on stage with Ford.)

Here, Bush was campaigning in the heart of the hard-hit auto industry and trying to win the so-called Reagan Democrats. Later in Grand Rapids, Bush was trying to hold the Republican vote with the help of Gerald Ford, the last Republican incumbent to lose in a presidential race. The Ford campaign is the one that haunts the Bush campaign. In the home stretch, Ford came from far behind, only to lose in a photo finish to a Southern governor. (NBC-2)

Brokaw reports the prospect of reaching young voters has led the President to a change of heart. He will appear on MTV on Sunday.

(NBC-13)

CBS's Susan Spencer: The President was in uncommon form today on this, his 11th trip to the state of Michigan. His mood was buoyed by a local poll showing the race a virtual tie here.

(Gov. John Engler: "We're in the homestretch. We're closing the gap. We're going to finish the job on November the third.")

On the Bush campaign these days, you are upbeat or else, the Michigan poll adding ammo to the claim that the President is on the move, although Democrats heartily dispute it. Many people are undecided and Mr. Bush could hardly contain himself today when warning them against the Democrats, calling them, at one point, bozos.

(TV coverage: President Bush waving to cheering crowd.)

(President Bush: "If you listen to Gov. Clinton and ozone man, if you listen to them. You know why I call him ozone man? This guy is so far off in the environmental extreme, we'll be up to our necks in owls and out of work for every American. This guy's crazy. He is way out, far out, man.")

But in economically strapped Michigan, hecklers tried to spoil the fun. The state governor said it doesn't mean a thing.

(Engler: "We've seen the Republican vote come home very solidly and then in recent days, two or three days now, we're starting to see the independent vote.")

Michigan is another of those states Mr. Bush won in '88 and badly needs now. Certainly, he's going all out to show confidence.

Spencer continues:

(TV coverage: President Bush on stage with Ford.)

(President Bush: "The American people know what the Arkansas record was. They know what waffling and character mean. And I am going to win election on November third.")

Well, perhaps it was the mood of the day. Perhaps it's a sign of how much trouble Mr. Bush may be in. In any case, he has now decided to do an interview with MTV, something he laughed at a few months ago when Gov. Clinton did it. (CBS-2)

CAMPAIGN/CLINTON

Jennings: [Inaudible] ...That's a small gain of two points from yesterday for Mr. Clinton, no change for Mr. Bush and a four-point drop for Mr. Perot. As you know, there are a lot of polls out there, and it's rather hard to digest the numbers. We'll try in a minute. But before that, the candidates' day. In many respects, the race is turning nasty and certainly very personal.

ABC's Chris Bury reports Clinton today all but called the President a liar. He said Bush had repeatedly distorted his record on everything from taxes to his accomplishments in Arkansas.

(TV coverage: Clinton jogging with wife.)

(Clinton: "There is no standard of truth in the Bush campaign. He will say anything.")

At the University of Toledo, he shifted his attack to the economy, pointing out new figures indicating growth were due largely to people spending their savings.

(TV coverage: Clinton speaking at rally.)

(Clinton: "And when Mr. Bush looks at an anxious and frightened American and tells us this is as good as it gets, that says something worse about his presidency than anything I could ever say.")

Later, Clinton urged students to defy predictions that young people will mostly stay home election day.

(TV coverage: Clinton waving to cheering students.)

(Clinton: "I think you're going to be there. Are you going to be there?")

Clinton moved from Ohio to Michigan, where polls show his once-huge lead has narrowed.

(TV coverage: Clinton greeting supporters and waving to crowd.)

(Clinton: "Four more years where we're divided by race, by region, by income, where we keep losing our manufacturing base. I think we can do better.")

Clinton left for New Jersey to make good on a promise to AIDS activists that he would give a speech on AIDS before the election. The political wisdom of that was debated. By scheduling the speech late in the day, the campaign all but guaranteed it would get only limited national exposure. (ABC-Lead)

NBC's Tom Brokaw: This presidential race now is beginning to resemble a roller derby, with the candidates skating faster and faster and bumping each other harder on every turn. And like a roller derby, it's sometimes tough to tell who's leading where. The latest NBC News-Wall Street Journal Poll shows Bill Clinton's lead down to five [Clinton 43 percent, Bush 38, Perot 11]. That's an overnight survey of a little more than 500 likely voters.

Brokaw continues:

Ross Perot dropped four points in just 24 hours. But then look at this: Two days of polling by ABC and CNN -- Clinton up by nine in the ABC Poll, up by only three in the CNN-USA Today poll.

NBC's Andrea Mitchell reports Clinton accused Bush of lying about his record in a series of radio ads.

(Clinton: "But anytime you've got an incumbent president who will literally say anything to be elected -- he said in the beginning he'd say or do anything to get elected. He has put on ads all over America that are ads, that have been roundly rejected by every objective specialist who's heard it. He has made up charges about my record. He will say or do anything. The man has no core.") The radio ads have been damaging and they are loaded with misstatements. Claims that Clinton will raise taxes and close military bases have never been made by the candidate.

(TV coverage: Clinton greeting supporters, posing with Sen. Nunn.)

(Clinton: "The very idea that the word trust could ever come out of Bush's mouth after what he has done to this country, and the way he has trampled the truth is a travesty for the American political system.")

Everything will depend on getting voters, many of them newly registered, to the polls.

(TV coverage: Clinton speaking at rally.)

(Clinton: "I think you're going to be there. Are you going to be there?")

(Clinton: "Lift this country up, move this country forward. That's what this election is about. Don't let them take it away from you.")

The Clinton campaign is worried about the inroads Bush is making in Michigan and Ohio, knowing that whoever wins these two states could very well win the election. (NBC-Lead)

CBS's Richard Threlkeld reports Clinton is promising to lead an all-out effort against AIDS if he is elected. It's a message to the gay and lesbian community, whose vote he's counting on.

(TV coverage: Clinton speaking at rally.)

Estimates are that at least 5 million gays and lesbians will vote, and about nine out of 10 are expected to vote Democratic.

(Clinton, May 18: "What I came here today to tell you in simple terms is I have a vision and you're a part of it. I believe tomorrow will be better than today if we act. And we're all a part of the same community and we'd better start behaving as if we are.")

(Glen Maxey, Texas state legislator: "They've come out of the closet into the voting booth, and they're going to elect Bill Clinton and Al Gore.")

Gays are attracted to Clinton's promises to address gay issues, in contrast to what they say the President has not done.

(Unidentified man: "[Inaudible] HIV issues or AIDS is the fact that the Administration has not properly addressed the issue.") And as the Republicans made clear at their convention, no homosexuals need apply.

(Maxey: "This election is a watershed. It is an election that for the first time in the history of this country, our issues are being discussed.")

Threlkeld continues:

Some on the religious right are running a TV ad campaign targeting Clinton's ties to the gay community. This will mark the first presidential campaign in which gays and lesbians have begun voting in a bloc in their own self-interest, and perhaps not the last.

CBS's Dan Rather: President Bush has now called both Ross Perot and Bill Clinton crazy. When he called Perot crazy, Perot responded. Today, he said that Clinton's crazy. Has Gov. Clinton responded?

Threlkeld: No, he hasn't yet. And I would be surprised if he does. He's done this well sticking with his economic message. And as you know, in politics and other things, you dance with them that bring you. (CBS-3)

CAMPAIGN/PEROT

Jennings reports Perot ridiculed Clinton last night in Denver. He criticized Clinton's lack of national experience, but was particularly hard on Bush. Bush cannot win, he said, because it's just not in the cards.

Brokaw reports pranksters changed the "HOLLYWOOD" sign to read "PEROTWOOD." There was no charge of dirty tricks from Perot. (NBC-11)

Rather: We're down to the final 100 hours of the U.S. presidential campaign. Most polls, for whatever they may be worth, indicate that Gov. Clinton may have a lead. President Bush says he has the momentum and that he is absolutely confident he will close and win.

CBS's Bill Lagattuta reports that last night in Denver, Perot couldn't seem to walk away from his charges of dirty tricks.

(Perot: "Day after day after day, somebody comes up with some excuse to attack my integrity. My integrity is a matter of record. My integrity was never questioned until the Republican dirty-tricks guys started after it [inaudible]. Let me just say this: It's all silly putty. It's nothing to do with anything that concerns the American people, and I just look at it and marvel.") A group of his former volunteer coordinators today said they may sue Perot for allegedly running credit checks on them and then forcing them out of the campaign.

(Cliff Arnebeck, former state chairman: "While we were taking Ross Perot at his word, he was secretly investigating us.")

Perot's faithful don't care about this. But if Perot wants to expand beyond his base, he may want to stop sending mixed messages. When Perot learned a Denver TV station was not running one of his programs, he made this billionaire-sized promise.

(Perot: "We will get the message through if I have to buy a station here.")

Perot made another incredible promise last night. He said if elected, he would have major programs detailed and ready to go on all the issues by Christmas. He offered no specifics. (CBS-Lead)

CAMPAIGN/POLLS

Jennings reports the ABC News polling unit says that over time, the polls generally converge and agree, but not necessarily on a day-to-day basis. As for the pollsters who work for the candidates, they try to put the best light on the numbers for public consumption. But they do have reputations to protect and they presumably do not shade it for the candidates. Should we believe the polls? History tells us that reputable polling organizations don't often make major mistakes. (ABC-4)

CAMPAIGN/MEDIA BASHING

CBS's Mark Phillips reports that on the surface, it seems like a simple case of Bush trying to shoot the messenger.

(President Bush: "I love my favorite bumper sticker: Annoy the media, reelect Bush.")

In almost every interview, the media is accused of being biased.

(President Bush, "Good Morning, America": "Pure partisan charge, picked up by a lot of bleeding hearts in the media.")

At almost every campaign stop, the pollsters are accused of being wrong.

(President Bush: "Don't believe these crazy pollsters.")

And as for analysts --

(President Bush: "Some crackpot comes on and tells you what to think. We don't need that in the United States.")

The Republican crowds love it, which is part of the point.

(Tom Rosenstiel, Los Angeles Times: "The candidates who are trailing can bash the media because it's a way of energizing their base and say: It's not over, don't give up, the polls are wrong.") But there's a natural process at play, as well. In politics, as in sports, the team that's ahead appears to be doing things right. The trailing team seems like it can't make its plan work. The debates were a case in point.

(TV coverage: President Bush greeting supporters; with Clinton and Perot at debate.)

(Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Annenberg School of Communications: "What reporters did was focus on the visual moment at which Bush looked at his watch, as the candidate who wanted to be out of that debate. They could, if he were ahead in the polls, have said, a confident George Bush looks at his watch, fully believing that when the debate was over, he'd go back to the race and win the presidency.") Bush has been hammered even by conservative commentators.

(Fred Barnes, commentator: "It's really sort of a personal thing. It's his style and his way of going about business and sort of the transparency of the man when he's engaged in politics.")

(Kevin Phillips, analyst: "Conservatives and conservative Republicans, pundits who know George Bush, they don't think that he's been a worthwhile president. They really don't support him. They dislike him.")

Of course, Bush isn't alone in having a rough time with the media. Clinton was virtually written off by charges of marital infidelity and draft evasion. And Perot's media relationship has been anything but cozy.

(TV coverage: President Bush greeting supporters and boarding Marine One; Clinton talking to reporters.)

Phillips continues:

(Perot: "I wish you could have been with me backstage with all those newspeople whining about the fact that I hit them a couple of times tonight.")

(TV coverage: President Bush greeting supporters.)
But in this game, what goes around comes around. Now that the polls are tightening, Bush's tune has changed. Last week --

(President Bush: "Don't believe these nutty pollsters.")
Today --

(President Bush: "I'm encouraged with the way these polls that we live and die by are shaping up.")

(Jamieson: "In the final week, George Bush gets an advantage from the great press conventions that he's condemning.")

In the end, one certain prediction about this campaign can be made. The winner will think the coverage was honest and fair. The losers will blame it, at least in part, for their defeat. (CBS-5)

CAMPAIGN/ADS

ABC's Jeff Greenfield reports on an ad that is supposed to convince voters that Clinton is thoughtful and prudent. The key message is that change is safe.

(TV coverage: Clips from Clinton and Bush ads.)
In one Bush ad, Arkansas is depicted as a land of nuclear winter. The message is that if you vote for Clinton, the world will end. In Perot's ads, he tells voters they don't have to vote for a Republican or Democrat. Skeptics say TV ads rarely change many votes in presidential campaigns. So why do the campaigns spend millions on them? There's an old saying that goes: Half of all the money spent on political commercials is wasted; the problem is nobody knows which half. (ABC-5)

Brokaw reports Perot and Clinton are shelling out a lot of money for network time on Monday night. All three candidates are spending record amounts for their TV advertising blitz. Perot is spending \$23.7 million, Bush \$18 million, Clinton \$7.1. (CBS-4)

CAMPAIGN/NEW JERSEY

NBC's Bob Kur reports Clinton's lead in New Jersey has dropped from double figures to single figures in one week. In some towns, the softness of Clinton's support is beginning to show.

(Marcie Kleinman, housewife: "I feel that he's going to spend more than he says he's going to spend. I don't think he's getting as much in taxes that he thinks he's going to get. I think that the deficit is going to get greater before it improves that well with Clinton.")

(Gordon Stewart, executive: "There's a character-credibility issue with Clinton that is a problem. I think he is far too political.")
Clearly, Perot has turned off former supporters. But there still is plenty of support for Clinton. What is ominous for Clinton is that at this late hour, some who seemed partial to him still are not sure.

(Kerry Glennon, marketing researcher: "Clinton is pro-choice and that's very important to me. And he seems to want to get down to business, but I'm having a hard time taking him seriously.")

Kur continues:

According to a statewide poll, three in 10 New Jersey voters say they might still change their minds. And 15 percent say they probably won't decide until they get in the voting booth. That's why Clinton is back here tonight and planning to return before election day. (NBC-3)

CAMPAIGN/GUN CONTROL

ABC's Mark Potter reports on the candidates' gun-control policies. (President Bush: "Today, the fear of crime strikes too many American families.")

(Clinton: "We've got to save these kids that are being shot in our schools.")

(Perot: "People have to be able to defend themselves.")

(TV coverage: President Bush walking to stage; Clinton accepting police endorsement.)

(Clinton: "We have the obligation to check the backgrounds of people who are going to be carrying guns on our streets.")

(President Bush: "I've been more go after the criminal than it is the gun owner.")

(Perot: "The Brady Bill, I agree with that it's a timid step in the right direction, but it won't fix it. So why pass a law that won't fix it?")

Critics say the Brady Bill won't stop criminals.

(Wayne Le Pierre, NRA: "They buy them on the black market or they steal them. Every study shows that.")

(Sarah Brady: "No, it is not going to cut out all handgun deaths. But it's a start and it's going to save some lives.")

Clinton favors the Brady Bill, Perot does not. Bush prefers tougher penalties for crimes committed with guns, and instant computer background checks in gun shops. But this year, the President said he would reluctantly support the Brady Bill as part of an overall crime bill. That bill died earlier this month in the Senate. The bill's sponsor said the President never really wanted a gun-control bill.

(Brady: "Very frankly, I hold him responsible for today not having the Brady Bill passed into law.")

Another issue is semi-automatic assault weapons. Bush banned the importation of foreign-made assault rifles. But foreign weapons imported before the ban can still be sold over the counter. Also, tens of thousands of domestic versions are legally made and marketed every year. Clinton wants the manufacture banned.

(Clinton: "We ought not to have assault weapons, whose only purpose is to kill, in the hands of people on the street when the police don't have a fighting chance.")

Neither Bush nor Perot has called for a manufacturing ban on domestic assault weapons.

(TV coverage: President Bush making speech.)

Polls show most people support both the Brady Bill and an assault-weapon ban. In fact, many believe the only way to reduce gun deaths significantly is to ban handguns, which none of the candidates is proposing. (ABC-12)

CAMPAIGN/EARLY RETURNS

NBC's Robert Hager reports the networks say they won't delay projecting a presidential winner. Four years ago, every network made their declarations before polls closed in the Western time zone. Congressional staffers from both parties today asked network lobbyists for voluntary restraint. (NBC-4)

CAMPAIGN/MOSCOW WAGERING

ABC's David Ensor reports some people in Moscow are betting on the U.S. election. Current odds have Clinton at 12.5-10, Bush at 18-10 and Perot at 36-10. (ABC-13)

CAMPAIGN/CHANCELLOR COMMENTARY

NBC's John Chancellor comments Bush invokes the memory of Harry Truman, and no one mentions the Reagan Revolution anymore. And when was the last time you heard Bush even say the words "Ronald Reagan." For that matter, have you heard Clinton say much of the suffering of black people in the inner cities. This is not a year for traditional themes in either party. The summation of this year's politics is written on a sign in Clinton's headquarters. The sign reads, "It's the economy, stupid." For the Democrats, hitting the Republicans on the economy is better than singing old party songs about civil rights, union solidarity and urban problems. For the Republicans, the economy has overwhelmed the wedge issues. It's the economy, stupid. (NBC-12)

ILLINOIS/SENATE RACE

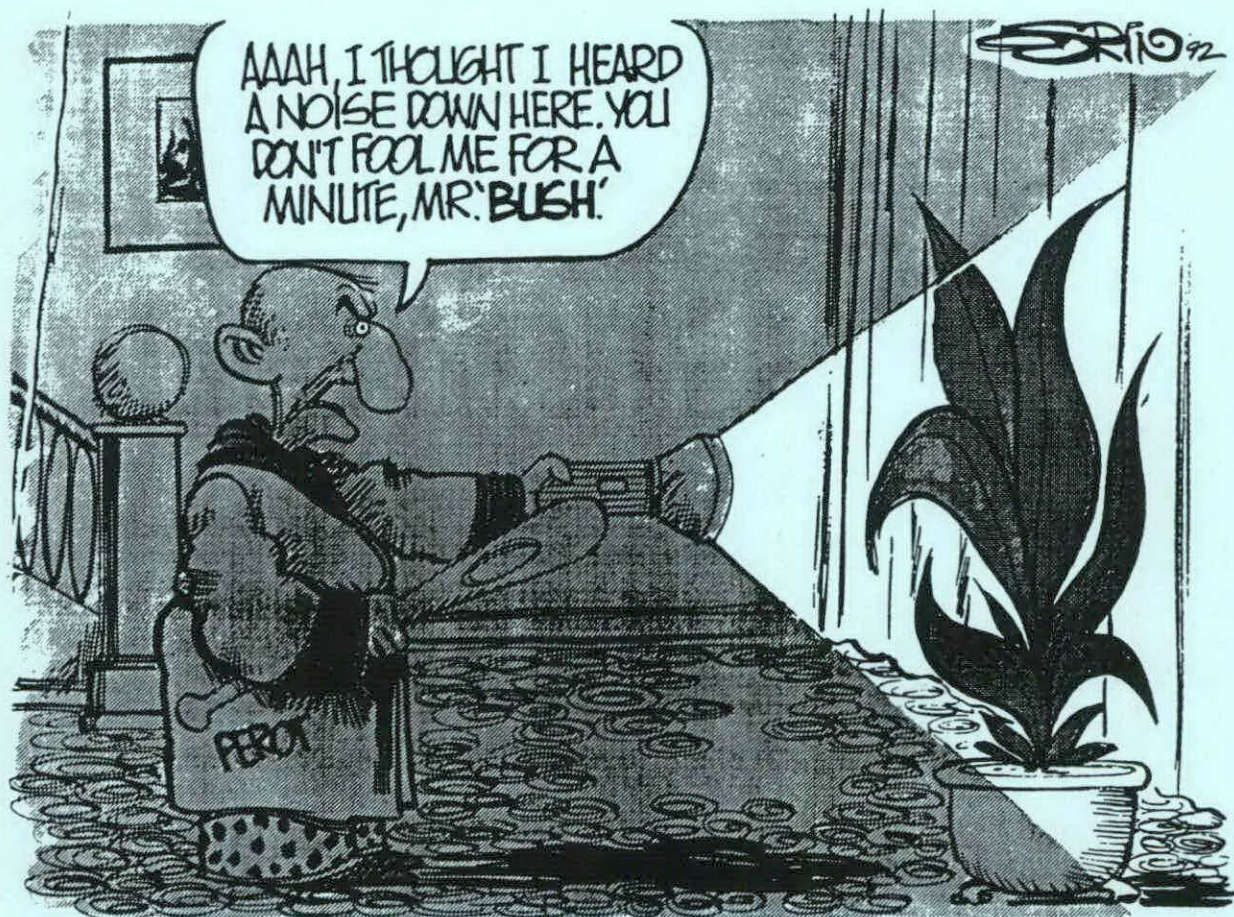
ABC's Cokie Roberts reports Carol Mosely Braun's once-big lead has shrunk dramatically. With Clinton so popular, she is trying to ride his coattails. (TV coverage: Clinton on stage with Braun.) (ABC-6)

URBAN POLICY

Peter Ueberroth and Mayor Ray Flynn of Boston discuss urban policy. Ueberroth: Nobody cares about the inner city. They listen to the four debates, they don't give a damn about the inner city. Too bad. They're not paying attention to a real cancer. Flynn: Let me tell you something. You are going to see one of the largest votes in the history of any major election coming out of America's cities. And the reason for it is because the people in American cities are hurting economically. (NBC-7)

-end of News Summary-

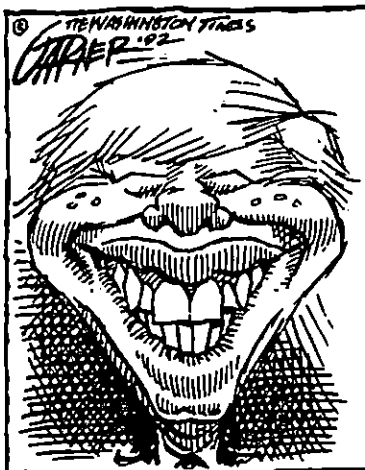
Friday Follies



- a look at politics through the eyes of the political cartoonist -

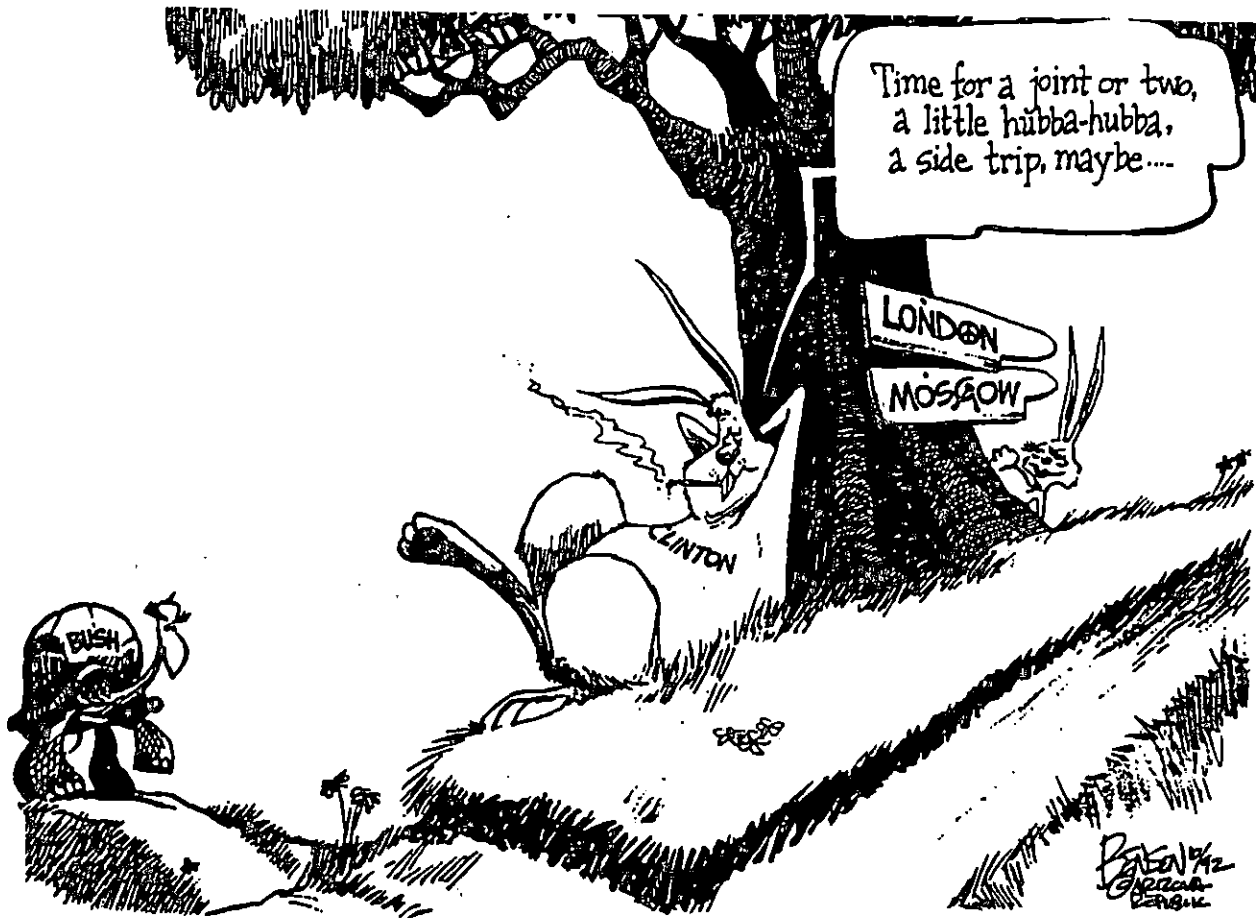
"I don't care a straw for your newspaper articles. My constituents don't know how to read. But they can't help seeing them damned pictures."
(William Marcy "Boss" Tweed speaking of Thomas Nast, 1871)

WHITE HOUSE NEWS SUMMARY SPECIAL EDITION
VOLUME IV ISSUE 42 -- October 30, 1992



METAMORPHOSIS - '92



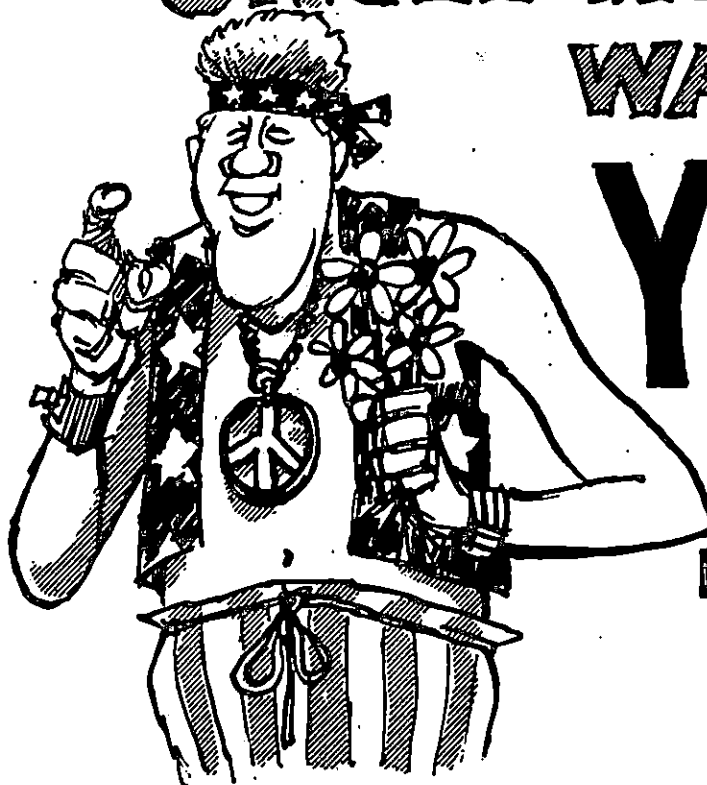


© THE WASHINGTON TIMES
CARTER 92

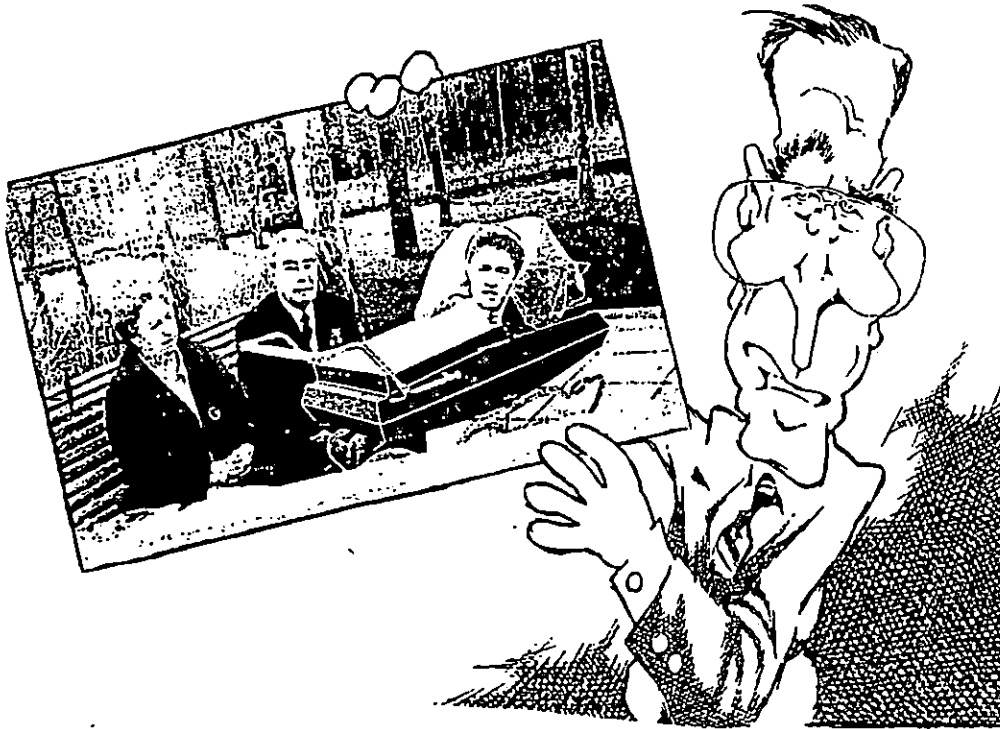
UNCLE WILLIE
WANTS

YOU

FOR THE
U.S.
MILITARY



RECENTLY RELEASED EVIDENCE SUGGESTS CLINTON MAY
HAVE BEEN IN MOSCOW BEFORE HIS OXFORD TRIP



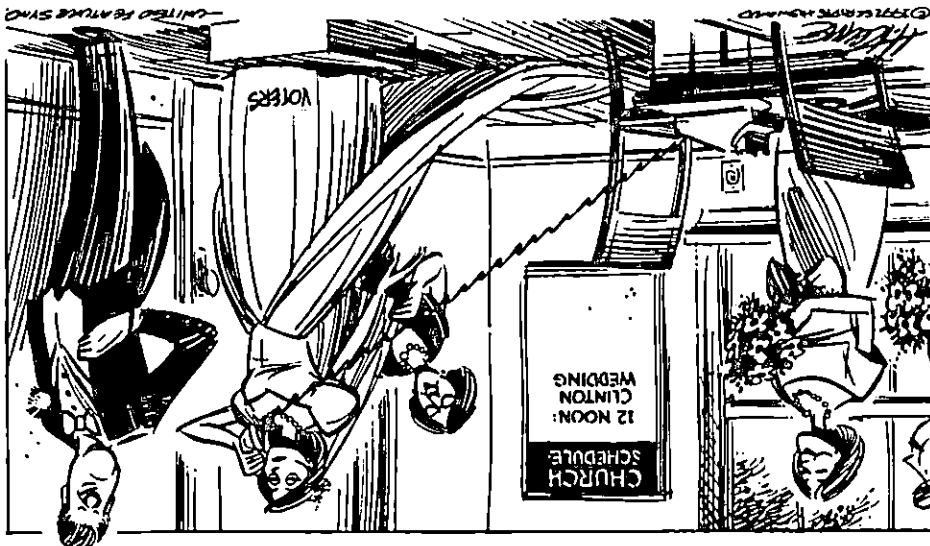
BY MEYER

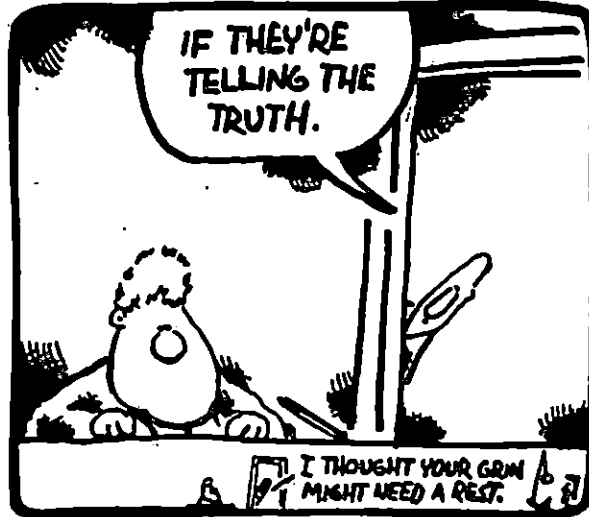
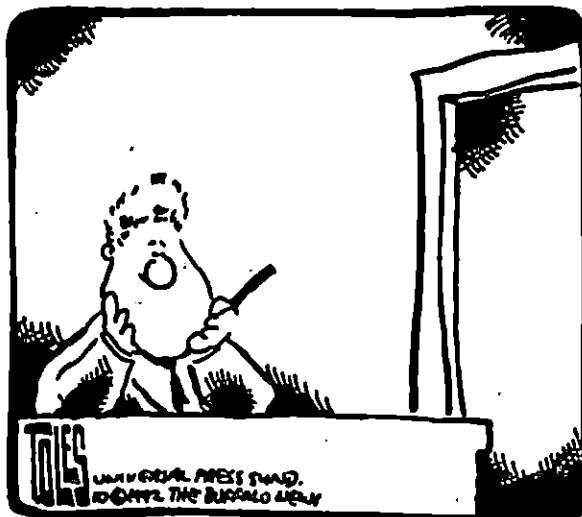
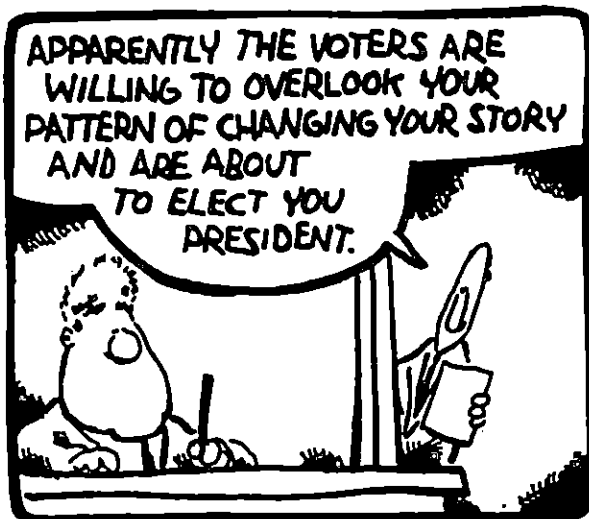
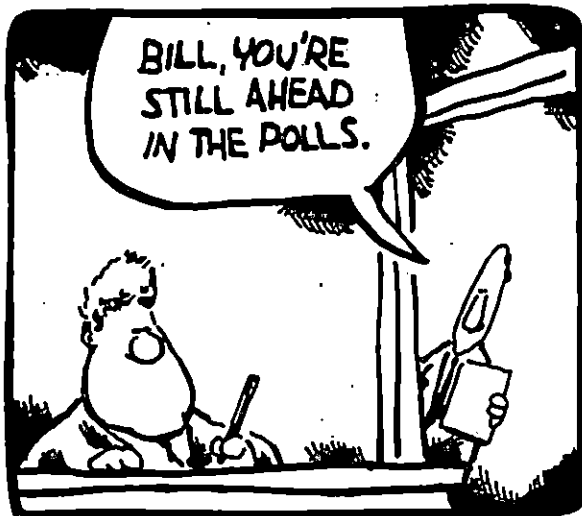


"SORRY-IT'S EMPTY."



"HI! THIS IS GEORGE - I THOUGHT WE MIGHT HAVE LUNCH
TOGETHER AND YOU COULD GET TO KNOW ME BETTER. - BELL 311"







Clinton continues to campaign in what were once considered Republican strongholds...



Chicago Tribune



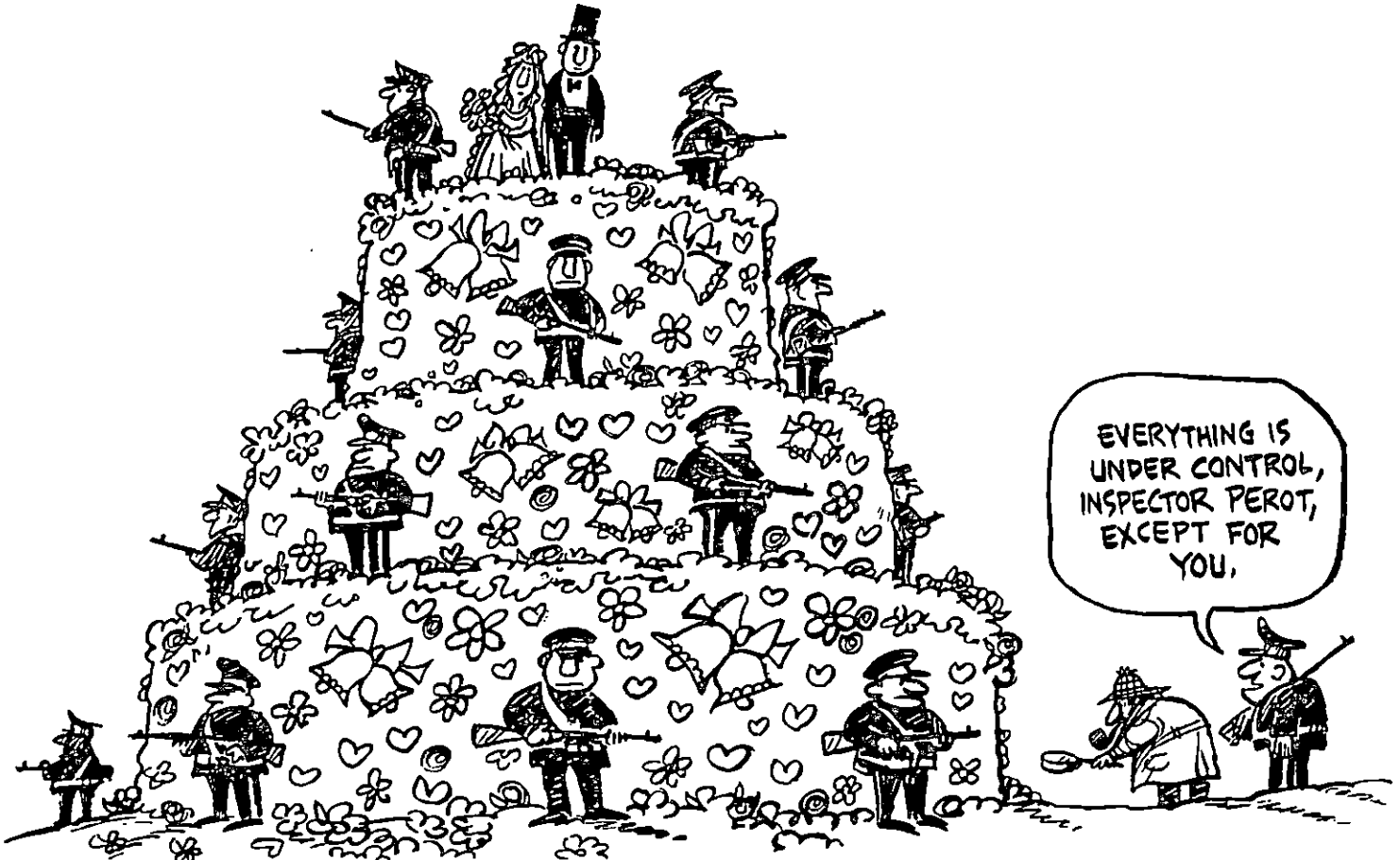
Y'ALL HEAR A GIANT SUCKIN' SOUND?

Dropped out of the race
'cause the Republicans were
gonna switch the groom at
my daughter's weddin' with a
poodle. Can you imagine havin'
a poodle for a son-in-law? I find
that fascinatin'!.... Do you know I have
tiny transmitters implanted in my skull ?.....



Mike Luckovich
ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

ETTA ©1992 FORT WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM
HULME
NEA

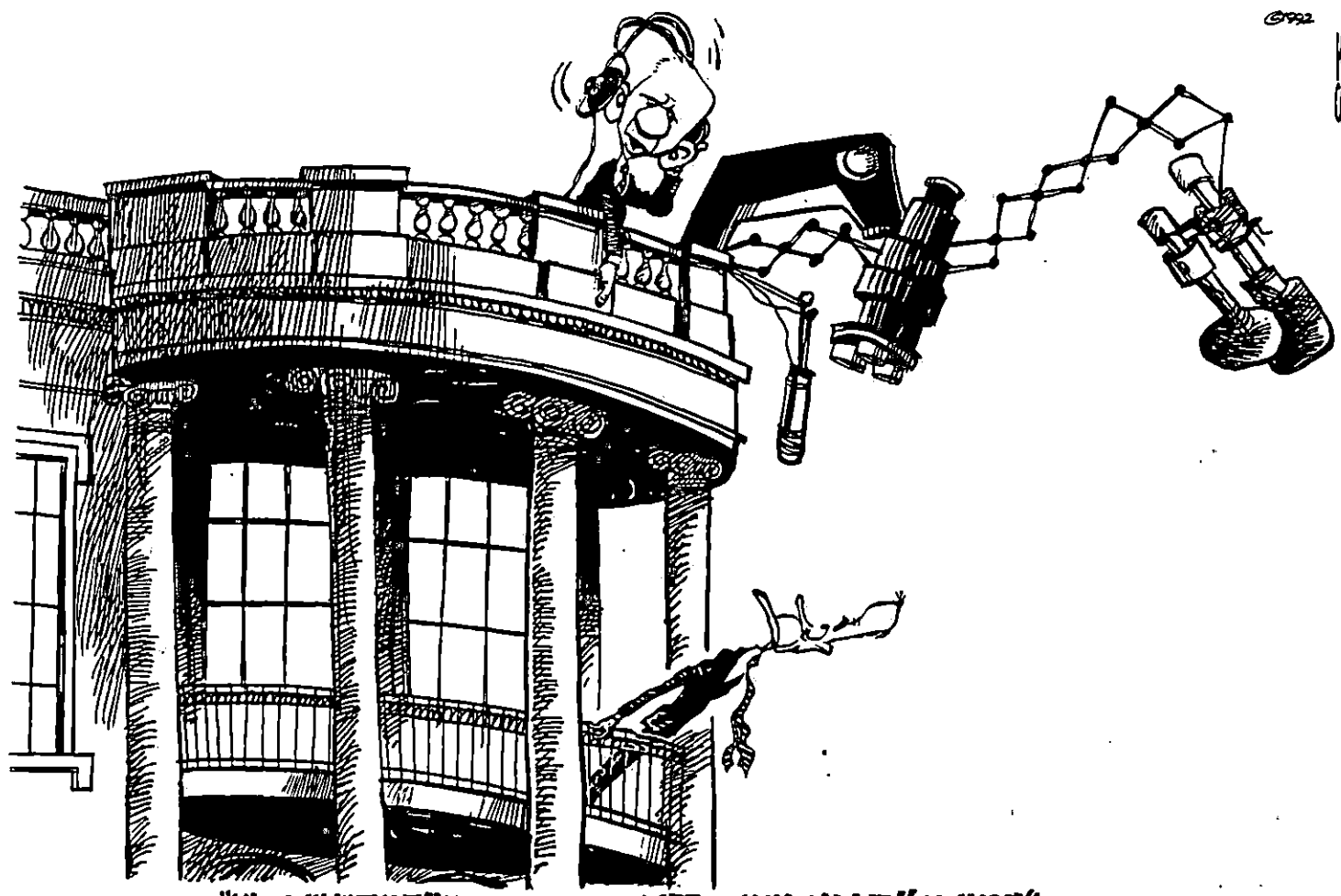


LITTLE KID ROSS
PEROT GET LOOSE
IN A CANDY STORE!!!

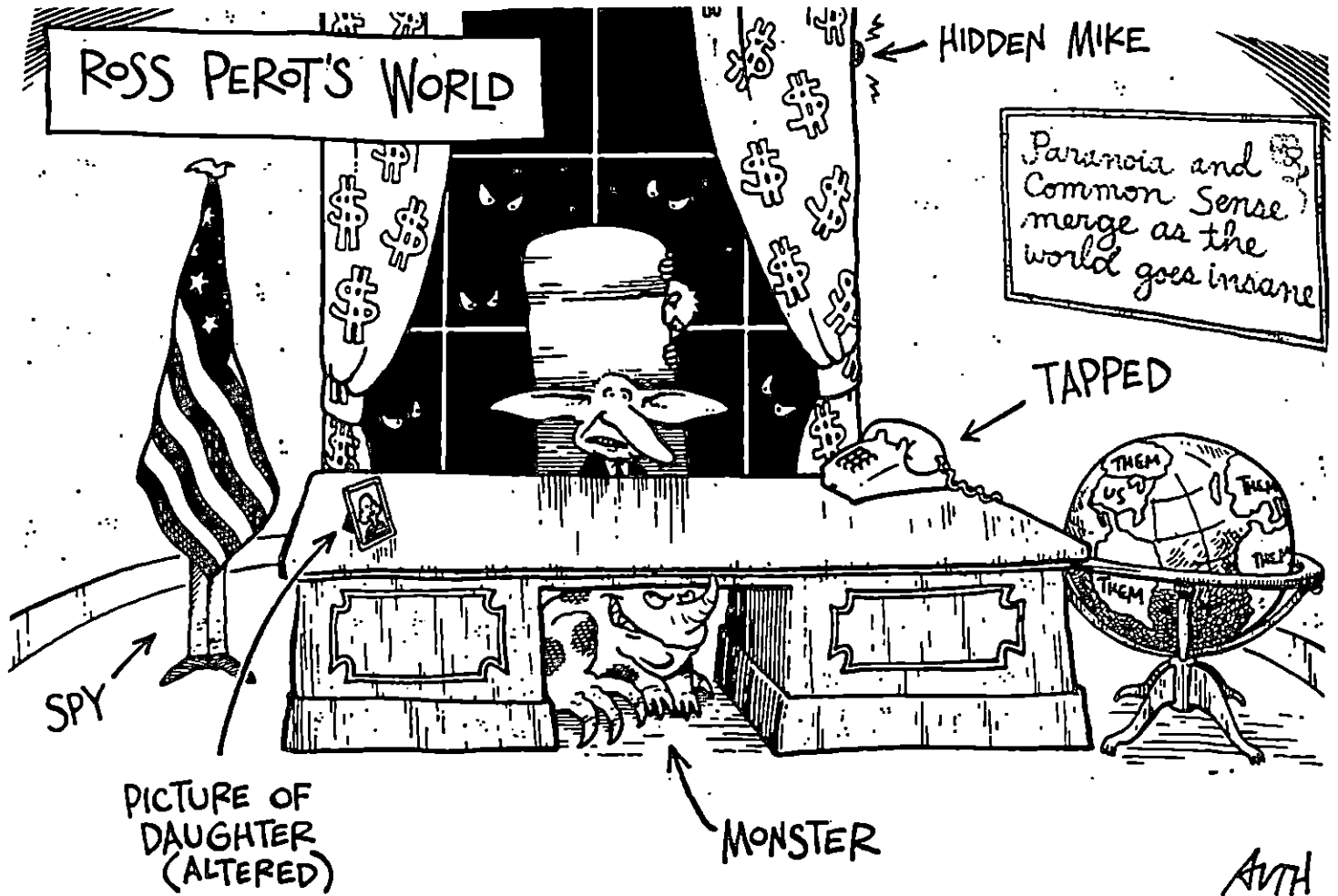
PRESIDENT ROSS
PEROT IN CHARGE OF
THE C.I.A. AND F.B.I.!!!!

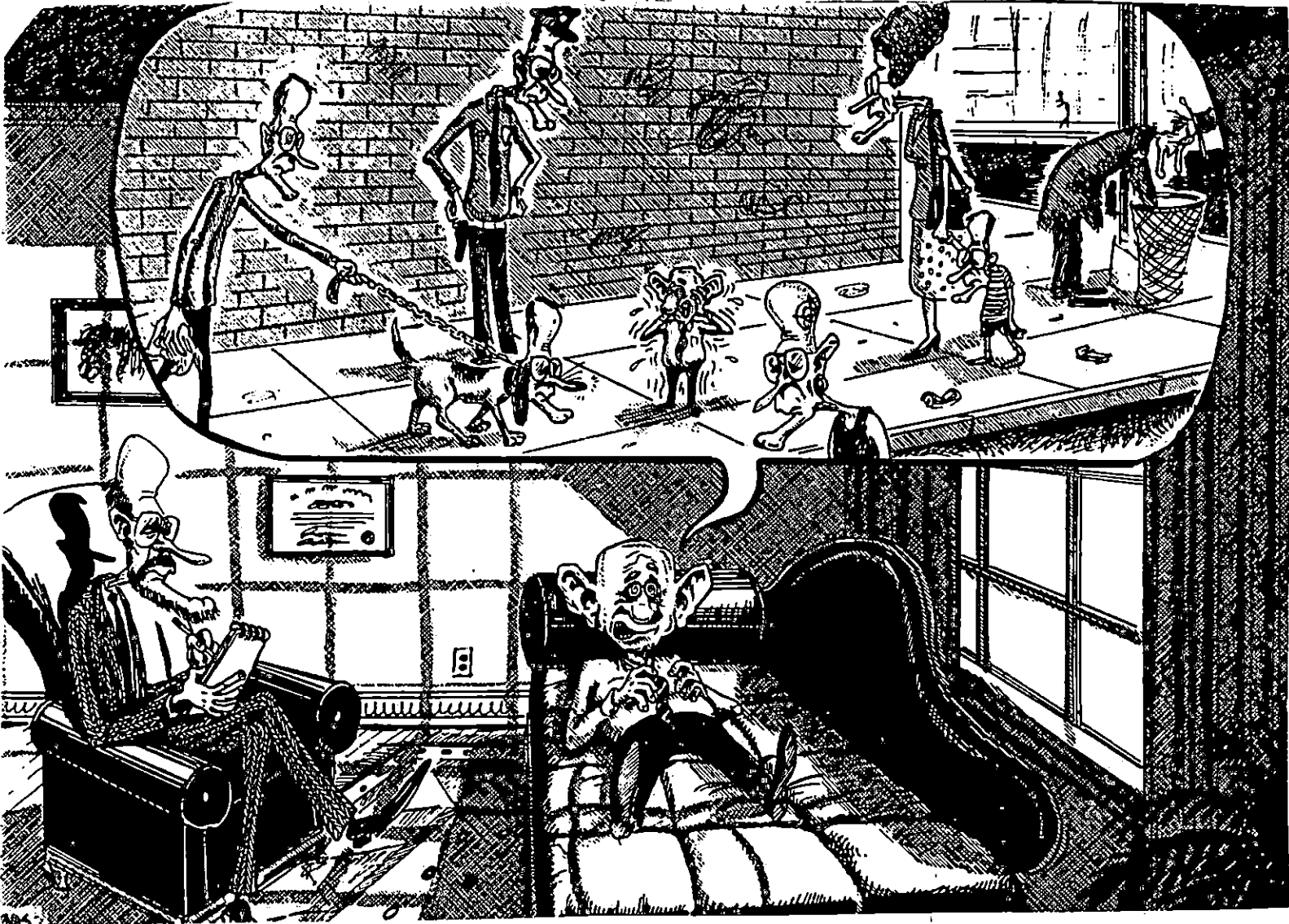


The Miami Herald

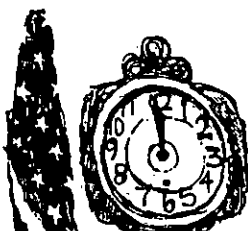


"Y'SEE, AH KNEW IT!! YOU GUYS REALLY ARE SPYIN' ON ME!! OKAY?!!"





Nike Luckovich ATLANTA CONSTITUTION



Deficit, solved! Urban decay, solved!
Unemployment, solved! Health-care mess,
solved!... Is it lunchtime already?..



President Perot

FIRST DAY ON THE JOB.

LOOK, IT'S SIMPLE!
I'LL JUST GO TO
CONGRESS, WE'LL
TALK, COME UP
WITH THE BEST
SOLUTION TO OUR
PROBLEMS AND
FIX 'EM!!



ROSS PEROT'S PLAN ON
WORKING WITH CONGRESS
AND GETTING THINGS MOVING

Excuse me Ma'am,
but can WE hold hands?
Excuse me Ma'am...
excuse me...



Ignore him
and maybe
he'll go
away

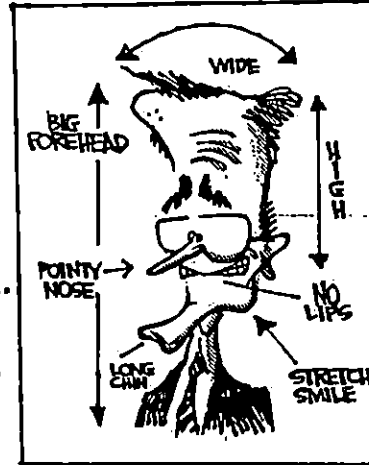
RE-ELECT BUSH

Four years ago, he took the crown.
We read his lips without a frown.
Four years ago, we made him boss;
He gave us KMAIL, oh, what a loss.

Our schools still hurt, our cities rot;
George is environmental - NOT!
Recession grips and tears our land;
George draws a line across the sand.

His fractured speech and funny smile,
His high forehead and weird hairstyle.
His kinder, gentler points of light
I draw all day and dream at night.

Cartoonists all across this land
See Clinton-Gore as awfully bland,
Alas, dear voters, end my fears
I need George Bush - please,
FOUR MORE YEARS!



WALT
HANDELSMAN

©1992 THE TIMES - PRAYNER / TMS

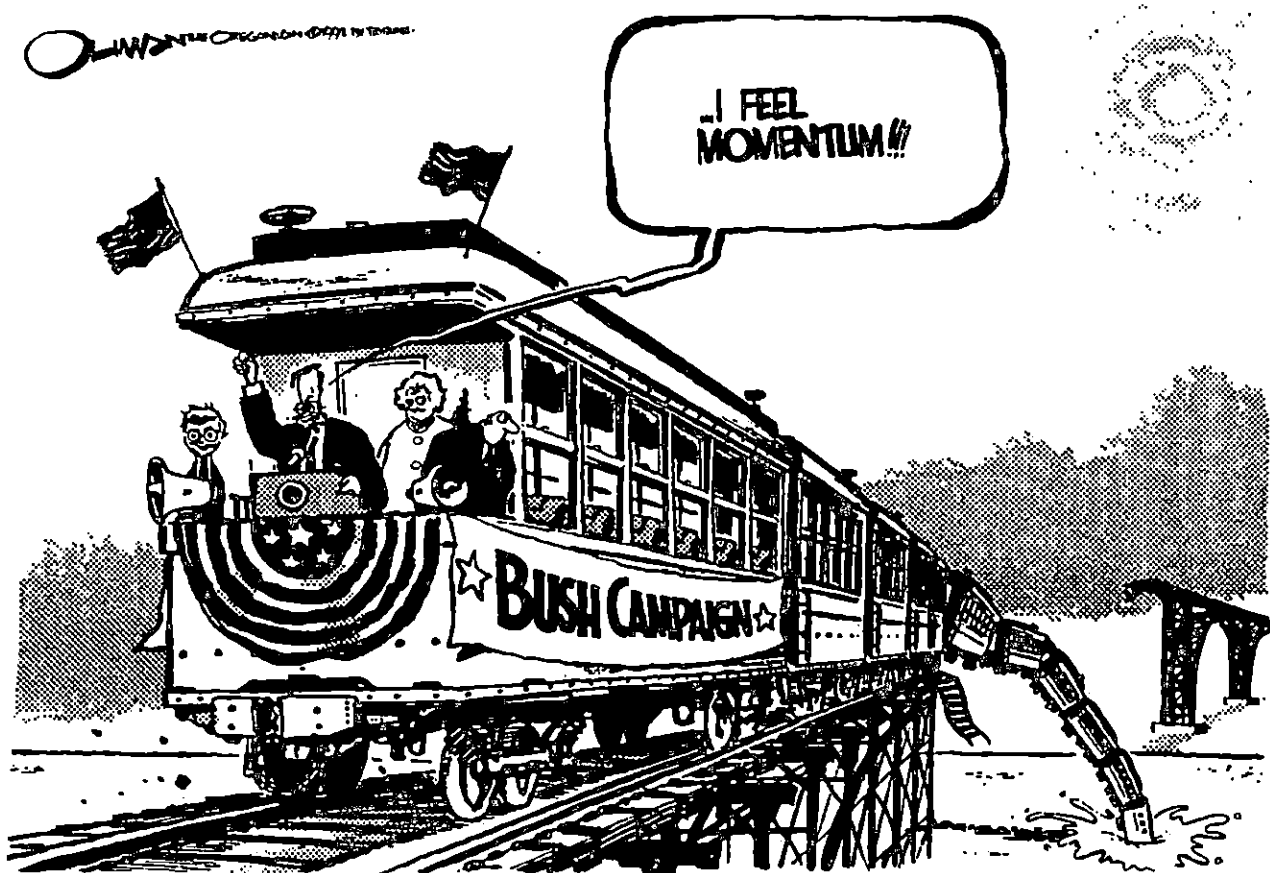
CAN YOU BELIEVE THAT
SCREWBALL TEXAS BILLIONAIRE?
MR. EL LOOPO?
MR PEROTNOID, OVER THERE?

HEY!
WE'RE TALKING **BIGTIME DIRTY**
- YOU KNOW -
ALLEGATION WISE,
HURLING, SLINGING,
INFERRING!
HOLD ON NOW!
NO MUCKRAKER, ME!
NO DIRTY TRICKSTER!
DEMOCRATS?
THOSE (WATCH YOUR WALLET)
TAX & SPENDMEISTERS
AFFIRMATIVE!!
Republicans??
NEGATORIE!!
NEVER!!



KAL
BALTO. SUN
CW SYND.



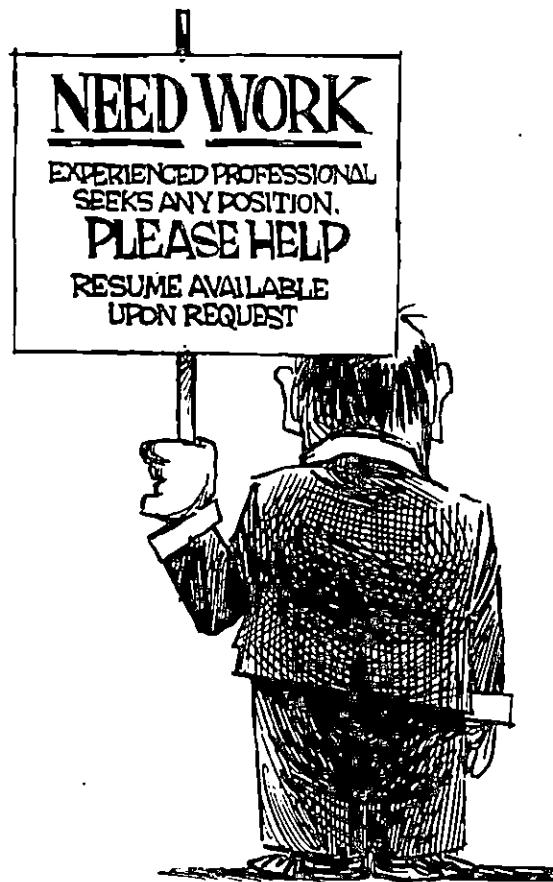


WHEN I MAKE
A MISTAKE,
I ADMIT IT!
NOT LIKE THIS
TAX-AND-SPEND
CROWD! WELL, YOU
CAN'T HAVE IT
BOTH WAYS WHEN
YOU'RE PRESIDENT!
I MADE A MISTAKE,
I ADMIT IT AND IT'S
NOT GONNA HAPPEN *again!!*



THE MOTHER OF ALL MOTHERS





WOMAN
The Miami Herald

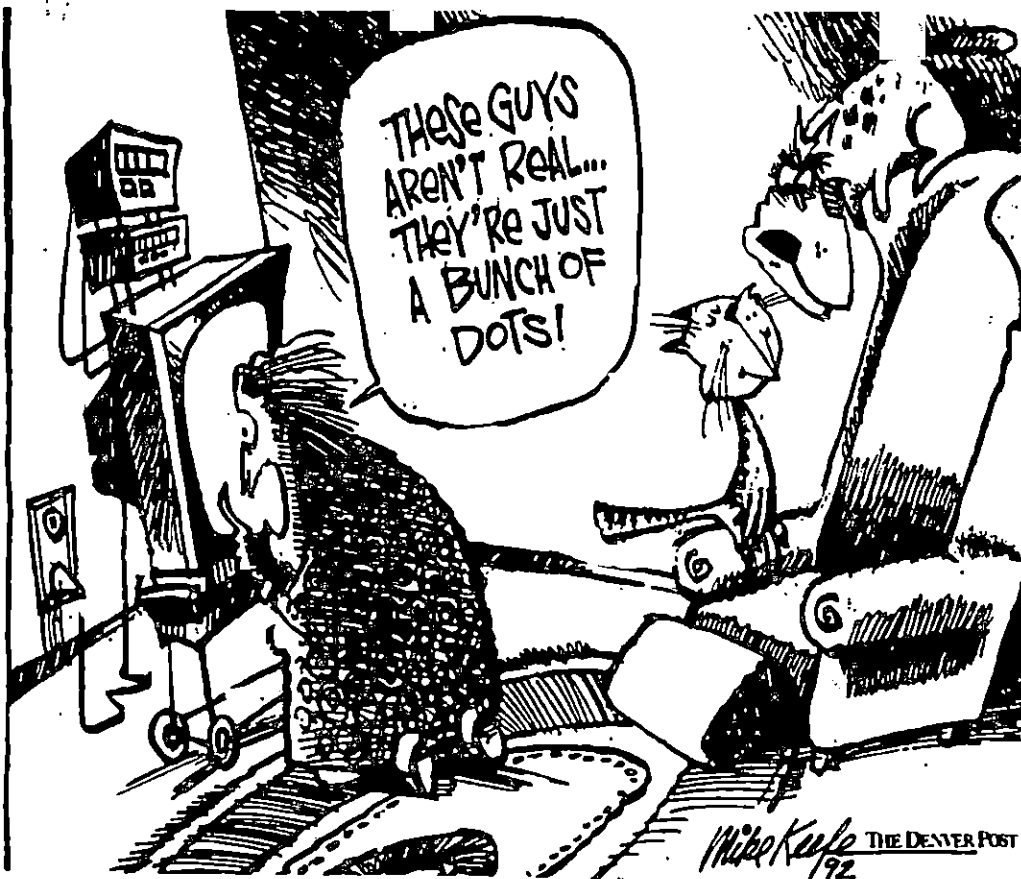
Unless You Want More Taxes . . .

Two reasons to vote for Bush:

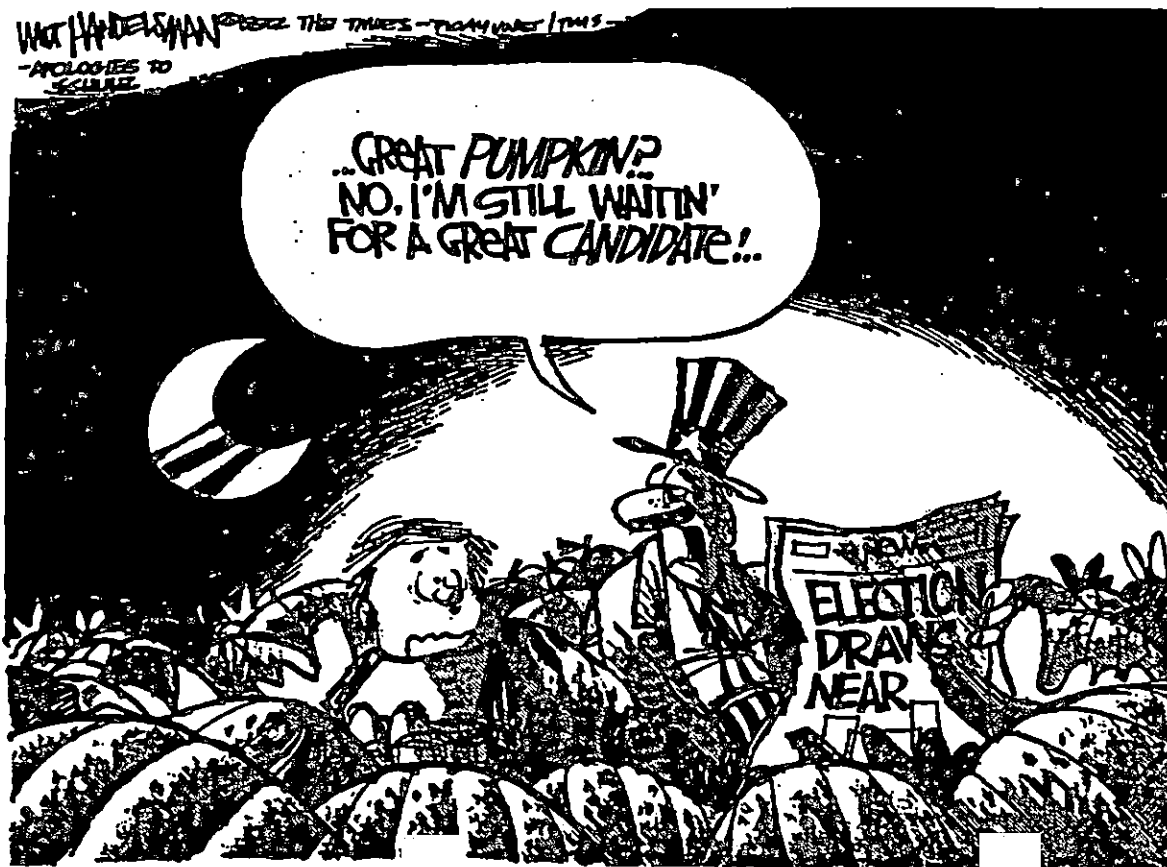


RAHREZ
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AFTER A CAREFUL STUDY OF THE CANDIDATES, THE DEBATES, AND THE RHETORIC, UNDECIDED VOTER EMILY BETH HAMMERLOCK REACHES THE ONLY POSSIBLE CONCLUSION...

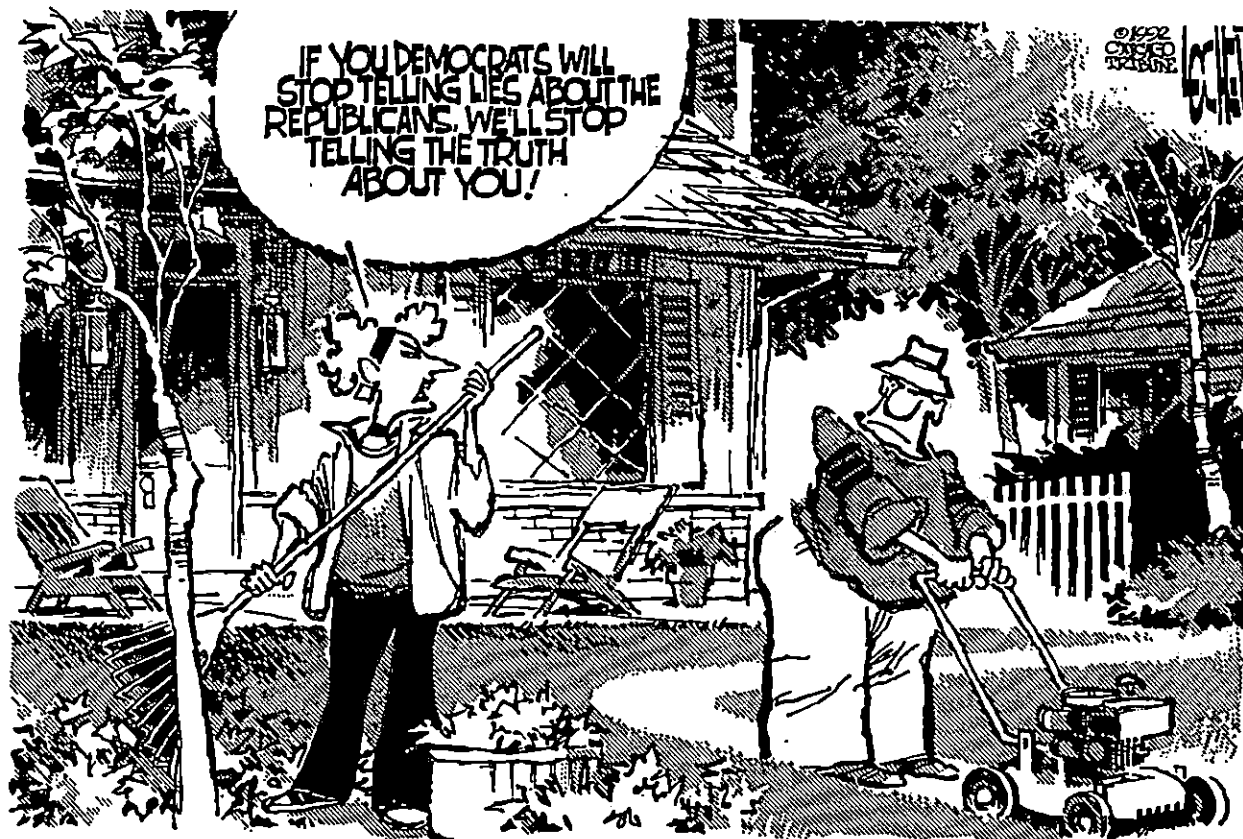
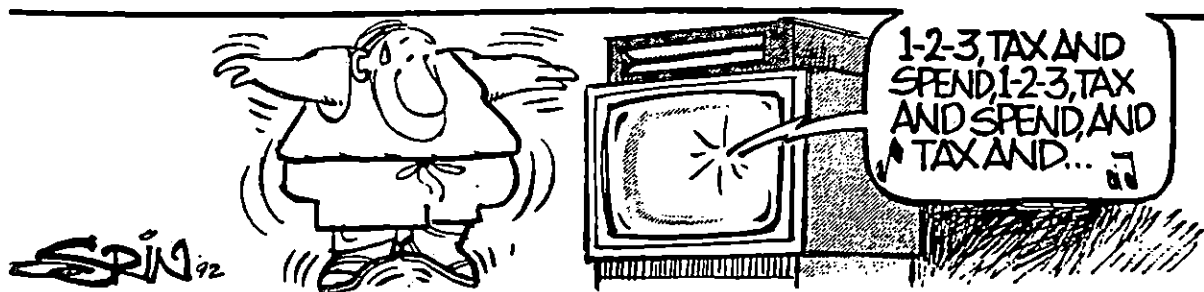
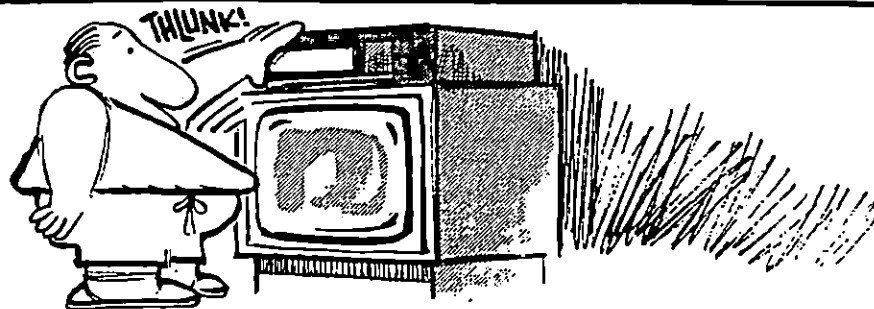
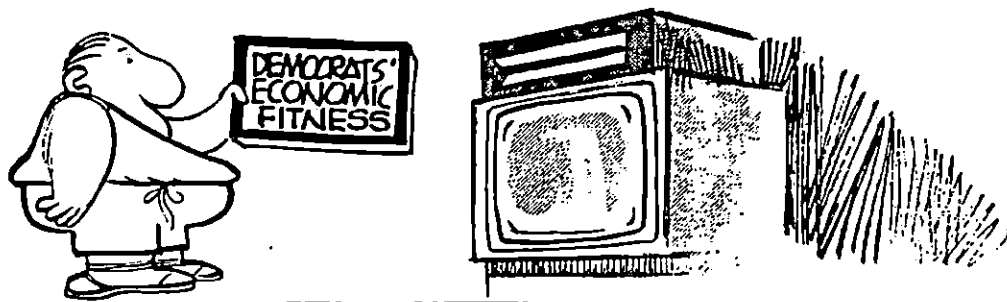


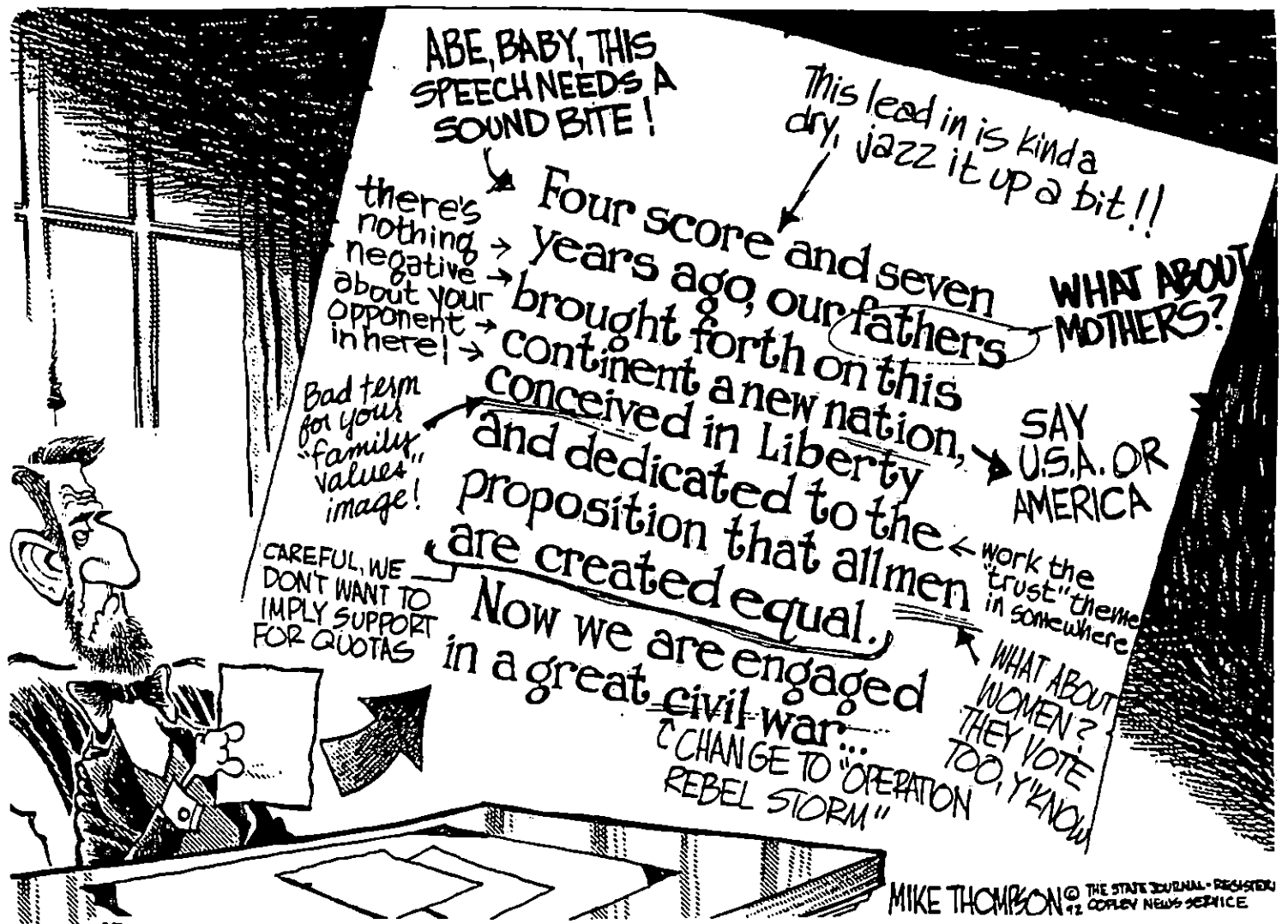
WALT HANDLISMAN PRESENTS THE THREE-PEANUTS / THIS
-APOLOGIES TO
SQUAB



BK



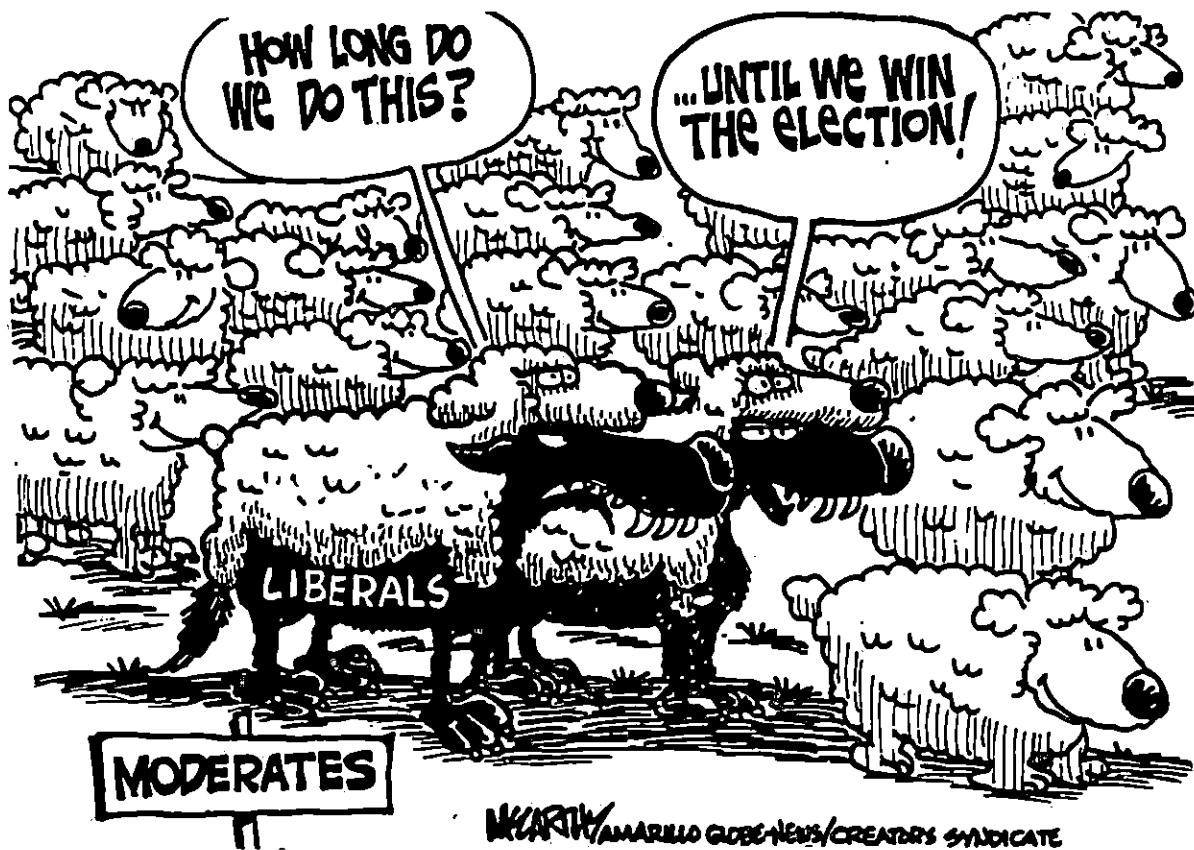


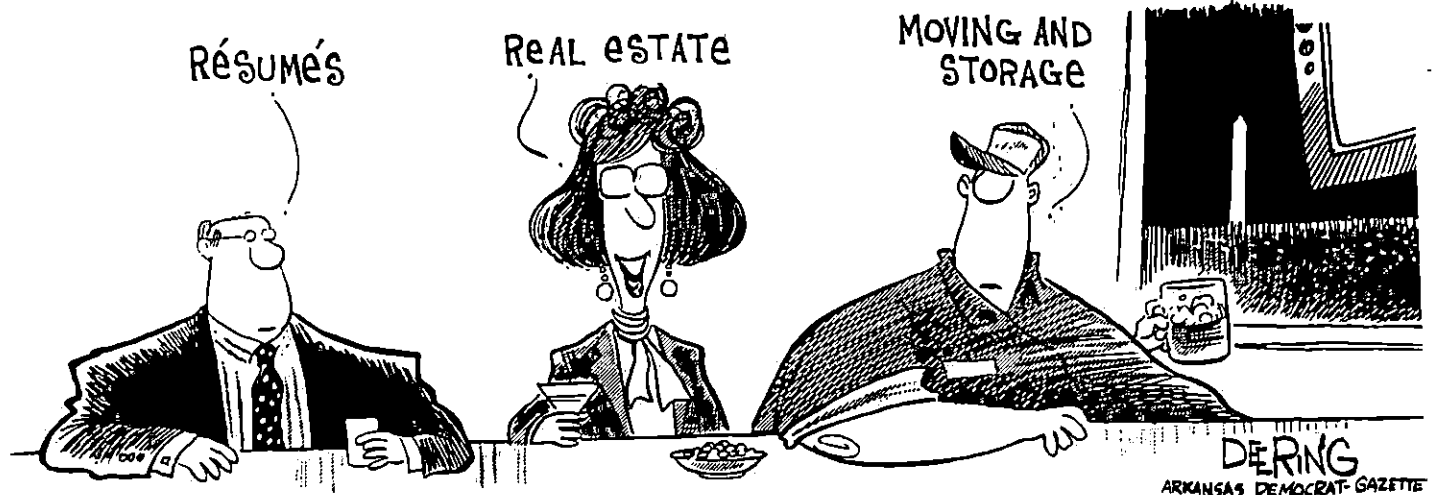


IF THE BUSH AND CLINTON SPEECHWRITERS HAD WORKED FOR LINCOLN :



THE ONLY NICE THING ABOUT ELECTIONS ANY MORE IS SEEING THE POLL-TAKERS GETTING HAULED OFF TO THE FUNNY FARM AFTERWARDS.





THAT'S IT!... I'M SICK OF
THE LIBERAL BIAS OF T.V. NEWS.
FROM NOW ON I'M NOT GONNA
WATCH ANYTHING BUT SPORTS!

THAT'S IT! THE
WORLD SERIES
IS OVER... YET
ANOTHER DEVASTATING
LOSS TO FOREIGN
COMPETITION DURING
THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION!





WHEN FANTASY FOOTBALL GETS OUT OF CONTROL...

Alex Wilton
Rocky Mountain News

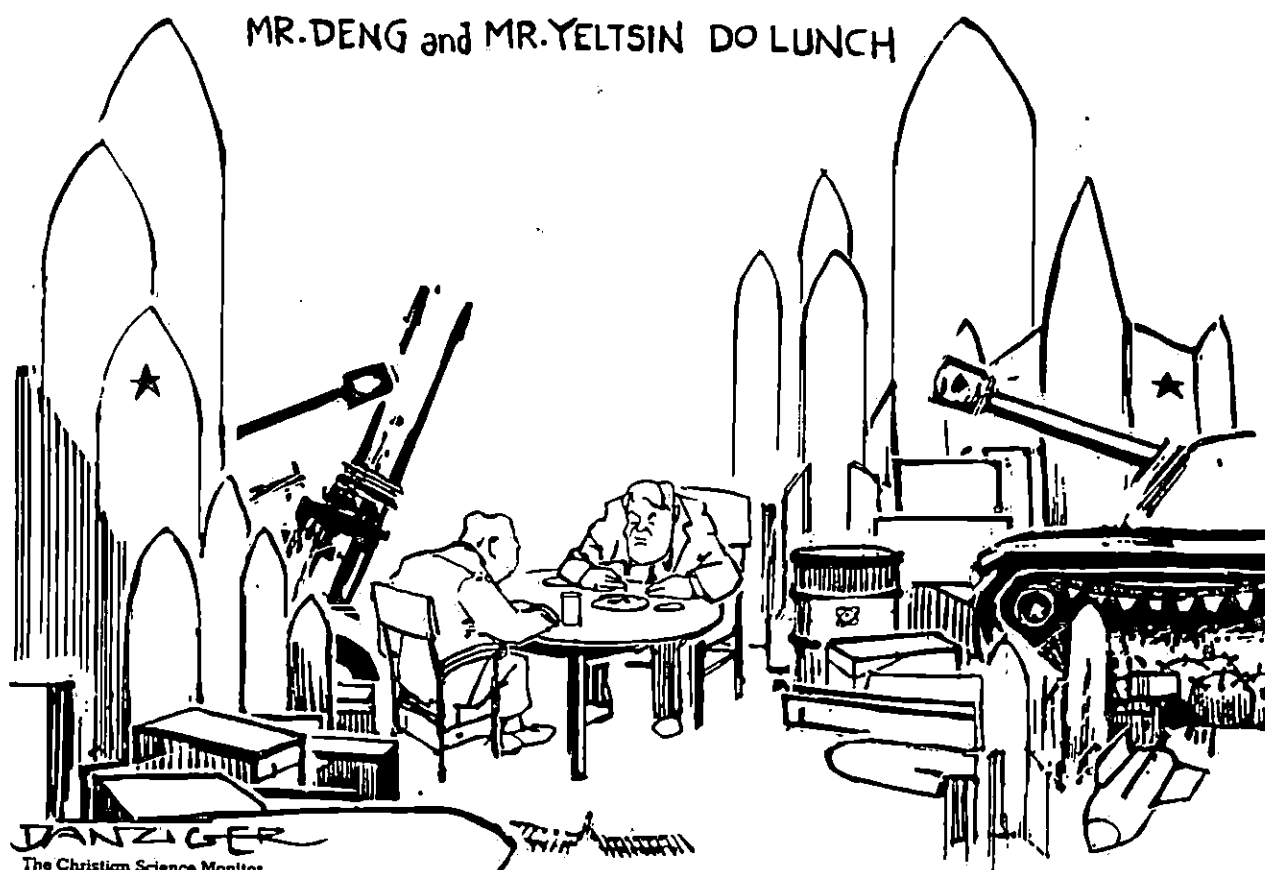
AS A CANADIAN, I WAS
OUTRAGED AT YOUR
COLOR GUARD FLYING
OUR FLAG UPSIDE DOWN!
HOW COULD THIS
HAPPEN??



Carlson
© 1994 HENRIKSEN SENTINEL

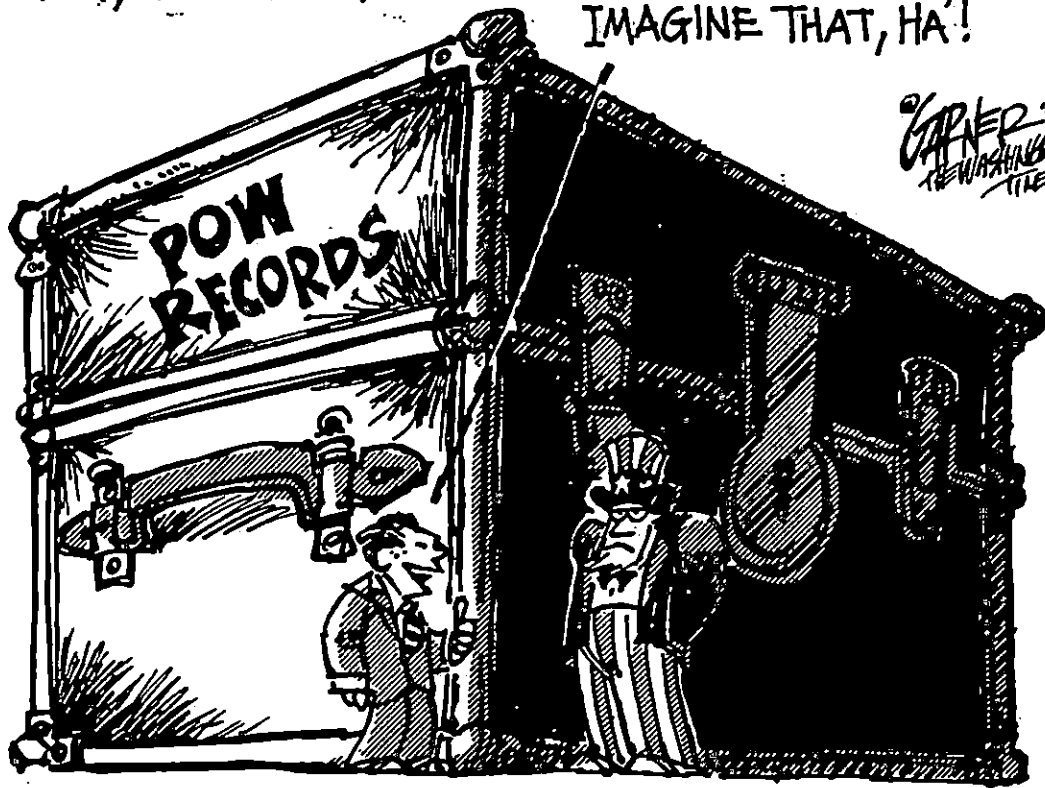


MR. DENG and MR. YELTSIN DO LUNCH

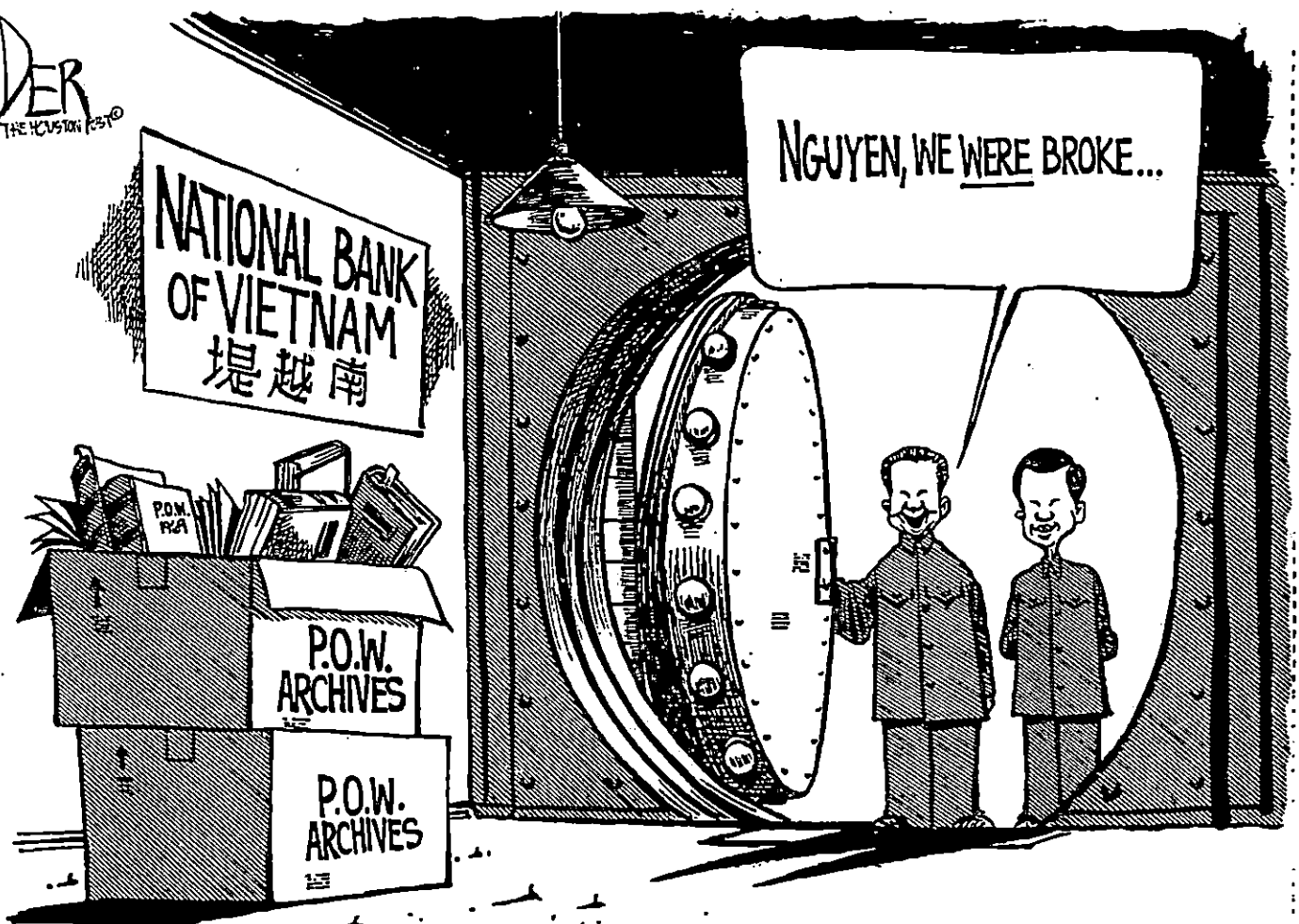


DANZIGER
The Christian Science Monitor

HA... THERE I WAS, WEEDING THE DAISIES IN MY FLOWER GARDEN, HA... WHEN SUDDENLY MY HOE STRUCK A METAL OBJECT, HA... IT TURNED OUT TO BE THIS OLD TRUNK, HA...
IMAGINE THAT, HA!



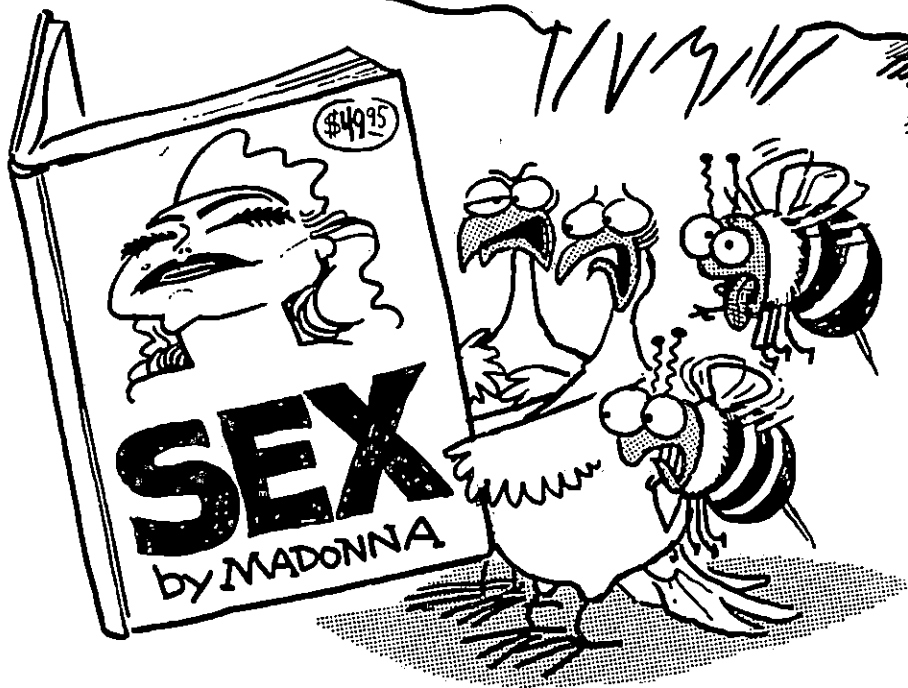
DER
THE HOUSTON POST





Halloween 1965

EEEEEEWWWW!!!



1:30 P.M. EST/12:30 P.M. CST NEWS UPDATE

CNN-USA TODAY POLL (New York/Reuter) -- Bill Clinton and President Bush are in a virtual dead heat in the latest CNN/USA Today tracking poll, CNN Headline News reported. The poll gave Clinton 41% and Bush 40% of the "likely voters" surveyed. Support for Ross Perot dropped from 16% to 14%. Among all registered voters, the poll shows Clinton leading 42%-to-36%, with Perot at 16%.

ELECTORAL PICTURE (Scripps-Howard) -- Bill Clinton's electoral vote lead has shrunk along with his poll ratings in the final week of the campaign, but he would win the presidency if he doesn't slip any further. Clinton no longer is headed for an electoral vote landslide, however. And if President Bush's surge continues, he could possibly be re-elected.

Clinton leads in D.C. and 27 states with 330 electoral votes. Bush leads in 18 states with 158 votes. Five states with 50 votes are a tossup. In the last week, 15 states have improved for Bush.

PENNSYLVANIA POLL (Harrisburg/UPI) -- A new statewide poll released today shows Bill Clinton holding a 10-point lead. The poll conducted by Penn State-Harrisburg and Millersville University, showed Clinton with 38%, Bush 28% and Perot with 15% with 19% undecided.

PRESIDENT'S CAMPAIGN (Nashville/Robert Burns, AP) -- President Bush attacked Gov. Clinton's economic plan, calling it "trample-down economics" that will lead to a bloated federal bureaucracy and put a regulatory stranglehold on small businesses. "It will not work, and most Americans know it," Bush told a convention of Kentucky Fried Chicken franchise owners at the sprawling Opryland Hotel. Bush was attempting to poke a hole in Clinton's charge that the Republicans throughout the 1980s practiced "trickle-down economics" that benefited the wealthy at the expense of harder economic times for the rest of the people.

Bush also attacked Clinton's proposal to address the AIDS crisis by, among other things, appointing an AIDS czar to coordinate federal efforts in combating the disease. "What Gov. Clinton didn't mention is that he's done very little for AIDS in Arkansas," Bush said. "We don't need a bureaucratic czar in the nation's capital. We need more care and compassion in our homes."

CLINTON CAMPAIGN (East Rutherford, N.J./Thomas Ferraro, UPI) -- Bill Clinton took his hard-charging drive for the White House to a New Jersey diner and national television early today, before heading off to a get-out-the-vote rally in Pittsburgh, and a town-hall meeting in Detroit.

At a diner, Clinton was asked about President Bush's relentless attacks on his character. "All I can tell you is that I got the trust of the people in my state the old fashioned way - I earned it," he said, citing figures showing strong job growth and low taxes in Arkansas. Most of the questions dealt with the ailing economy as Clinton went from table-to-table, talking to people about their problems in finding work and dealing with rising insurance costs.

-more-

(East Rutherford/Michael Posner, Reuter) -- Holding on to a slim lead over President Bush, Bill Clinton embarked on the final four days of his campaign denying he was unfaithful to his wife. In the final sprint to Tuesday, he said he would raise the level of debate above the volley of name-calling that has peppered the race in recent days.

At a diner here, a questioner on ABC's Good Morning America asked Clinton whether someone who was not faithful to his wife could be faithful to the people he serves. "Yes, I think we've seen that in presidents of the past," Clinton quickly responded. "Based on American history, the answer is yes. But if you're implying that I am not (faithful), you are wrong," he added.

Clinton also discussed with reporters the name-calling that has highlighted the last few days of the campaign. Bush said earlier this week that his dog Millie knows more about foreign policy than Clinton and Sen. Gore, labeling the pair bozos and crazies. "Forget about me -- Al Gore has been one of the steadiest authorities on foreign policy," Clinton said when asked about those epithets. "Let me say this: There's a way to press and be aggressive without calling them names like calling them 'bozo' and 'crazy,'" he said, adding he was going to lift the level of campaign rhetoric.

(Reuter) -- Clinton slugged back on the question of trust, comparing President Bush's assault on his credibility to Richard Nixon's attacks on John Kennedy in 1960. Clinton asserted on ABC's Good Morning America that Nixon had said of Kennedy, "'You can't trust him,' which is [as] ironic [as] for Nixon to say, 'You can't trust Kennedy.'" Clinton didn't suggest Bush was Nixon, but said the president's credibility was questionable.

Al Gore also kicked back at the Bush attacks. Responding to Bush's assertion that the Democratic nominees were "crazy," Gore said on NBC's Today that "one definition of insanity is doing the same thing over and over again and expecting a different result." Gore associated that with Bush's unsuccessful efforts to revive the economy, which Gore said "have given us the worst result since Herbert Hoover."

FROHNMAYER COMMENTS (Cambridge, Mass./AP) -- Former NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer says the Republican presidential ticket is "anti-art, anti-intellectual and anti-democracy." Frohnmayer, speaking before the MIT Council for the Arts, criticized Vice President Quayle's attacks on what Quayle calls the nation's "cultural elite." "In a democracy, those who think are not the elites," Frohnmayer said. "They are the patriots. Sheep-like followers belong in totalitarian states."

HOME SALES (AP) -- Sales of new homes fell 1.0% in September, the first drop in five months despite the lowest mortgage rates in nearly two decades, the government said.

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--- Friday --- October 30, 1992 ---

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--- THE DAILY BRIEFING ON AMERICAN POLITICS ---

Updated Each Morning At 11:50

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282 North Washington Street, Falls Church, VA (703) 237-5130

NATIONAL POLL UPDATE

CNN/USA/GALLUP TRACK 1 pt.

P.O.S. (GOP) 3 pts

B/GROUND TRACKING 5 pts

ABC TRACKING 9 pts

NBC/WSJ of RVs 10 pts

Note: CNN and B/GROUND include last night's samples. (#21-25)

IN THE STATES: DETROIT NEWS has Clinton by 10. (#9) TX poll has Bush by 8. (#10) Slim Clinton lead in NC. (#8)

MD: DEM GOV BACKS BUSH (#11)

BUSH TO DO MTV SHOW 11/1 (#3)

HOTLINE TURNOUT STUDY III

Pollsters tell how they screen for likely voters (#13); HOTLINE look at registration, turnout in key states. (#12)

HOUSE: TROUBLED INCUMBENTS

Among the nervous: Mavroules (D-MA), Wilson (D-TX), Zeliff (R-NH), Erdreich (D-AL). (#18)

1996 CAULDRON ALREADY BUBBLING

As KEMP unloads on BUCHANAN, convention "family values," DOLE says he won't rule out another bid. (#5)

SPOTLIGHT

BETTER WATCH SENATE WATCH

Only weeks ago, Dems were dreaming of expanding their 57-43 Senate edge to a filibuster-proof majority. But the stretch run has shown overall GOP gains.

GOP VULNERABLES: Though Seymour still looks gone, D'Amato is close (some say ahead) and Kasten may be back in the fight.

DEM OPEN SEATS: Field has Herschensohn in a TIE with Boxer; IL dept. rules Braun owes Medicaid bucks; Chandler narrows Murray's wide lead; and Considine has made it a horse race.

SOUTHERN DEMS: Faircloth catches vulnerable Sanford; Hollings, Fowler face final charges from opponents.

DEMS CAN TAKE HEART: From Yeakel's endurance; Rauh's lead; DeWine's mean shots at Glenn; AuCoin's late move. And of course: DiFi.

===== QUOTE OF THE DAY =====

"The blowhard chickened out and blew me off."

-- ABC's Sam Donaldson on Perot's "PrimeTime Live" pass,
DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 10/30. (#6)

THE APN BULLETIN BOARD

FROM TODAY'S GREENWIRE: Hill report charges Justice Dept.
"discouraged" and blocked pursuit of enviro. crimes.
FROM TODAY'S DAILY REPORT CARD: Fourteen school design teams
in NYC win grants to create "New Visions" schools.
FROM TODAY'S ABORTION REPORT: New poll shows support is
"slipping" for MD's pro-choice abortion ballot question.
FROM TODAY'S AMERICAN HEALTH LINE: CA voters split on "Death
With Dignity" prop. legalizing physician-assisted death.

HOTLINE/DATABASE INDEX

WHITE HOUSE '92

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BUSH: "Bozos ... Rathole ... Pissed off ... Ozone man." (#3)
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POLL UPDATE

NBC/WSJ: Clinton 44%, Bush 34%, Perot 15% (all RVs). (#21)
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TV MONITOR (#26)

? ? ? ? OVERLOOKED ? ? ? ?

BRETT KIMBERLIN, CALL YOUR OFFICE: Today's TAMPA TRIBUNE
runs a front-page story detailing the history of ex-Green Beret

Liam Atkins, arrested in Georgetown 10/17 after -- he claims -- threatening to talk about his knowledge of Iran-Contra and his relationship with Bush and WH counsel Boyden Gray.

*1 CLINTON: BUSH ATTACKS TAKE HIM OFF MESSAGE; AIDS SPEECH

"Warning he was going to 'slam' President Bush" in the final stretch, Clinton "courted the working class and in-city residents" in OH, MI and NJ. In Detroit, Clinton appeared with civil rights legend Rosa Parks. Clinton compared himself to JFK, "who he said was the last politician until this election to 'dare' his generation to change." Though the day was "supposed to be devoted to the economy and the AIDS speech" in NJ, Clinton went off his message and attacked Bush for the 2nd day in a row (Oman, AR DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE, 10/30). Clinton accused Bush of "fearmongering" and "mudslinging": "The man has no core of conviction. ... The American people see him for what he is: a desperate person who just wants to hold power and doesn't give a rip about them" (mult., 10/30). Those comments came before a "statesmanlike speech on the economy" at U-Toledo; aides tried to "play down" his remarks. Clinton press sec. Dee Dee Myers: "He got up on the wrong side of the bed. I wouldn't read too much into it" (S.F. CHRONICLE, 10/30). NBC's Mitchell: "The Clinton campaign is worried about the inroads Bush is making in" MI and OH, "knowing that whoever wins these two states could very well win the election" (10/29). Mark Shields: "Clinton has almost personalized this race. Time after time it has been criticism of [Bush] for lying about him." David Gergen: "The slug-fest has not served Clinton best" ("M/L," PBS, 10/29). Clinton said he will hit 3-5 states a day until Tues. and "may go all night Monday to hang onto his slight edge" (N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 10/30).

A PROMISE IS A PROMISE: "Taking a political risk to keep a campaign promise," Clinton "pledged to move aggressively if he is elected to tackle the AIDS crisis, which he said is 'a disease -- not a vengeance or punishment.'" S.F. CHRONICLE's Yoachum notes the contrast to Bush's 10/28 comments "in which he stressed the need for 'behavior modification' to control the spread of AIDS" (10/30). In his 20-minute speech before a "hand-picked audience" of several hundred people in Jersey City, NJ, Clinton "called for increased funding for research and more emphasis on prevention and education. He also called for the [FDA] to expedite the approval of experimental drugs" (Jordan, NEWSDAY, 10/30). CBS' Threlkeld: "Whichever proves stronger, gay-power or gay-backlash this will mark the first presidential campaign in which gays and lesbians have begun voting in a block in their own self interest, and probably not the last" (10/29). ABC's Bury: "By scheduling [the speech] late in the day, the campaign all but guaranteed it would get only limited national exposure" (10/29).

UNCLE, CAN YOU SPARE A DIME? "Running short of its \$55 million taxpayer-financed war chest in the final days of the election," the Clinton camp has asked the FEC for permission to borrow more money in anticipation of an expected reimbursement by the U.S. Secret Service. "Such a ruling would be unprecedented." The Bush camp "denounced the request as evidence that the Clinton team had mismanaged public funds and was seeking an unfair late influx of cash to shore up its lead." Bush mgr Fred Malek: "The FEC should deny this panicked request for relief from profligate spending by the Clinton-Gore campaign and make Bill Clinton play by the rules." The Clinton camp "insisted it was faced with no more than a temporary cash-flow problem, and blamed its difficulties on inequities that force a challenger to pay up-front Secret Service costs that an incumbent never needs to bear"

(Jehl, L.A. TIMES, 10/30).

ABOUT THAT MAJOR ANALOGY: The ECONOMIST endorses Clinton: "A keener distinction between Mr. Clinton and Mr. Bush is that one man has exhausted the possibilities of office, while the other pants to put into practice the ideas he has been developing for 12 years; that one has given up, while the other has hardly begun. ... Despite the risks the possibilities are worth pursuing. Our choice falls on [Clinton]" (10/31 issue).

THIS A.M.: Clinton appeared on ABC's "Good Morning America" from East Rutherford, NJ. Clinton was walking from table to table in the Candlestick diner answering questions from an audience. On the trust issue: "It is a general problem whenever a younger person runs for president who's not in, particularly when it's against an incumbent. When John Kennedy ran ... Nixon was saying the whole time you can't trust him, you can't trust him, you can't trust him ... that's the same thing that's going on here. ... I got the trust of the people of my state the old fashioned way -- I earned it." On whether someone "who's not faithful to his wife can be faithful to the people he serves": "Yes, I think you've seen that in presidents in the past. But if you're implying that I'm not, you're wrong. Based on American history the answer is yes" (10/30).

*2 PEROT: ONE MORE FOR LARRY

He "repeated his charges of dirty tricks" 10/29 on "Larry King Live" "only hours after his top aides said they wanted to bury the story and focus on other issues" (Garrett, W. TIMES, 10/30). EXCERPTS: King: If we could go back to February 20th, would your answer be different?" Perot: "No, I think it has been a healthy thing for the country." King: "The mistake was leaving, right? You made a mistake." Perot: "Oh, yes." King: "Do you think you can win -- straight-out, flat-out win?" Perot: "Absolutely. ... Tuesday night, if I'm elected, Wednesday morning I'll be in Washington. And between Wednesday morning and Christmas, we're going to be putting together all the plans that you normally wait until after inauguration to do. And by Christmas, we're going to have very specific plans that we go on the electronic town hall and explain to the American people in detail. And the new health care system, they'll know in technicolor before they have it dumped on them. And they'll either like it or we won't do it. And you can go across the board on everything like that." King: "You got graphs? ... You didn't bring any." Perot: "Well, no, I sold them to Clinton and Quayle." King: "Are you saying to all the Bush voters, you can't win, vote for me?" Perot: "Absolutely, I'm saying don't throw your vote away, folks. Now he started this, the president started this -- anybody that's not voting for him. But here are the facts, here are the facts. He's history. And the good people who are voting for him, the people who are voting for him are throwing their votes away." King: "Are you saying this race is between you and Clinton?" Perot: "Don't waste your vote, folks, don't waste your vote on election day." Perot/Larry King fan Cher called in: "I'd just like to say that I feel really proud today, I voted for Ross Perot, I did my ballot and I was really nervous and I was really frightened, but my conscience is clear and I did it because I really love my country." King: "I know this voice, who is this?" Perot: "It's Cher." Cher: "I wanted to come in and congratulate you and tell you I love you and God bless you, and I hope people aren't frightened, because that's the way you get controlled in any situation, if they can

frighten you out of doing the right thing" (CNN, 10/29).

MORE TV: In a taped interview with PBS' David Frost, airing tonight, Perot was asked if he would run in '96. He said he "isn't thinking that way right now" but added, "we'll cross that bridge when we come to it." Perot also "suggests" that he still believes his charges of dirty tricks, adding, "I'm not paranoid. You will never find the word 'paranoid' used once in the thousands, hundreds of thousands of words written about me" (Baer, Balto. SUN, 10/30). ABC's Koppel: "The Perot campaign will undoubtedly keep political junkies musing and mulling over what might have been for years, if not generations to come. If only he had stayed in the race, if only he had restrained some of his stranger impulses. ... Some of the things Ross Perot has said and done over these past few months are, to put it bluntly -- weird. That's also part of his charm, his attraction. ... If he had acted more predictably we might have become bored with the Perot phenomenon long ago." ABC's Greenfield: "It is possible to see in this remarkable Perot campaign a series of contradictory impressions. A candidate who's instinct and actions sometimes are at war with each other. ... There was this year, this time ... a move that would have made a third party, or independent candidate, properly financed, a really credible alternative. And in my view, Perot could have won." ABC's Dean on the Perot campaign: "You don't really cover Ross Perot, you try to find out where he is. ... What passes for a campaign schedule here reads more like a TV guide" ("Nightline, 10/30).

MONEY TALKS: "No matter how well Ross Perot fares," he has already "secured a place in the annals of U.S. politics" by having spent "more money than anyone else on his political career." Perot has already spent \$59 million, and "plans to spend millions more broadcasting his message" before 11/3. On election eve, Perot has spent \$2.9 million for network air time, including one-hour slots on NBC both 11/1 and 11/2. Perot's "willingness to dig so deep into his pockets is causing some consternation" not only from the Bush and Clinton camps, but "also from political scientists and campaign reformers." Critics say Perot "has used his money to control the political process, avoiding the kind of public exposure faced by candidates who campaign the old fashioned way" (Demick, PHILA. INQUIRER, 10/30). But Perot officials 10/29 released figures "they said show Perot has been greatly outspent by his two major rivals" and "called for an overhaul of the nation's campaign-finance system." Perot adviser/son-in-law Clay Mulford said that when "soft money" contributions are added to federal matching funds received by Bush and Clinton, the two party candidates "outspent Perot by close to 3-1" for the year (Isikoff, W. POST, 10/30). Bob Novak: "I think he is frozen right now no matter how many millions of dollars he spends." CNN's Bode on effect in CA: "He's playing a hunch. Before he got out of the race in July, [CA] was dead even. Most of the Perot voters went to Clinton. ... If you see [Perot] starting to hit [Clinton] ... on being the governor of a small state that raises only chickens then you're going to see a little different end" (10/29).

MORE ON THOSE INVESTIGATED VOLUNTEERS: Eight ex-Perot volunteers, from OH, MS and MD, told reporters 10/29 that the Perot campaign had "investigated them and perhaps had broken the law by gaining access to their credit histories without permission." OH atty Cliff Arnebeck: "While we took Ross Perot at his word he was secretly investigating us. While it was happening, we kept saying, 'This can't be Ross Perot doing this

to us.' But my conclusion is it must have been Ross Perot all along." While the Perot campaign has "acknowledged" hiring a security firm, Perot claims "I never knew we investigated volunteers until I heard it from the press" adding "from time to time, other volunteers would make allegations that a volunteer was stealing or misappropriating something, and under the [FEC] rules, we had to check it out" (Mintz, W. POST, 10/30).

STAY TUNED: His 11/1 "comparative" infomercial, on NBC and ABC opposite CBS' "60 Minutes," is titled "Deep Voodoo, Chicken Feathers, and the American Dream" (DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 10/30).

*3 BUSH: "BOZOS ... RATHOLE ... PISSED OFF ... OZONE MAN"

All reports continue to characterize Bush as upbeat, at times dipping into "goofy," in his 10/29 Michigan appearances. Bush expanded an earlier theme: "My dog Millie knows more about foreign affairs than these two bozos. It's crazy!" Bush also made this statement, which he later explained referred to TV talking heads: "Harry Truman said there are 50 people covering the [WH], and none of them know enough to pound sand into a rat's hole. Save your wrath for those faithless Republicans and faithless Democrats who wrote me off about two months ago. We are going to show that rathole that we are going to win this election" (NEWSDAY, 10/30). ABC's Hume: "For much of today, the Bush campaign, bursting with last-minute hope and newfound pep, seemed almost out of control. First it was Bruce Willis." Willis, introducing Bush: "I'm pissed off. I am angry that this man can stand up there and say that he is qualified to be Commander-in-Chief." Bush, "getting into the spirit, called his opponents 'two bozos.'" Video of Bush, gesturing wildly, on Gore: "You know why I call him Ozone Man? This guy is so far off in the environmental extreme, well be up to our neck in owls and out of work for every American. This guy's crazy, he is way out, far out man." Hume: "The partisan crowd loved it all, and [Bush], seeming to feed on that, worked himself up even more in his finale." Bush: "And let's lead the world to new heights of prosperity for every single American. Don't let them tear it down. [now thumping podium] God bless America" (10/29). NBC's Cochran: "Bush got a much-improved forecast" from MI GOPers. Bush's aides give much of the credit to Ross Perot who cut into Clinton's lead. Bush also feels he has drawn blood with his attacks on Clinton" (10/29). CBS' Spencer: Bush "was in uncommon form today on this, his 11th trip to Michigan" (10/29). Barbara Bush: "I'm surprised George said that, but maybe that was in a heated moment" ("CBS This Morning," 10/30). Gore: "It's an insult to all Americans who understand what the president does not, that there are serious threats to the environment" ("Today," NBC, 10/30).

A.M. TV: Bush appeared on NBC's "Today" in a taped interview from Air Force 1. On whether he still thought the pollster were "nutty": "Yeah I do. There's still big spreads, I don't understand it. ... I was griping about the polls when we were 20 points back 10 days ago ... so I can't suddenly be saying polls are accurate" (10/30).

MORE ON THE "TRUST" WAR: Bush chair Bob Teeter: Clinton "now has been two or three days without mentioning his economic plan. ... He's dealing with our agenda and we are happy for the next four or five days to have this be a referendum on trust" (USA TODAY, 10/30). Bush: "I heard Governor Clinton raise the character issue yesterday. Well, come on in. Let's take it on character and trust" (Balto. SUN, 10/30).

PICK YOUR ELECTION MODEL: NBC's Cochran on Bush campaigning with Gerald Ford: "The Ford campaign is the one that haunts the Bush campaign. In the homestretch, Ford came from far behind only to lose in a photo-finish to a southern governor" (10/29). Bush dep. mgr Mary Matalin "rejected" the Ford comparison, calling Bush's campaign "unconventional," and adding Ford "stalled" after the Poland debate gaffe. Unlike Ford, she said, "we are closing the gap" (Bedard, W. TIMES, 10/30). BOSTON HERALD's Miga writes Bush "is sounding a lot like" Dukakis during the final week of his campaign (10/29). PHILA. DAILY NEWS' Grady hears Dukakis echoes, too. To Bush: "You're probably in the grip of a delusion common to the presidential races. Call it the Underdog's Death Rattle ... Loser's Fever, a surge of energy that turns out to be tantalizingly fraudulent" (10/30). KNIGHT-RIDDER's Green: "What was dismissed as inconceivable just days ago now seems possible, although still unlikely: a come-from-behind victory by President Bush" (PHILA. INQUIRER, 10/30). Mark Shields: "He has moved from one category in American politics which is deadly, that of loser, to another which is colorful and interesting, that of underdog" ("M/L," PBS, 10/30).

THE ROCK THE VOTE THING: NBC's Brokaw and CBS' Spencer reported Bush will appear on MTV's "Choose or Lose Wrap-Up Special." He will be interviewed by MTV's Tabitha Soren and the interview will air during the program (10/29). USA TODAY's Flynn notes Bush had earlier said he wouldn't be "a teeny-bopper at 68," and still refuses to do a Q&A with a youth audience, as Clinton and Gore did. Quayle and Perot have refused as well. Soren will interview Bush on the campaign train in WI; it will air 11/1, at 6:30p EST. Soren on the partial come around from the Bush camp: "In the beginning, I don't think they were excited about sharing a nighttime spot with 'Headbanger's Ball' ... I think they realize now I'm not going to be dancing around in a bustier when I talk to him." Bush spokesperson Alixe Glen: "His message of economic growth and job creation and small business development is uniquely important to voters under 35" (10/30).

GIPPS AHOY: Ronald Reagan will campaign for Bush in AZ & NM today, and GA & NC 10/31 (W. TIMES, 10/30).

ALSO: BOSTON HERALD endorses Bush: "Change for the sake of change is not the solution" (10/29). BOSTON GLOBE report on the HERALD endorsement notes after a 3-hour meeting with Perot, the HERALD editorial board "concluded that he would be unable to govern" (10/30). W. TIMES' Witham reports evangelical Christians "have the potential to deliver 134 electoral votes" in GA, MO, NC, FL, MI, OH, and TX (10/30). Noting Bruce Willis' "pissed off" introduction, BOSTON GLOBE's Wilkie: "It is difficult to find the majesty of democracy in the final days of the 1992 presidential campaign" (10/30).

*4 ADS: BUSH PASSES ON ELECTION-EVE PLEA

"Breaking with tradition," Bush will not broadcast an Election Eve appeal on any of the networks. Spokesperson Tony Mitchell: "We believe the advertising that we're doing is what we need at this point." Some analysts said the reason for the change "is that the Bush campaign is low on money." Clinton and Perot will make pitches on all 3 nets (N.Y. TIMES, 10/30).

THE ARKANSAS AD: (See HOTLINE 10/29 for text). ABC's Greenfield: "The words are less important than the horror movie images. In Bill Clinton's [AR] this ad says, it is nuclear winter. Just in case the special effects and creepy sounds don't

drive the point home, check out that buzzard sitting on that barren tree. The message? Vote for Clinton and the world will end" (10/29). NBC's Cochran: "His new ad is strictly negative, the announcer never even mentions Bush's name. It's a 30 second assault on Clinton" (10/29). N.Y. TIMES' Berke: "A case study in how accusations can be made and how facts can be used to bolster them or tear them down. ... In 30 seconds the ad tried to hit Mr. Clinton on the hot-button issues of the environment, children, crime and taxes -- all issues that Mr. Bush has been attacked on" (10/30). KNIGHT-RIDDER's Gunther: "Factual in the narrow sense" (PHILA. INQUIRER, 10/30).

CLINTON'S RESPONSE: "Less than a day" after Bush released the AR ad, the Clinton camp produced this 30-sec. response. Graphic text follows announcer; cites under text. ANCR V/O: "CBS, CNN and newspapers across the country call George Bush's ads misleading and wrong. The fact is, under Bill Clinton, [AR] leads the nation in job growth, has the second-lowest tax burden and the lowest government spending in the country. And he's balanced 12 budgets. They've reduced infant mortality and now have the highest graduation rate in the region. And in the past year, [AR's] crime went down. No wonder the Washington Post says George Bush is lying about Bill Clinton's record, and why the Oregonian concluded, 'Frankly, we no longer trust George Bush.'" N.Y. TIMES' Berke: "Uses many citations to lend it credibility, but sometimes it goes overboard." It was W. POST columnist Judy Mann that said Bush lied. AR has only led the nation in job growth for the past 3 months according to the figures (10/30). W. POST's Kurtz: "The figures are accurate but use time periods most favorable to Clinton" (10/30). Clinton aides said "at least two new" TV ads will run before 11/3, one attacking Bush on the economy and a positive ad with footage from bus trips or Clinton with voters (Kolbert, N.Y. TIMES, 10/30).

TEXT OF BUSH TWO-MINUTE AD: White text on black: "Plain Talk. On the Presidency." Bush talking to seated group in front of gigantic U.S. flag covering wall: "In a few days you'll be making your choice for President ... It's a serious choice, the most important democracy asks us to make. There are many times that the president alone must make tough decisions that affect other people's lives. He is the Commander in Chief, and I want you to think about that. He must have the resolve, the maturity, the moral authority to lead the nation in times of crises. In the White House, and the Oval Office, you cannot be on both sides of every issue. You must make the call and you must lead. And that's what the American people expect from their president. Our economic future, here at home, depends more than ever on competing in a global economy, seizing new opportunities and opening new markets, and that's how we can create more jobs and economic strength. America must have a leader who understands the world, and who's prepared to act. Leaders of other nations, people all over the world, judge America by the character of the president, and the president's word is good. People around the world expect that of the United States. The person you choose to lead America must have certain qualities: Decisiveness, honesty, integrity, consistency. All of you know the job of the presidency is the most serious job in the world and we simply cannot put America's future at risk with a person who's wrong for the job, and with politics that are wrong for America. When you make your choice, choose what's right for America. I need your support, and I ask for your vote." Black screen, in white letters: "President Bush. Commander in Chief."

MONEY: "Led by targeted buys" from Clinton-Gore, cable TV revenues from candidates reached \$100,000/day in October, according a survey by Cable Networks, Inc (CNI release, 10/30). All network TV advertising (including FOX) in national, state and local races will reach \$330 million by 11/3 -- more than \$100M higher than 1988 (Johnson, Balto. SUN, 10/30). ABC's Greenfield: "There's an old saying that goes, half of all the money spent on political commercials is wasted. The problem is, nobody knows which half" (10/29).

*5 GOP '96: DOLE DOESN'T RULE IT OUT; KEMP BLASTS BUCHANAN

Sen. Bob Dole (R-KS) said he "hears 'a lot of conversation' that people wish he was a candidate for president this year, and some tell him they hope he runs again in 1996." He "didn't rule out the possibility he could make a third run for the presidency, especially if Bush loses": "Bush is going to win, so that probably won't come up. If he doesn't win, I assume there will be a lot of jockeying around by a lot of people. If I win [re-election to his seat 11/3] and I'm still the Republican leader, then I'll be in the thick of it, trying to figure how we're going to keep everything together." Pressed on whether his age would rule him out (he'll be 73 in '96), Dole: "Oh, you never know. I'm in good health. After you have your prostate out, you're supposed to be real healthy" (AP, 10/29).

KEMP: DALLAS MORNING NEWS header: "Jack Kemp criticizes GOP focus." In a "last-minute campaign stop," Sec/HUD Jack Kemp "criticized his party's focus on 'family values' and denounced a convention speech by ... Patrick Buchanan": "The answer to L.A. is not more guns, it's not more prisons, as Pat Buchanan said ... He sounded like he wanted to line people up against the wall and shoot them." Buchanan aides said "Kemp's statements are false, self-serving, and badly timed." Manager/sister Bay Buchanan: "Kemp should really stop pursuing his personal ambitions for 1996 and instead focus on re-electing President Bush in 1992." But MORNING NEWS' Flournoy writes Kemp "is one of the few Cabinet members to predict publicly that the [GOP] ticket will return." More Kemp: "The convention was overly stressing family values. Creating a better economy is the one thing government can do. It cannot change the values of its people. It can strengthen values but it can't change them" (10/30).

*6 PRIMETIME LIVE: DONALDSON INTERVIEWS TWO; SNUBBED BY PEROT

Bush and Clinton appeared in taped interviews. Perot had committed to tape an interview, but then declined "citing other commitments" (10/29). NEWSDAY's Kubasik reports "a behind-the-scenes" battle at ABC between Sam Donaldson and Barbara Walters over who would interview Perot. Perot was booked to do a taped interview with Donaldson yesterday and a taped interview with Walters for tonight's "20/20." ABC "determined" Perot was getting too much time, so they asked Walters drop the interview. When Perot heard he had been dropped by "20/20," he "dumped" the Donaldson interview (10/30). Donaldson: "The blowhard chickened out and blew me off" (DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 10/30).

CLINTON: On the "the dirty tricks campaign": "Well, I think one of his problems is that he really has made a total separation in his own mind between how he is as a person, how he is as a president, and how he is as a candidate."

BUSH AND IRAQ-GATE: Donaldson: "You won the war, no doubt about it, but it was a war that a lot of people think was brought on by the fact that you coddled him." Donaldson then lists loan

guarantees to Iraq through the BNL bank. Bush: "Wrong, wrong, and wrong -- wrong, wrong, and wrong. ... There is no evidence -- and that money does not go to buy arms, that goes to the American farmer. And I had Democrat after Democrat saying please make the loans, including some who are now, for purely partisan purposes, holding a bunch of hearings trying to make something that is noble ignoble. And it is pure partisanship. Right before an election to hear Don Riegle, who dragged his feet on the war, now being holier than thou -- like Henry B. Gonzalez. ... I'm afraid, with all respect, you're picking up on a Democratic frantic charge, so that they will take something that was good and get themselves off the hook for opposing the war." Donaldson: "It's not a Democratic charge -- looking into the fact now that your CIA misled Congress in what it had in its files, corrected the records, and then accused the Justice Dept. of urging it to mislead Congress" (10/29).

*7 CANDIDATE SCHEDULES

	10/30	10/31	11/1	11/2	11/3
CLINTON 501/399-3840 D. Seldin	ERthfrdNJ OH,PA DetroitMI	DecaturGA Milwaukee WI	ERuthford NJ		
ORE 501/399-3840 K. McKiernan	MnchstrNH Bangor ME CT, TN	Dalton GA KlmazooMI MO,CO,WI			
BUSH 202/336-7080 T. Clarke	NshvilleTN StLouisMO Racine WI	WI train trip			
QUAYLE 202/456-7034 D. Beckwith	Casper WY Denver CO SioxCtyIA	Cedar Rapids IA DC			
PEROT 214/716-6500 S. Holman	Dallas TX	Tampa FL KansasCty MO	SntaClara LongBeach CA	Dallas TX	

===== THE TOP TEN =====

*8 HOTLINE ELECTORAL SCOREBOARD

The Scoreboard is The HOTLINE's compilation of the latest trial heat data available from state polling. The number of electors is listed for each state. The symbol (++) indicates a lead beyond the margin of error; (+) a lead within the margin.

WARNING: While the Scoreboard does reflect the most recent available state data, 32 of the polls are a week older or more. Therefore, state-by-state results included here tend to lag behind the national tracking polls.

STATE	BUSH	CLINTON	PEROT	POLLSTER/DATE/MARGIN OF ERROR
AL (9)	38	+39	14	ANNISTON STAR, 10/24-25, +/- 3.5%
	42	42	10	Alabama Report, 10/24-27, +/- 4%
AK (3)	+37	30	23	Cromer Group (D), 10/25-26, +/- 4.4%
AZ (8)	33	+37	21	ASU/KAET-TV, 10/24-25, +/- 4%
AR (6)	31	++52	10	ARK. DEM-GAZETTE, 10/16-18, +/- 3.5%
CA (54)	29	++45	23	Field Inst., 10/25-28, +/- 3.1%
CO (8)	28	++42	21	DENVER POST, 10/25-28, +/- 4.9%
CT (8)	27	++39	21	Quinnipiac, 10/20-25, +/- 4.5%
DE (3)	33	+36	19	WKYV-TV/PMR, 10/22-23, +/- 4%
DC (3)	17	++71	8	News 4/PMR, 10/12-14, +/- 4.5%
FL (25)	+40	37	16	Mason-Dixon, 10/22-25, +/- 3.5%
	37	37	20	Bendixen/WLTV, 10/19-22, +/- 4.4%
GA (13)	38	+44	12	ATL CONST./WSB-TV, 10/19-21, +/- 4%
HI (4)	21	++48	17	ARG, 9/15-10/1, +/- 5%
ID (4)	++35	25	28	KTVB-TV/PMR, 10/22-24, +/- 3.5%
IL (22)	26	++41	15	Univ/IL-Chicago, 10/21-25, +/- 3%
IN (12)	+38	34	18	WISH-TV/PMR, 10/18-19, +/- 3.5%
IA (7)	31	+38	15	PMR, 10/20-21, +/- 3.5%
KS (6)	32	+37	14	K.C. STAR, 10/12-21, +/- 3.5%
KY (8)	32	++48	14	Lou. COURIER-JOURNAL, 10/20-22, +/- 4%
LA (9)	36	+41	11	SHREVEPORT TIMES, 10/23-24, +/- 3.5%
ME (4)	28	+34	27	WCSH-TV/PMR, 10/25-26, +/- 5%
MD (10)	31	++48	15	GWU/GSPM, 10/20-24, +/- 4%
MA (12)	22	++47	22	HOTLINE sources, 10/25-26, +/- 5%
MI (18)	+31	30	17	Saginaw Vly State, 10/22-26, +/- 3%
	33	++43	17	DETROIT NEWS, 10/26-28, +/- 4%
MN (10)	31	++40	18	KARE-TV/PMR, 10/21-22, +/- 3.5%
MS (7)	+41	37	11	NATCHEZ DEMOCRAT, 10/23-24, +/- 3.4%
MO (11)	24	++48	13	K.C. STAR, 10/12-21, +/- 3.5%
MT (3)	29	++41	19	Eastern MT College, 10/16-19, +/- 4%
NE (5)	++38	29	17	WORLD-HERALD, 10/20-22, +/- 3.2%
NV (4)	30	+35	27	KLAS-TV/PMR, 10/23-24, +/- 3.5%
NH (4)	29	++44	18	ARG, 10/27-28, +/- 4%
	33	+35	21	CONCORD MONITOR, 10/25-26, +/- 3.5%
NJ (15)	35	+43	16	Bergen RECORD, 10/20-22, +/- 4%
NM (5)	28	++40	20	ALBUQUERQUE TRIBUNE, 10/21-22, +/- 5%
NY (33)	29	++51	16	Marist Inst., 10/25-26, +/- 4%
NC (14)	38	+39	9	Grnsbro N&R, 10/26-27, +/- 3.5%
	32	+40	10	Raleigh N&O, 10/25-28, +/- 4%
ND (3)	+35	33	18	Moorehead State, 10/20-22, +/- 4.2%

OH (21)	33	++42	19	BEACON JOURNAL, 10/20-24, +/- 4%
OK (8)	+36	34	15	Kielhorn/KWTV, 10/20-22, +/- 4.1%
	34	+41	15	Mason-Dixon/KWTV, 10/21-23, +/- 3.5%
	37	37	14	Cole Snodgrass (R), 10/16-23, +/- 4.4%
OR (7)	24	42	20	OREGONIAN, 10/22-26, +/- 4%
	30	++44	22	KATU-TV, 10/22-24, +/- 4%
	30	++39	22	REGISTER-GUARD/PMR, 10/25-26, +/- 3.5%
PA (23)	35	+42	17	PITT. POST-GAZETTE, 10/20-25, +/- 4.2%
	28	++38	15	PHILA. DAILY NEWS, 10/24-27, +/- 3.2%
RI (4)	23	++44	21	JOURNAL-BULLETIN, 10/21-22, +/- 4%
SC (8)	++39	31	10	GREENVILLE NEWS, 10/19-22, +/- 3.4%
	+41	38	8	NEWS & COURIER, 10/22-23, +/- 3.5%
SD (3)	31	+35	20	ARGUS LEADER, 10/21-22, +/- 3.5%
TN (11)	35	++47	5	TN Poll/UTenn, 10/7-12, +/- 3.5%
TX (32)	++43	35	15	Mason-Dixon, 10/26-28, +/- 3.5%
UT (5)	++48	36	7	ARG, 9/15-10/1, +/- 5%
VT (3)	26	++43	16	BURL. FREE PRESS, 10/20-22, +/- 3.5%
VA (13)	+43	39	11	WRC-TV/Potomac Survey, 10/24, +/- 4%
WA (11)	31	++40	21	POST-INTELLIGENCER, 10/26-27, +/- 4%
WV (5)	26	++49	15	WCHS-TV/PMR, 10/19-20, +/- 3.5%
WI (11)	30	++39	23	MIL. SENTINEL, 10/23-24, +/- 3.5%
WY (3)	+35	32	23	CASPER STAR-TRIB, 10/22-24, +/- 3.5%

ELECTORAL COLLEGE TOTALS: (270 electors needed to win).

	STATES	ELECTORS	OUTSIDE M/E	STATES	ELECTORS
Clinton	37	401	Clinton	23	270
Bush	12	120	Bush	4	46
Perot	0	0			
Ties	2	17			

NOTE: New polls replace yesterday's data in 11 states: AL, CA, CO, ID, MI, NH, NC, PA, & TX. Due to conflicting data -- OK and AL are counted as ties.

YESTERDAY'S SCOREBOARD: Clinton led in 25 states with 274 EVs outside the margin of error; he also had 37 states with 392 EVs inside the margin. Bush had 2 states for 10 EVs outside the margin; he had 12 states for 106 EVs inside.

*9 MICHIGAN: NEWS POLL PUTS CLINTON AHEAD BY 10

A DETROIT NEWS poll, conducted 10/26-28, surveyed 609 likely voters; margin of error +/- 4% (10/30).

	10/26-28	10/1-2	10/26-28	10/1-2
			FAV/UNFAV	FAV/UNFAV
Clinton	43%	46%	56%/ 39%	59%/ 34%
Bush	33	33	47 / 46	39 / 56
Perot	17	10	-- / 36	-- / 58

OTHER RECENT POLLS: A MSU poll, conducted 10/20-26 by the school's Inst. for Public Policy/Social Research, surveyed 588 "very likely" voters +/- 4.5% -- Clinton 44%, Bush 29%, Perot 19% (AP, 10/29). Bush chair Bob Teeter, himself a Michigander "said Mr. Bush had pulled even in Macomb County": "We're very close in [MI], and we couldn't be close in [MI] if we weren't close in Macomb" (N.Y. TIMES, 10/30).

*10 TEXAS (32): BUSH REGAINS LEAD

A Mason-Dixon Political/Media Research poll, conducted

. 10/26-28, surveyed 800 likely voters; margin of error +/- 3.5%
(KPRC-TV, 10/29).

	MASON-DIXON	HOU. CHRON	STAR-TELEGRAM
	10/26-28	10/20-22	10/18-22
Bush	43%	31	34%
Clinton	35	39	36
Perot	15	15	23
Undec.	7	15	

*11 MARYLAND (10): DEM GOV. SCHAEFER ENDORSES BUSH

Gov. Wm Donald Schaefer (D), who endorsed Paul Tsongas in the Dem primaries, 'decided last night to bolt from the Democratic fold" and endorse Bush. Schaefer will join Bush today at a rally with with MO Gov. John Ashcroft (R-MO) in St. Louis. Schaefer "has told his associates that he believes Mr. Clinton has tailored his positions to carefully to his own political ambitions" (Balto. SUN, 10/30).

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*12 VOTER TURNOUT: MANY STATES WITNESS RECORD HIGHS, BUT...

NATIONALLY: USA TODAY reports, "Despite all the hoopla over predictions of record voter registration this year, Washington researchers say numbers so far show only modest gains." Cmte for the Study of the American Electorate Curtis Gans calls it "premature euphoria," and added, registration is only up a "measly" 1% over '88, and is in fact 1% lower than '84. But Gans' info is based only on 29 states and DC, the only numbers available (10/30). Voting experts at the DNC note, "surging registration in several big cities," such as Chicago, Detroit and Phila. These new registrants, "almost all of them black," are in battleground states. This is mostly due to the efforts of the non-partisan group Project Vote (Shribman/Perry, W.S. JOURNAL, 10/30). Nat'l Coalition on Black Voter Partic. exec. dir. Sonia Jarvis: "We will find that it is up significantly over 1988 but that's because we had the lowest turnout there in over 40 years.

... Overall, I think we are going to see increases in ... states that are rich in electoral votes" ("M/L," PBS, 10/28). Here's a look at registration and turnout expectations in the HOTLINE Top Ten as well as CO, which like TX has early voting.

CALIFORNIA (54): Registration has reached a "record high" (15M) -- an increase of nearly 1M over '88 figures. Absentee ballot requests are also up in some counties. Dem reg. is on the rise this year, hitting 48% to the GOP's 37% and 10% among third parties. Sec/State March Fong Eu is scheduled to release her turnout prediction today. '88 turnout was 10,194,539.

COLORADO (8): Dems have been reaping CO's voter-reg. gains in heavy-GOP counties across the metro area. "Political experts say the trend could reverse what happened four years ago, when the heavily [GOP] suburban vote canceled the [Dem's] inner-city edge and gave George Bush a victory in the metro area." A comparison with '88 reg shows Dem gains ranging from 2.3 to 3% in Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Douglas and Jefferson counties. "Unaffiliated voters continue to hold a slight registration edge in the five counties," comprising 35% of those registered, while 34% are GOP and 31% are Dems. But the highest increase has been among Dems. Co's biggest counties have also been "swamped" with early voting and absentee ballot requests (Brimberg, DENVER POST, 10/28). Officials predict turnout to hit 75% up from 70% in '88.

FLORIDA (25): FL reports registration at an all-time high of 6,541,825. A 75% turnout is projected -- up from 73% in '88; '76 was highest with 77%. County election offices report a more than normal dispersment of absentee ballots. Officials attribute the increase to FL's nine constitutional amendments and a term limit initiative, as well as the unusual election year.

ILLINOIS (22): Reg. hit an all-time high since IL began keeping records in 1952. Almost 6.7M people have registered -- up from 1988's total of 6.35M. Asst. Assoc. dir. of elections Pat Freeman projects turnout to be between 78-81%; up from the 74% turnout in '88, and the 57% in '90. Freeman noted that the increased interest has to do with the candidacy's of Perot and Dem Senate nominee Carol Moseley Braun. IL also has more offices up for election than they have in 20 yrs. Absentee requests are "a little higher" than in normal presidential years.

MICHIGAN (18): An all-time high of 6.15M people have registered, up from 5.95M in '88. MI voter reg. dir. Bradley Wittman projects turnout between 55-60%, "tops." Turnout in '88

was 55.2%, the lowest turnout for a pres. election in 30 yrs. '90 turnout hit 38.7%, right around the national average. NOTE: MI bases their turnout figures on the voting age population. Wittman says absentee requests are "up all over." He noted, MI has the Motor Voter option, which has been up throughout the year. The program, which began in '75, saw its highest month of transactions 9/92. Wittman cited the "unprecedented" number of GOTV drives as one reason for the high number of registrations.

NEW JERSEY (15): For the third time ever, NJ registered over 4M people. 1992 was the second highest total with 4,060,000 -- twelve thousand short of the all-time high in '84. NJ elections dir. Midge Trainor expects turnout to be between 75-79%. Turnout in '88 was 77%; '90 was 54%. Absentee requests were no more than the average for a pres. election year.

NEW YORK (33): Sec/State public info officer Dave Flanigan reports the '92 reg. "skyrocketed" over previous years, as have the number of absentee ballot requests. In NYC alone, reg. hit 3,366,000 -- the highest in 20 yrs. Over 700,000 of those are "new" registrants. The number of Ind. registrants in NYC also increased, causing the number of GOP regs. to go down from 15 to 11%. Dem reg's. show little change, remaining around 72%. Turnout for the state has been around 75% for the last 3 elections, but Flanigan expects to top over 90M this year.

NORTH CAROLINA (14): Registration hit an all time high with 3.8 million people registered. NC had their second highest voter registration between the primary and general elections. NC exec. dir. of Elections Alex Brock projects turnout to be between 72-75%. NC's 1988 turnout was 62% and 1990's turnout was 59%. NOTE: NC bases their turnout figures on the number of registered voters, not the voting age population. Brock sees the increase of GOTV drives by various groups in the state as being a major reason why registration is up and why turnout will be up. Brock also notes, NC's gov. election as being another motivator for the voters. Brock also noted, absentee requests are "prolific," almost every county has exceeded their '84, '88 and '90 request numbers. The deadline for absentee requests is 10/30, so the number should increase even more.

OHIO (21): Registration hit an all-time high in OH as well, with 6.5 million people registering. It's almost 300,000 more than 1988's total. Registration was higher in 71 of the 88 counties. Sec/State Bob Taft is projecting a 72% turnout this year, which is right on target to what the turnout was in 1988 and higher than 1990, which had a 61% turnout. Taft attributed record registration to "aggressive registration drives" around the state, along with the added interest of Perot. Absentee requests are at higher levels than in 1988, but exact figures will not be available until at least 21 days after the election.

PENNSYLVANIA (23): PA has witnessed a lot of activity between the primary and general elections than in previous years. While the number of registered voters during the '92 primary was about the same as it was during the '88 primary, the number of registrants has increased by more than 100,000 over the '88 general election figures. The percentage of voters registering as independents are at an all-time high. Bureau of Elections Commis. Wm Boehm expects turnout to be between 53-58% -- up from 50% in '88 and 54% in '84. Monroe Co. Board of Election's Gale Borger noted that absentee ballot requests are also at a "record high" (over 2,000 have been sent out in Monroe Co. alone).

TEXAS (32): Registrations are only up by 238,318 from '88 to a total of 8,439,874. But the state's 17-day early voting

procedure has prompted a record turnout. 1.1M had voted as of 10/27. A total of 2M are expected to vote. Though the early voting procedure is 3 years old, voters for the first time can vote in stores and other convenient locations, and on weekends, which has drawn a lot of people who may have not gotten around to it otherwise. TX Dem exec. dir. Ed Martin: "You're going to see a lot of other folks than those CNN likely voters voting."

*13 THE POLLSTERS' GUIDE TO FINDING THE LIKELY VOTERS

The HOTLINE asked a variety of pollsters to describe how they determine their likely voter sample.

ABC'S JEFF ALDERMAN: "Well, that's really sort of a trade secret, isn't it? I can tell you the elements of it, but not how they all come together. Obviously, they have to be registered. From there on we ask questions on likelihood of voting, interest in the race, whether they voted previously. We use those questions to assemble several different possible turnout scenarios -- look at all of them -- and from that we assemble a likely voter group that we seem to think is the most logical. You're never going to get it exactly right. The best thing to do is to take a look at high turnout, low turnout... It's going to be in there somewhere between all registered and 1988."

TIMES MIRROR'S ANDREW KOHUT: "We use three questions among registered voters: Thought given to the election; past vote; voting experience; and certainty of voting. But we do it separately for younger people and older people to account for the fact that younger people don't have voting history."

CBS' KATHY FRANKOVIC: "We have a Probable Electorate model. It includes everyone who is registered and meets a few other criteria. That is they are legitimate registered voters. We ask people whether they've moved in the last few years ... when the last time they voted was, the last time they registered was. That allows us to do what states often do, following state laws -- purging those people who have not voted over the appropriate period of time, in terms of what that state's laws are. So that total number of registered voters is not all the people who say they're registered, but well over 90% of them who actually meet the criteria to be registered in their state. Then on top of it, we assign each of those people a probability that they will vote based on their answers to questions about past vote, intent to vote, interest in the campaign. The probability that is assigned to them comes from previous years' surveys and validation studies that have been done with individuals. In other words, how many in each group of voters actually make it to the polls. It should be said: Not everyone who says they are absolutely likely to vote fits the likely voter scheme and actually make it to the polls; and not everyone who does not sound like a likely voter will not vote. A certain proportion of those will vote. People are given a weighted probability of voting."

GALLUP'S LARRY HUGICK: "We ask eight questions if you include voter registration. We start out with people who are registered or who live in a state with same-day registration and plan to register. That gives us roughly 80% of the full adult population. Then we ask seven questions about voting intentions, past voting history, interest in the election and whether people have information about where to vote. On the basis of those questions, we put people on a scale and we divide the sample based on a score so that the top 55% are counted as likely voters. That means we're assuming that 55%, roughly, of the adult population will participate in this election. The turnout

four years ago was about 50% and the highest its been since 1972, when the 18-20 year olds got the vote, was 55%. It's a fairly high estimate, if anything, of what the turnout should be. In response to all the questions saying we were unfairly leaving out young voters and so forth, we looked into if we discounted past vote entirely and looked only at questions about this election. We found that there's very little difference if you limited our turnout scale to only those items -- the difference was only one percentage point in the spread between Bush and Clinton."

L.A. TIMES' SUSAN PINCUS: "We have a screen that takes certainty to vote, intention to vote. We take past history, how one voted in the '84 and '88 elections. Right now, we think the young voter is slipping through a lot of the likely screens, because more of them are interested in this race than they were in the '88 election. So that might make the voter screen tighter. ... We give people different scores. We have intention to vote, the past voting history, the certainty of vote, whether they're certain they're going to vote for their candidate, their interest in the political process or in the presidential campaign. We look at if they're interested in local politics as well. ... People who will definitely vote or are certain to vote and have keen interest in the election, they get a higher score than the people who have not voted, let's say, in the past two elections and are not certain they are going to vote for their candidate and are not interested in the presidential campaign. So they get less of a score. ... You just have make an educated guess at where turnout's going to be and you look at past voting history to see what it is."

WALL STREET JOURNAL/NBC: W.S. JOURNAL's Shribman & Perry describe their process: "In reporting the Journal/NBC survey, pollsters Hart and Breglio emphasize that it may be misleading to focus solely on people who vote regularly, because this election could also draw many people who vote less frequently. For that reason, the Journal is reporting the results among both registered voters and regular voters, which under the poll's definition eliminates anyone who hasn't voted in half the elections in the past three years" (WSJ 10/30).

===== SENATE WA
=====

*14 SCOREBOARD: NEWEST UPDATE ON SENATE POLLS

There are 36 Senate seats up in '92. 34 take place 11/3;
ND "B" is 12/4. NOTE: INCUMBENTS are in full caps; D/R indicates
current party for open seats; ++ = lead outside margin of error;
+ = lead within margin. Ex-Gov. Evan Mecham (I) receives 11% in
AZ. Green Party's Mary Jordon gets 5% in AK.

	DEM	%	GOP	%	SURVEY SOURCE
AK	Smith	38	MURKOWSKI	++51	ANCH. DLY NWS, 10/17-18
AL	SHELBY	++69	Sellers	18	BIRM. PST-HER, 10/12-14
AR	BUMPERS	++59	Huckabee	31	DEM-GAZETTE, 10/16-18
AZ	Sargent	29	MCCAIN	++51	KVOA/KPNX, 10/24-26
CA D	Boxer	+44	Herschensohn	40	PMR, 10/27-28
CA	Feinstein	++50	SEYMOUR	37	PMR, 10/27-28
CO D	Campbell	+49	Considine	42	D. POST/TV-4, 10/23-26
CT	DODD	++52	Johnson	33	Quinnipiac, 10/20-25
FL	GRAHAM	++64	Grant	26	WLTW-Miami, 10/19-22
GA	FOWLER	++51	Coverdell	35	Mason-Dixon, 10/23-24
HI	INOUE	++56	Reed	34	HON STAR/PMR, 9/21-25
ID R	Stallings	37	Kempthorne	++55	PMR/KTVB, 10/22-24
IL D	Braun	++44	Williamson	34	U of IL-Chic., 10/21-24
IN	Hogsett	30	COATS	++55	PMR/WISH-TV, 10/18-19
IA	Jones	24	GRASSLEY	++67	D.M. REGISTER, 10/4-9
KS	O'Dell	23	DOLE	++55	K.C. STAR, 10/12-21
KY	FORD	++63	Williams	19	WKRC, 10/23-24
LA	BREAUX re-elected	10/3.			
MD	MIKULSKI	++60	Keyes	29	Mason-Dixon, 10/22-23
MO	Rothmn-Serot	39	BOND	++55	KWMU, 10/19-22
	Rothmn-Serot	34	BOND	++51	KTVI/KYTV, 10/26-27
NV	REID	++62	Dahl	29	Reid internal, 10/18
NH R	Rauh	++47	Gregg	37	ARG, 10/27-28
	Rauh	+46	Gregg	41	CONCRD MONTR, 10/25-26
	Rauh	++47	Gregg	38	UNH, 10/21-26
NY	Abrams	+38	D'AMATO	35	N.Y. TIMES, 10/24-26
	Abrams	++48	D'AMATO	37	NEWSDAY/WABC, 10/23-25
	Abrams	+47	D'AMATO	41	Marist, 10/25-26
NC	SANFORD	++45	Faircloth	37	Grnsboro N&R, 10/26-27
ND D	Dorgan	++65	Sydness	28	Univ. of ND, 10/6-7
ND D	Conrad	++68	Dalrymple	23	Univ. of ND, 10/9-10
OH	GLENN	++44	DeWine	34	Akrn BCN-JRNL, 10/20-24
	GLENN	+50	DeWine	42	U/Cincinnati, 10/16-25
OK	Lewis	31	NICKLES	++55	Mason-Dixon, 10/21-23
OR	AuCoin	33	PACKWOOD	++43	KPTV, 10/19-23
	AuCoin	38	PACKWOOD	+40	OREGONIAN, 10/22-26
	AuCoin	43	PACKWOOD	+50	KATU/T-H, 10/22-25
PA	Yeakel	36	SPECTER	+40	Keystone Poll, 10/24-27
	Yeakel	40	SPECTER	+48	POST-GAZ, 10/22-25
SC	HOLLINGS	+37	Hartnett	33	GREENVLE NEWS, 10/19-22
	HOLLINGS	++49	Hartnett	34	Chrlnstn P&C, 10/22-23
SD	DASCHLE	++58	Haar	34	ARGUS LEADER, 10/21-22

UT	R Owens	37	Bennett	++57	DESERET NEWS, 9/29-30
VT	LEAHY	++60	Douglas	29	RUTLAND HRLD, 10/17-18
WA	D Murray	+48	Chandler	43	SEATTLE P-I, 10/26-27
	Murray	+46	Chandler	41	SPOKESMAN-REV, 10/24-25
WI	Feingold	+48	KASTEN	40	MIL. SENTINEL, 10/23-24
	Feingold	44	KASTEN	+47	St. Norbert, 10/21-25

*15 ILLINOIS: STATE RULES BRAUN MUST PAY IN MOM'S MEDICAID CASE
Cook Co. Recorder of Deeds Carol Moseley Braun (D) will have to pay a "substantial sum" to the IL Public Aid dept "as a result of a ruling in the Medicaid controversy" that broke last month. The payment could be as much as \$22,000 of the contested \$28,750, and would be used to offset government-paid medical costs for Braun's mother. If attys for Braun and her mother produce receipts explaining additional health care expenses the amount could be reduced to a minimum of \$12,000. Braun: "The important thing is that I don't think we did anything wrong." Braun put a \$28,750 personal loan in an escrow account to be used if the case was decided against her family. Williamson: "It's proof positive that she not only gamed the system but she denied money that should have been paid, that she expected the [IL] taxpayers to make it up" (Hardy/Karwath, CHICAGO TRIBUNE, 10/30).

COUNTRY CLUB: According to his aides, Williamson "quit the exclusive Westmoreland Country Club" 5/92 "to avoid being embarrassed by his membership during the campaign." Williamson: "There was no discriminatory policy ... but they didn't have the kind of outreach you would like" (CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, 10/29).

*16 NEW HAMPSHIRE: THREE POLLS GIVE RAUH THE LEAD

American Research Group surveyed 600 likely voters 10/27-28; margin of error +/- 4% (ARG release, 10/29). Political/Media Research surveyed 815 likely voters 10/25-26; margin of error +/- 3.5% (CONCORD MONITOR, 10/29). Tested: Gov. Judd Gregg (R), businessman John Rauh (D), '90 House candidate Larry Brady (I).
CORRECTION: Yesterday's HOTLINE story on the race incorrectly reported the results of the UNH survey. It should have shown Rauh ahead of Gregg, 47-38%.

	ARG	PMR	UNH
Rauh	47%	46%	47%
Gregg	37	41	38
DK/Other	17	13	15

*17 NORTH CAROLINA: POLL HAS LAUCH BREATHING HEAVY ON SANFORD

A Raleigh NEWS & OBSERVER/WRAL poll, conducted 10/25-28 by Independent Opinion Research, surveyed 854 likely voters; margin of error +/- 3.5% (10/30). A Greensboro NEWS & RECORD poll, conducted 10/26-27 by Mason-Dixon, surveyed 818 likely voters; margin of error +/- 3.5% (10/30). Tested: Sen. Terry Sanford (D), businessman Lauch Faircloth (R).

	NEWS & OBSERVER		N&R
	ALL	WHITE	BLACK
Sanford	44%	37%	78%
			45%

Faircloth 38	46	6	37
DK/other 17	18	16	18

===== ON THE HOUSE =====

*18 HOUSE RACE BRIEFINGS:

AL 02: Davis Penfield surveyed 200 likely voters 10/24-27; margin of error +/- 7% (ALABAMA REPORT, 10/28). Tested: Treasurer George Wallace Jr. (D), businessman Terry Everett (R).

Wallace	48%
Everett	45

AL 06: Davis Penfield surveyed 301 likely voters 10/24-27; margin of error +/- 5% (ALABAMA REPORT, 10/28). Tested: Rep. Ben Erdreich (D), ex-AL GOP chair Spencer Bachus (R).

Bachus	46%
Erdreich	44

AZ 06: State Sen. Karan English (D) received the endorsement of Barry Goldwater. English faces ex-Reagan WH aide Doug Wead (R), who served as a liaison to the evangelical community (English release, 10/29).

CA 23: SANTA BARBARA NEWS-PRESS and Ventura STAR-FREE PRESS endorse education consultant Anita Perez Ferguson (D) over GOP Rep. Elton Gallegly (NEWS-PRESS, 10/29; STAR-FREE PRESS, 10/28).

CO 03: LG Mike Callihan (D) released a letter from Speaker Foley showing Foley's "strong support" for Callihan to gain a place on the Interior Cmte (release, 10/28). Callihan faces House Min. leader Scott McInnis (R).

CT 05: Quinnipiac College surveyed 400 likely voters 10/23-28; margin of error +/- 6% (Quinnipiac release, 10/30). Tested: Rep. Gary Franks (R), Probate Judge James Lawlor (D) and state Rep. Lynn Taborsak (ACP). ACP = A Connecticut Party.

Franks	37%
Taborsak	17
Lawlor	16

FL 09: Rep. Michael Bilirakis (R) and nurse Cheryl Davis Knapp (D) held their first debate ever, even though they faced each other in '90. Bilirakis: "Change for change sake leads nowhere." Knapp: "I've been representing people in the most critical time of their lives. I've been their lifeline" (ST. PETE TIMES, 10/24).

GA 04: Hickman-Brown Research surveyed 400 registered voters 10/25-26 for state Sen. Cathey Steinberg (D); margin of error +/- 4.9% (ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, 10/29). Tested: Steinberg, ex-state Rep. John Linder (R)

Steinberg	50%
Linder	41

GA 09: WAGA-TV in Atlanta asked a federal judge to "declare indecent a graphic anti-abortion" TV ad from Daniel Becker (R). WAGA wants to run the ads only between midnight and 6am claiming the material violates FCC rules and is not "fit for family viewing." Becker has made abortion the focus of his campaign against Dem state Sen. Nathan Deal (ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, 10/29).

ID 02: Idaho Falls POST REGISTER endorses state Sen. pres. Mike Crapo (R) over Dem Auditor J.D. Williams (10/26). IDAHO STATE JOURNAL also endorses Crapo (10/27).

KY 01: After months defending the House's vote for the '89 payraise, businessman Tom Barlow (D) is using a TV ad to say he will oppose all future payraises. Preacher Steve Hamrick (R): "That's about as bad a political move as I've seen anyone make"

(Lou. COURIER-JOURNAL, 10/30). C-J endorses Barlow (10/27).

KY 05: Louisville COURIER-JOURNAL endorses Rep. Harold Rogers (R) over Dem challenger John Doug Hays (10/27).

MA 03: State Rep. Peter Blute (R) is demanding Early admit to bouncing checks at the House bank. "Early responded that if a bounced check means a check that has been returned without payment, he denied 'bouncing' any checks" (BOSTON HERALD, 10/27). GLOBE header: "In retrospect, Early regrets his 'ran like rats' speech" (10/27). GLOBE endorses Early (10/26). The final debate between the two "turned into a free-for-all ... when the format was virtually ignored and issues were used mostly to hurl insults" (GLOBE, 10/29). "Surprisingly, it was Blute who spent much of the evening on the defensive" (HERALD, 10/29).

MA 05: In separate WCVB-TV interviews, ex-county prosecutor Martin Meehan (D) and ex-Rep. Paul Cronin (R) "blamed each other" for the negative campaign. Cronin, asked if he was "proud of his attacks" calling Meehan a "political flunkie": "Well, yes and no" (BOSTON GLOBE, 10/26). GLOBE endorses Meehan (10/26).

MA 06: With his "political career on the line," Rep. Nick Mavroules (D) "will make a last-ditch appeal to voters in a televised campaign commercial that directly addresses the corruption charges swirling around him." Mavroules, speaking directly to the camera, claims the federal racketeering and extortion charges are an "unfair political prosecution of lies and innuendo": "My friends, I am innocent. And when all the facts are known, it will be proven. Until then, I ask only that you keep an open mind, consider all the good I have done, and vote for me on Nov. 3." It's the first TV ad Mavroules has made in ten years (Aucoin, BOSTON GLOBE, 10/30).

MD 01: In a 10/27 debate Rep. Wayne Gilchrest (R-01) charged Rep. Tom McMillen (D-04) is running a negative campaign. Gilchrest referred to a McMillen/DCCC ad showing "a thumb-sucking child with the words 'Who would lie to this child?'" Then goes on to claim Gilchrest has still not given his House payraise to charities as he said he would do (Balto. EVENING SUN, 10/28).

NH 01: ARG surveyed 300 likely voters 10/27-28; margin of error +/- 5.8% (release, 10/29). Tested: Rep. Bill Zeliff (R), ex-Senate min. Leader Bob Preston (D).

Zeliff 47%

Preston 43

NJ 08: Newark STAR-LEDGER endorses businessman Herbert Klein (D) over GOP state Sen. Joseph Bubba (10/26). N.Y. TIMES' profiles the race, "one of the fiercest and most abrasive campaigns in the state" (10/30).

OH 10: Cleveland PLAIN DEALER reports Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D) manager Bernard Demczuk "has been linked to efforts to get the news media to report" that atty Martin Hoke (R) used cocaine. Lisa Walters, named by anonymous faxes as having knowledge of Hoke's cocaine use: "Bernard has been on my back every day. They have pressured me so much." Demczuk claims Walters called him: "We told her, 'Do what you think is right.'" Hoke: "I did not expect this kind of sleaze and ugliness" (10/30).

OK 05: TULSA WORLD endorses atty Laurie Williams (D) over state Rep. Ernest Istook (R). Istook defeated Rep. Mickey Edwards (R) in the primary (10/19).

OR 01: Peace activist Elizabeth Furse (D) filed an FEC compliant claiming a mailing "last week" by the OR Right to Life PAC for Treasurer Tony Meeker (R) violated the \$10,000 PAC limit. OR RTL-PAC spokesperson Lynda Harrington claimed the mailing was not a contribution because it was "produced and distributed

without Meeker's knowledge" (Portland OREGONIAN, 10/27).

TX 02: The FBI "has confiscated audio tapes mailed to East Texas news media" as the federal prosecutor determines whether Donna Peterson's (R) cellular phone conversations were illegally taped. Rep. Charles Wilson (D) denied any knowledge of the tapes (HOUSTON CHRONICLE, 10/29). Peterson spokesman John Doner: "I wouldn't have any problem calling this Wilson-gate even though I have no hard evidence" (BEAUMONT ENTERPRISE, 10/29). AUSTIN AMERICAN-STATESMAN includes Wilson with Reps. Coleman (D-16) and Bustamante (D-23) as the "most vulnerable" TX incumbents (10/30).

VA 08: Rep. Jim Moran (D) said atty Kyle McSllarrow (R) gives "him new appreciation" for 1990 opponent ex-Rep. Stan Parris (R). McSllarrow has Moran "nostalgic for the combative" Parris. Parris has endorsed McSllarrow, and "dismissed" Moran's charge (W. TIMES, 10/27). W. POST endorsed Moran (10/25). W. TIMES endorsed McSllarrow (10/28).

VA 11: A new ad from Del. Leslie Byrne (D) states atty Henry Butler (R) was expelled from college. He was in fact suspended for one year. Butler: "I've got an 8-year-old daughter and I can't let her watch television because of this stuff" (W. POST, 10/30). The POST endorses Byrne (10/25). W. TIMES endorses Butler (10/28).

WI 06: MILWAUKEE JOURNAL's Jones reports some see the race between Rep. Tom Petri (R-06) and state Rep. Peg Lautenschlager (D) a "possible upset in the making." Petri has "taken the offense criticising Lautenschlager by name," signaling "an incumbent who realizes he's in a close race" (10/25).

=====

CALIFORNIA CABLE =====

*19 SENATE "A": RACE IS TIGHT AS A TUBE SOCK

The Field Poll, conducted 10/25-28, surveyed 1,106 likely voters; margin of error 3.1%. A KCAL-TV poll, conducted 10/27-28 by Political/Media Research, surveyed 835 LVs; +/- 3.5%. Tested: Rep. Barbara Boxer (D-06), TV commentator Bruce Herschensohn (R).

"A" SEAT	Field	KCAL
Boxer	44%	44%
Herschensohn	43	40
Undec.	13	16

Boxer's positive image has been "tarnished" as her support among men has "eroded and her once huge lead collapsed." Pollster Mervin Field: "Boxer may have made a mistake by assuming people knew Herschensohn's (conservative) positions and by letting him define her." Herschensohn's negative ads went "unanswered" by Boxer for weeks. Although Boxer previously led in every region of CA, it is now "breaking along classic regional lines" (Roberts, S.F. CHRONICLE, 10/30).

MORE: Congressional perks "have proved troublesome" to Boxer. "In recent weeks, Herschensohn has narrowed Boxer's lead in statewide polls by launching a series of television ads that attack her use of taxpayer-financed benefits. And there is not letup in sight." In the last week, Herschensohn's camp began airing its fifth and sixth ads hitting Boxer on the subject. Herschensohn manager Ken Khachigian: "Perks will be an issue until election morning in one form or another." Boxer called Herschensohn "disingenuous" for airing the perks spot, "citing his use of taxpayer-financed benefits in the 1970's as a mid-level employee in the" Nixon admin. (Bunting, L.A. TIMES, 10/29).

RIGHT WING: CA's Religious right "is stepping up its support of" Herschensohn, "and their efforts have helped swell his backing statewide, political analysts and religious leaders say." GOP consultant Eileen Padberg: "They've been out in the churches the last three or four weeks, handing out ballots, leafletting the parking lots during services ... I think that's why it (the race) is closing up." Khachigian: "They're very active and they participate very heavily. They've been terrific ... Bruce does his thing, they just happen to agree" (Pulliam, ORANGE CO. REGISTER, 10/28).

*20 SENATE "B": FEINSTEIN HOLDS ONTO WIDE LEAD

The Field Poll, conducted 10/25-28, surveyed 1,106 likely voters; margin of error 3.1% (Field release, 10/29). Political/Media Research surveyed 835 LVs 10/27-28; +/- 3.5% (KCAL, 10/29). Sen. John Seymour (R), ex-S.F. Mayor Dianne Feinstein (D).

"B" SEAT	PMR	Field
Feinstein	50%	50%
Seymour	37	36
Undec.	13	14

===== POLL UPDATE =====

*21 WSJ/NBC: CLINTON 44%, BUSH 34%, PEROT 15% (ALL RVs)
1,507 registered voters (RVs), including 1,158 regular voters (those who say they vote half of time or more), surveyed 10/27-28 by Peter Hart (D) and Vince Breglio (R); margin of error +/- 2.5% for RVs and +/- 2.9% for regular voters (W.S. JOURNAL release, 10/29).

	ALL RVs		REGULAR VOTERS		(ALL RVs 2-DAY)			
	TWO JUST		TWO JUST		MIGHT	2ND CHOICE		
	DAY 10/28		DAYS 10/28		CHANGE	CLIN	BUSH	PERO
CLINTON	44%	45%	43%	43%	Clinton vote	22%	--	29% 49%
BUSH	34	35	37	38	Bush vote	21%	31%	-- 45%
PEROT	15	13	13	11	Perot vote	49%	49%	39% --

NOTE: W.S. JOURNAL did not publish the single day numbers for all RVs or for Regular Voters, although USA TODAY, in reporting the poll numbers, cited only the single 10/28 numbers for regular voters, calling them "553 likely voters" with a m/e +/- 5% (USA TODAY, 10/30). W.S. JOURNAL's Rich Jaroslavsky again warned that "regular voters" are not "likely voters" since mischaracterization cuts out about 23% of the sample, and cuts out a disproportionate number of young people.

Pollsters Breglio and Hart: "The momentum of the trial heat favors George Bush. [But] in the end, elections always come back to the fundamentals. The fundamentals of this election favor Bill Clinton." W.S. JOURNAL's Shribman & Perry write that for Clinton to win he needs a "solid turnout" of those under age 35 (who split 47-27% for Clinton over Bush), and that Clinton leads by 14% among all women and 20% among women under 40 (10/30).

*22 ABC TRACKING: CLINTON 44%, BUSH 35%, PEROT 16%
903 likely voters surveyed 10/27-28, margin of error +/- 4% (ABC release, 10/29). Final survey date shown.

	10/28	27	26	25	24	22	21	20	19	18	17	15	14	13
Clinton	44%	44%	42%	41%	44%	44%	45%	43%	44%	46%	49%	49%	44%	45%
Bush	35	35	35	34	33	34	32	32	32	30	30	31	34	35
Perot	16	20	20	21	19	17	15	17	16	15	13	12	12	11

DO YOU THINK ... HAS THE KIND OF PERSONALITY AND TEMPERAMENT IT TAKES TO SERVE EFFECTIVELY AS PRESIDENT, OR NOT?

	10/28		10/25		10/24	
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Clinton	57%	36%	56%	38%	57%	38%
Bush	58%	35%	57%	40%	58%	40%
Perot	32%	57%	40%	51%	38%	54%

*23 CNN/USA TODAY TRACK: IT'S A 1-PT LEAD INCLUDING LAST NIGHT
1,657 likely voters surveyed 10/27-28 by Gallup; margin of error +/- 3%. Date shown is the final date of the two-day rolling track (CNN 10/29, USA TODAY, 10/30). Also shown is the earlier tracking of registered voters, with the date shown the final date of 2 or 3 day rolling track (m/e +/- 3%).

	10/29	10/28	27	26
Clinton	41%	41%	40%	42%
Bush	40	38	38	36
Perot	14	16	16	17

RVs	10/26	25	24	23	22	21	20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13
Clinton	42%	42%	39%	41%	43%	44%	45%	47%	48%	46%	47%	47%	47%	46%
Bush	31	31	32	30	31	32	32	29	30	34	34	34	32	34
Perot	20	19	20	20	18	17	15	15	15	14	14	13	15	13

Note: CNN's Wm Schneider took a unique analysis to put their Gallup tracking in perspective. He averaged the results of six national polls (CNN/USA TODAY/Gallup tracking, W. POST, L.A. TIMES, NBC/WSJ, BATTLEGROUND tracking and ABC tracking). It produced: CLINTON 43%, BUSH 35%, PEROT 18%. Schneider: "Now the error margin ... is between 3 and 4 points. So all of the polls were within the margin of error of that average result we just saw. So basically, the polls are strikingly consistent" (10/29).

*24 BATTLEGROUND '92 TRACKING: IT'S 5-PT LEAD THRU LAST NIGHT
1,000 registered voters, surveyed 10/26-29 by The Tarrance Group (R); m/e +/- 3%. Battleground surveys 250 RVs nightly to provide a rolling 4-day sample. No polling is done on Fri/Sat. Date shown is final of 4 survey dates. NOTE TO MEDIA: Please cite as "Battleground Poll." This is not a HOTLINE poll.

RVs	10/29	28	27	26	25	22	21	20	19	18	15	14	FAV/UNF
Clinton	41%	40%	42%	44%	45%	45%	46%	46%	45%	45%	43%	41%	50%/44%
Bush	36	35	34	32	32	32	31	32	33	32	33	35	46 50
Perot	17	19	18	18	18	17	18	17	16	14	15	14	44 46

*25 PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES: GOP BENCHMARK HAS RACE IN MARGIN
800 likely voters surveyed 10/27-29 by P.O.S. -- a GOP firm; margin of error +/- 3.5% (P.O.S. release, 10/30).

Clinton	36%
Bush	33
Perot	15
Undec.	14

*26 THIS MORNING: ABC's "GMA" hosted Clinton, a mock debate on the economy with Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY), Perot counsel Clay Mulford and SC Gov. Carroll Campell (R). NBC's "Today" hosted Bush, Gore, Bush adviser Charlie Black and Clinton adviser Paul Begala. "CBS This Morning" hosted Barbara Bush, Clinton chair Mickey Cantor and Rep. Vin Weber (R-MN) (10/30).

LAST NIGHT: ABC, NBC, CNN led with Clinton. CBS led with Perot. PBS' "M/L" led with Bush and focused on voter registration with Mark Shields, David Gergen, Dem pollster Peter Hart, GOP pollster Ed Goeas, National Coalition on Black Voter Participation exec. dir. Sonia Jarvis, MS Sec/State Dick Molpus and LOWV pres. Becky Cain. CNN: "Crossfire" hosted GOP strategist Haley Barbour, Dem strategist Mark Siegel and Perot council Clay Mulford, "Larry King" hosted Perot. ABC's "Nightline" explored Perot in depth (10/29).

PROJECTIONS: NBC's Hagar: "Networks say they won't delay projecting a presidential winner. ... Some believe this may discourage late western voters from bothering to go to the polls. Which could affect local races." Portland's KOIN manager Mick Schapo, one of 4 CBS affiliates dropping nat'l programming until polls close: "We're going to control our election coverage on a local basis." Rep. Ron Wyden (D-OR): "Given the stakes, I don't think it's too much to ask that the networks show that hour of voluntary restraint." VRS pollster Warren Mitofsky: "There are over 18 studies and not a single one of those studies shows any measurable effect." Hagar noted the House has passed a solution 3 times: close all polls at 9:00p EST and keep the West on Daylight Savings Time for an extra 2 weeks so they would close the same time as Mountain Time. The Senate always rejects that idea, "so tonight, the networks blame Congress, Congress blames the networks and both agree to disagree" (10/29).

LETTERMAN'S TOP TEN REASONS CLINTON IS LOSING HIS LEAD:

10. Ill-advised new slogan: "Vote Bush."
9. Bad idea to tell Larry King "I'm going to tax these pinheads till they're drier than Death Valley."
8. Drank too much grape soda.
7. Voters turned off by his vision of "Nation of Hillbillies."
6. Bush's new campaign promise to neuter that guy in the Burger King commercials.
5. Voters wonder how such a handsome man could possibly understand the problems of ordinary people.
4. Promised to hit homerun for sick child, grounded weakly to short.
3. People seem to realize he's kind of a load.
2. More and more people like the idea of a tiny insane millionaire running things.
1. Stockdalemania. ("Latenight," NBC, 10/29).

===== TV SOUNDBITE =====

"What passes for a campaign schedule here reads more like a 'TV Guide.'" -- ABC's Dean from Perot HQ, "Nightline," ABC, 10/29.

* THE HOTLINE ELECTION POOL

In coordination with the Graduate School of Political Management and the National Center for Communication Studies at G.W. Univ., The HOTLINE is conducting its Election Year '92 Pundit Pool. The winner's name will be published on the front page of The HOTLINE 11/5. The losers' names will be known only to us. Simply fill out the form and return it via FAX to (202) 234-5233 BEGINNING NOON FRIDAY 10/30. DEADLINE: MONDAY 11/2 7PM.

1) ELECTORAL COLLEGE I

Declare each state for the candidate that you think will its electoral college votes. C = Clinton; B = Bush; P = Perot

_____ Alabama (9)	_____ Montana (3)
_____ Alaska (3)	_____ Nebraska (5)
_____ Arizona (8)	_____ Nevada (4)
_____ Arkansas (6)	_____ New Hampshire (4)
_____ California (54)	_____ New Jersey (15)
_____ Colorado (8)	_____ New Mexico (5)
_____ Connecticut (8)	_____ New York (33)
_____ Delaware (3)	_____ North Carolina (14)
_____ D.C. (3)	_____ North Dakota (3)
_____ Florida (25)	_____ Ohio (21)
_____ Georgia (13)	_____ Oklahoma (8)
_____ Hawaii (4)	_____ Oregon (7)
_____ Idaho (4)	_____ Pennsylvania (23)
_____ Illinois (22)	_____ Rhode Island (4)
_____ Indiana (12)	_____ South Carolina (8)
_____ Iowa (7)	_____ South Dakota (3)
_____ Kansas (6)	_____ Tennessee (11)
_____ Kentucky (8)	_____ Texas (32)
_____ Louisiana (9)	_____ Utah (5)
_____ Maine (4)	_____ Vermont (3)
_____ Maryland (10)	_____ Virginia (13)
_____ Massachusetts (12)	_____ Washington (11)
_____ Michigan (18)	_____ West Virginia (5)
_____ Minnesota (10)	_____ Wisconsin (11)
_____ Mississippi (7)	_____ Wyoming (3)
_____ Missouri (11)	

2) TIEBREAKER 1: ELECTORAL COLLEGE II

Fill in the number of electoral votes expected for each.

CLINTON _____ BUSH _____ PEROT _____

3) TIEBREAKER 2: POPULAR VOTE

Fill in the percentage of the national vote expected for each.

CLINTON _____ BUSH _____ PEROT _____

#

4:15 P.M. EST/3:15 P.M. CST NEWS UPDATE

NEWSWEEK POLL (New York/AP) -- Declining support for Ross Perot has helped President Bush pull into a statistical tie with Bill Clinton in two polls released today that rely on Gallup predictions about who is likely to vote. A Newsweek poll taken Wednesday and Thursday showed Clinton with 41%, Bush with 39% and Perot with 14% among 808 likely voters. The 2-point difference was within the poll's 4-point margin for error. The CNN-Newsweek tracking poll had Clinton ahead 41-40%.

PRESIDENT'S TRIP (Nashville/Lori Santos, UPI) -- Assailing the economic proposals of Democrat Bill Clinton, President Bush promised quick action to right the economy before January's presidential inauguration. Setting aside his harsh attacks of recent days, Bush instead sought to portray a possible Clinton administration as relying on an even bigger federal bureaucracy. "Gov. Clinton dreams of expanding the American government, and I want to work to expand the American dream," Bush said. Bush outlined what he called "my action plan" that he promised to set in motion "between November and January." His first step would be to meet with all the new members of Congress "and to shape a legislative package in a way that will guarantee swift passage."

Speaking before a convention of about 2,000 Kentucky Fried Chicken franchise owners, Bush sought to counter Clinton's popular call for economic change. "A vote for our philosophy is a vote for change that really matters," Bush said.

CLINTON/ENVIRONMENTAL SPENDING (Reuter) -- Clinton and his environmentalist running mate Al Gore promise to revolutionize U.S. environmental and energy policies if they win the 1992 election, but it may prove a tougher job than they realize. While both Clinton's backers and critics agree reforms are needed to slash America's voracious appetite for energy, they warn tough economic times mean Clinton will find no quick, cheap fixes. "There is very little margin to go farther in regulation than we have gone. And there is no more money," said one senior Bush official. "The expectations of environmentalists are going through the roof and they are not going to be met." Policy analysts say Clinton will need a lot of ingenuity -- and possibly some courageous tinkering with the tax code -- to achieve his ambitious environmental aims.

CLINTON/FOREIGN TAXES (Reuter) -- Clinton has said he wants to raise \$45 billion over the next four years by closing tax loopholes on foreign companies, but the firms and most analysts think the money just isn't there. They said Clinton won't be able to raise anywhere near that much unless he tries to change the tax laws on U.S. subsidiaries of foreign firms, a lengthy process that could invite retaliation from abroad. "We don't say that foreign companies shouldn't be paying their fair share," said Nancy McLernon, director of the Washington office of the Organization for International Investment. "But there is no way they (the Clinton camp) can get the \$45 billion under existing laws."

Robert Shapiro, a vice president at the Progressive Policy Institute think-tank and an adviser to Clinton, said he was confident Clinton can raise the \$45 billion.

-more-

S.F. CHRONICLE/ENDORSEMENT (Reuter) -- The San Francisco Chronicle gave a ringing endorsement to President Bush, saying it was of profound importance that Americans return him to the White House. The Chronicle said the basic issue, at a time when the condition of the U.S. economy was crucial, was which party philosophy and which candidate was more economically literate. "The answer is clearly free-market economics and George Bush," it said in an editorial.

The newspaper said Clinton is "simply promising that his government will spend money on virtually everyone -- with no discussion whatsoever of the inevitable, unavoidable price tag of increased taxes."

A poll by independent pollsters California Poll said today Clinton was leading Bush by 16 points among likely California voters.

IRAN ARMS (Reuter) -- A note written in 1986 by Secretary Weinberger at a key January meeting supported the arms-for-hostages dealings with Iran, according to new evidence released today. The Weinberger note undercuts Bush's long-standing claim that he was "out of the loop" and not aware of opposition to the arms deal by Weinberger and Secretary Shultz. The latest evidence was contained in an indictment brought by a federal grand jury under the direction of Lawrence Walsh charging Weinberger with lying to Congress about whether he took notes related to the affair.

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Coleman/Bartlett's Washington Focus

daily
10/30

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Memo to The President
from Charley Bartlett

1. Thank him
2. show this to
JAB *9*

You are red hot....Those interview programs are really going well. You come over best in your most benign state of mind, slightly less well when there is an edge of irritation in your voice. But you have the look and manner - and after all the status of a President and it is very impressive.

I agree very much with Dick Moore that the last shot should be, if possible, a national "Ask GB", if possible with undecided voters. Ed Ney and Doug Bailey also agree that this would be a stronger climax than the two-minute spots, good as they are. Ney asks me to remind you that John Major had great success at the end of his campaign with the middle class tax hike issue. And it is great to do, as you have been doing, what you can to remind the voters that there is a world out there and somebody with experience has to deal with it.

The big thing is that you have caught fire and are right on target - to mix a couple of metaphors. Bob Blake says he has never seen anything like the action at the GOP headquarters in Lubbock. Our hearts are travelling with you.

October 29. 1992

C.B.

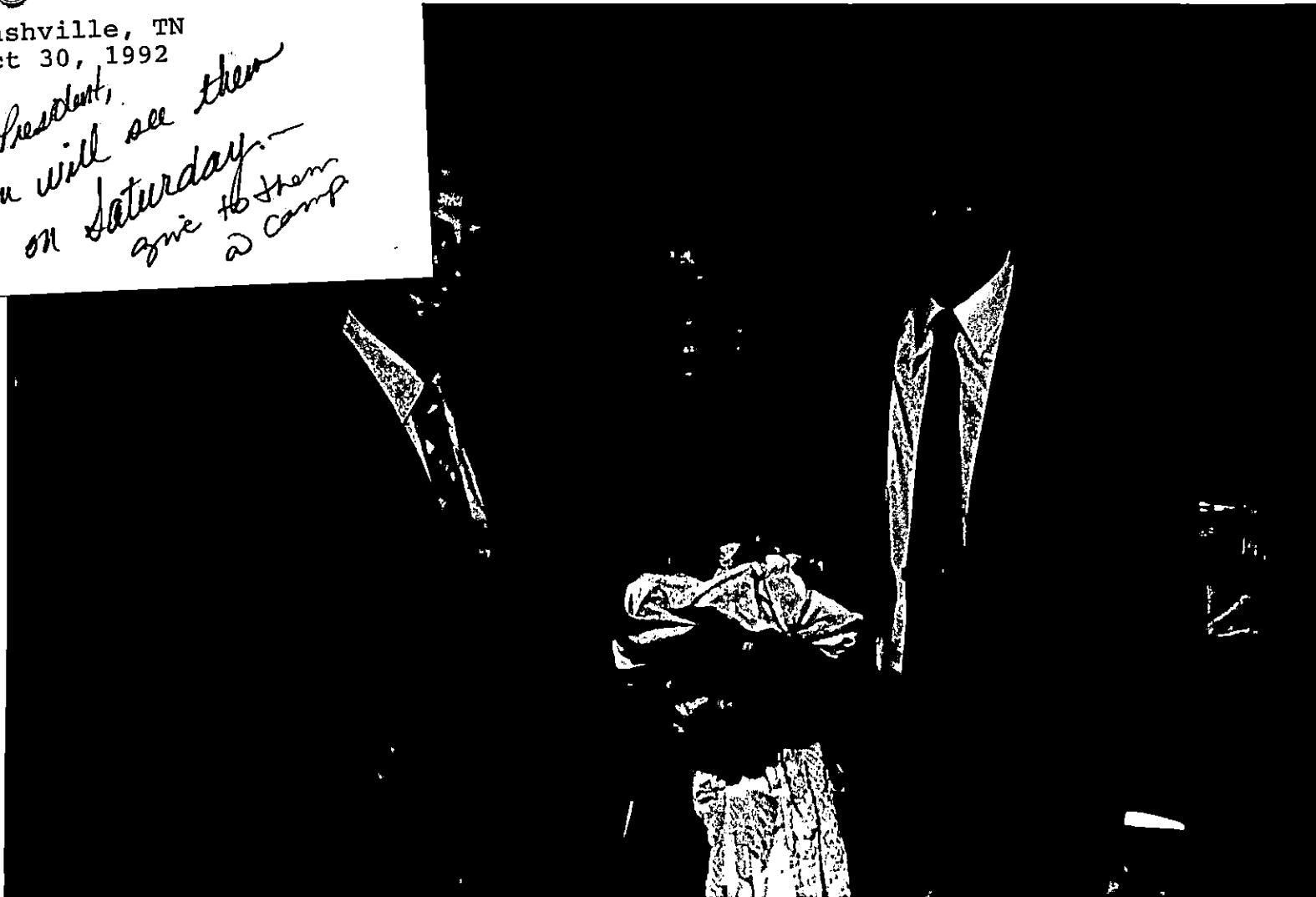
10/30/92
gone to MT
for JAB.
Money to thank
CB

Just in over the President's personal fax. CB asked that it be forwarded.

Amy Grant
husband: Gary Chapman
Baby: Sarah Cannon Chapman

Nashville, TN
Oct 30, 1992

Mr. President,
you will see them
on Saturday. —
give them
a camp



To Amy, Gary and Sarah, too
Love from all the Bushes.

Ly Bush

10-30-92

Presidential Phone Calls

Aboard Air Force One



file

DATE: 10-30-92 TIME: _____
incoming / outgoing

WITH: Grit Bell

SUBJECT: Thank him

*never got
his*

FOLLOW UP: _____

Bell DOCUMENT= 1 OF 1 PAGE = 3 OF 3

and for the visit to Sea Island. He also mentions quail hunting this winter.

- . 12/11/91 GB sent photo of golf game.
- . 3/9/92 GB handwrote a letter about playing golf soon.
- . 4/25/92 GB sends photo of them golfing.
- . 5/5/92 GB thanks for his note on time they spent at CD.
- . 10/5/92 GB handwrites thanks for Savannah endorsement that EHoliday passed along. "Warm regards."

I0601 * End of documents in list. Press ENTER or enter another command.

4BÜ

Why this lifelong Democrat is sticking with the president

By Griffin B. Bell

I am a lifelong Democrat. I was Georgia co-chairman of John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign. President Kennedy appointed me to the federal bench, where I served for nearly 15 years. I had the privilege to serve President Carter and the country as attorney general.



Griffin Bell

Notwithstanding my longstanding party affiliation, I support George Bush for president based on his experience, leadership and integrity.

I have known George Bush since he was CIA director. I have served as a member of his presidential task force to examine ethical standards for federal public service, and have had many personal opportunities to judge his character and ability firsthand.

The presidency is an awesome office. It is not one that should be entrusted lightly to just any political figure, no matter how polished their speaking style, no matter how many times the mantra for "change" is repeated.

Like all of you, I have lived through the yearlong Democratic, media-fed bashing of Mr. Bush, but I believe the American people in their heart of hearts know that Mr. Bush is a man of tested character and integrity.

The gravity of the powerful decision that each of us must make in the voting booth Tuesday is beginning to set in as the election draws near.

One's whole life is a foreshadowing of both character and experience.

Just out of high school, George Bush became a fighter pilot in World War II, where he was a genuine combat hero. Bill Clinton has had no military experience, although he had the chance during the Vietnam War.

Mr. Bush started a business and spent half his adult life running that

business before ever thinking about running for public office. Mr. Clinton, by contrast, has been running for public office his entire adult life.

Mr. Clinton and the media will not give Mr. Bush much credit, but I believe the American people will. During Mr. Bush's presidency, the Berlin Wall came down, Soviet communism has been beaten, Eastern Europe is free, Saddam Hussein was thrown out of Kuwait and his military machine decimated, and there is real hope for peace in the Middle East.

Most important to today's immediate concerns, the U.S. economy is poised for renewal and growth. We have had six months of steady and sustained growth, including higher growth than expected during the last quarter; inflation is way down; interest rates are way down; unemployment is slowly dropping; housing starts are way up. Virtually every economic indicator is positive.

Managing a national economy in a global economic world is no easy task; there are no easy fixes or quick cures. Mr. Bush has been criticized for current economic conditions, but we must not be so frustrated by those conditions as to lose sight of the need for strong, stable, experienced leadership to guide our country forward during what is generally conceded to be a worldwide recession.

Mr. Bush calls for lower taxes on working Americans, less government, lower federal spending, tax incentives for growth and investment, a world-class American education system and a common-sense approach to health care.

In selecting a president, we must rise above political parties and vote for who is best for our country. I believe that there is only one candidate who meets the standard Americans demand and deserve — George Bush.

I am proud to support him.

Griffin B. Bell, an Atlanta attorney, was U.S. attorney general during President Carter's term in the White House.

The Youth Vote

DEMOCRATS COURT YOUNGEST VOTERS

Clinton and Gore Reach Out
for Generational Support
That Bush Had in '88

By ROBERTO SURO

Special to The New York Times

BEAUMONT, Tex., Oct. 29 — Al Gore did not do much to draw wild applause. All he said was: "George Bush is out of time. Bill Clinton and Al Gore will be automatic for the people."

Michael Stipe, lead singer of the rock group R.E.M., had just given the Democratic ticket a passionate endorsement before a crowd of several thousand young people on the University of Georgia campus in Athens, and Mr. Gore's response was a wordplay on the title songs of the band's two hit albums.

The event was carefully scripted because this year the Democrats are mounting a broad, coordinated effort to win over a major voting block that has solidly backed Republicans in the last three Presidential elections and that has shown strong support this year for Ross Perot, the independent candidate.

Many voters born in the 1960's and 70's grew up with Ronald Reagan as their political hero. But now the Democrats, with their baby-boomer ticket and message of generational change, believe they have a chance to engineer a shift that could make the difference in an increasingly close election.

Making the Campus Circuit

Last week, on the same day, Senator Gore spoke outside the University of Georgia's student union, his wife, Tipper, Governor Clinton and his wife, Hillary, each made separate appearances on other college campuses around the country, and that kind of scheduling is not unusual. Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore have each appeared on MTV's political news program "Choose or Lose." President Bush, who has refused past invitations from the program and once dismissed it as a show for "teenyboppers," agreed today to appear on it Sunday.

In the last 48 hours alone, Mr. Gore has campaigned on campuses in Wisconsin, New Mexico and here in Beaumont, where he spoke today at Lamar University.

The effort appears to be paying off. In a New York Times/CBS News Poll conducted last week, Mr. Clinton had the support of 40 percent of the probable voters who are 19 to 30 years old; Mr. Bush had 30 percent. The margin between the two candidates was only five percentage points when respondents of all ages were tallied.

Mr. Perot had the support of 23 percent of the young voters in the poll, his strongest showing in any age group; his overall support was 15 percent. The poll, based on telephone interviews with 1,854 adults nationwide, has a margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points.

Shift to Democrats Likely

In the 1988 election, more than seven million voters between the ages of 18 and 24, or 55 percent, picked Mr. Bush, while 45 percent backed the Democratic candidate, Michael S. Dukakis. This year, Mr. Gore said, they may support the Democrats with the strength normally seen among black, Jewish and Hispanic voters.

On the level of political imagery, the Democrats' appeal is as simple as their ages: Mr. Clinton is 46 and Mr. Gore, his running mate, is 44. After Mr. Gore spoke at the University of Georgia, some students were asked by a reporter what they thought of Mr. Gore. One shouted, "At least he can relate to us!"

Vice President Dan Quayle, who is 45, appears to hold little attraction for young Americans: those in the poll gave him a favorability ratings of 22 percent, lower than that for any top candidate except Mr. Perot's running mate, James B. Stockdale.

The generational endorsement of the Democratic ticket, of course, is not automatic. Tripp Greeson, a 19-year-old from Atlanta, said of Mr. Gore: "It doesn't matter much that he's young or that Michael Stipe likes him. It wouldn't matter at all if he wasn't out there talking about things we care about."

Emphasis on the Environment

One of the things the Democrats are talking about, and the young care about, is the environment. In the Times/CBS News Poll, young voters gave Senator Gore, who has made the environment a matter of personal advocacy, favorability ratings of 35 percent, the highest of any top candidate.

For young audiences, the Democrats sauce their economic message with a touch of insurgency reminiscent of the George McGovern campaign of 1972, the last Democratic effort to galvanize young voters.

"All over the world we have seen young people lead the way to change," is the way Mr. Gore begins a passage inserted in his standard speech when he appears before young voters.

He brings them to their feet by concluding: "Now it's our turn in the United States to have change. Young people in the United States are saying: 'Trickle-down economics is really stupid! Let's get rid of it!'"

Hillary Clinton

From Lawyer to Mother To, Now, All of the Above

By FELICITY BARRINGER

Special to The New York Times

CLEVELAND, Oct. 29 — In the waning days of the campaign, Hillary Clinton, who has emphasized two distinct aspects of her personality, is putting everything together for the stretch run: highlighting her command of policy, her confident assertiveness and her husband, the Presidential candidate.

It is as if she has had three incarnations during the campaign. There was Hillary I, the accomplished lawyer who spoke of herself as part of a "Blue Light special," saying "people call us two-for-one."

After the conventions, there was Hillary II, whom the Cuyahoga County Commissioner Mary Boyle called "the good wife of a candidate, the good family member of a candidate, with her special interest, children." She added, "Basically she had been tamed."

Finally, there is Hillary III, a hybrid of the earlier images. More and more of the professional women who form the core of her rallies from Cleveland to Trenton to Annapolis, Md., agree with Patsy Morrison, a small-business owner in Cleveland: "She's combined the two. She's her own person who happens to be the wife of a candidate."

Her aides argue that Mrs. Clinton has not changed; only the perceptions of the voters have, they say. "The American people are just getting to know her better," said Lisa Caputo, Mrs. Clinton's press secretary. "She's the same person she always has been."

Her Own Voice

One clue to where she stands is her language. Although most of her sentences revolve around the plans of "my husband," Hillary Clinton's personal voice — and the pronoun "I" — can often be heard on such issues as keeping abortion legal or keeping streets safe.

"I'm sick and tired of children being

shot going to and from school, being shot as they stand on the playgrounds, being caught in random gunfire," Mrs. Clinton told 40 ministers here at the First United Methodist Church on Wednesday.

"I think it is a government's primary responsibility to keep its citizens safe," she went on. "And my husband believes that as well."

Return to Assertiveness

Such language is a far cry from the cookie recipes that she was offering a few months ago. They are closer to the assertive image that led an article in the conservative journal *The American Spectator* to label her "Lady Macbeth of Little Rock" and "the Winnie Mandela of American politics."

In Mrs. Clinton's most-quoted piece of writing, published in the *Harvard Educational Review* 19 years ago, she wrote that children's rights have been bypassed. "The basic rationale for depriving people of rights in a dependency relationship is that certain individuals are incapable or undeserving of the right to take care of themselves and consequently need social institutions specifically designed to safeguard their position."

She went on, "Along with the family, past and present examples of such arrangements include marriage, slavery and the Indian reservation system."

The Republicans' gleeful repetition of these words, often out of context, became a staple in the "family values" theme of their convention.

One of the clearest indications of Mrs. Clinton's return to a more assertive mode came as she was speaking at the ministers' gathering, when she cited a pastoral letter from the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

"I don't know anyone who argues with the idea that the family is the

primary developer of the values and the mindset of a child," Mrs. Clinton said. "But as the Catholic bishops said, a child is a result both of his or her family's values and the policies of the nation in which that child resides."

"So what I would like to do is to end the false debate, end the finger-pointing, end the blaming."

Mary Rose O'Carroll, Cleveland's Democratic Congresswoman, one of Mrs.

Clinton's supporters, said later: "I think she's struck a happy balance. Maybe she was a little extreme in being self-assertive early on. But she's extremely comfortable now. She's being who she is."

Daniel Wattenberg, author of *The American Spectator* article, says he has also seen "a few signs here and there" that Hillary's personal voice is more audible.

"My belief is that after the election she will emerge as a power center in the White House. If so, it will be a power center with a new left flavor."

Amy Anderson, of Durwood, Md., who attended a rally on Tuesday in Annapolis, said, "I don't think there should be any limits on her as First Lady. I don't think there will be because we're looking at a different kind of candidate."

Clinton Shifting His Focus From Issues to Adopt Attack Strategy of a Campaign Underdog

By GWEN IFILL

Special to The New York Times

SECAUCUS, N.J. Oct. 29 — Responding to a tightened Presidential race, Gov. Bill Clinton today essentially scrapped plans to spend the final days of his campaign concentrating on substantive issues and instead hoppedcothed to three states and directed his firepower at President Bush.

Even as he sought to strike a sober tone for speeches on the economy and on AIDS research, Mr. Clinton cast his policy discussion in terms of what Mr. Bush lacks. And although he still leads in most polls, Mr. Clinton said for the first time in weeks that he considered himself an "underdog" in the race for President.

"When Mr. Bush tells us we have to rejoice at our economic plight, I think we have to tell him it's time to move beyond the passivity and complacency of his Presidency and of this campaign," he said during a speech at the University of Toledo.

Crisscrossing Campaign Paths

Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton have been all but colliding with each other as they jet from one must-win state to another. Today, Mr. Clinton followed Mr. Bush by a day in Toledo, then campaigned at the same time as the President in a different part of Michigan. Then he spent the afternoon in New Jersey.

"The American people are going to have to think a long time before they want four more years of this," Mr. Clinton said of the Bush Administration. "It will be a miserable experience for them, and I don't think they're going to go through with it."

When a supporter wished Mr. Clinton good luck in Ohio and Michigan as he boarded a plane for Newark, he responded: "If I win both of them, this election's over."

Mr. Clinton's campaign day reflected the strategic tug-of-war that is going on within the Democratic campaign. Plans called for him to stick to a loftier

message about the economy and jobs, and for him to deliver a long-awaited speech on AIDS in Jersey City. In the speech in the rotunda of the Hudson County courthouse this evening, Mr. Clinton linked the need for Federal action on AIDS to steps he has advocated on other health care issues, including breast and ovarian cancer. But he made a special plea for new attention to AIDS and urged an end to prejudice directed at those who carry the virus.

Plans for War on AIDS

"We must all remember that for all its terror and far reach, it is still a disease," Mr. Clinton said. "It is not vengeance or punishment or just deserts. It is an illness. We have fought illnesses before, and we must fight this one now."

Mr. Clinton said he would increase financing for AIDS research, enforce anti-discrimination laws, appoint a

Continued on Page A18, Column 1



The Democrats

Putting Issues Aside, Clinton Attacks Bush

Continued From Page A1

Federal official to oversee the Government's response and mount a "loud, clear and consistent war on AIDS."

He also said children should be taught about how the AIDS virus is contracted "at the earliest practical time."

"I do believe the instruction of our children should be based on values that we all share," he said. "I believe children should be discouraged from having premature sexual conduct and from ever having any conduct with needles carrying drugs. But they must be told that this killer can kill them."

Mr. Clinton criticized the Justice Department support for allowing private employers to cut off insurance coverage for employees who are H.I.V. infected.

Campaign aides had planned for Mr. Clinton to stick to this loftier tone throughout the day, but after he left the courthouse, he returned to the attack, launching an additional verbal assault on Mr. Bush outside.

Apparently stung by the President's energetic recent attacks, Mr. Clinton counterpunched for the second straight day, vowing, "We're going to slam him home in the next five days."

Shifting to the Offense

At a college, a downtown convention center and a small-town courthouse, the Governor's remarks, both on and off the stage, reflected new turmoil in a campaign that has been sailing well ahead of Mr. Bush in public opinion polls for weeks.

Michigan, where Mr. Clinton appeared today, is a classic example of the state of flux that has marked the recent days. Democratic officials there and in Ohio said Mr. Clinton's support dropped significantly after Mr. Perot re-entered the race.

"It's all about trust," Donald Sweitzer, a national Democratic official who is following the Michigan campaign said. "On issues, it's all moving the other way. Bush is wrong on every issue with these voters."

The Clinton campaign today began broadcasting two new 30-second commercials. One uses blurry television

his style when he was struggling in the bleakest days of his primary campaign in New Hampshire.

Harry Truman. Harry Truman was never called, never called, dishonest by the American press corps. He fought for average people.

"There is no standard of truth in the Bush campaign," Mr. Clinton said. "He will say anything."

Although his attacks on Ross Perot have been much more muted, Mr. Clinton has also questioned the independent's candidacy, charging that Mr. Perot has been "spending anything to get elected."

"When Mr. Bush looks at an anxious and frightened America and tells us this is as good as it gets, that says something worse about his Presidency than anything I could ever say," Mr. Clinton said.

"I wish it was Tuesday," said one campaign aide. "In 1988 with Dukakis, that we wished we had two more weeks. Now I wish this had ended two weeks ago."

"No Standard of Truth"

Throwing his entire arsenal of negative oratory at Mr. Bush today, Mr. Clinton accused the President of "fear-mongering" and "mudslinging."

"He has made up charges about my record," he said in Toledo. "The man has no core of conviction. This is not a man who is not Clinton said."

Clinton plays the underdog as his lead narrows.

Mr. Begala tried to draw a contrast between Mr. Clinton's tactics and the President's. "George Bush is out there bordering on the hysterical," Mr. Begala said.

Mr. Clinton has seemed more unsettled in recent days as well. After at first dismissing the tightening race as a natural phenomenon that had been expected, Mr. Clinton's remarks today were more aggressive, reminiscent of

images of President Bush making promises four years ago, like telling people they will be "better off" under his Presidency. The ad closes with a sober announcer saying, "Well, it's four years later. How're you doing?"

Another ad, which Clinton aides said they completed at 4 A.M. today, was a direct response to a Bush commercial that was broadcast beginning Wednesday attacking the Governor's record in Arkansas. The ad uses third-party sources to accuse the Bush commercial of being dishonest.

"Harry Truman said it, and we're going to live by it," said Paul Begala, a Clinton strategist and speechwriter. "If he's going to tell lies about us, we're going to tell the truth about him."

The Vice President

In the Final Push, Quayle Rallies Turn Into a Blur

By KAREN DE WITT
Special to The New York Times

AUGUSTA, Ga., Oct. 25 — Vice President Dan Quayle was heading into the home stretch of his standard speech at a Bush-Quayle rally here when he threw in his usual charge that Gov. Bill Clinton "waffles" on issues.

To the dismay of Secret Service agents, a dozen frozen waffles flew up from the audience. Mr. Quayle caught one and the friendly crowd roared its approval. The waffles were a rare unscripted moment for the Vice President in his campaign for re-election, although they have now become a signature part of an event when he mentions waffling by the opposition.

In the homestretch of the campaign the days with Mr. Quayle have become a blur of sameness: rope-line greetings, handshakes, local interviews, rallies and the oxymoronic "scheduled impromptus" with voters in shopping malls and restaurants.

"Why am I here?" Mr. Quayle has been known to ask his aides as Air Force Two touches down in yet another state. "Is this one it would be nice to win, or one we must win?"

A 'Must Win' State

Georgia is in the "must win" category, so Mr. Quayle, fueled by the red licorice he snacks on, was here for the second of three visits scheduled before Election Day. At the Savannah Christian Preparatory School he rallied an audience of mostly students who are too young to vote.

"Is this crowd fired up?" Mr. Quayle asked. "Is this crowd pumped up? Is Savannah going for George Bush? Is

THE POLLS BUSH LEADS

President Bush might be trailing Gov. Bill Clinton in the popular polls, but he seems to have a commanding lead among business executives. *Business Day*, page D1.

the South going for George Bush? Is America going for George Bush?"

The students, hoisting red, white and blue Bush-Quayle campaign signs, yelled back in affirmation.

Campaigns take on a sameness in their final days, a numbing repetition of speeches and events. For a rally like the rally here at the Augusta Mall, the plan called for open press coverage, 1,000 people in attendance, off-stage announcement, brief remarks and rope line.

Mr. Quayle touches hundreds upon hundreds of people along rope lines in this campaign. Since the campaign started, he said, he has surely shaken thousands and thousands of hands.

Meeting Mr. Wonderful

But for Susan Davis, an unemployed secretary who happened to be in the S & S restaurant in Savannah when Mr. Quayle stopped, shaking hands with the Vice President was a singular event.

"He may be out in right field, but at least he's right," said Ms. Davis, a staunch Republican. "I think he's wonderful."

Mr. Quayle also got his standard cup of coffee — black, no sugar. He always offers to pay. And as usual, on this stop he mostly ignored his coffee and spent

his time pressing the flesh of Sunday after-church diners.

One woman, not aware that the coffee was not the point of the visit, chided the entourage of reporters and technicians for not letting the Vice President sit down and eat.

He had shaken her hand, she added, and remarked that he was "a very nice man" who would probably get her vote.

By the end of the day Mr. Quayle had grasped the hands of more than 300 people in stops at the Calvary Baptist Temple, the Savannah Christian Preparatory School, two political rallies, a fund-raising event here in Augusta, the mall visit and an air show.

Political Incantation

Much of a campaign consists of repetition that becomes almost incantation. "Is this crowd pumped up?" Mr. Quayle roared again to Bush-Quayle supporters here. "Is this crowd fired up? Is Augusta going for George Bush? Is Georgia going for George Bush? Is the South going for George Bush? Is America going for George Bush?"

It was the same, with appropriate substitutions, in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Missouri, Illinois and Wisconsin. Bill Clinton cannot be trusted. Bill Clinton will tax.

Lately, Mr. Quayle has begun adding "courage" to his theme of "trust" in his appeals to voters. "Have courage to stand up for George Bush," he said here. "Have courage to stand up for yourself; have courage to stand up for your families; have courage to stand up for your values; have courage to do what is right for America, and that means vote for George Bush."

Candidates Aim at Crucial States, and Each Other

Bush, Buoyed by Polls, Scrambles to Rebuild Winning Coalition

By MICHAEL WINES

Special to The New York Times

DETROIT, Oct. 29 — With some new polls providing encouragement, President Bush and his strategists have begun scrambling, hoping in the five days left them to rebuild the shattered bloc of Republicans and disaffected Democrats that won the White House in 1988. That is why they came to Michigan today.

Mr. Bush returned to an old well-spring of Democratic support, suburban Macomb County, to sound the alarms about high taxes and low character that he hopes will drive voters away from Bill Clinton and into his camp.

Hoarse and shouting over the crowd of 10,000 people, Mr. Bush stripped his message to its most pointed and strident essence.

'Crazy, Way Out, Far Out'

He accused Mr. Clinton of having "given up on reducing the deficit." Arms flailing, he denounced Mr. Clinton's running mate, Senator Al Gore, as an environmental extremist who is "crazy, way out, far out, man."

He underscored his "big difference" with people who would protest the Vietnam war overseas, as Mr. Clinton did, "when your brother's in prison in Hanoi or your kids are being drafted out of a ghetto somewhere."

Twice, he dismissed his two rivals with contemptuous remarks, declaring that "my dog Millie knows more about foreign affairs than these two bozos."

And he turned one of Mr. Clinton's favorite anti-Bush buzzwords against him, calling a band of sign-waving Clinton supporters at one Bush rally "a little pathetic."

"They feel it slipping away from them," he exulted. "They know we're going to win the election." The crowd

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

Bush Rushing to Rebuild '88 Coalition

Continued From Page A1

at a cavernous junior-college field-house roared its approval.

Later, speaking to an outdoor rally in Grand Rapids dominated by a huge, pink, elephant-shaped balloon, Mr. Bush punched away at Mr. Clinton's credibility again, saying, "What's catching up with him now — what's catching up with him just as we go down to the wire — is this pattern of deception."

"He said on April 17, 'I'm going to reveal my draft records,' and we haven't seen them yet," he said. "You can't say that you're going to have one position than then another. You've got to stand up and take a position and lead. And that's what being President is all about."

The President whose hyperbolic oratory brought crowds to their feet today bears scant resemblance to the George Bush who has repeatedly decried the "ugly" nature of this campaign.

But Mr. Bush is employing this saw-tooth political style for a compelling reason: he and his aides believe it works.

They were asserting today that their attacks have shifted the focus of the political debate to the issue of character, where the White House wants to steer the debate, and to the best way to revive the economy, where they feel they are on at least equal footing.

Character and Trust

That means Mr. Clinton is spending less time talking about the economy's current sorry state, Mr. Bush's weak spot, and more time defending his own flanks.

"I heard Governor Clinton raise the character question yesterday," Mr. Bush said today. "Well, come on in. Let's take it on character and trust."

His campaign spokeswoman, Torie Clarke, added, "We'll take them on on that any day, and we'll win hands-down."

In fact, Mr. Bush has begun to leaven his assaults on Mr. Clinton with large doses of can-do optimism about the future, something glaringly absent until this month.

The President has seized on Tuesday's report of a healthy rise in economic output as evidence of a looming American revival, even if voters have yet to notice it.

"There was very good news for this country two days ago, and they hate it," he told 9,800 supporters in Grand Rapids today. "The only way they can win is to convince America that we're in a recession. We had growth of 2.7 percent. We have grown for six quarters. And now let's keep it going."

Later, he spoke of "a worldwide recovery" led by the United States, that will "bring jobs to more Americans."

Mr. Bush's aides assert that the combination of slashing attacks and hopeful messages is raising Mr. Bush's popularity and lowering Mr. Clinton's.

The President's campaign chairman, Robert M. Teeter, said today that he believed Mr. Clinton's lead was shriveling in Michigan. In large part, he said, that is because Mr. Bush has shone a spotlight on Mr. Clinton's pledge to raise Federal taxes by \$150 billion.

Mr. Clinton says that new burden will fall mostly on the well-off and on foreign companies. Bush strategists have responded by blanketing rallies with cardboard devices, akin to simple slide rules, that supposedly enable vot-



Jose R. Lopez/The New York Times

President Bush was joined yesterday by former President Gerald R. Ford after arriving at the airport in Grand Rapids, Mich.

ers to determine how much Mr. Clinton's package of tax proposals "could" cost people in their income brackets. Invariably, the totals are in the thousands of dollars.

Mr. Clinton's economic proposals, Mr. Teeter said, "are the antithesis of what they want to hear."

How much ground Mr. Bush has gained in recent polls depends on which of the wildly varying surveys one reads.

The "tracking poll" conducted for CNN and USA Today showed Mr. Clinton preferred over President Bush by three percentage points today, 41 percent to 38 percent, with 16 percent favoring Ross Perot and 5 percent undecided or supporting another candidate. The margin of sampling error was three percentage points. In a tracking poll, new samples are interviewed each day and reports are issued on the combined results for two or more days at a time.

When the findings of the most recent major national polls are averaged, Mr. Clinton leads Mr. Bush by 43 to 36 percent, with 16 percent for Mr. Perot.

But the President was cheered this morning by a local television station survey that showed him in a statistical tie with Mr. Clinton in Michigan.

Macomb County's blue-collar conservatives are the key to Mr. Bush's failure or success here, and an indica-

tion of his national standing as well. They are the archetype of the financially struggling, anti-tax Democrats who deserted Jimmy Carter for Ronald Reagan in 1980, and stayed to vote for Mr. Bush in 1988.

With the economy lagging most of this year, conventional wisdom this year has held that these Reagan Democrats were rejecting Mr. Bush and swinging back to their party.

But the President's campaign chairman, Robert M. Teeter, said in a telephone interview today that it was not happening. He said Mr. Bush had pulled even in Macomb County, which he said was "strongly in favor of Bill Clinton" only two weeks ago.

"We're very close in Michigan, and we couldn't be closer in Michigan if we weren't close in Macomb," he said.

Whether such trends are sufficiently stronger than to make a difference in Tuesday's election remains unclear. But Mr. Teeter, who has every reason to appear optimistic, argued that the race was now close enough for Mr. Bush to begin consolidating his hold on the normally Republican South and West, regions that Mr. Clinton has strongly contested all summer and fall.

"If we can get that base back of 190 to 210 electoral votes in the West and South," he said, "then you can go fight him for those 60 or 70 other votes you need to win an election."

Countdown to Election Day

GEORGE BUSH

Buoyed by several new polls, President Bush made a foray into an old source of Democratic support, suburban Macomb County in Michigan, to sound the alarms about high taxes and low character that he hopes will drive voters away from Gov. Bill Clinton. Stripping his message to its essence, Mr. Bush told a crowd of 10,000 people that Mr. Clinton had "given up on reducing the deficit." Arms flailing, he denounced Mr. Clinton's running mate, Senator Al Gore, as an environmental extremist who is "crazy, way out, far out, man." He said of the Democrats, "They feel it slipping away from them."

BILL CLINTON

With the Presidential race tightening, Governor Clinton hoppedcothed to three states, Ohio, Michigan and New Jersey, and directed his firepower at President Bush. As he sought to strike a sober tone for speeches on the economy and on AIDS research, Mr. Clinton cast his policy discussion in terms of what Mr. Bush lacks. And although he still leads in most polls, Mr. Clinton said for the first time in weeks that he considered himself an "underdog" in the race for President. "The American people are going to have to think a long time before they want four more years of this," Mr. Clinton said of the Bush Administration.

ROSS PEROT

Mr. Perot's aides tried to diffuse two issues that they fear have slowed his momentum: the accusation that he is trying to buy the election and his unsubstantiated assertions that the Bush campaign planned to disrupt his daughter's wedding and to wiretap his business telephones. Aides are confronting the first issue by saying that his two rivals have actually outspent him. They are confronting the second issue with silence. "We need to get back to our message," Clayton Mulford, the Perot campaign's general counsel, said Thursday. He also acknowledged that polls show the surge for Mr. Perot ending.

ON TELEVISION

President Bush 8 A.M., NBC (Channel 4 in New York), "Today."

9 P.M., CNN, "Larry King Live," interview.

Gov. Bill Clinton 8 A.M., ABC (Channel 7 in New York), "Good Morning America."

Senator Al Gore 7:30 A.M. NBC, (Channel 4 in New York), "Today," interview.

8 A.M., C-Span, live caller interview.

RECENT POLLS

ABC News
Oct. 27-28



Gallup for CNN/USA Today
Oct. 27-28



NBC News/ Wall Street Journal
Oct. 28



Washington Post Poll
Oct. 23-27

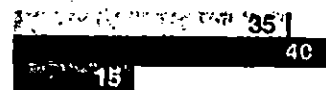


PREVIOUS POLLS

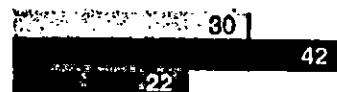
The Los Angeles Times Poll
Oct. 24-26



The New York Times/
CBS News Poll Oct. 20-23



Gallup for Newsweek
Oct. 22-23



A Narrow Lead

Gov. Bill Clinton continues to lead President Bush, while the increased support Ross Perot received after the final debate appears to have faded slightly, according to four new polls.

When the polls are averaged, Mr. Clinton has 43 percent of the support, Mr. Bush 36 percent and Mr. Perot 16 percent.

Most national polls are being reported in terms of "likely voters" in an attempt to reflect the views of the 50 percent of adults who actually turn out on election day rather than the 75 percent who say they are registered.

The Harris Poll uses three questions to identify likely voters. In a Harris Poll conducted last week, views of likely voters did not substantially differ from those of all registered voters.

The Gallup Organization uses eight questions. In a CNN/USA Today poll conducted by Gallup and

and made public yesterday Mr. Clinton's advantage over Mr. Bush was 3 percentage points among likely voters but seven points among all registered voters. The poll was conducted with 2,000 registered voters.

An NBC/Wall Street Journal poll taken with 553 likely voters showed Mr. Clinton's advantage at five points.

An ABC News tracking poll of 903 likely voters placed Mr. Clinton's lead at nine points. Tracking polls interview new samples each day and report combined results two or more days at a time.

A ten point advantage for Mr. Clinton was measured in a Washington Post Poll of 1,837 likely voters.

The margins of sampling error range from three percentage points on the larger samples to plus or minus five percentage points on the smaller samples.

Perot, Thrown for Loss, May Alter Game Plan

O. K. Here's the deal:

Ross Perot is talking to a crowd of partisans in Denver about a television station that has declined to preempt "Monday Night Football" for one of his 30-minute paid political programs.

"Make 'em show it! Make 'em show it!" the partisans chant.

Mr. Perot comes up with a solution.

"We'll get the message through if I have to buy a station here," he promises. "Don't worry about it."

Mr. Dangerfield, Meet Mr. Quayle

Rodney Dangerfield, you're not alone.

The other day when Vice President Dan Quayle walked, unannounced, into the Aztec Restaurant in Aztec, N.M., he didn't get no respect either. Collette Malouff, a waitress, figured him to be just another faceless hungry customer and gave him an offhand "just fine" when he asked how her day was going. Then she resumed adding up another customer's check.

A few days earlier, the guard at the door of the New York Stock Exchange had a similar reaction when the Vice President walked in, again unannounced.

"I'll have to check," he replied when Mr. Quayle asked if he could visit a bit.

Permission granted.

Footsteps Heard Across the Seas

On Wednesday, when Democratic women in 60 American cities spread from New York to San Francisco marched to highlight issues of interest to women and drum up support for the Clinton/Gore ticket, they were not alone. To the pleasant surprise of the organizers of the marches, Democratic women living abroad learned of the marches and organized their own — in seven cities, spread from London to Tokyo.

Finding a Voter Who Will Listen

Jack Martini immediately recognized the customer who walked into The Market delicatessen in Denver the other day. It was the President of the United States, and, this being the

age of instant communication, Mr. Martini reached for his cellular phone and rang up his wife, Vanessa.

He was describing the scene to her when Mr. Bush happened to looked his way, whereupon Mr. Martini proffered the phone, suggesting there might be a vote at the other end. The President, sensing a chance to close the margin a bit more on Bill Clinton, took the gamble.

It paid off.

Mrs. Martini said she was a Bush supporter "because the last time we had a Democrat as President, I lost my business."

Got the Time, Mr. President?

In the for-what-it's-worth department...

When President Bush stole a look or two at his wristwatch during the debates, the pundits never could figure out whether he was bored or checking to see if time was running out on the debate or the Bush campaign or whatever. So during a campaign appearance in Columbus, Ohio, on Wednesday, the President felt moved to explain, or at least comment and reveal.

"I looked at my watch during the debate and I caught all kinds of hell from the media," he said. "But I'm going to look at it again — It's a Timex and it's now 16 to the hour. I mean, come on..."

Even the Faithful Grow Weary

Speaking of time...

Back in the early days of the 1992 campaign, Governor Clinton, who hails from the town where President Bush's watch was made, would often arrive two and three hours late for rallies. Yet the faithful always stuck around patiently, sometimes well after midnight.

The Governor still arrives late. But the patience of the faithful is wearing thin.

Mr. Clinton was two hours tardy for an evening rally this week in Wilson, N.C., and no sooner had he finally mounted the platform and started his pitch than some supporters began heading for the exits. They were still clutching Clinton/Gore signs but they were leaving nonetheless.

"It's late," replied one man. "I've seen him."

B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

Campaign Stalled, Perot Team Tries to Fix It, Fast

By STEVEN A. HOLMES

Special to The New York Times

DALLAS, Oct. 29 — Acknowledging that the rise of Ross Perot in the polls has stalled, his aides tried today to defuse two issues that they fear have slowed his momentum: the charge that he is trying to buy the election, and his unsubstantiated assertions that the Bush campaign planned to disrupt his daughter's wedding and to wiretap his business telephones.

The Perot campaign has developed different strategies for dealing with the two issues. Aides are confronting the first with claims that President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton have actually outspent Mr. Perot. They are confronting the second with silence.

"I think the realization was made yesterday or the day before that the attention on the nonissues, the character assassination, was really playing into the hands of the other two candidates," Clayton Mulford, the Perot campaign's general counsel, said today. "We need to get back to our message."

Sliding in Polls

At a press briefing Mr. Mulford agreed with a reporter's suggestion that public opinion polls show that the air seems to be leaking out of Mr. Perot's campaign, and he attributed it to critical stories about the independent that were "planted" by his opponents. Mr. Mulford produced no evidence to support that assertion.

A tracking poll conducted by Gallup for USA Today and CNN that will be released Friday indicates that 16 per cent of those surveyed backed Mr. Perot. Last week a similar tracking poll gave Mr. Perot the support of 20 per cent of those surveyed. Similarly, a tracking poll by ABC News today showed Mr. Perot at 16 per cent, a five-point drop from a similar poll released on Monday that had the Texan at 21 per cent.

A tracking poll is a survey in which fresh samples of voters are interviewed daily and the combined results of two or three days of interviews are released. Mr. Perot does not conduct his own polling, so his rise or fall can only be gauged by public polls conducted by news organizations.

Fewer 'Infomercial' Viewers

Public opinion surveys are not the only indicators that the Perot boomlet may have peaked. Figures compiled by Nielsen Media Research News indicate that the number of people tuning into Mr. Perot's 30-minute and 60-minute "infomercial" ads has dropped sharply. About 16.5 million viewers watched his first one on Oct. 6. Since then none of the other half-hour programs have come close to attracting that many viewers. On Monday, 12 million viewers — a respectable showing, but a 25 per cent decrease — watched at least

part of his half-hour ad.

Obviously concerned about their candidate's stall, Mr. Mulford and Sharon Holman, the campaign's press secretary, told reporters today that they would no longer answer questions about Mr. Perot's assertions that Republican operatives had planned to conduct a smear campaign against his daughter or about his involvement in getting the FBI to conduct an undercover sting operation on Jim Oberwetter, the chairman of the Bush campaign in Texas.

Mr. Perot apparently believed that Mr. Oberwetter might have been part of a conspiracy to wiretap some telephones at his North Dallas business office after Mr. Perot dropped out of the race last summer. The FBI investigation has not turned up any evidence of Mr. Oberwetter's involvement in a such a conspiracy.

The stories about campaigns designed to embarrass members of Mr. Perot's family and the cloak-and-dagger suspicions regarding Mr. Oberwetter were fueled by Mr. Perot's interview on "60 Minutes" on Sunday, where he first made them, and in a surprise appearance at a press conference on Monday.

Meanwhile, seven former Perot volunteers held a news conference in Washington today to accuse the Perot

campaign of having ordered illegal credit checks on them and of having forced them out of the campaign. They also told stories of high-handed tactics like being pressured to sign "loyalty oaths."

Mr. Perot has admitted investigating some of his volunteers, but only because he suspected wrongdoing. The participants provided documents showing they had been investigated but had no proof that Mr. Perot was directly involved.

"If someone has this tendency to investigate in a secret way," said Cliff Erneback, a former Perot coordinator in Ohio, "it conjures up the image of the secret police in communist Russia."

All or Nothing

Mr. Perot also continued his running feud with the news media today. The Texan was scheduled to be interviewed today on "Prime Time Live" and on Friday on "20/20". Since both shows are broadcast on ABC, the network's executives decided they might be giving Mr. Perot too much exposure. When they asked which show he would prefer to appear on, Mr. Perot told them that if he could not appear on both, he would appear on neither.

Mr. Mulford passed out printed materials indicating that while Mr. Perot has expended \$59.9 million, most of it

his own money, on his campaign through Wednesday that is only about a third of what the Republicans and Democratic campaigns have either received in contributions or spent.

According to Mr. Mulford, the President and Mr. Clinton have each received more than \$167 million in their contributions for their campaigns. Mr. Mulford's figures include the amount the two men received during the primaries, the amount the Perot campaign estimates the two parties spent during their conventions, Federal funds for the general election campaign, and money contributed by the Democratic and Republican parties to support their tickets.

It also includes "soft money" collected by the state parties and used to help elect the party's entire slate of candidates, including the President.

"The point here that we're making is that it's inaccurate to present the situation that Perot is spending more money than anybody else," Mr. Mulford said. "In fact, we are spending one-third of what the other candidates are."

Scott Moxley, a spokesman for the Federal Election Commission took issue with some of the Perot campaign's figures, saying Mr. Bush and the Republicans have received or spent about \$135.4 million and Mr. Clinton and the Democrats \$129.3 million.

For the Most Negative Ads, Turn On the Nearest Radio

By ELIZABETH KOLBERT

It's the Great Invisible Attack campaign.

Heading into the final days of the Presidential race, the Bush campaign is running a series of highly critical, carefully aimed radio advertisements designed to undermine Gov. Bill Clinton's support in key states. Over the weekend, when it will be almost impossible for the Clinton campaign to respond, the Bush campaign is planning to put more attack ads on the radio.

Far cheaper than television, radio advertising is also widely regarded as less effective. But radio, which receives far less press scrutiny than television, is often the medium that candidates use to deliver their most scathing — and sometimes misleading — critiques.

As the campaign moves toward the close, all three leading candidates — Mr. Clinton, President Bush and Ross Perot — are planning heavy advertising blitzes over the weekend on both radio and television.

On television, both the Clinton and the Bush campaigns are expected to continue broadcasting a mixture of positive and negative messages. But on radio the message is likely to be unremittingly downbeat.

'Hard-Hitting Attacks'

"Radio is a great medium for delivering hard-hitting attacks," said Darrell West, a professor of political science at Brown University who studies campaign advertising. "It's a risk-free type of advertising. You can be incredibly obnoxious without being blamed for it."

Many of the television ads that have been broadcast during the Presidential campaign have been based on information that could, at best, be called questionable. But it is on the radio that the truth has been treated the most casually.

Several of the Bush campaign's radio commercials are variations on a single theme — that Mr. Clinton will impose a tax on energy, a "carbon tax" that will drive up utility bills and cost jobs.

"He's said he's for change, but look at the change he's really talking about," says an ad running in states like Maine, Michigan, Maryland and Illinois. "An independent analysis says that Clinton-Gore radical environmental taxes will drive up our annual utility bills over \$350."

Great Leap In Logic

Mr. Clinton has not proposed a carbon tax, and aides to the Governor call the ads grossly misleading. But the Bush campaign says the commercials are justified because Mr. Clinton's running mate, Senator Al Gore, advocates such a tax in his best-selling book, "Earth in the Balance." Also, they note, the Governor himself has said that the nation's carbon dioxide emissions should be reduced, something, Bush aides insist in a leap of logic, that can be achieved only with a carbon tax.

"Governor Clinton has very specifically said he'll entertain the idea," said Bill Lacy, a senior political adviser to the Bush campaign.

Acting on the belief that any attack that goes unanswered is taken by voters to be true, the Clinton campaign has tried to reply to each of the Bush campaign's radio commercials within 24 hours. In their response ads, the Clinton campaign has tried to inoculate the Governor against future attacks as well by planting doubts about the President's credibility.

"It's the same old story: George Bush will say anything to get elected," says a Clinton radio commercial that, with minor adjustments, is running in several states. "He said so himself."

The commercial ends: "So the next time you hear a George Bush ad, ask yourself, isn't it time for a President who will fight for Americans' jobs?"

The most recent Bush radio ad, which is running in New Jersey as well as in several other states, purports to "examine the facts" about Governor Clinton's record on child welfare and on crime.

"If he can't care for children and keep the public safety in his own state," the ad asks, "how can he expect a promotion?"

The Clinton campaign has responded with an ad that says: "George Bush is at it again. Because he can't run on his own record, Bush is resorting to negative attacks against Bill Clinton."

Mr. Perot's radio ads do not mention either Mr. Bush or Mr. Clinton by name. Instead they offer the message of a pox on both your houses.

"Now here's an extreme case that just shows you how goofy things are in Washington," Mr. Perot says in one of his ads. "In order to find a Christmas tree, the White House decided it was necessary to send two people all the way to Oregon to look at the tree at taxpayers' expense. They are in the piggy bank that you and I created with our taxpayer money. We need to get 'em out."

New Bush Ads Planned

Yesterday, aides to the President would not say what new radio ads were planned for the weekend. But when a reporter asked whether such ads could be expected, Sig Rogich, who is coordinating the President's media campaign, said simply, "Yup." And because it is so difficult to respond to new ads over a weekend, when station offices are closed, the Clinton campaign is especially concerned about any last-minute attacks.

"Local radio is where the vilification and fear-mongering takes place," one adviser to Mr. Clinton said. The Clinton campaign has prepared several new radio ads, which aides to the Governor say they will broadcast, depending on what the Bush campaign has on radio.

To close its advertising campaign, the Clinton team is planning to air at least two new television commercials before Election Day. One is expected to continue the campaign's attacks on the President's economic record, while the other is supposed to be more positive, featuring either scenes from Clinton campaign bus trips or Mr. Clinton making a direct appeal to voters.

Yesterday the Clinton campaign began broadcasting a new television ad in Michigan and Ohio that describes how Japanese mini-vans that were labeled cars avoided import duties.

For its part, the Bush campaign has begun broadcasting two new television ads, one that features spooky black and white landscapes and attacks Mr. Clinton's record in Arkansas and another that touts Mr. Bush's qualifications for the nation's highest office.

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

Bush to Break With Tradition

Breaking with tradition, President Bush has decided not to broadcast an election eve appeal on any of the three major networks.

Gov. Bill Clinton and Ross Perot, in contrast, will uphold tradition. They will broadcast election eve appeals on all three networks.

Mr. Clinton has bought a half-hour — though not the same half-hour — on NBC, ABC and CBS, spending about \$2 million. Mr. Perot has purchased an hour on NBC and at a different time a half-hour each on CBS and ABC, for almost \$3 million.

Representatives of all three networks said that equal time had been offered to the President, but that he had declined it.

Tony Mitchell, a spokesman for the Bush campaign, said the President was forgoing the traditional election eve special because "we believe the advertising that we're doing is what we need at this point." But some political analysts said they believed the reason for the change is that the Bush campaign is low on money.

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

THE AD CAMPAIGN

Bush: TV Spot Harshly Denounces Clinton's Record

The Bush campaign began broadcasting this 30-second commercial Wednesday in unidentified markets around the country.

ON THE SCREEN Opens with gloomy black and white images of a rainy day, a deserted road, weeds rustling in the wind. Key phrases from the narration, and sources for the statistics, are superimposed over similarly depressing images. Closes with a tree and a buzzard in the desert and these words: "America Can't Take That Risk."

PRODUCER The November Company.

TELEVISION SCRIPT Announcer: "In his 12 years as Governor, Bill Clinton has doubled his state's debt. Doubled government spending and signed the largest tax increase in his state's history. Yet his state remains the 45th worst in which to work. The 45th worst for children. It has the worst environmental policy.

"And the F.B.I. says Arkansas had America's biggest increase in rate of serious crime. And now



Bill Clinton wants to do for America what he's done for Arkansas. America can't take that risk."

ACCURACY This ad is a case study in how accusations can be made and how facts can be used to bolster them or tear them down. The Bush campaign backs its accusations with statistics and cites its sources on the screen. The Clinton campaign refutes every accusation with its own statistics.

For example, while it is true that

Arkansas doubled government spending, most of that growth came from inflation. The Clinton campaign has also cited figures from the National Governors' Association showing that all but six states have doubled general spending since Mr. Clinton took office.

SCORECARD This ad takes facts out of context to paint Mr. Clinton as a governor who brought only misery to Arkansas. In reality, Mr. Clinton has been considered a better than average governor of a small, poor state. It tries to scare viewers into thinking that a Clinton administration would bring only gloom and doom to the whole country. In 30 seconds, the ad tries to hit Mr. Clinton on the hot-button issues of the environment, children, crime and taxes—all issues that Mr. Bush has been attacked on.

RICHARD L. BERKE

THE AD CAMPAIGN

Clinton: Issuing a Quick Response

Less than a day after the Bush campaign began broadcasting its commercial attacking Arkansas, the Clinton campaign produced this 30-second response, for broadcast in select markets beginning yesterday.

ON THE SCREEN Phrases appear that underscore the narration, like "Bush ads are misleading and wrong," and "Arkansas leads the nation in job growth." Beneath the words, in smaller type, appear sources for the phrases, like CBS, Bureau of Labor Statistics. Interspersed with the words are photographs of Gov. Bill Clinton at work in the Governor's office.

PRODUCER Clinton/Gore Creative Team.

TELEVISION SCRIPT Announcer: "CBS, CNN and newspapers across the country call George Bush's ads misleading and wrong. The fact is, under Bill Clinton's leadership Arkansas leads the nation in job growth, has the second-lowest tax burden and the lowest Government spending in the country.

"...[Bush] is lying...
about Bill Clinton's
record..."

Washington Post
Judy Mann, 8-26-92

"And he's balanced 12 budgets. They reduced infant mortality, and now have the highest graduation rate in the region. And in the past year, Arkansas's crime rate went down.

"No wonder The Washington Post says George Bush is lying about Bill Clinton's record, and why The Oregonian concluded, 'Frankly, we no longer trust George Bush.'"

ACCURACY While the Bush ad makers selectively used figures to attack Mr. Clinton's record, this ad selectively uses figures to

build up his record and makes assertions out of context. The Clinton ad says Arkansas leads the nation in job growth, but the Bush campaign cites figures showing that has been true for only the last three months. While Mr. Clinton balanced 12 budgets, he was required to by state law.

The ad uses many citations to lend it credibility but sometimes goes overboard. It was not the institution of The Washington Post that said Mr. Bush was lying, but Judy Mann, a local columnist.

SCORECARD This ad inundates viewers with documentation to try to lessen the impact of one of the Bush campaigns harshest attacks. The ad also tries to portray Mr. Clinton a successful Governor and the President as a man who cannot be trusted.

RICHARD L. BERKE

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

Invaders on Washington's Horizon, Republicans Grab Their Résumés

By MICHAEL WINES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29 — One of President Bush's top appointees, a man known more for competence than political zeal, recently got a telephone call dangling the prospect of new employment in January. Nothing odd about that; with Mr. Bush's re-election uncertain, many Republicans are furiously fielding job offers.

But this call stood out for its source: Bill Clinton's campaign staff. Already it was plucking at the carcass of the Bush regime more than a month before Election Day.

"They were probably testing my loyalty," the Bush official said, sounding both bitter and philosophic. "We did the same thing to Carter's people in '80."

Mr. Bush himself might call Washington Tension City these days. Not since Ronald Reagan pried the White House away from Jimmy Carter a dozen years ago have the final days of a Presidential election taken on such a Crockett-at-the-Alamo urgency.

Yes, polls show the race has tightened in the last few days, but that has not been enough to dispel the gloom that has been settling in for months. Republicans despair at finding their shining city on a hill — seat of the cold war triumph, gilded monument to a decade of prosperity — besieged by Mongols camped at the gates and hungrily awaiting capitulation. Democrats are savoring the giddiness of revolutionaries pulling down the statues in the town square.

Politics is not geometry, of course. Whatever Mr. Clinton's advisers hope in their hearts, his victory on Tuesday is so far but a statistical assumption, hedged by margins of error and the volatility of an electorate that has already exceeded its flash point more than once.

But a last-reel sense of finality pervades much of official Washington anyway, like a movie in which the outcome seems foreordained but the suspense still tingles.

Rumors, some based in fact, take flight almost hourly. A top Cabinet member is plotting his senatorial campaign. (True.) The Administration is renting space for Mr. Clinton's White House transition team. (True, but that happens in every election.) Washington fashion salons are dumping their inventories of Nancy Reagan-red and Barbara Bush-blue inaugural gowns for flashier Democratic fare. (False, says Lashea Green, salon buyer for Clare Dratch Inc., one trend-setting shop. She will head to Manhattan, to the Garment District, the morning after Election Day, but the gowns she buys have no ideological stripe, she says.)

Eight blocks from the White House, the traffic at Star Personnel Inc. does little to discourage that conclusion. "I'm handling a résumé for an assistant secretary right now," said Karen Hillian, the staffing manager there. The résumé-burnishing trade was slow through the Presidential debates, she said, then began to take off this week as mid-level Administration officials seriously began pondering the prospect of unemployment.

"The political appointees — from Cabinet members on down — have very, very discreetly expressed interest in new jobs," said Eric Vautour, a former personnel official in the Nixon Administration who now directs Russell Reynolds Associates, an executive-search concern in Washington. "They are stating a preference if, indeed, some client has an interest in their abilities. And they're asking that no meetings take place, and no paper be forwarded, till after the election."

Many are in for a discreet shock. The world outside the White House is not the one they left four, eight, even 12 years ago for the power and prestige of high public service. Since 1989, when Congress enacted a carrot-and-stick package of Federal pay increases and strict new ethics laws, Government salaries have catapulted past those in the private sector; six-figure bureaucratic jobs are now common. "A number of people will have to take cuts in pay to get a job," Mr. Vautour said.

When jobs exist, that is. Once, out-of-office Republicans could land safely in Congress; this time, Republicans fear

a Democratic landslide in legislative races that will cut the number of Capitol Hill jobs available to departing Administration officials. Nor does the private sector offer much hope.

"I probably have more talented executives on file than I've ever had in the 24 years I've been in the executive-search business," said Barbara Laumann, managing partner of Laumann and Associates, another Washington head-hunting concern. "It's a terrible market to be unemployed."

Booming Business In Résumé Polishing

"Be the first in the Democratic Party to have a copy of the new ELECTRONIC PLUM BOOK," screams a direct-mail flier that landed this week on desks around town. The Plum Book is the Federal version of the Social Register — a listing of the capital's most powerful jobs and, until now, the Republicans who occupy them. The new edition, the flyer confidently states, includes "over 8,600 Federal policy and supporting positions which will become available under the new President."

While Democrats Knock on Wood

Democrats want desperately to believe all this, but they will not let themselves.

"I was in a meeting yesterday of the National Jewish Democratic Council where people were explicitly admonished, whenever they said, 'When Clinton is elected,' to instead say, 'If Clinton is elected,'" said Stuart Eizenstat, a Washington lawyer, former domestic policy adviser to President Carter and member of the Democratic establishment-in-exile. "They were acting out of fear that somehow, someone was putting a hex on a party that's been star-crossed for so long."

Republicans know how close the precipice is. In mixed company, Administration officials maintain a determined cheeriness. "I don't have time to think about the future," a senior White House aide snapped. "I'm too busy getting this guy re-elected."

Others fend off gloom with dollops of black humor. "Basically, things are pretty steady," another White House aide said dryly of the progress of Mr. Bush's campaign. "Sixty percent of the people didn't want to re-elect him nine months ago, and 60 percent don't want to re-elect him today."

Among the true believers, pessimism remains a minority view. But longtime election-watchers have charted a bevy of leading indicators of political panic that do not bode well for the White House. Mid-level political appointees are postponing vacations, knowing they may well have plenty of free time after Jan. 20, 1992, and that the Government will pay them for time off that is not used. "There are a lot of people saving it up," one Administration official said.

More senior Bush aides, with grander ambitions, are discreetly asking reporters how much their book proposals might command in the publishing market, and which literary agents are best retained. (One top agent says the memoirs of the White House chief of staff, James A. Baker 3d, would be welcomed, but that the public appetite for many more Bush books in a Clinton Presidency would be at best limited. "The talk is, is there anyone else that's interesting now?" she said.)

Some political and policy advisers are beginning to resemble football fans who bolt the stadium when their team is hopelessly down, cursing the quarterback and telling all within earshot what they would have done differently.

Last month, for example, Washingtonians clucked knowingly when, in a Washington Post article, the President's budget director and fiscal strategist, Richard G. Darman, publicly blamed his boss's plight on Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady's economic advice and on the political "idiocy" of Mr. Bush himself.

Lately, other Bush aides prefer to sock it to the Bush-Quayle chairman, Robert M. Teeter, who they contend ran a BarcaLounger campaign when circumstances clamored for a Land Rover. They refer to "the Teeter principle," a snide allusion to the Peter principle, that every talented worker gets promoted, sooner or later, to a job beyond his or her abilities.

A Few Democrats Have Been There

Mr. Eizenstat recalls what it felt like in 1980.

"I don't think people who aren't part of an administration can understand it," he said. "It's not just a job you're losing. It's a sense of being part of a broader enterprise. You come into the job to get certain things done for the country, and you have a sick sense you're not going to be able to complete your mission — and, in fact, people are coming in with an entirely different agenda that you abhor."

"You can't understand why the country can't understand what you've done for the last four years, and why they're not rewarding you instead of punishing you."

Asked if he feels sympathy for Mr. Bush and his team, Mr. Eizenstat quickly responds: "Sure. For about one second."

Later he called back to say that his response had been unnecessarily harsh. "I recognize how difficult it is to face an impending loss when you're in the White House," he said, "but my sympathy tends to evaporate when I recognize how long they've been in

power and the need for change."

He is 36 years old, an East Coaster, excellent dresser. He is a lawyer, although, in the Washington way of things, he has never practiced law. Before entering this Government he lobbied for various foreign ones.

He is one of about 1,700 workers with the greatest stake in Mr. Bush's future. They are political appointees — "schedule C" employees, in bureaucratese — who got their jobs because they are loyal Republicans, and who will lose them if Mr. Clinton takes over. Like most of his colleagues, he is a bright, white, male graduate of a good school, one of those now in their 30's — the anointed managers of the Reagan Revolution, and presumably the future Republican aristocracy.

He works in a respectable, mid-level Cabinet office. The \$70,000-a-year salary is not what he had enjoyed as a lobbyist but enough to pay the mortgage on his tony Georgetown town house (hot tub on the patio, gourmet kitchen, a tiny wood-burning fireplace in the living room). He still buys suits at Hugo Boss; still makes the payments on his hunter-green Miata; he has even begun a wine collection.

The job has been a surprise. Bureaucrats actually work hard and wield great power. Amazingly, he found, he is a man of substance, flying around the world to tell foreigners in equally expensive suits what the United States of America wants of them. Ambassadors treat him with respect. Reporters call him looking for disclosures, and he

In late September, sipping a Frescobaldi Chianti Reserve in his kitchen, he said calmly that he assumed this was all going to go away. He spoke of the outlook:

"I don't see any way Bush can win at this point. I am making all my plans on the assumption of a Clinton landslide. It isn't just the economy or that people are mad at Bush. It's bigger. All of a

sudden it's like people are tired of us, of Republicans, of conservatism. It's cool to be a Democrat again. The excitement is with them now.

"The good thing is, it takes them a long time to get down to replacing people at my level. I certainly won't be fired on Jan. 21. I figure more like late March, maybe even April. And I will insist on being fired; I need the unemployment money."

He marveled at the novelty of it. "I am actually going to get a pink slip," he said. "It will actually be pink. I think I'll frame it."

In Highest Places There's Still Hope

But inside the besieged Bush camp, they are still shoring up the ramparts.

Most pundits say Mr. Clinton has already locked up more than the 270 electoral votes he needs to win on Tuesday. But in a handful of polls, Mr. Clinton's insurmountable lead has seemingly shriveled — to eight, then five, then two percentage points.

Mr. Bush, a soporific campaigner all

year, is suddenly his old spontaneous, slightly goofy, self, spitting fire on the stump. He calls Senator Gore "Ozone Man," and the name sticks. He rails at the northern spotted owl — "a feathery, fine-looking little bird," he says, "but I'm also worried about those 30,000 families that might be thrown out of work." His audience laughs, then cheers.

A senior official who often flies with Mr. Bush aboard Air Force One telephones a friend.

"You may think I'm crazy," he said, "but I think we can win this thing."

Time Bombs on the Supreme Court

Of all the time bombs that Presidents leave behind, none are more potentially explosive than their appointments to the Supreme Court. Considering the age of the present justices, the President elected next Tuesday is likely to make several appointments, and thus determine the character of the Court for a generation.

The candidates haven't much mentioned their views of the Court, but these are a crucial standard for thoughtful voters. If re-elected, George Bush says he would try to finish packing the Court against *Roe v. Wade*, the decision validating abortion rights, which four members say they want to strike down. Bill Clinton, by finding candidates he thinks will support a woman's choice, would halt that drive and turn it back.

No less important is a President's power to recast the trial and appellate courts. The Reagan and Bush appointees are overwhelmingly conservatives — and distressingly underrepresentative of minority and women lawyers.

The crusade to remake the Court stalled in 1987 when the Senate rejected the nomination of Robert Bork. Since then, the Senate's Democratic majority has forced the White House to avoid nominees who openly share his outspoken opposition to *Roe* — or, in the case of Justice Clarence Thomas, to prompt candidates to disguise their views long enough to get confirmed. If re-elected, President Bush might well overcome the Senate's resistance.

As Governor of Arkansas, Bill Clinton joined with other New South politicians who opposed the

Bork nomination. He argued that Mr. Bork threatened to "turn the clock back" to old battles over race and personal liberty that had frustrated the South's progress.

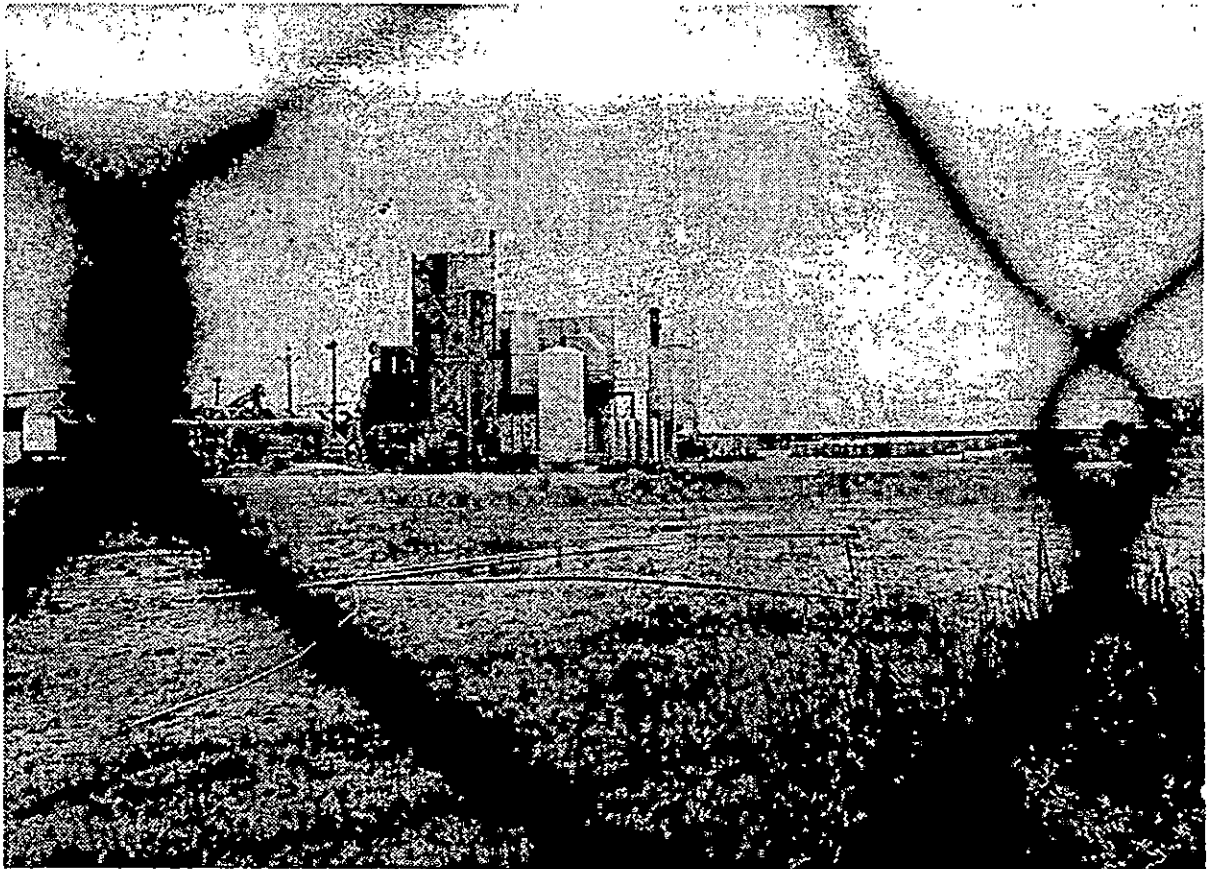
The stakes are even higher for the Court itself. Justices Sandra Day O'Connor and Anthony Kennedy, Reagan appointees, and David Souter, a Bush appointee, have held to the *Roe* decision, lest their Court be seen as the White House's political captive. In similar spirit they held firm against state-sponsored prayer in public schools.

Justices O'Connor and Kennedy have also held the line, at least temporarily, against further judicial rewriting of the Federal habeas corpus law protecting state prison inmates. Justice O'Connor felt the need to remind Justice Thomas that the Court's job (and, according to President Bush, his passion) is to interpret the statute Congress wrote, not to make by judicial means the changes some members of Congress had failed to enact.

Something wonderful is going on here. These three conservative lawyers, appointed by Presidents with a political agenda for transforming the Court, rally to defend its reputation, and by extension their own.

The Bush White House shows no compunction about pursuing a coarse political agenda, which is all the more reason to prize and praise the institutional restraint and respect of Justices O'Connor, Kennedy and Souter — and all the more reason to choose a President who respects the judicial branch enough to maintain its quality and independence.

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992



Alan S. Weiner for The New York Times

A Federal district judge has issued an order directing the state of Arkansas to halt incineration temporarily after Nov. 10 at the abandoned Vertac Chemi-

cal Company pesticide plant, above, in Jacksonville, Ark. The plant is one of the most contaminated toxic waste sites in the country.

Judge to Oversee Burning in Arkansas

By KEITH SCHNEIDER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29 — A Federal district judge in Arkansas today assumed control of the largest project ever undertaken in the United States to incinerate chemical wastes contaminated with dioxin.

The judge's order, responding to a lawsuit brought by Arkansas community groups and a Washington-based public interest law group, came as the incineration of the chemical wastes began today at the abandoned Vertac Chemical Company pesticide plant in Jacksonville, Ark., a city of 29,000 people 15 miles northeast of Little Rock.

Closely Watched Project

The old plant, which manufactured insecticides and defoliants from 1948 until it was closed in 1986, is one of the most contaminated toxic waste sites in the country, according to the Federal Environmental Protection Agency. Since 1979, when Federal and state investigators found dioxin in the soil and water in Jacksonville, Vertac's toxic wastes and what to do about them have been a source of considerable strife in the community and have dominated the attention of Gov. Bill Clinton and his environmental advisers.

On Tuesday the state announced that it had given final approval to a plan to burn nearly two million pounds of wastes from the manufacture of the Vietnam-era defoliant Agent Orange, which was contaminated with traces of dioxin. Dioxin, a byproduct of heating chlorine-based compounds, is regarded as dangerous, though precisely how dangerous is a matter of dispute among scientists.

The incineration project in Jacksonville is being closely watched by environmental groups, state officials and industry leaders across the country because cleanups of dozens of other toxic waste sites contaminated with dioxin could be accelerated or delayed, based on results from Vertac.

In his ruling today the judge, Stephen M. Reasoner, allowed the state to proceed with its original plan that calls for continuing the incineration of the dioxin-contaminated wastes through Saturday. Samples will then be collected from air-monitoring stations around the plant and sent to a laboratory for analysis.

Burning of the dioxin wastes is to resume on Nov. 9-10 for more environmental tests. The state plan called for evaluating all the results; if officials determined that levels of dioxin in the

atmosphere around the plant were below safety limits set by the environmental agency, the rest of the chemical wastes would be burned over the next two or three months.

Temporary Halt Ordered

But Judge Reasoner, responding to a lawsuit brought by Gregory Ferguson, a lawyer in Little Rock, and Mick Harrison of the Washington-based Government Accountability Project, issued an order directing the state to temporarily halt the incineration after Nov. 10 to give opponents time to also evaluate the test results.

The judge said he would hold a new hearing before deciding whether to allow the project to resume. He did not set a date for the hearing today.

Kenneth L. Smith, Governor Clinton's chief environmental adviser, said the order did not alter the state's plan. "We're perfectly comfortable with the ruling," he added.

Opponents said Judge Reasoner's order provided most of the protections they had sought. Mick Harrison, a lawyer with the Government Accountability Project, said state officials "are going to be allowed to do just enough testing to prove to the judge that it's too dangerous and that the project should be permanently shut down."

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

Bush's Remarks Hit Close to Home

By RONALD SMOTHERS

Special to The New York Times



SHIRLEY, Ark.,
Oct. 29 — Linda
Burgess at the
Hair Fashion
Beauty Shop said

she didn't "give a rip because its just politics." Watson I. Smith, a 79-year-old retired teacher, said it struck him as a "tad too mean-spirited."

And Everett Henderson, a farmer who warmed himself with his back to the pot-bellied stove in Privitt's Hardware store, said it reminded him of the "hillbilly put-downs" he and other Arkansans used to hear in the Army.

A little more than a week after President Bush spotlighted Arkansas's shortcomings in a Presidential debate and referred to the state as the "lowest of the low," feelings still run strong among many in this town of 354 in the foothills of the Ozark Mountains, where homes seem to hang from the sides of the roads.

Situated 75 miles northwest of Little Rock, Shirley is a place where the appellation "hillbilly" has ceased to be fighting words and become more of a marketing tool as in Bea Macke's "hillbilly pizza" at B & G's Bakery. ("It's a deep-dish affair with Parmesan, mozzarella and provolone cheeses," she said.) But many saw in the President's words an echo of the old negative stereotypes.

"He didn't use the word 'hillbilly,' but that's what a lot of us thought about when he said that," said Mayor John Clark Jr., a strong supporter of Gov. Bill Clinton, as he stood in the parking lot of Jones Grocery Store where farmers, retirees and others often gather for morning coffee. "It's

like he thinks we all left fresh, bare-foot footprints out in the parking lot."

The President's reference to the state as "the lowest of low" as he recounted its meager standing in areas like children's health, teachers' pay, education spending, working conditions and income, reverberated throughout Arkansas, making many people feel as if they had been cast

Where 'hillbilly put-downs' aren't funny.

adrift from the rest of the nation. It sent Republican candidates scrambling either to distance themselves from the comments or to try to clarify them as aimed more at policies than people.

But more than anything else, it struck at what Art English, a political science professor at the University of Arkansas, called the war between pride and a pervasive "inferiority complex" in the state. Arkansans are aware that they rank low in a number of categories, he and others noted, but also have a sense that they have done much with little and have come a long way in a very short time.

Betsey Wright, the research director of the Clinton campaign whose office prepared detailed responses challenging some of the President's comments, called them more of the effort to "divide us by race, age, gender and income" rather than bring people together.

"Bush doesn't know anything about rural people," said Mr. Smith. "He may be a smart man, but he's a dumb

politician for attacking the state and the character of the people here."

The schools in Shirley sit atop a hill that looks down on the valley where the middle fork of the Little Red River flows. The river marked the path of the old Missouri and North Arkansas Rail Road that ran between Joplin and West Helena on the Arkansas side of the Mississippi Delta. Shirley was founded in 1907 as a station along that line carrying timber between the two cities. It is named for the first stationmaster's daughter.

The 46-year-old Mr. Clark remembers the old clapboard schoolhouse that was too cold in winter and sweltering in spring. The building, due to be renovated, sits in stark relief to the sprawling one-story brick buildings of the high school and elementary school. All that came in the last 10 years, he said, when Governor Clinton and his wife, Hillary, "literally forced the state education system to help itself and become better."

Not everyone in town was offended by the President's remarks. Mrs. Macke, the co-owner of B & G's Bakery, said that it was all hot air and that she still intended to vote for Mr. Bush. Jo Reid, Ailene Smith and Alice Wiley, customers at the bakery from nearby Fairfield Bay, a retirement community of 2,500, said that among their neighbors Republicanism runs deeper than Arkansas chauvinism.

But others like Tom Kimmons, who runs a local development company, said President Bush's comments betrayed a certain condescension to rural people. "He made a fundamental error," said Mr. Kimmons. "He separated and excluded us and others like us. But we're Americans too."

Justice Dept. Is Criticized Over Environmental Cases

By JOHN H. CUSHMAN Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29 — Congressional Democrats and the Bush Administration are locked in a bitter dispute over the Justice Department's record in prosecuting environmental crimes.

In the latest salvo, a Congressional committee today made public a study asserting that Federal prosecutors have been blocked from bringing criminal charges against environmental offenders even when the evidence in the case seemed ironclad.

The study suggested that the prosecutors were being stymied for political reasons, an assertion it said was supported by off-the-record statements made by law-enforcement officials around the country.

The study was written for Representative Charles E. Schumer, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee's subcommittee on crime, by Jonathan Turley, a professor at George Washington University who teaches courses on environmental crime. He and his associates interviewed law-enforcement officials confidentially in preparing the report, Mr. Turley said.

'Greatest Impediment'

"The Department of Justice in the past has proven the greatest impediment to prosecution that these prosecutors have faced," he said in an interview on Wednesday.

Roger B. Clegg, Deputy Assistant Attorney General for environmental affairs, called the report "politically timed" and "a hatchet job."

The report's release comes as President Bush is seeking to defend his environmental record from Democratic critics, in part by issuing several new regulations governing pollution under the Clean Air Act. The report suggested that no matter what laws are enacted, the Justice Department and its environmental crime section are not aggressively prosecuting violations.

The Justice Department, in response to the study, today published its own statistics showing that there were a record 161 criminal indictments for environmental offenses in the fiscal year that ended Sept. 30, and a record \$163 million in criminal penalties. The figure for criminal penalties included \$125 million in a single case, the Exxon Valdez oil spill; the remaining \$38 million in penalties exceeded those assessed in any previous year.

Mr. Schumer, Democrat of New York, said he had been pressing the issue for nearly two years and that the report was not timed for the election.

'Level of Mistrust'

Several Congressional committees have recently held hearings into some of the cases examined in the report, and much of the case histories the report cites came from these hearings, not from original research.

But Federal prosecutors did not appear at those hearings. Mr. Schumer said he planned to subpoena them to appear before his committee.

The report said a "serious problem exists" between the Justice Department and its various United States Attorneys' offices. "The level of mistrust running from the assistant U.S. Attorneys to the environmental crime section is palpable," it said.

The report singled out for criticism several former and current Justice Department officials, including Neil Cartusciello, the chief of the environmental crime section. It said that Mr. Cartusciello repeatedly interfered with prosecutions of environmental crimes.

'Political Hatchet Job'

In an interview, Mr. Cartusciello and Mr. Clegg excoriated the report as being grossly unfair, saying that its author had never contacted them and that there were many factual errors on crucial points.

"This is an obviously political hatchet job commissioned by a liberal Democratic Congressman and written by a

A study suggests politics is impeding prosecutions.

junior professor," Mr. Clegg said. "The report, I think, was not intended to be fair. It is completely inaccurate. It was written by law students supervised by a junior law professor. None of these individuals appear to have any prosecutorial experience."

Although they conceded that at times prosecutors in the field disagree with supervisors over whether to bring cases to trial, Mr. Clegg said that during Mr. Cartusciello's tenure there was "no case, no case," in which the ultimate decision caused "any disagreement between the U.S. Attorney's office and us."

Prosecutors and other law-enforcement officials declined to be interviewed on the record. United States attorneys and their assistants, who prosecute cases in the field, are employees of the Justice Department and could be disciplined for breaking ranks with the department.

The report said staff members of the Environmental Protection Agency have complained that the Justice Department has been "an impediment to prosecution" and that assistant United States attorneys "can point to a clear pattern" of "interference with environmental prosecutions."

Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

Living With Lies

At the end of what has seemed an interminable campaign, we are left with a question of character: How does George Bush live with the knowledge of his disregard for truth in politics?

Even to ask the question may seem naïve, so cynical have we become about politicians. They all lie, many would say, so why should we expect President Bush's conscience to be troubled?

Yes, but. It is right to be skeptical about politicians, but surely there is a level of brazen falsehood that they should be ashamed to breach.

That point was passed by Mr. Bush when as Vice President he was interviewed by David Broder of The Washington Post on Aug. 5, 1987. Mr. Broder asked about his role in the Iran-contra affair. Mr. Bush answered at length that he was not informed about it until after it ended. "We were not in the loop," he said.

There is now a mountain of evidence that Mr. Bush was fully informed about the shipment of arms to Iran in return for the release of hostages. He was briefed by both American and Israeli intelligence. He may even have had an important operational role.

Yet he goes on denying all. How

Is there no
level of
falsehood that
Bush hesitates
to breach?

does he meet the eyes of David Broder, a man of honor? How does he live with himself?

Then there is Iraq. For years Mr. Bush boosted Saddam Hussein. Despite repeated warnings that Iraq was acquiring weapons of terror, he approved huge loan guarantees. Even when Iraqi troops massed on Kuwait's border, he said nothing. Then when Saddam Hussein attacked, Mr. Bush suddenly discovered that he was "worse than Hitler."

On talk shows now, when he is asked about the cover-up of the financing of Iraq, the President says he was just trying to bring Iraq "into the family of nations" — and alas, the policy didn't work. The hosts do not know enough to press him on why he said nothing when Saddam Hussein massed his troops, why he did not act when warned of the arms buildup or why he continues to shield the financial maneuverers today.

Cynicism has characterized Mr. Bush's career in politics for a long time. He opposed civil rights laws when he thought that position would advance him in Texas, then switched. He was for abortion, then against. He ridiculed what he called Ronald Reagan's "voodoo economics," then became a fervent advocate of same.

Truth has been a frequent casualty in his campaigns. In 1988 he used a picture of a waste dump elsewhere to illustrate a television ad about Boston Harbor. This time the false advertising has been wholesale.

A Bush radio ad said that Bill Clinton favored "radical environmental taxes" on fuel. Governor Clinton has not advocated any such tax.

Another advertisement on the radio began with a farmer saying he would "like to plant a crop of corn, please." A voice replies: "I'm sorry, sir, the Clinton-Gore Land Management Directorate has classified your farm as a wetland. ... you're delinquent on the new Clinton-Gore farm operations taxes." No such tax or program has been proposed by the Democratic candidates.

The main thrust of the entire Bush campaign this year has been negative: a series of efforts to smear Governor Clinton. Mr. Bush insinuated that there was something sinister in a trip Mr. Clinton made to Moscow as a young man. Political types from the State Department rummaged through Mr. Clinton's passport files — and his mother's. Mr. Bush said Governor Clinton had written a letter condemning all the U.S. military "as immoral." There was no such letter.

Do the smears work? Analysts and poll takers say the public is less likely to believe such attacks today. But they have worked in the past, and we cannot really be sure that lies have no effect.

Some people have asked me why George Bush did not run as the President this year: with dignity, as Gerald Ford did in 1976, almost winning against the odds. The answer is that that has never been his style. He is by instinct a negative campaigner.

George Bush is, and so is his handler, James A. Baker 3d. Mr. Baker is the invisible man, avoiding responsibility for this slimy campaign. But he was the manager when Willie Horton and the fake Boston Harbor flourished in 1988, and he is in charge now. The hands may be the hands of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob. □

On My Mind

A. M. ROSENTHAL

It's the Economy, Stupid

Now that the campaign is almost over, the country owes the candidates gratitude for what Americans want so much — a vacation from the realities of national life.

That might seem a crabby thought — after all those months when the candidates kept lecturing the country about the economy.

"The economy, stupid," reads the sign in the office of Bill Clinton's campaign strategist. President Bush is boiling down the whole election to two words: trust and taxes. Ross Perot managed to do it in one — deficit.

The attitude surveys convinced candidates that all that Americans cared about was the economy and how it translated into jobs. Ignore that and lose.

The surveys were probably right. So given the choice of lead, follow or get out of the way, the candidates trotted right behind the polls.

But something strange happened — all the virtuous talk and position papers on the economy had a smothering, flattening-out effect on American reality and the American memory. It homogenized the very problems that a sturdier economy was supposed to cure. That allowed them to be comfortably diminished in our mind, priorities and conscience.

In April, when Los Angeles was burning, the country, in shock, literally prayed that this time our "leaders" would pay attention and do something, do something.

But look what happened, lame-brain: by summer Los Angeles was getting footnote political attention, barely.

Los Angeles was the result of economic and racial rage. Nonsense — Los Angeles was the work of lawless hooligans looking for an excuse to riot. No — Los Angeles was the result of both.

Take your pick. But one thing is sure — everything that made for the Los Angeles riot still exists in cities around the country.

The mesmerized focus on broad-issue economics blunted the needle of national awareness that emergency social and law-enforcement action was imperative. That is dangerous.

Incidentally, whatever happened to the matter of racial tensions? Democrats are pushing race relations into the background because they do not want Jesse Jackson in the foreground. Republicans don't see political capital in talking about it at all. Mr. Perot is still recovering from the discovery that "you people" is not the way African-Americans prefer to be addressed.

Drugs, crime, a paralyzed justice system: candidates do put out some position papers. They don't get much attention, because they do not convey the horror.

Did anything from the candidates show they understood what "urban affairs" now means? What it is like to live in a neighborhood controlled by drug mobs and know they kill at whim or at random? Or where parents take their kids out of school to try to keep them from being shot down in the streets outside?

And which candidate or which posi-

Yes sir,
but
whose?

tion paper dealt with men and women with broken minds living, wandering and defecating in the streets?

The political professionals pound it into our heads that the rest of the world matters zero in this campaign — no clout in surveys at all. Still, it is hard to believe that Americans really don't care whether the next Presidency would try to prevent Bosnians from being murdered or Somali children from walking about with swollen bellies, just because Bosnians and Somalis don't create jobs, except for foreign grave diggers.

Unpleasantly specific truths are not ignored — just smoothed down, made less scary, by over-generalized economy talk. We are told repeatedly that unemployment is about 7.5 percent — but rarely that it is at least triple that for teen-agers in ghettos.

The candidates explain that strengthening the whole economy will help us find money to deal with drugs, crime, violence, maybe even a few Bosnians and Somalis.

That's nice. But the candidates should explain something else. How do other democracies manage to have cleaner streets, safer neighborhoods and safer banks, less drugs, no guns, better medical insurance, fewer wreckages of tenements and people, without waiting until the complete grand, overall, very macro, big-picture economic problem is settled, by some unspecified superstrategy?

Maybe Presidential candidates will find out. Maybe they will think city, town and neighborhood economics, as well as national.

When? In 1996, stupid. □

Bush Remains the Favorite Among Executives

By THOMAS C. HAYES

President Bush might have been trailing Gov. Bill Clinton in the opinion polls since midsummer, but like most Republicans in past campaigns for the White House, the President seems to have held a commanding lead among American business executives.

A Fortune magazine poll of 184 chief executives taken in July after Ross Perot withdrew from the race showed President Bush favored by 85 percent, with just 9 percent for Governor Clinton. Such samplings have limited statistical validity, but a fax poll conducted last week of 219 small-business owners by Ernst & Young, the accounting concern, showed that 51 percent planned to vote for President Bush, with 18 percent for Mr. Perot and 15 percent for Governor Clinton.

W. R. Timken Jr., chairman of the Timken Company, a manufacturer of roller bearings and specialty steel products based in Canton, Ohio, said business leaders in Ohio were "overwhelmingly for President Bush." Mr. Timken is the state's fund-raising chairman for the President, and he accompanied Mr. Bush Wednesday on his speaking tour of Ohio.

Many executives and small-business owners interviewed this week said the President was the candidate most likely to follow a set of policies that would keep taxes and interest rates in check, restrain the Federal debt and the surge in health-care costs, and nudge the economy toward a broader recovery.

Yet several said they were concerned that the President had lost precious time by underselling to voters many of his first-term accomplishments, as well as his plans to put more focus on domestic problems, especially the economy, during his second term.

Gilbert F. Amelio, president and chief executive of the National Semiconductor Corporation, in Santa Clara, Calif., said he was surprised in the last few months to discover how much work White House officials had completed on high-technology policy plans for a second term.

While some Republican executives, like John

Sculley, chairman of Apple Computer Inc., and John A. Young, chief executive of the Hewlett-Packard Company, are backing Governor Clinton because of his promise to promote America's technology sector, Dr. Amelio is part of the San Francisco Bay Area technology leadership that remains behind Mr. Bush.

"I was surprised that the President had not seized the opportunity to counteract more rapidly what Clinton was doing" in Silicon Valley, he said.

At an Oct. 15 news conference in Santa Clara organized by the Bush-Quayle '92 campaign, Dr. Amelio said the Bush trade policies had

The candidate who's for what business wants on taxes, interest rates and the Federal deficit.

helped American chip makers double their share of Japanese chip orders, to 16 percent, adding 25,000 jobs in the United States economy since 1986.

Likewise, Paul H. O'Neill, chairman and chief executive of Alcoa Inc. in Pittsburgh and head of a White House advisory group on education, said the President had not received or asked for much praise for setting ambitious education goals and stirring action at local levels.

"It was an historic achievement, but nobody's paying any attention to it," said Mr. O'Neill, a senior White House budget official in the Nixon and Ford Administrations. "Once in a while, one hears Bill Clinton say how he contributed and that President Bush gave him credit for it, which is true. But it was all under the President's leadership. There is a lot going on, but he has not done a good job of articulating the importance of what he accomplished."

Few pro-Bush executives fix much blame on Mr. Bush for the weak economy, since he entered the White House in 1989. Robert W. Galvin, chairman of the executive committee and former chief executive of Motorola Inc., said that the heavy debt loads and the real-estate bust that followed the boom times of the 1980's were created by business leaders themselves rather than by tax policy or the deregulation of banks that stimulated lending.

"Unless a President were a dictator, and we don't want that in this society, he couldn't have stopped my peers from making all the dumb moves in the 80's that sucked the strength out of the economy," Mr. Galvin said. "Frankly, I don't think Presidents have all that much to do with how an economy goes."

David Packard, the 80-year-old billionaire and chairman of Hewlett-Packard, agrees that the President's power is limited in the face of an increasingly global economy.

"President Bush has really been a victim of the condition of the world economy," he said in an interview. "That makes it difficult in this election because not many people understand that."

"My view is that the President's experience, his relationships with other countries is very important. The proposals Clinton is making are not realistic. He probably won't be able to do what he plans to do, and things may become even worse if he does. Perot is pretty much out of it."

Data Buoy Hopes

Several executives said their hopes for an improving economy were buoyed Wednesday by the Commerce Department report that the economy grew at a rate of 2.7 percent in the third quarter.

"We asked American corporations to become leaner and more competitive, and I think they've done that," said Donald B. Marron, chairman and chief executive of the Paine

Continued on Page D9

Bush Favored by Executives

Continued From First Business Page

Webber Group. "We asked American individuals to go from being spenders to savers. And they are doing that."

Both trends, he said, would eventually make the economy stronger, but have dampened growth during the Bush Administration by adding to unemployment and slowing consumer spending. If taxes were raised under a Clinton Presidency, Mr. Marron added, "it would be a further drag on the economy."

Betty Hardle, majority owner and chief executive of Good Value Homes, which builds 200 to 300 homes a year in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area, said she would vote again for the President, though reluctantly.

"I had hoped that he would be a more forceful leader somehow," she said. "The No. 1 issue is building an economy that creates jobs. I'm tempted to say that a little Government spending would help. But over a longer picture, I'm not so sure."

Small-Business Incentives

James I. Milner, owner of an electrical construction and engineering company in Lexington, Ky., said President Bush had the best position of the three candidates for improving tax incentives for small businesses like his, with its 225 employees.

Many of these Bush supporters said the Democratic majority in Congress and the Republican White House were both to blame for the heavy spending that have helped cause the Federal debt to more than double, to nearly \$4 trillion, since President Ronald Reagan took office

in 1981.

Mr. O'Neill struck a common theme, saying that because President Bush could not be elected for a third term in 1996, he would be free to act aggressively to limit spending. He added that he hoped the President would disregard conventional Washington advice and talk frankly about the perils of the mounting Federal debt.

"I'd like to believe that the American people are willing to do something serious about the deficit," Mr. O'Neill said. "That means reducing their time at the pig trough, or ponying up some more taxes. The world is picking up its pace, and we're going to lose ground unless we solve some of these problems."

Policies and Jobs

A study of economic policies advocated by the Bush, Clinton and Perot camps sponsored by the National Center for Policy Analysis concluded last week that the Bush plan would add 602,000 jobs to the domestic economy by 1996 as low interest rates stimulate economic growth.

The Clinton program would cut nearly a million jobs during the same period; 335,000 jobs would be lost under the Perot plan, said the privately financed research center. The organization, based in Dallas, studies Federal tax policies.

The center added that economic proposals embraced by Edmund P. Brown Jr., the former Governor of California and an unsuccessful Democratic candidate for President this year, would have created 2.4 million jobs — the most of any plan offered by this year's candidates.

COLUMN LEFT/
MARTIN MAYER

Turning the Wheels for a Better Deal

■ Workers mistrust government, sensing that it regards them as disposable servants.

In 1911, on the occasion of a strike in England, the Catholic populist G.K. Chesterton wrote a bit of doggerel verse about King Dives walking in his garden in an unfamiliar silence. Dives wondered why the machinery of the mills had stopped, and heard a chorus of voices from beneath the ground:

Call upon the wheels, master, call upon the wheels;

We are taking rest, master, finding how it feels,

Strict the law of thine and mine: theft we ever shun—

All the wheels are thine, master—tell the wheels to run!

The verse comes to my mind whenever I hear some panjandrum of the Treasury or governor of the Federal Reserve—or, indeed, President of the United States—wondering why Americans don't feel any confidence in the economy. They lack confidence because they feel that nobody is taking care of them.

In the last dozen years of emphasis on the "supply side," Americans have learned that their government sees them as servants, sometimes superfluous servants, of the wheels. They hear the bells tolling for the 30,000 layoffs at IBM, the closing of Willow Run, the restructurings at the banks, and they understand that these bells toll for them. King Dives tells them to return to the stores, to shop till they drop, to turn the wheels again—but they have other things on their minds.

A few months ago, the chairman of General Motors told an appreciative audience of institutional shareholders that his exclusive goal was going to be the profitability of the enterprise. Not the performance of the work force or the quality of the product or the satisfaction of the consumers or the reputation of the brand—just the profitability of the company, quarter by quarter. To that end, one closes factories, freezes salaries, reduces medical coverage, out-sources parts to get the cheapest stuff to put in the cars—and writes pink slips wherever possible. The market loved the speech, and the price of GM stock quickly rose by 40%. But such actions do not build confidence. When the market rewards the management that reduces the head count, the heads get nervous, and exhortation doesn't cheer them up.

More than a century ago, watching a similar quest for international "competi-

tiveness" in a time of falling asset prices, Karl Marx posited an "iron law of capitalism" that would lead to the "immiseration" of the work force. It was the genius of America—the reason ours became the American century—that America proved him wrong. But for the last 20 years, their noses pressed against computer screens, the economists in our business schools have been trying to prove him right.

One of the functions of government in the United States has been to persuade enterprise that its constituency is wider than just the entrepreneurs. We promoted collective bargaining to remind management that workers are partners in production. We forbade deceptive advertising to give consumers confidence that what they saw bore a reasonable resemblance to what they got. We limited the emissions of smokestacks and controlled the flow of effluent into our rivers to make manufacturers better neighbors.

The question about taxes, surely, is not whether they are high or low but whether the community gets its money's worth from paying them. Taxes much diminished from what we now pay would still be a rip-off as the price of the government President Bush would like to give us. On the other hand, it isn't impossible—unlikely, but not impossible—that a Clinton or a Perot presidency would renew good feeling about government and the country, and about what good government can do for the country. If Americans began to feel once again that the government they elect is on their side, government might be a bargain even at the price of additional taxes.

"The fundamental function of the law," McGeorge Bundy once said, "is to prevent the natural unfairness of society from becoming intolerable." For a quarter of a century, we have had federal governments that believe unfairness is perfectly OK so long as you can make out any kind of a case that it's natural.

An ever-increasing proportion of the population feels the unfairness of government and behaves accordingly. The wheels jam. The roots of this recession, in other words, are profoundly political, and only a political change will get us out of it.

Martin Mayer, a New York-based business writer, is the author of "The Greatest Ever Bank Robbery: The Collapse of the Savings & Loan Industry." (Macmillan, 1990).

'If Americans began to feel once again that the government they elect is on their side, government might be a bargain even at the price of additional taxes.'

U.S. Treasurer Target of FBI Investigation

By RONALD J. OSTROW
and ERIC HARRISON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The FBI is investigating U.S. Treasurer Catalina Vasquez Villalpando, one of the Bush Administration's highest-ranking Latinos, for allegedly violating federal statutes by accepting travel, lodging and possibly other benefits from a private company, sources close to the inquiry said Thursday.

FBI agents searched four buildings in the Washington area and one in suburban Atlanta on Thursday.

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PROBE: Treasurer Is Targeted by FBI

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Wednesday, reportedly seizing bank records, computer files and boxes full of papers.

The Atlanta location was the office of Communications International Inc., of which Villalpando was a senior vice president and partner. The company also has offices in Washington and Los Angeles.

Villalpando, 52, could not be reached for comment Thursday night. She was appointed U.S. Treasurer by Bush in 1989 after serving eight years in a variety of posts in the Ronald Reagan Administration. She is past chairman of the Republican National Hispanic Assembly and, as treasurer, oversees operations of the U.S. mint.

Although the investigation focuses on favors that she allegedly accepted from Communications International, the search warrants listed a wide range of serious crimes, according to sources familiar with the inquiry. They include bribery, conspiracy to defraud the government, making false or fraudulent claims, racketeering, making false statements to federal agents and fraud by wire, radio or television.

The search warrants were issued on the basis of affidavits that detailed the alleged criminal conduct but were sealed by federal courts. Villalpando is the central figure in the investigation, although other individuals are also believed to be involved, sources close to the matter said.

Asked about the investigation late Thursday, a Justice Department spokesman said: "We just can't comment at all."

Villalpando, whose signature appears on dollar bills, was at the

center of controversy in the presidential campaign in August because she characterized Democratic nominee Bill Clinton and former San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros, who is campaigning for Clinton, as "two skirt-chasers."

She and President Bush quickly apologized for the remark. But a top Clinton aide, campaign communications director George Stephanopoulos, called for her dismissal by Bush.

Communications International, whose current relationship with Villalpando could not be immediately determined, reportedly provided the telephone hookup that permitted U.S. forces involved in the 1991 Persian Gulf War to talk to relatives in the United States.

An Atlanta television station, ABC-affiliate WSB-TV, reported Thursday that agents searched the Communications International office there until midnight Wednesday before leaving with a rental truck filled with items that had been seized.

Joseph Profit, founder of the company, told the station that federal authorities advised him he was not a subject of the investigation. "They told me we were witnesses" and would be asked to provide information.

Profit, a former player for the Atlanta Falcons in the National Football League, also said that he found the timing of the raid suspicious because it came a week before the elections. However, political motivation seems unlikely since the investigation is being carried out under a Republican administration.

Ostrow reported from Washington and Harrison from Atlanta.

Outcome Likely to Shape Future of Supreme Court

■ **Courts:** Retirements would create opportunities, and names of potential nominees are on the minds of Democrats and Republicans.

By DAVID G. SAVAGE
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—For the last 25 years, Republican presidents have appointed every new justice to the U.S. Supreme Court.

As a result of their long domination of the White House, Republicans from Richard M. Nixon through George Bush have created a high court that is sympathetic toward government power and skeptical about claims of individual rights. Four of the nine justices said in June, for instance, that they would vote to overturn the right to choose abortion—meaning if just one more justice agrees with them, the landmark *Roe vs. Wade* decision will be reversed.

If Bush is reelected, by 1996 all nine justices would likely be conservative Republican appointees.

With one or two appointments, however, a President Bill Clinton could push the court back toward the ideological middle. The opportunity could come if two justices follow through on hints they might soon retire.

One, Justice Harry A. Blackmun, a moderate liberal who wrote *Roe*, turns 84 next month. The other, Justice Byron R. White, 75, the lone remaining Democratic appointee, is often aligned with the court's conservative wing; he was one of the four justices who declared he would reverse the abortion-rights decision.

For the record, Clinton's aides say it is premature to talk about any nominees. Clinton has not been elected and no Supreme Court justice has announced plans to retire, they note.

But with the Arkansas governor holding a lead in the polls, liberal legal activists and some Clinton advisers have been quietly trading names of potential nominees.

They say Clinton would stress quality and achievement, rather than ideology. But he has warned that abortion rights are hanging by a thread and has said his nominees would support *Roe*. Later, he said simply that they would support a right to privacy, which was the basis for *Roe*.

Clinton's nominees would likely be older and more established in their professions than recent Republican choices and may well have served in other public posts.

The Reagan and Bush administrations often sought out young, academically oriented lawyers for key judgeships, ignoring older and better-known Republicans.

Independent candidate Ross Perot's campaign manager, Orson Swindle, said the Texas billionaire has not addressed the issue of appointing Supreme Court justices.

Duke University Law Professor Walter Dellinger, a Clinton adviser, noted that prior to 1970, a typical Supreme Court nominee had decades of legal experience as well as some national prominence.

"[Oliver Wendell] Holmes, [Louis D.] Brandeis and Lewis F. Powell were in their 60s when they were appointed to the court," Dellinger noted. By contrast, Ronald Reagan chose Douglas Ginsburg, 41, who subsequently withdrew. Bush selected David H. Souter, 50, and Clarence Thomas, 43.

The most often named potential Clinton nominees include such nationally known politicians as New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo; Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Me.), a former federal judge;

Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman (D-Conn.), a former state attorney general and friend of the Clintons; and Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.), a member of the Judiciary Committee.

Also on the list are prominent law professors such as Harvard University's Laurence H. Tribe and a nationally recognized children's-rights advocate and former civil rights attorney, Marian Wright Edelman.

Another frequently mentioned name is that of a relatively obscure but highly regarded black jurist, Amalya L. Kearse, 55, who has compiled a moderate, pro-business record on the U.S. 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals in New York.

The list also includes U.S. appeals court Judge Richard S. Arnold, 56, of Little Rock, Ark., a Clinton friend; U.S. appeals court Judge Stephanie Seymour of Tulsa, Okla., and former Columbia University Law School Dean Barbara Aronstein Black, 59.

But the name that has gained the most attention is Cuomo's.

In June, during the taping of a cable-TV music program, Clinton cited Cuomo as someone who would be a "good Supreme Court justice." But in later appearances, Clinton edged away from the New York governor, saying he had not intended to make a "commitment. . . I said he's the sort of person I think would be a good justice."

In TV ads and in recent speeches, Bush has derided Cuomo, a fierce foe of the death penalty, as typical of the soft-on-crime judges picked by liberal presidents.

"We must not go back to appointing judges to the court who oppose anti-crime measures, who oppose the death penalty for these most heinous of crimes," Bush told a police chiefs meeting in Detroit on Sunday.

But Democratic activists say it is wrong to assume that Cuomo would be nominated. "I think it's not very likely" Cuomo would be named to the high court, said one activist with ties to the Clinton campaign. "There would be too much of a political cost."

Clinton came to the governorship of Arkansas with a strong legal background. Both he and his wife, Hillary, graduated from Yale Law School. He taught constitutional law at the University of Arkansas and served as the state's attorney general; she became a prominent attorney in Little Rock.

But unlike many governors, Clinton has made little impact on the state's courts because judges there are elected, not appointed.

Bush's first high-court appointee, Souter, has proved to be a moderate conservative. Bush's second one, Thomas, has aligned himself with the court's right wing.

Who would Bush appoint in a second term? The names most often cited by Administration officials and GOP activists are U.S. Solicitor Gen. Kenneth W. Starr, U.S. appeals court Judge Frank Easterbrook of Chicago, and U.S. Trade Representative Carla Anderson Hills.

As the government's top attorney before the Supreme Court, Starr has made both friends and enemies. He is affable and highly capable as an advocate, but he has pressed the court to overturn *Roe*, the abortion-rights decision, a position that could spell trouble if he needed confirmation from a Democratically controlled Senate.

Jackson Hopes for Pay-Back From Campaign

■ **Democrats:** The civil rights leader is working to pile up IOUs. If victorious, Clinton camp says, requests will be carefully considered.

By JACK NELSON
TIMES WASHINGTON BUREAU CHIEF

WASHINGTON—Bill Clinton's campaign, after months of treating the Rev. Jesse Jackson as though he were radioactive, is now counting on the civil rights leader to spur a big turnout of young and minority voters that could be crucial for the Democratic ticket in a tightening presidential race.

And Jackson, who for months carried on a semi-public quarrel with Clinton over the extent of his commitment to helping minorities, is now laboring quietly to pile up what he hopes will become valuable IOUs owed to him by a Clinton White House if the Arkansas governor wins Tuesday.

Democratic officials acknowledge that any requests or proposals Jackson makes after the election will get careful consideration.

Jackson's present low-profile efforts mark a sharp change from 1984 and 1988, when he insisted on obtaining highly visible commitments from the Democratic nominees after his own bids for the party's presidential nomination fell short. Those commitments were seen by many strategists as harmful to former Vice President Walter F. Mondale and then-Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis in their quests for the White House.

Clinton made clear from the outset that he intended to avoid what he saw as their mistakes. Jackson decided this fall to halt his public sparring with the Democratic nominee, lick his wounds in private and try

to put a future Clinton Administration in his debt.

George Stephanopoulos, Clinton's communications director, this week called Jackson's activities "critically important" to the campaign and said they should help spur a big voter turnout. Jackson, he said, is "pragmatic, a real pro" who understands the importance of a Democratic victory after 12 years of Republican rule.

"Jesse's doing a great, untold job for the campaign and drawing crowds of 5,000 and 10,000 wherever he goes," said David Wilhelm, Clinton's campaign manager.

Jackson has followed a hectic pace in campaigning in more than 30 states since mid-September when he and his private organization, the Rainbow Coalition, reached an agreement with the Democratic National Committee and the Clinton campaign to undertake a nationwide voter registration drive under their auspices. His campaigning has been publicized in states where he has traveled, but has gotten scant notice elsewhere.

Although still bitter about being shunted aside by Clinton, Jackson said in an interview that he will discuss differences over campaign tactics and policy priorities with the Arkansas governor after the November election.

The campaign "is not about Gov. Clinton's tactics, we can address that after the election," he said. "It is about beating George Bush and electing Bill Clinton."

Jackson, 51, had expected to play a more prominent role in the Clinton campaign. But Clinton's tactics have been to deal with

the civil rights leader at arm's length for fear that associating with him too closely would be controversial and perhaps counterproductive, especially in the South where white voters in recent presidential elections have voted overwhelmingly for the Republican nominee.

Clinton's decision has resulted in several awkward joint appearances with Jackson, including one at the annual Black Family Reunion held on the Washington Monument grounds in mid-September. At that event, Clinton started to leave the stage after addressing the crowd when Jackson handed him a Rainbow Coalition T-shirt and directed him back to the podium to announce the registration drive Jackson was about to begin.

The governor, although apparently taken aback by Jackson's maneuver, told the crowd that Jackson would "go around the country and try to galvanize every person in this country who isn't registered and tell them their vote counts just as much as the rest of us."

While their relations have remained cool, Clinton aides say the governor and Jackson have been conferring periodically on the telephone.

Chairman Ronald H. Brown of the Democratic National Committee, who managed Jackson's 1988 campaign and now serves as a frequent go-between for the two men, said he believes Clinton and Jackson will resolve whatever policy differences they have after the election. Except for Jackson wanting to put higher priority on spending for social programs, Brown said, he sees no serious policy differences between them.

"I know that nobody has worked harder to register voters, to motivate and inspire voters to come and vote for the Democratic ticket and for Clinton than Jesse Jackson,"

Brown declared. "He's cut all kinds of radio ads, traveled throughout the country, and is a very positive force."

Jackson, who is campaigning in a plane provided by the Democratic National Committee, is believed to have been especially effective in areas of the South and Southwest where there are large minority populations and many minorities are running for congressional seats. But he also has campaigned heavily in other regions of the country and has attracted large audiences on college campuses, where Democrats say he has stimulated increases in voter registration.

After campaigning Sunday and Monday in Texas, where he addressed large audiences and led throngs of voters to the polls to vote in pre-Election Day balloting, Jackson said he believes the new Congress will include "about 40 African-Americans, 20 Hispanics and two Native Americans."

The relatively large number of minority candidates running in such states as North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi and Texas, he said, should bring out a large minority vote for Clinton. "Those candidates are pulling their own weight and pushing the vote for the Democratic ticket," he said.

Although expressing confidence that Clinton will win, Jackson worries that political analysts will attribute a Democratic victory, at least in part, to the tactic of keeping him at an arm's length.

"The reason that Clinton will win," Jackson asserted, "is not his tactics. It is the economy and the fact that urban, suburban and rural America have a common economic goal. There is a tidal wave of hope and Clinton's riding that wave."

The Importance of Being Responsible

Tuesday's vote is too crucial to be influenced by unnecessarily early network projections

Are Americans taking a renewed healthy interest in how they're governed, and by whom? Voter registration figures nationwide suggest that a surprisingly large number are at least thinking seriously about going to the polls next Tuesday. If those numbers prove to accurately indicate actual turnout—as we hope they do—it would be good news indeed.

Voter turnout in presidential and other elections has been declining steadily over the last 30 years. That means, bluntly, that a shrinking percentage of citizens has been directly deciding who will hold office and indirectly determining what laws are likely to be enacted, laws that will affect the lives of everyone in this country. In fact, if the trend continues, before long fewer than half of eligible voters will be going to the polls. That's not a prescription for effective democracy. That's why the prospect of a higher voter turnout this year is encouraging.

That prospect, however, could be adversely affected by the interest of the television networks in projecting a winner in the presidential race. That concerns officials in California, Oregon and Washington, where polls close as late as three hours after those in the eastern United States. The Western states have joined with the nonpartisan Committee for the Study of the American Electorate to ask the networks not to project a presidential winner until after 8 p.m. on the West Coast. Curtis Gans, director of the committee, asks that nothing be done on Election Day "to further erode voting and further undermine confidence in the electoral process." More than 150 members of Congress have issued a similar appeal to the heads of the major networks. "Every time a network projects while citizens are still voting," says the congressional letter, "it sends a message that the votes of those still waiting to cast their ballots do not matter."

The networks reject these urgings. They argue that they deal in information—in the immediate case, their projections of a presidential winner—to which the public has a timely right; this is guaranteed by the Constitution. But of course the issue here is not censorship or any other infringement on the First Amendment. The issue is how the timing of the networks' projections of a presidential winner might affect the outcome of voting in many states.

Early projections, made while the polls in the West remain open, could influence the results in some congressional and other contests by discouraging turnout; even if only 1% or 2% of voters decide at the last minute to stay home because of TV forecasting, the outcomes in any number of close races could be changed. The networks should reconsider. What's involved here is not free speech or even journalistic competition, but simply responsible restraint.

Clinton Vows Better Efforts Against AIDS

■ **Campaign: Democrat says Bush has failed to fight the disease strongly enough. He also calls for an end to misconceptions about the illness.**

By CATHLEEN DECKER
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

JERSEY CITY, N.J.—In a speech promised last spring and delivered five days before the presidential election, Democratic nominee Bill Clinton on Thursday indicted the Bush Administration for failing to mount a stringent attack against the spread of AIDS and laid out a plan he said would reverse that course.

Speaking to several hundred people in the rotunda of the Jersey City courthouse, Clinton also demanded that the American public strip away the ignorance that surrounds the perception of the disease.

He said he would fully implement two existing sets of federal recommendations dealing with AIDS and establish a national educational program to battle misconceptions about the illness.

He pledged to increase federal funding for research and treatment, fully implement the Ryan White Health Care Act and appoint one person to coordinate all federal disease-fighting efforts.

"We have still not done enough as a nation to stop the spread of AIDS and to help those who are living with it," he said. "Most of us have preferred to believe AIDS is not our problem, that it's a problem for a few particular or isolated groups in our society. . . . The truth is, it is everybody's problem."

Pointedly, before an audience that included those with AIDS and others wearing

red ribbons to commemorate victims of the disease, Clinton said: "We must all remember, for all of its terror and far reach, it is still a disease; it is not vengeance or punishment or just desserts, it is an illness."

Clinton strongly asserted that his major role in the issue would be as an activist President talking about and leading the fight against AIDS.

"Americans are dying of the most treatable affliction, ignorance, and we need to cure that first," he said.

The Arkansas governor said education about AIDS should begin in the early grades and should be "blunt and clear" in tone.

"Children should be discouraged from having premature sexual conduct and from ever having any conduct with needles carrying drugs, but they must be told that this killer can kill them, and their odds of getting it are far greater than most of them think," he said.

He also suggested that those who have the disease bear a responsibility to prevent its spread.

"There is at the beginning the matter of personal responsibility," he said. "Those who think they may be positive should be tested as soon as possible so they can be treated. Those whose behavior puts them at a high risk should reassess that before they put themselves and those who they are in contact with in danger."

Clinton chose Jersey City for his speech because it has the sixth-highest rate of AIDS in the country. Clinton placed the AIDS crisis within the larger framework of the health care crisis, which he has placed near the top of his agenda during the campaign.

He also said he would place more emphasis than President Bush has on research into diseases suffered by women,

including breast and ovarian cancers.

During his address, Clinton paid homage to what he called "American heroes"—those battling AIDS or the human immunodeficiency virus that causes the disease. Among those he cited were Elizabeth Glaser and Bob Hattoy, who spoke about their experiences at the Democratic National Convention, and their counterpart, Mary Fisher, who spoke at the Republican Convention.

He also saluted Los Angeles Lakers star Earvin (Magic) Johnson, who recently endorsed Clinton after resigning from Bush's National Commission on AIDS.

Members of the AIDS network were extremely enthusiastic about Clinton's speech.

Jane Silver, policy director for the American Foundation for AIDS Research, described it as "powerful and historic."

"He said all the right things," she said. "It's the first time in more than a decade of the epidemic that a national leader has embraced this very difficult issue—more than embraced it, put forward a plan to fight it. We all have been asking for leadership, funding and a commitment to end the epidemic, and that's what we heard tonight."

Dr. June Osborn, chairwoman of the National Commission on AIDS, applauded Clinton's courage in making the speech so close to the election.

"I have always considered AIDS to be not a political issue, but a human issue," she said. "I am delighted to hear it discussed at a leadership level with as high visibility as can be managed—since it involves us all."

Times staff writer Marlene Clmons, in Washington, contributed to this story.

Clinton Camp Seeks Loan as Funds Drop

By DOUGLAS JEHL
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Gov. Bill Clinton's presidential campaign, running short of its \$55-million taxpayer-financed war chest in the final days of the election, has asked the Federal Election Commission for permission to borrow more money in anticipation of an expected reimbursement by the U.S. Secret Service.

Such a ruling would be unprecedented, and President Bush's campaign on Thursday night denounced the request as evidence that the Clinton team had mismanaged public funds and was seeking an unfair late influx of cash to shore up its lead.

"The FEC should deny this panicked request for relief from profligate spending by the Clinton-Gore campaign and make Bill Clinton play by the rules," Bush campaign manager Frederic V. Malek said at an evening news conference.

The Clinton campaign insisted it was faced with no more than a temporary cash-flow problem, and blamed its difficulties on inequities that force a challenger to pay upfront Secret Service costs that an incumbent never needs to bear.

"We're not running out of money," Clinton chief of staff Eli Segal said by telephone from the candidate's Little Rock, Ark., headquarters. "We're borrowing solely because we have not yet gotten our reimbursements."

Under the rules, any presidential candidate who accepts the \$55 million in federal campaign funds, which are generated through voluntary checkoffs on income tax returns, must abide by strict limitations on spending and fund raising in the general election.

Top Bush campaign officials said that the Clinton team had been aware of the regulations since the start of the campaign. A written statement issued by the Republican campaign accused the Clinton camp of "fiscal irresponsibility."

"They're broke," Malek said. "They've run out of money. It's an embarrassment."

What is left in each campaign's coffers is now of increasing importance, as all three major candidates plan this weekend to broadcast well in excess of \$1 million in advertising to sway public opinion before voters go to the polls.

Both the Bush and Clinton camps have already taken noticeable steps to conserve funds for that final flurry, with the President's party frequently taking refuge in inexpensive hotels while Clinton's traveling band makes do with older buses and cheaper airplane food.

The Clinton campaign is negotiating to buy costly half-hour blocks of air time Monday on all three networks the evening before the election, a step that independent Ross Perot has also taken. An affirmative ruling by the FEC could make available additional funds that could be devoted to additional advertising.

With \$7.9 million left in its war chest, the Bush campaign sought to make the most of the Clinton cash-flow problems, with Malek accusing the Democrat of failing his "first test in managing federal funds."

Some Bush aides acknowledged privately that the Clinton campaign had a point in its complaint that campaign finance regulations are skewed toward the incumbent. The Bush campaign, for example, has the use of Air Force One but need not reimburse the government for many expenses until after the election.

By contrast, the Clinton campaign must pay upfront costs for its two charter aircraft and await often belated reimbursement from the Secret Service agents and traveling press contingents.

Times staff writer David Lauter contributed to this story.

Comment

ON ENTERTAINMENT

Networks Call Election, and Voters Lose

BY HOWARD ROSENBERG

The major television networks said today that they plan to project a presidential winner a day before the election, eliminating the need for voters to go to the polls.

The networks hailed the move as a victory for "the people's right to know the outcome of an event before it happens."

Spokesmen for ABC, CBS, NBC and CNN brushed aside criticism of their decision by saying that any attempt to have the networks withhold data from their scientific surveys of randomly selected psychics would amount to censorship. "We're in business to report news, not withhold it," said one spokesman.

Nahhhhhh.

Even the networks wouldn't go that far. Yet what they do promise to do—again project a presidential victor before some states' polls close—is unpleasant enough. At the least it's a symbolic disenfranchising of voters in the West and, at the most, it's an intrusion that could affect the outcome of local and state races.

A possible scenario:

It's a little after 5 p.m. You're preparing to leave for your polling place to vote for one of the Top Three when you hear an announcement on TV that George Bush, Bill Clinton or Ross Perot is the presidential winner. Even if your candidate is the anointed one, your jaw still drops. It's as if America held an election and didn't invite you. You feel cheated, robbed, as if you were sitting pretty and about to bet in a high-stakes poker game when someone reached across your shoulder and snatched your royal flush.

More than merely disheartening, it's flat-out demoralizing.

Do you pull yourself together and proceed to the polls anyway so that you can cast your now irrelevant vote for President and, much more important, also weigh in on the two Senate races and numerous other important ballot choices facing you and your fellow Californians?

Or do you pack it in and stay home, even though yours might be one of the deciding votes in the tight Beilenson-McClintock race in the 24th Congressional District? Or in that county supervisor contest? Or in that city council election in the suburb where you live? Or in balloting for local and state initiatives?

And if you're not voting because the presidential race has been called by the networks, how many others are doing the same, and what cumulative impact will that have? The common wisdom is that small turnouts benefit the Republicans and large turnouts help the Democrats. Thus, should early presidential projections stunt voter turnout in the West, might not other partisan contests be affected?

At this point, hard facts intrude. The networks and some members of Congress have insisted for years that the problem is not the projections but the absence of a uniform poll closing time nationwide. "We have horse-and-buggy election laws in an electronic age," Ed Turner, CNN executive vice president, said Thursday.

Various plans have been advanced to rectify the problem, but Congress has resisted passing any. Thus the onus of responsibility remains with the networks.

The networks argue, correctly, that there is no conclusive evidence that projections of winners alter election outcomes. Nor, however, is there conclusive evidence that they don't. Or won't.

"I know that 10,000 angels saying so [that other elections aren't affected by early presidential projections] won't convince people in the West," Turner acknowledged. But even if there is one milliliter of doubt, that should be justification enough for the networks to hold back.

Although some would argue that projections, technically speaking, are not news, few have questioned the accuracy of the exit polls on which they're based. And the networks will not call presidential races in individual states before the polls in those states have closed, and will name a national presidential winner only when a candidate is projected to have won enough states to earn the 270 electoral votes required for victory.

The narrower the electoral gap, the slower the national projections.

Tuesday would not be the first time the networks' created a controversy by projecting a presidential winner based on their exit poll data. As far back as 1980, that data figured in

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ROSENBERG

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President Jimmy Carter's decision to concede victory to Ronald Reagan 90 minutes before polls closed on the West Coast. And network projections of Reagan's 1984 victory and George Bush's 1988 win also preceded the closing of polls in the West, with CBS and ABC leading the pack at 6:17 p.m. and 6:20 p.m., respectively, more than an hour ahead of more cautious NBC and CNN.

The network excuses for doing this haven't varied through the years.

"We're not in the business of withholding news," an ABC spokesperson said recently. "At CBS News, we don't believe in withholding information from the people," Dan Rather echoed this week.

Balderdash. These are the kind of self-serving platitudes that the news media cower behind when they are challenged. Actually, they withhold information all the time.

They withhold the names of confidential sources. They withhold the names of juvenile offenders. They withhold information that could endanger the national security. They withhold the names of rape victims. (NBC broke away from the crowd on the latter in the case of William Kennedy Smith's accuser, but if the other networks weren't guarding the woman's identity then why the blue dot?)

COLUMN ONE

China Taps Into World Coffers

■ The story of Beijing's successful run on the World Bank is a tale of persistence (by China), of avarice (in Western Europe and Japan) and of intrigue (by the Bush Administration).

By JIM MANN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Three years ago, in the aftermath of the deadly crackdown on demonstrators in Tian An Men Square, the United States and the other leading industrialized nations organized a freeze on international lending to China, cutting off Beijing's access to billions of dollars in credit.

Yet since then, with the quiet acquiescence of the Bush Administration and the active encouragement of Japan and Western European countries, China has managed not only to get the money flowing again, but to increase it above the levels that existed before 1989.

Last year, the Washington-based World Bank lent Beijing a stunning \$2.5 billion, more than it provided to any other nation. China got more World Bank money than all the countries of Eastern Europe combined. And more than a third of these loans were interest-free for periods of three to four decades.

The loans—many of them from a special World Bank fund set aside for the poorest nations on Earth—help to buttress the booming Chinese economy. While China has enough lingering poverty to qualify for the loans, its foreign-exchange reserves now rank among the largest in the world, and its economic growth rate is several times greater than that of the United States.

China got a \$60-million, interest-free World Bank loan last year to help the urban transport system in Shanghai. It obtained a \$162-million loan, also interest-free, to aid Guangdong province, China's richest area and the fastest-growing region in all of East Asia.

The United States contributes more than any other nation, about \$1 billion each year, to the World Bank fund that makes these interest-free loans.

Former U.S. Ambassador to China Winston Lord said these World Bank loans are "an indication of business as usual between China and the rest of the world, a testimony to China's success in having the world overlook what it's doing to its people."

How did it happen?

The story of Beijing's successful run on the World Bank is a tale of persistence and diplomatic skill (by China), of avarice and mercantilism (in Western Europe and Japan) and of intrigue (by the Bush Administration).

An investigation by The Times shows that Japanese, French, German and Italian companies pressed their governments to make it possible for China to get World Bank loans again. Beijing could then use the proceeds to buy those countries' power plants, dams, helicop-

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CHINA: Beijing Makes Successful Run on the World Bank

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ters and other equipment.

"Procurement won out over idealism," former World Bank President Barber Conable Jr. said in an interview.

The Bush Administration, facing congressional pressure to hold the line against World Bank lending to China, publicly opposed most loans. But privately, the Administration went along with the Japanese and European eagerness to restore China's access to cheap credit. And there are signs that the Administration may have agreed to do this in secret diplomacy with Beijing.

Supporters of the huge World Bank lending program say that it helps to alleviate poverty in China. However, critics, both outside and inside the Bush Administration, believe that the huge lending should be curtailed.

The repressive central government of China is the beneficiary and gets the credit" for the World Bank loans, said Richard Schifter, who served as the Bush Administration's assistant secretary of state for human rights until he resigned early this year.

Over the last decade, China has garnered more than \$13 billion in loans from the World Bank, nearly \$6 billion of them interest-free.

The World Bank was set up in 1945 to raise the living standards of developing countries by helping them get capital. Some of the bank's loans are made at normal market rates but with longer periods of repayment than ordinary commercial loans.

But other World Bank loans—those made by the International Development Assn.—are interest-free for periods of 35 to 40 years. The borrowers must merely pay a small service fee of 0.25% to 0.75% per year.

These IDA loans are designed for countries where per capita income is less than \$610 a year. China, with a per capita income of only \$370, is one of about 40 nations that qualify for IDA funding. But its robust economy and financial stability also qualify it to obtain other World Bank financing that most IDA loan recipients are ineligible to receive.

"It's not as though China were a classic lesser-developed country with no trained personnel and no ability to do things on its own," one Administration official said. "They could borrow on private markets at reasonable rates. What they're getting is cheaper financing."

The world's wealthiest nations give the World Bank the money for the interest-free loan program. The U.S. share is about

22% of the total.

Under its charter, the World Bank is not supposed to make loans—or to stop them—for political reasons. The bank's goal is to raise living standards throughout the world, and its decisions are supposed to be based exclusively on economic factors.

A law passed by Congress, however, requires the United States to oppose World Bank lending to any country that engages in "a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights." (An exception permits the United States to support loans that serve "basic human needs.")

In the past, the United States has used this provision to prevent the World Bank from lending money to Vietnam, Laos, Chile under Gen. Augusto Pinochet and the Philippines under President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

Two weeks after the Tian An Men Square crackdown, then-Secretary of State James A. Baker III, under pressure from Congress to take action against the Beijing regime, announced that the United States would support a freeze on all World Bank lending to China.

While the United States is the World Bank's largest shareholder, it cannot by itself ensure a cutoff in lending. Each nation on the bank's board casts votes in proportion to its financial contributions.

In July, 1989, at a summit meeting of the world's seven leading industrial democracies in Paris, Western European nations and Japan agreed to follow the U.S. lead, assuring a halt in all lending to China. These so-called G-7 nations (the United States, Japan, Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Canada) control more than 50% of the vote for World Bank loans.

Conable, the World Bank president, was furious. "They [China] were important. To begin with, they owed us more than \$10 billion," said Conable, a former Republican congressman and an associate of Bush. If the World Bank cut off future loans to China, it would be putting its existing loans in jeopardy.

Moreover, Conable said, the credit freeze seemed to confirm the worst fears of Third World nations—that the World Bank is an imperialist institution. "I didn't want to have a picture drawn for developing countries of an institution that was run by the major powers."

The World Bank's cutoff devastated China's ability to borrow money abroad. The World Bank had lent it \$1.3 billion in the year before the 1989 crackdown and was planning to lend about \$2.3 billion in the 1989-90 fiscal year.

Other international lending institutions,

such as the Asian Development Bank, cut off their loans, too. Even worse, from China's viewpoint, Japan held up plans to extend a five-year, \$5.6-billion package of subsidized loans to China—the largest single source of credit available to Beijing. Commercial banks in Japan and other nations followed suit.

Beijing's propaganda apparatus was forced to put out press releases reassuring the world that China would not default. "China has always kept its debts within its paying capacity," proclaimed one statement released by the Chinese Embassy in Washington.

In early December, 1989, White House National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft visited Beijing to try to settle a series of disputes between the United States and China, including World Bank lending.

Exactly what was negotiated during this visit remains secret. But on Jan. 10, 1990, China agreed to lift martial law in Beijing. Within hours, after a top-level meeting of Bush Administration officials, the United States announced what State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler called "a partial change in our World Bank policy."

The Administration agreed to open the door a crack to permit World Bank loans designed to address China's "basic human needs." China and World Bank officials rushed to win approval of loans that could be termed humanitarian in nature, such as those for earthquake relief.

Still, the United States and its allies continued to oppose any other kind of lending. The result was that in the year after the Beijing massacre, China received about \$600 million in new loans from the World Bank, a little more than a quarter of the amount it had originally expected.

Chinese leaders were angry about the continuing Western clampdown. "They wouldn't talk to us for quite a while," one senior Bush Administration official said.

As the first anniversary of the Tian An Men Square crackdown neared, Chinese diplomats enlisted the powerful support of one country, Japan.

The \$5.6 billion in loans that Japan froze in 1989 was to have been devoted to more than 40 major projects inside China for the construction of railroads, harbors and power stations. Japanese companies were supposed to get roughly half the contracts for these projects.

Without new credit, China could not buy Japanese goods and equipment or service its debt on Japanese loans. "The Japanese suppliers wanted to go back in [to China]," one source at the World Bank said. "But there was a public-opinion problem in Japan. The Japanese didn't want to go

back in alone."

The government of then-Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu pressed the World Bank to reopen its financial spigots to China. And Japan urged the Bush Administration to support a resumption of international lending.

At the time, the Bush Administration had its own conflicting priorities. For nearly a year, China's leading advocate of democratization, Fang Lixi, had been trapped inside the U.S. Embassy in Beijing. He faced arrest and imprisonment if he left the embassy, but China would not let him leave the country.

On June 25, 1990, after two weeks of intense negotiations between the Bush Administration and China, authorities in Beijing suddenly allowed Fang to leave their country on a U.S. military plane. And in July, at the Group of Seven's annual economic summit in Houston, the United States for the first time indicated that it would go along with Japan's \$5.6-billion package of loans to China.

Until this summit, the Administration had sought allied unity in holding the sanctions against lending to Beijing. But in Houston, Bush told reporters that Japan "is a sovereign nation that can make up its own mind on a lot of questions. . . . They work very cooperatively with us, but sometimes they have interests [of their own] that prevail."

At the same time, Bush and other G-7 leaders opened the way for broader World Bank lending to China by suggesting that loans would not, in the future, have to be exclusively for humanitarian purposes. Baker said the seven nations would explore whether they might approve World Bank loans "that would contribute to the reform of the Chinese economy."

Were these changes the result of a deal? Did China agree to set Fang free in exchange for an easing of U.S. opposition to World Bank and Japanese loans to China? Was Fang, in effect, a hostage who was ransomed for billions of dollars in loans to China?

Asked whether there was an agreement, one senior Bush Administration official replied: "I don't really want to get into that stuff. . . . You can use the linkage in time [between China's release of Fang and the restoration of its loans] as your hook." Another senior official insisted that there was no explicit deal but acknowledged that setting Fang free removed an "irritant" between China and the West that paved the way for new loans to China.

After the Houston summit, World Bank officials handling loans to China noticed a dramatic change. Japan as well as Western

European nations were willing to support some lending to China, and the Bush Administration did nothing to stop them.

"In 1989-90, the Americans were actively campaigning against China," one bank official said. "After mid-1990, the Americans weren't saying no."

Whenever a proposed loan reached the World Bank's board, the U.S. representative abstained. That permitted the Bush Administration to tell Congress, truthfully, that there had been no change in the U.S. stance of refusing to support loans to China. Yet Administration officials abandoned their previous efforts to sound up allied backing for a freeze on loans.

U.S. officials maintain that there was little they could do because the Europeans and Japanese were determined to resume the loans to China. "We could stamp our feet, jump up and down, but it wouldn't have made any difference," one Administration official said.

Over the following year, the World Bank lent China \$1.6 billion. Bank officials realized, one source said, that "as long as you stay under \$2 billion, no one will say anything." Still, the officials were careful to approve only those loans that could be portrayed as contributing to China's economic reforms.

Finally, in the summer of 1991, World Bank and Chinese officials found the perfect project with which to break open what remained of the allied sanctions against lending.

China had applied for a World Bank loan to build a hydroelectric dam and underground power station in Sichuan province. Called the Ertan Dam, the project is one of the largest of its kind in the world.

It was an energy project, hard to characterize as promoting economic reform. But from the standpoint of World Bank politics, it had another virtue. "The general contractor was German, and the two subcontractors were French and Italian," Conable said.

With strong European support, the World Bank approved a \$387-million loan. Within weeks, a smiling Chinese Premier Li Peng signed contracts for work on the project with the French, German and Italian companies.

Once the Ertan Dam money was approved, World Bank officials knew that all restraints on lending to China had been removed. And over the last year, they have broken all records in clearing new credit for Beijing.

"As it turned out," one Western official involved in the three-year dispute over loans to Beijing said, "China's business was too good to keep away from."

PERSPECTIVE ON ROSS PEROT

A Loose Cannon From Dallas



A Reagan White House memo shows him acting as middleman during the Iran-Contra investigations.

By SEYMOUR M. HERSH

What frightens me about Ross Perot as President is not that he takes foolish, and even bizarre, steps to protect his family from mythical threats, but that there is direct evidence that six years ago he interjected himself inappropriately, and perhaps illegally, into one of the nation's most serious crises: Iran-Contra. He may not have even known what he was doing.

My Perot story begins two years ago. While researching a magazine article on the Iran-Contra scandal, I learned that some investigators on the Senate and House Iran-Contra committees were convinced that Perot had offered hush money in what they thought was an attempt to cover up his and President Reagan's activities on behalf of the hostages.

The committees had evidence, which still has not been made public, showing that Perot had offered in December, 1986—at the height of interest in the scandal—to pay legal fees for the two key witnesses, Adm. John M. Poindexter and Lt. Col. Oliver L. North, if they would protect the President by not testifying truthfully. The package included providing for their families if they were given jail terms and helping them find new careers.

I interviewed Perot at the time and he was, as he appears on television, seemingly honest and to the point. What he said, however, was nonsensical and contradicted by evidence.

Told of the committees' suspicions, Perot almost casually admitted making the payment offers to North and Poindexter, but insisted he did so solely in an effort to get out the full story: "I went to both men and told them that if they tell the truth, I'd pay all their legal expenses and see that they got jobs. I thought it looks terrible for two military officers to take the Fifth Amendment."

Perot said his offers of support were based on the belief that "everybody knew what was going on" and the future of the President "was not at issue. It's a dumb thing," he added. "I couldn't figure out why telling the truth would hurt the presidency."

In the same interview, however, Perot made clear why the truth would have been devastating to President Reagan. He revealed, again almost casually, that Reagan had provided Jay Coburn, a close Perot aide, with a letter of safe conduct before the aide flew to Europe in 1985 with \$2 million of Perot's money for use as ransom in a highly secret White House operation to rescue Americans held in Lebanon, an operation deemed illegal by the Iran-Contra committees. "The letter was in case Coburn was stopped going through Customs carrying that much cash. And," Perot added in his cryptic fashion, "I don't think it was signed by automatic pen."

It was mind-boggling. Perot had to

know that revelation of the letter would have been exceedingly damaging in late 1986 to Reagan, who was emphatically denying any personal knowledge of ransom efforts for hostages.

As I assessed it two years ago (talk about bad judgment), Perot seemed an odd number who—could it be?—somehow was unable to comprehend the inappropriateness of his actions; Reagan was out of office; nobody cared much anyway about Iran-Contra, and so I dropped any mention of his involvement in my New York Times Magazine article, which was highly critical of the way the congressional committees did their job.

Here's what I should have written: The Iran-Contra investigators had a different interpretation of Perot's action that was triggered by their sense of the possible illegalities of the ransom effort as well as the previously unpublished contemporary office notes of Donald T. Regan, Reagan's chief of staff. The notes showed that Regan had been assured by

Regan memo said. "I said North probably despaired of [House Speaker] Tip O'Neill ever bringing up legislation for Contra aid so he was willing to try anything to keep a band of raggedy-ass Contras in the jungle. I reminded Ross that they were both Annapolis graduates. He said he knew this."

The Iran-Contra investigators further learned that Perot had been in direct contact with a group of high-ranking retired admirals raising funds for Poindexter's legal defense and suspected that Perot had offered to contribute heavily to Poindexter's defense if he would insulate the President. Retired Rear Adm. C. A. (Mark) Hill Jr., long-time Poindexter colleague and coordinator of his defense fund, subsequently confirmed the *quid pro quo* of Perot's offer—that Perot would "pay for all of John's legal defense and a lifetime income if he would go testify—do the cover-up—without taking the Fifth." Hill said the offer was rejected out of hand.

It was after the contact with Perot, Hill said, that he and others intensified

their fund raising on behalf of the admiral. "The purpose was to preclude a flag officer from being in the pocket of Perot. If you've got a string on him with your money, you've got a control." Perot maintains his only goal was to protect the honor of the uniform.

Poindexter did not return calls on the issue this week, but North graphically described a Perot hush-money offer in his 1991 autobiography, "Under Fire." He wrote that Perot visited him and his attorney, Brendan V. Sullivan Jr., in Washington and said: "Why doesn't Ollie just . . . explain to the FBI that the President didn't know? If he goes to jail, I'll take care of his family. And I'll be happy to give him a job when he gets out." Perot later denied the North-Sullivan account.

The committee was especially interested in Perot's involvement in the operation for which his aide received a presidential note of safe conduct—a poorly conceived North hostage ransom operation in the Middle East involving two agents of the Drug Enforcement Administration. "There's no question," Naughton recalled, "that the DEA operation was illegal." The White House had made no attempt to get a formal presidential finding for the covert operation, as required by law, nor was there any legal basis for using private funds for an American intelligence operation. Perot also had a motive for covering up his action, Naughton added: "He had conspiracy exposure on the money issue. If I give my money to a federal agent to investigate you, that's a crime."

Naughton is still convinced that a cover-up prosecution of Perot was a possibility. The essential question remains: Did Perot believe he was doing the right thing in whisking up to Washington and saying whatever he said to North, Poindexter and Regan? He is a man not bothered by, not even aware of, what he does not know, even when the gravest of constitutional and presidential crises are at stake. I don't want his finger on the button.

Seymour M. Hersh is a Pulitzer Prize-winning investigative reporter.



Bush Greeted by Applause— and Challenges

By JAMES GERSTENZANG
TIMES STAFF WRITER

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich.—As George Bush grinds his way to the election now four days away, he revels in the wild enthusiasm of the crowds he encounters and in results from some polls indicating that the race is tightening.

The President was pumped up, giddy and even giggling at one point Thursday as he struggled inexplicably to keep a straight face while attacking Democratic nominee Bill Clinton's draft record. He referred to the Democratic ticket as "two bozos" and scorned the "faithless Republicans and faithless Democrats who wrote me off two months ago."

But then, every once in a while, he runs smack into reality—that cold shower of a sharp-edged question from a would-be voter, reminding him that in what he calls this "weird" election year, it has become socially acceptable to use the President of the United States as a verbal punching bag.

He spent an hour chatting up viewers of CBS' "This Morning"—and appreciatively sighed when a woman caller from Blue Bell, Pa., told him: "I want to say how much respect you have here."

But then came the cold water: A questioner demanded to know why Bush's own character shouldn't be called into question, citing the President's change-of-position on abortion rights, his new support for military weapons programs he once shunned and his boost of agriculture subsidies, despite having criticized European governments for price supports.

Please see BUSH, A7

BUSH: Cheers, Challenges Greet Him

Continued from A1

Bush said his views on abortion had evolved over the years—he supported abortion rights until 1980, when Ronald Reagan chose him as his running mate. Compromise over military programs was necessary to work with Congress. Bush said, and the agriculture subsidies were necessary to persuade Europe to drop its own farm aid. But the question brought back into focus the scrutiny the voters are giving the candidates—and the skepticism they have brought to the presidential campaign.

In the final days of Bush's reelection drive it is just such questions that bring reminders of the political reality that has stalked him for months. He has trailed Clinton in the polls throughout a general election campaign shaped by the sour economy and the equally sour mood among voters.

While some polls—those of The Times and the Washington Post among them—have found Clinton trailing on to a roughly 10-point lead among likely voters, others, including CNN's daily survey, picture the race as much closer, down to a 3-point margin.

And suddenly the Bush effort has come together: Crowds flocking to arenas, and a hard-charging, determined President is responding, spicing his comments with the sort of Bush-isms that end grammarians and other lovers of the English language into fits. And he and his staff, which is argumentatively citing the more favorable public opinion surveys, are insisting that regardless of earlier polls and how the campaign paraded them, the country is med for a Bush victory.

The President's focus Thursday is on the mostly white suburban neighborhoods that ring Detroit, on the Republican enclave of Grand Rapids in western Michigan. Former President Gerald R. Ford, who represented the Grand Rapids area for 25½ years in Congress, campaigned at his side. So did actor Bruce Willis.

The visit evoked memories of a race the Republicans don't like to use as a parallel for the 1992 campaign: Ford's 1976 race against another Democrat and son of the South, Jimmy Carter. That was the last presidential campaign a Republican lost. The margin was roughly 2%, or 2 million votes. And, like the current effort, it was directed by James A. Baker III, Bush's chief of staff.

"I remember 16 years ago when I had a contest with a Southern governor running around the country calling for change, change. The voters in a very close election decided they wanted the change," Ford said. "They ended up with a liberal Democratic Administration, a liberal Congress, of the United States and after four years of change what did they get? Thirteen percent inflation, 21% interest rates and a misery index (the combination of inflation and unemployment) of 20, an all-time high."

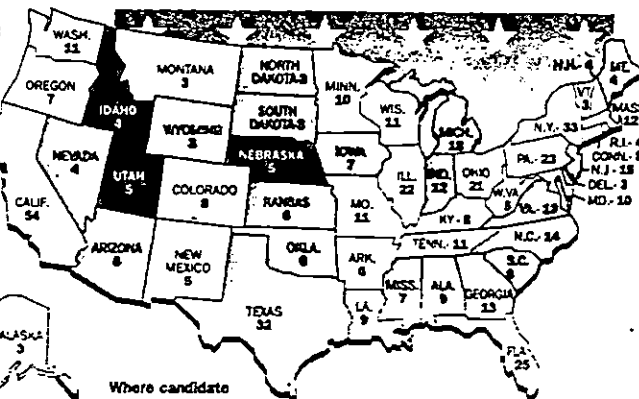
In Warren, Mich., the heart of Macomb County, Bush shouted his way through a rally in a gymnasium of the county community college.

The virtually all-white, and largely blue-collar, suburb northeast of Detroit is crucial to the President's hopes for carrying Michigan's 18 electoral votes—out of the 270 needed for election—on Tuesday. It is home to many so-called Reagan Democrats, who deserted their party in presidential elections over the last 12 years.

To a cheering, sign-waving throng arrayed before him on a basketball court, Bush said that between him and Clinton, "the differences are night and day."

Why Clinton Is Still the Favorite

Is Bill Clinton ahead by 2 points, 7 points or 10 points? Over the past few days, polls have diverged on the size of Clinton's national lead in the popular vote over President Bush and Ross Perot. But state-by-state surveys of the electoral vote show that Bush still must thread the eye of the needle to win reelection.



Clinton ahead in 24 states: To win the White House, a candidate needs 270 electoral votes; the candidate who receives the most votes in a state gets all that state's electoral votes, regardless of his margin. In the latest compilation of state surveys by the Hotline, an electronic newsletter, Clinton holds a lead outside of the polls' margin of error in 24 states and the District of Columbia with 274 electoral votes—enough to win on Tuesday. Bush holds a clear lead in only three states, with a total 14 electoral votes. Perot leads in no states. In the remaining states, either no candidate holds a lead greater than the margin of error in the most recent surveys or polls conflict.

Source: The Hotline

Where candidate leads above the margin of error in the most recently published state poll—and number of electoral votes

White: Clinton

Black: Bush

Gray: Where neither candidate holds a lead above the margin of error, or polls conflict.

Warning: This data comes with some bright red caution flags. The quality of state polls varies considerably; and the Hotline notes that the surveys in 32 states are at least a week old—and thus do not reflect the narrowing of the race over the past week. The fact that both Clinton and Bush, for example, are devoting so much time to Ohio this week suggests it may be closer than the roughly 10-point advantage two surveys gave the Democrat this week.

The challenge for Bush: But those caveats don't change the fundamental challenge for Bush. To catch Clinton, the President must win almost all of the battleground states—from Texas, Louisiana and Florida in the South, to New Jersey and Michigan in the North—and reclaim at least some states now believed to be leaning toward Clinton, such as Georgia and Ohio.



President Bush and actor Bruce Willis campaign at a community college in Warren, Mich.

"Listen to Gov. Clinton and Ozone Man"—Bush said, using his newly hatched name for Tennessee Sen. Al Gore, Clinton's running mate, who has written a book on the environment. "This guy is so far off in the environmental extreme, we'll be up to our neck in owls and out of work for every American. This guy's crazy. He is way out, far out. Far out, man."

The race, he says over and over, is about "experience, philosophy, and yes, character, character."

"My dog Millie knows more about foreign affairs than these two bozos," Bush said. "It's crazy."

inflation were to reach the level it attained when Carter was President, "milk, which costs, what, \$2.70, would be \$8.23. Bread, 84 cents, would be up about \$2.50."

And, questioning Clinton's potential judicial appointments, he said Clinton has made "a terrible threat—he says he wants to put Mary Cuomo, Mario Cuomo, on the Supreme Court."

"You talk about disaster—that would be it," Bush said of the prospects of the New York governor joining the high court.

Michigan is one of the toss-up states that both campaigns consider important—more so for Bush in the face of difficult going in such states as California and New York.

"Absolutely essential," is the way the President put it.

And while the President worked the crowd in Macomb County, Clinton addressed a lunchtime rally about 15 miles away in downtown Detroit.

Meanwhile, Bush campaign spokeswoman Tonia Clarke said the President was experiencing a surge of support not only in Michigan, but in such other battleground states as Wisconsin, Ohio and New Jersey, and in Georgia—all states the President swept four years ago.

She also said that Reagan will campaign for his former vice president over the weekend, speaking at rallies in North Carolina and, possibly, Georgia.

Clinton Plays Underdog, Calls for Big Turnout

By CATHLEEN DECKER
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

DETROIT—Democrat Bill Clinton, his longtime edge in the presidential race perhaps ebbing, played on the imagery of the underdog Thursday as he sought to ensure the big turnout that could be crucial to his success.

He labored across Ohio, Michigan and New Jersey—on the traditional stomping grounds of Democrats—calling on the image of the Kennedys and all but begging voters to come to the polls.

"As we come to the end of this campaign, I ask you to choose . . . to change the world we have, to have the courage to say we can do better, to reject the politics of denial, division and blame which the Bush Administration has visited on this country long enough," he said in Detroit, where a multicultural audience applauded loudly.

While he visited strongly Democratic areas—a departure from his campaign pattern in recent weeks—Clinton was eyeing warily the apparent narrowing of his lead over President Bush in some public opinion surveys.

As he had on Wednesday, Clinton at times lashed out angrily at Bush. But his approach was twopronged: In his public rallies Thursday, Clinton delivered somber and high-minded rhetoric, outlining with deliberation his policy differences with the incumbent.

But in casual comments to reporters, Clinton issued stinging criticisms of Bush. In sharply personal tones, Clinton all but accused Bush of lying.

Please see CLINTON, A5

CLINTON: Appeals to Traditional Democrats in Push for Votes

Continued from A1

"The American people see him for what he is, a desperate person who just wants to hold power and doesn't give a rip for them," he said in Toledo, Ohio.

Clinton has been aggrieved for days because of Bush campaign advertisements that the Arkansas governor says distort his record at home and his proposals for the nation. At one point Thursday, he maligned the President and said that he would "slam him home" in the days before Tuesday's vote.

"He has put on ads all over America that are lies," Clinton said early in the day. "The man has no core of conviction. This is not Harry Truman."

Both Clinton and Bush have been competing as inheritors of Truman's legacy throughout the general election campaign.

Although he displayed no overt nervousness about the polls showing the presidential contest to be suddenly tight, Clinton acknowledged Bush as a threat and independent Ross Perot as an unpredictable factor in the race.

"Anytime you're an incumbent President and you just don't have any standards, you have a chance to win, especially when Mr. Perot is spending anything to get elected," he said.

He added: "We're going to win this election. I have always thought I was the underdog, but I'm going to keep fighting."

At rallies in Toledo, Detroit and Jersey City, N.J., Clinton played the underdog card with abandon while steering clear of the rancorously personal tone of his earlier comments.

As for his proposals for America, Clinton hewed to the relatively cautious course he has plied recently; a long-awaited speech on AIDS Thursday night in New Jersey was a compilation of previously announced proposals.



Gov. Bill Clinton gives a thumbs-up sign during an appearance at the University of Toledo in Ohio. Associated Press

Clinton opened his day at the University of Toledo, where he accused Bush of "an abject denial of responsibility" in handling the nation's affairs. Most of his discourse dealt with the economy, in keeping with his campaign's belief that a continual drumming of the President on that subject will pay big rewards.

He roundly belittled Bush's praise of positive economic statistics released earlier this week.

"In this Administration, for the first time since before World War II, you have a decline in jobs in the private sector and a decline in

personal income," he said. "So when Mr. Bush tells us that we should rejoice in our economic plight, I think we have to tell him it's time to move beyond the passivity and complacency of his presidency and his campaign."

"A President who asks us to settle for less can't bring out the best in us," Clinton continued. "A President who's out of touch with the people can't take charge of our future. And when Mr. Bush looks at an anxious and frightened America and tells us that is as good as it gets, that says something worse about his presidency than

anything I could ever say."

The governor took pains to defend himself against Bush's criticisms, specifically a charge by the President that Clinton's call for "change" would leave only that—change—in American pocketbooks.

"It's a funny line, but it isn't true," Clinton said. "I wouldn't do that."

For the Democratic campaign, turnout increasingly looms large as a key to victory in Tuesday's election. It also accounts for the subtle change in strategy by Clinton.

Until recently, the candidate had spent much of his time in Republican areas, in states that have been the GOP's domain in recent elections, zinging the President and hoping to peel off Bush's support with a message pitched to moderates.

But on Thursday, it was back to the constituencies that have historically proved loyal to Democrats—the urbanites.

"You see all these pundits talking about how this election is gonna come out? What they're really saying is the young won't really vote, the working poor won't really vote, the blue-collar people will get divided and distracted. People will give up on their future," Clinton told several thousand people gathered in Detroit's Cobo Hall for a get-out-the-vote rally.

There, Clinton turned to a symbol of the civil rights movement, Rosa Parks, to plead his case.

"We must vote in large numbers in order to make the great changes needed in our country today," said the woman who helped fuel the battle for civil rights when, 37 years ago, she refused to take a seat in the back of a bus. "We cannot afford to continue to be in the condition that we are in. . . ."

Clinton, coming to the podium a few minutes later, paid tribute to Parks and said her experience should serve "to remind us that we are one people . . . that we must go forward together or we will sink divided."

Among some Democrats, Clinton's strategy of focusing on suburban voters had been seen as risky in the event of a close race—as this one may be. Under that thinking, Clinton must now hope that the traditional Democrats from whom he has distanced himself will turn out in droves to vote for him.

On Thursday, he tried to knit

together the more liberal residents of urban Detroit and the more conservative suburbanites who had fled the city.

First he said that auto workers should not pay heed to Bush's contention that he and his running mate, Sen. Al Gore of Tennessee, would impose environmental standards that would ravage the blue-collar industry. Then he directed his message to nearby suburban Macomb County, where Bush campaigned on Thursday.

"Mr. Bush will go to Macomb County today to tell those people that I'm not their kind of person," he said. "I got a lot more in common with the people of Macomb County than George Bush ever had."

Clinton commonly expresses faith that he will win the election by professing that he is on "the right side of history," that the vast changes that have taken place in the world since the Cold War ended represent a sterling opportunity for a Democrat.

On Thursday, however, he tried to use history in a more specific way. In Michigan, he recalled the words of Robert F. Kennedy, assassinated in 1968 as he sought the Democratic presidential nomination. And in Toledo, the words he quoted were from another Democrat who won a tight presidential race, John F. Kennedy.

In the last week of the 1960 election, Clinton said, Kennedy asked voters to cast their ballots based not just on the candidates, but on their personal concerns.

"I believe we want leaders to challenge us, not just make up charges at election time," Clinton said. "I believe that we want to be told again that the only limit on what we can do is what we are willing to ask of ourselves, and what our leaders are willing to insist on of themselves."

A Vote for Bush and GOP Is a Wasted Vote, Perot Contends

■ **Campaign:** In broadcast interview, he also defends his controversial charges that the Republicans were plotting a dirty tricks campaign against him.

By SARA FRITZ
TIMES STAFF WRITER

DALLAS—Independent presidential candidate Ross Perot, expressing particular disdain for President Bush and the Republican Party, said Thursday night that people who support the incumbent are wasting their vote because Bush cannot win reelection.

Appearing on CNN's "Larry King Live," Perot also defended his controversial charges that the Republicans last summer were plotting a dirty tricks campaign to wiretap his telephones and embarrass his daughter, Carolyn.

"Is it unthinkable that these people in the Republican Party might do it?" he asked. "This is the same party that gave us Watergate. This is the same party that gave us Iran-Contra. This is the party that's up to its ears in Iraq-gate now. This is the same group that's always hands off, 'Gee, we didn't do it.' So there's a pattern

here."

While Perot leveled equal criticism at both Bush and Democratic challenger Gov. Bill Clinton on some issues and refused to say which of the two men he would favor, he clearly reserved his harshest comments for Bush and the GOP.

"He's history," Perot declared, referring to the President. "The people who are voting for him are wasting their votes. . . I'm saying, don't throw your vote away."

He indicated that he was simply responding in kind to Bush's statement that anyone who voted for Perot would be wasting a vote.

Perot also took a jab at Bush for failing to recognize the seriousness of the recession earlier this year. Bush contends that the economy is not as bad as many people think.

"Folks who didn't finish high school, they've already figured out what the problem is," Perot said. "Believe me, everybody out there except the White House knows the

recession is here. If you lived in that insulated bubble they've created for the President, you wouldn't know it either."

Earlier in the day, the Perot campaign issued a statement charging that the news media is unfairly portraying the 1992 presidential election as a contest strictly between Bush and Clinton.

Perot's press secretary, Sharon Holman, also blamed Bush, Clinton and news reporters for causing his independent campaign to become mired in a controversy over Perot's allegations about GOP dirty tricks.

"In the past week," Holman said, "we have been forced to respond to planted stories that have been apparently planted by the opposition and have deflected us away from what we think are the major issues of this campaign and the issues that are important to the American people."

In an effort to redirect the media focus, Perot will embark Saturday on a two-day, three-state campaign swing through Florida, Kansas and California. On Sunday, he will appear at rallies at the Long Beach Arena, beginning at 4 p.m., and the Santa Clara Convention

Center near San Jose.

Perot, who is third in the polls, has indicated that he is counting on a higher than normal turnout of new voters to give him an unexpected boost on Election Day. Although some polls show the race tightening between Clinton and Bush, Clay Mulford, Perot's son-in-law and campaign counsel, said it is Perot's judgment that "it's impossible for Bush to win."

Bush dismissed the charge as "crazy" and White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater said it proved that Perot is "paranoid."

Holman did not say who she thought had planted this story with the news media.

Holman cited a number of instances in recent days in which the news media had failed to mention Perot in discussing the election.

In particular, she objected to a graphic used by Dan Rather on the "CBS Evening News" that referred only to Bush and Clinton. She also mentioned a straw poll ballot apparently sent to schoolchildren by Time Inc. that did not list Perot's name. The ballot listed Bush, Clinton and "other."



Ross Perot talks to supporters as he arrives at CNN in Washington on Thursday night for an interview on the "Larry King Live" show.

Perot Follows His Hunches With Mixed Results

WASHINGTON—Why did he do it?

Ross Perot left behind one of the enduring mysteries of the 1992 campaign this week when he charged that Republican dirty tricks aimed at his family and business forced him out of the presidential race last July. He says he made the explosive charges only because he was forced to respond to media inquiries.

But some people who know the candidate say that in this extraordinary move they saw Perot playing roles he has taken on again and again in his career: Perot the Hunch-Player, Perot the Vigilant Protector, Perot the Crusader.

The billionaire Texan, they say, is a man who has forever ignored others' advice to follow his gut feelings—often to glory, sometimes to disaster. Perot is a shrewd

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businessman who is nonetheless highly credulous when it comes to threats against his family and himself.

And he is a man who is always eager to convince the world—and perhaps himself—that he is following the best of motives as he struggles in a glorious and dangerous cause.

Last week, those tendencies combined to persuade Perot to finally go public with reports he had heard about Republican plans to disrupt his daughter's wedding and wiretap his offices. By doing so, he could help build his growing momentum, show the maliciousness of his foe and finally give supporters a more convincing—and nobler—explanation of why he abandoned their cause for 11 weeks.

"He has a champion complex," says Todd Mason, author of "Perot: An Unauthorized Biography." "He wants to lead a disenfranchised group to prosperity and vanquish an uncaring bureaucracy that's trying to keep them down."

This year's campaign demonstrates why Perot believes that he should go with his hunches—and why sometimes that is a bad idea.

Perot guessed right when he thought that with a single potent issue, his feedlot humor and Red River twang he could mobilize a volunteer army. He was right again in his convictions that he could shine at the three-way debates and that with TV advertisements that defied all conventional wisdom he could attract an audience of millions.

His habit of going with his gut was probably reinforced when he saw that he seemed to be better off without a huge and costly campaign apparatus.

"He followed his own counsel in the beginning, and he was on a roll," said Steve McElroy, an Austin entrepreneur who is a partner with Perot in a beverage-lid business. "He hired a bunch of experts and it was a disaster." Then, "he cleaned the slate—and suddenly he was on a roll again."

"He has every reason to believe he should follow his own counsel."

But other impulsive decisions have blown up in Perot's face,

some close associates acknowledge.

Some advisers still believe that his July departure was a mistake. Some say his choice of retired Vice Adm. James B. Stockdale for a running mate was also an exploding cigar. And then there was the dirty tricks charge, which polls now suggest has halted Perot's momentum.

Some associates confess privately that they believe Sunday's move was a blunder and worry that his habit of rejecting advice has led him to a dangerous isolation.

Since his July 16 exit from the race, Perot has stayed at arm's length from the two people he once heeded: Tom Luce, his lawyer and former campaign manager, and Morton H. Meyerson, who runs Perot's computer business and formerly chaired his campaign.

In their place is a small staff of inexperienced aides. Most do not seem to even talk regularly with Perot, much less give him advice.

At a recent press briefing, Orson Swindle, director of Perot's United We Stand organization, was asked what Perot thought of Gov. Bill Clinton's 1969 trip to Moscow. Swindle responded by asking the reporters in the crowd whether Perot had made any comment on the trip.

One member of the Perot circle this week confessed his nervousness at Perot's lack of outside input. "I don't think he asked anybody about this last decision," the friend said.

The dirty tricks charges resurrected the old assertions that Perot is a paranoid or a wild man. "A hand grenade with a bad haircut," former White House speech writer

Peggy Noonan called him.

But even people who dispute charges that Perot is paranoid acknowledge that he is so sensitive to threats that he is willing to listen to wild-sounding accusations from quarters that others would dismiss out of hand.

This is partly because billionaires are people who must spend much of their time fending off those who would separate them from their money—through fraudulent business deals, dubious charities, even outright theft. "He's got to keep his guard up," one friend said.

As aides have noted, there is some objective reason for Perot to fear the Republicans. They, after all, were the party of Watergate. This year, they were the ones who evidently rifled the State Department files of Clinton's mother. And

earlier this year someone leaked Navy records on Perot showing that at the end of his active duty some officers considered him too immature to captain a ship.

Yet there is abundant evidence that this fear is exaggerated.

Perot has contended that in 1970 the FBI told him he was the target of plots conceived by the North Vietnamese to be carried out by the Black Panthers. But an FBI official said this week that FBI files from the time show that, although there were general rumors that the panthers might try to hit prominent American businessmen, Perot was never mentioned by name in such reports. "We didn't reach out to warn him," an FBI source who has searched the files said.

Perot's credulousness was also demonstrated in his reliance on the information of Scott T. Barnes, a

gadfly with low credibility, as the basis for his allegations of GOP dirty tricks.

Don Hewitt, executive producer of "60 Minutes," said that, when Perot urged him to check out his allegations of Republican plotting, Perot cited a videotape of Barnes and Bush's Texas campaign chief, James Oberwetter, apparently having an amiable conversation on a park bench as his "single most damaging piece of evidence."

"Here's something intriguing about Perot's personality: He's this very shrewd person, this very shrewd businessman," said Mason, the author. "Yet there are times when he proves to be so naive . . . He can be had surprisingly easily."

But Perot's anxieties may not have been his only reason for wanting to publicize his anxieties about Republican dirty tricks.

Since he re-entered the race, Perot and his aides had continued to search for a satisfactory way to explain the departure that had broken the hearts of so many of his followers.

A smorgasbord of explanations has been offered: Perot preferred to wait until he was on all 50 state ballots; he wanted to junk his useless campaign staff; he needed to short-circuit the attacks from the press and the opposition and to reposition himself for a splashy fall re-entry.

But as press interviews with alienated ex-followers have continued to demonstrate, none of these had completely washed away the quitter stigma that Perot may have feared would follow his name into the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

With the dirty tricks story, Perot could finally lay to rest those doubts. And he could put his campaign into proper context as an epic struggle against the oppressive forces of the status quo.

"We're talking about somebody who wants to be in the history books," Mason said. With the story of GOP tricks, Perot would establish himself as a man of noble deeds and "as an important person with important enemies," he said.

Perot's contention that he wanted to keep the story bottled up is not entirely borne out by the facts.

Hewitt, the "60 Minutes" producer, acknowledges that he told Perot that CBS intended to go with the story on the allegations whether or not Perot cooperated—a standard journalistic maneuver to force a source's cooperation. But Perot, far from trying to hide the story, had for weeks been directing Hewitt to the videotape of Barnes and Oberwetter he thought would prove the Republicans' malicious intent, Hewitt said.

"I've got to say to myself, 'Why is he waving me off with one hand, and egging me to go see a tape that he says is the definitive proof of what has happened?'" Hewitt said in an interview.

Perot also trotted out the dirty tricks tale at the end of a three-hour interview with editors and a reporter of the Boston Herald, as they met with Perot last week to consider a possible endorsement. "He brought it up," said John Chander, executive editor of the newspaper.

And at a rally Sunday in Flemington, N.J., Perot again promoted the story, perhaps more than he needed to if he did not intend to emphasize it.

He urged the New Jersey audience to watch the "60 Minutes" broadcast so they would understand why he withdrew. And he described the alleged dirty tricks not as simply one of the reasons, but as the reason for his departure.

COLUMN RIGHT/
TOM BETHELL

Silver Lining to a Clinton Presidency

■ He would be in line of fire early, setting up opportunity for conservatives in 1996.

For conservatives, this election may be the most dispiriting in memory. It's hard to envisage any outcome of the presidential race that would stir much enthusiasm on the right. A come-from-behind victory for President Bush? A conservative speech writer mentioned to me that the prospect gives momentary pleasure, but upon reflection the heart sinks. As John Podhoretz points out in the current *National Review*, a reelected Bush would almost certainly "grow," the code-word for a move to the left.

In any event, a Bush victory now seems unlikely. In the all-important economic area, the President has not convinced voters that he has learned from his mistakes. When Bill Clinton attacked "trickle-down economics" in the third presidential debate, Bush mystifyingly replied that he "didn't want any more trickle-down government." What was that supposed to mean? Bush has tried to associate his record with Ronald Reagan's (15 million jobs created in the "Reagan-Bush years"). But Clinton understandably points out that Bush himself, in 1980, attacked the theoretical basis of the Reagan recovery as "voodoo economics." Clinton also charges that Bush has actually tried to spend more money than Congress wanted: "It's hard to outspend Congress, but he tried." The economy will decide the election, and Bush has not given us reason to think that he will do better than Clinton.

The best that can be said for Ross Perot is that he may weaken the future President by confining his vote to less than 50%. Otherwise there's little to recommend the man, who comes across as a silly, strutting demagogue. He's on the verge of giving a bad name to billionaires. With his unsupported and (I believe) mendacious charges, his antagonism toward Bush has become so conspicuous that it might end up helping him.

The prospect of a Clinton presidency is of course not at all appealing to conservatives, but in his case second thoughts do at least lighten the gloom and disclose a silver lining. How much damage could a President Clinton actually do? By contrast with the 1970s, when the last Democratic candidate was elected, foreign affairs are much diminished in importance. Ceding territory to the communists is no longer an option. If an Andropov or a Brezhnev were still in the Kremlin, Clinton would stand little chance of victory. Bush never did grasp

the extent to which the end of the Cold War would bail out the Democrats.

Domestically, Clinton would be tightly constrained by markets. Government debt as a percentage of GNP is already twice what it was when Jimmy Carter became President. Global markets will be poised to respond negatively if Clinton shows signs of trying to expand the already excessive reach and power of the state.

Clinton, moreover, does not appear to share in the moral ambition (on behalf of others) that characterizes the left as a whole. (But one wishes someone had asked him to explain his comment in the third debate that "middle-class people" will "have their fair share of changing to do," including "the challenge of becoming constantly re-educated.") Clinton speaks solicitously of the middle class, perhaps because he knows that he cannot be elected without them. Perhaps he also knows that he cannot govern without them. He has come close to giving a no-new-taxes pledge for the middle class. All to the good.

If the polls are right, the Democrats are about to monopolize power in Washington. But they are also about to discover that, when they had a compliant Republican in the White House, they never had it so good. Moderate Republicans like Bush enact their opponents' agenda, and so are obliged to take the blame when things go wrong. Democrats have not noticed how convenient this arrangement has been—policy influence without personal responsibility—because their own people have been excluded from power.

But with a Clinton presidency, we will see a great and welcome clarification. No longer will the clamorous victim groups who have made much of public life so unbearable in recent years be able to howl their customary accusations at Republicans in the White House. Oh, they will try. The policies of the Reagan-Bush years will become the legacy of the Reagan-Bush years. But soon enough Bill Clinton will be in the direct line of fire. A President Clinton will have to ride the bucking bronco of interest groups, and there's always the possibility that he will fall off.

At that point, moderate Republicanism should also be in terminal disrepute. By 1996, there's a good possibility that conservatives will have recaptured control of the GOP.

Tom Bethell is Washington editor of the American Spectator.

'A President Clinton will have to ride the bucking bronco of interest groups, and there's always the possibility that he will fall off.'

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

Perot's Support Slips, but Impact In Race Remains

Where His Supporters Go May Determine if Bush Has Chance of Winning

By DAVID SHRIBMAN
And JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Support for Ross Perot is slipping, and where it goes probably will determine whether George Bush has any chance of pulling off an upset in Tuesday's election.

The latest Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll gives Gov. Bill Clinton a 44% to 34% lead over President Bush among registered voters, with Mr. Perot at 15%. Among those who vote regularly, Mr. Clinton's lead drops to six points, 43% to 37%, with 13% for the Texas billionaire.

The poll was conducted Tuesday and Wednesday, with the only significant change between the two days being the decrease in the strength of Mr. Perot, the independent candidate.

Though Mr. Perot's share of the electorate is declining, his impact on the struggle for the White House may still be substantial because the waning days of the race are, at least in part, a campaign for voters who once found allure in Mr. Perot.

Right now President Bush is benefiting most from Mr. Perot's descent. The president has made gains with Republicans and with independents, among whom Mr. Bush has climbed from third place into first, taking 32% as opposed to Mr. Clinton's 30%. But voters who now are only loosely committed to Mr. Perot favor Mr. Clinton as their second choice over Mr. Bush, 53% to 40%, suggesting a possible advantage to the Democrat if Mr. Perot's support erodes further.

Democrat Peter Hart and Republican Vince Breglio, the pollsters who conducted the survey for the Journal and NBC, say that "the momentum of the trial heat favors George Bush."

But they note that "in the end, elections always come back to the fundamentals." And they say that "the fundamentals of this election favor Bill Clinton."

Mr. Clinton himself, in an interview, said that "I'm not all that distressed to see a tightening of the polls." But, he added, "I need a big turnout," especially among young voters.

In reporting the Journal/NBC survey, pollsters Hart and Breglio emphasize that it may be misleading to focus solely on people who vote regularly, because this election could also draw many people who vote less frequently. For that reason, the Journal is reporting the results among both registered voters and regular voters, which under the poll's definition eliminates anyone who hasn't voted in half the elections in the past three years.



Ross Perot

The poll suggests that Mr. Bush still faces formidable challenges if he is to overtake the Arkansas governor in the campaign's final weekend. Forty-four percent of voters, asked to choose among a menu of elements that would affect their presidential choice, selected the economy as the top factor. At the same time, Mr. Bush is rated the voters' third choice as the candidate who would do the best job on economic matters, winning the endorsement of only 21% of voters, compared with 33% who give the top rating to Mr. Clinton and 28% who choose Mr. Perot.

There is no way to predict with certainty whether Mr. Perot will continue to slide and, just as important, whether Perot voters slip into the Bush or Clinton columns or decide simply not to vote.

Courting Perot Supporters

The Bush camp says it's stepping up personal appeals to groups of Perot voters and is working to win a number of endorsements from prominent Perot backers, particularly in industrial battleground states. Mr. Clinton's strategists will concentrate their attacks on Mr. Bush rather than Mr. Perot so as not to alienate the Perot supporters.

Mr. Perot clearly was hurt by the fallout from his Monday news conference, where he assailed the press, offered no proof of his allegations of "dirty tricks" by the Bush campaign and acknowledged that he recorded telephone conversations himself. On Tuesday, the first day after the session, Mr. Perot's support was at 17%. By the next day, it had fallen to 13%. The Journal and NBC reached the 15% figure in the head-to-head race by averaging the results from Tuesday's and Wednesday's samples.

Though Mr. Clinton remains in a strong position as the campaign narrows, Messrs. Hart and Breglio say the survey does suggest a plausible "scenario for victory" for Mr. Bush. He leads in the South for the

first time since June and among white Southerners who are regular voters, the lead swells to more than 20 points. And while Mr. Clinton has been ahead among all white voters, the race now is a dead heat, with Mr. Bush ahead among those who vote regularly. Among all regular voters, the race for the male vote, customarily a component of the GOP presidential coalition, is also almost even.

But the pollsters say that Mr. Bush needs to succeed, among Midwestern voters, where Mr. Clinton still leads, and among white Catholics, where Mr. Clinton still has a scant lead.

For Mr. Clinton to win, he needs a solid turnout among voters under age 35, where he holds a substantial lead of 47% to 27%. Mr. Clinton leads among all women by 14 points and by 20 points among women under age 40.

For all the candidates, as well as the pollsters trying to figure out what is going on, the problem is trying to determine who's going to vote and who isn't.

The Journal/NBC poll isolates what it calls "regular voters," people who say they have voted in half or more elections in the past three years. By using this screen, the Journal/NBC pollsters in their latest survey eliminated 23% of the people they sampled.

So who, in this process, is being eliminated? Most notably, those between the ages of 18 and 30. They make up 12% of the screened "regular voter" sample, but four years ago they represented 20% of the turnout, and many experts think that abysmally low figure will show some improvement Tuesday.

Younger Voters Vital to Clinton

How young people turn out this year really does make a difference. Because they overwhelmingly prefer Mr. Clinton, if they turn out in heavier-than-expected numbers it would mean a better showing Tuesday for the Democrat than the polls indicate.

Anecdotal evidence, including the huge television ratings drawn by the debates, suggest that there's more interest among Americans in this campaign than in other recent elections. But this interest isn't reflected in the rate of people eligible to vote who are actually registered to vote. That's up only about 1% over 1988, though, because the population keeps growing, the sheer number of people registering to vote climbs every four years.

With final figures now available from 30 states, the increase in the rate of registration this year is a meager 0.96%, according to the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate; the registration rate

in 1988 declined more than 2% from 1984.

But that doesn't mean more people won't vote this year; they will because of the growth in the voting-age population. And in some places, registration figures are up sharply.

Registration in Oregon, for example, is up about 16% from four years ago, to 1.8 million from 1.5 million. Voting experts at the Democratic National Committee point to surging registration in several big cities, such as Detroit, Chicago and Philadelphia. Most of that work has been done by the nonpartisan Project Vote, a voter-participation organization based in Washington, D.C. Its director, Sandy Newman, says his group has helped to register 150,000 new voters, almost all of them black, in Pennsylvania; 110,000 in Chicago; 70,000 in Michigan; 40,000 in Ohio; and 160,000 (with the help of the New York Public Interest Research Group) in New York City.

With the exception of New York, where Mr. Clinton holds a big lead, these are all battleground states, and most of these voters will cast their ballots for Mr. Clinton.

Curtis Gans, director of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, predicts a turnout Nov. 3 of 51% to 55% of the eligible voters. The 55% figure would be a major breakthrough, reaching levels last achieved in 1972. Four years ago, 50.2% of those eligible to vote did so. Of those registered to vote, 78% went to the polls.

With no breakthrough in the rate of those registering to vote, the likely way to achieve a significant increase in the percentage of those who take the time to vote is by pulling a larger share of registered voters to the polls. "The potential for that happening is there," says Mr. Breglio.

How Poll Was Conducted

The Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll was based on nationwide telephone interviews of 1,507 registered voters conducted Tuesday and Wednesday by the polling organizations of Peter Hart and Vince Breglio.

The sample was drawn from 315 randomly selected geographic points in the continental U.S. Each region was selected in proportion to its population. Households were selected by a method that gave all telephone numbers, listed and unlisted, an equal chance of being included.

One registered voter, 18 years or older, was selected from each household by a procedure to provide the correct number of male and female respondents. The results of the survey were minimally weighted by race and party for the Tuesday data, and by age, sex and party for the Wednesday data to assure that the poll accurately reflects registered voters nationwide. Data for both nights were then merged, retaining their individual weights.

Chances are 19 of 20 that if all registered voters with telephones in the U.S. had been surveyed, the findings would differ from these poll results by no more than 2.5 percentage points in either direction. The margin for a subgroup would depend on the size of that group.

The group identified as people who vote regularly is made up of 1,158 people who say they vote in half or more of all elections. The margin of error for this group is 2.9 percentage points.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

Voters Can Bet on Bush's Familiarity, Gamble On Clinton's Course or Plunge In With Perot

By GERALD F. SEIB
And ALAN MURRAY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Voters going to the polls Tuesday will choose among the known, the unknown and the unfathomable.

After four years in office, George Bush is a familiar figure to most Americans. Despite his conservative campaign rhetoric, he is a moderate. He instinctively rejects claims from opposite sides of the ideological spectrum that government is either the cause of, or the solution to, most of the nation's problems.

If re-elected, he can be expected to labor more on domestic policy than he did in his first term, but will still face an enormous challenge dealing with an unfriendly and sometimes disrespectful Congress. He offers a steady hand on foreign policy, and would see to it that changes he has helped unleash on the world stage would proceed at a measured pace.

A vote for Bill Clinton, on the other hand, is a gamble. As the first Democratic president in 12 years — and the first Baby Boom president and the first one elected after the end of the Cold War — he would have a rare opportunity to define a new course for the nation, much as Ronald Reagan did in 1981, Lyndon Johnson did in 1965, and Franklin Roosevelt did in 1933. But if he succumbs to his tendency to want to please all, he could be pushed by powerful and competing special interest groups into a congressional muddle that would leave the nation worse off than before he started.

"The most successful leaders have dealt with Congress by bullying them, by essentially going over their heads to the American people, getting solid support for their proposals, and then presenting them to Congress," says Allan J. Lichtman, a professor of history at American University here. "If you try to coddle them, get into the back room with them, then your programs will be nibbled away and you'll fall into the morass."

Meanwhile, a vote for independent candidate Ross Perot is a leap into the dark. Mr. Perot talks like the ultimate pragmatist, without ideology. But events of the last few weeks have raised questions about whether he has the temperament to hold the nation's highest office. More than that, he would have to try to enact a politically unpalatable deficit-reduction plan without a single member of his own party in Congress," says William Leuchtenburg, a residential scholar at the University of North Carolina. "That is unparalleled in his country or any other country."

Challenges Await Winner

Whoever is elected will face great uncertainty on the world stage, most notably the prospect of unrest during the coming politically turbulent winter in Russia. At the same time, the next president is likely to preside over a better economy than that which has saddled President Bush for the past four years. Low inflation, low interest rates, corporate streamlining and reductions in consumer and business debt burdens have left the economy primed for a recovery some time in the next couple of years.

But the real challenge for the next president will be addressing longer-term economic problems. Since 1973, the productivity of American workers has grown at only a third of the pace of the 1950s and 1960s and their average earnings have been stagnant. It's that poor performance that has led many people to question whether the steady rise in living standards that characterized the first four decades after World War II is going to continue.

Gov. Clinton has proposals to take on that task by increasing government spending on education, training, public infrastructure and research. Getting a Democratic Congress to boost spending in those areas won't be difficult. But for the program to succeed, a President Clinton also would have to demonstrate he has the spine to stand up to some powerful forces that have the potential to destroy his program. Whether or not he can resist them may well determine the success or failure of his presidency.

If elected, Mr. Clinton's first test will come within days of his inauguration. Will he propose a tough, credible, multiyear deficit reduction plan as part of the initial economic stimulus package he intends to propose? Or will he offer the goodies first, and merely promise to do deficit reduction later?

Gov. Clinton's campaign proposals don't come close to addressing the deficit in a satisfactory way and many of the academic economists who advise him say deficit reduction can be put off until future years. But budget experts in Washington say a President Clinton would only have sufficient clout to wrestle with this thorny problem in the early days of his presidency.

"The most effective economic program would be to imbue a short-run economic stimulus package in a legislated, long-run deficit reduction plan," says the Brookings Institution economist, and former Carter administration official, Charles Schultze.

Economists agree that some wise public investments could help address both the economy's short-term and its long-term problems. But in order to keep his program from turning into just another congressional porkbarrel, Mr. Clinton would have to stand up to some powerful legislative interests — most notably Sen. Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, who has delivered a cornucopia of federal projects to his home state.

Sen. Jay Rockefeller, a Clinton ally who is also from West Virginia, says the key to preventing Mr. Clinton's infrastructure program from turning into pure political pork is for the president to show toughness and discipline — qualities he sees in Mr. Clinton.

Wanted: Tough Leader

"It's the absence of toughness and discipline which has allowed what has been for us in West Virginia, thanks to Robert C. Byrd, a very creative process," he says.

Another hurdle for Mr. Clinton would be Rep. Richard Gephardt and other trade hawks in Congress. They wanted Mr.

Clinton to pledge to renegotiate the North America Free Trade Agreement and he resisted them. But there would be a constant struggle between Mr. Clinton's avowed free-trade views and forces that, among other things, want to compel Japan to end its trade surplus with the U.S. or face automatic retaliation.

A President Clinton would also have to face up to lawmakers from his own party who want to either raid the defense budget, or use it to finance unneeded but politically popular weapons programs. Many Democrats want to cut defense spending much deeper than does Mr. Clinton. At the same time, Mr. Clinton also would have to stand up to lawmakers in his own party who see a Democratic president as their best chance to keep the money flowing for pet weapon systems that might no longer be militarily necessary but represent thousands of jobs.

But if Mr. Clinton succeeded in taming these special interests and outstanding problems, he might be in a position to stake out a bold new path. One huge advantage he would enjoy is the fact that Congress itself will be smarting from voters who have spent the year complaining about Washington gridlock and warning politicians of every stripe that business as usual won't be tolerated any longer. That may leave the Congress chastened and more eager than usual to act in concert with a Democratic president, a situation Mr. Clinton could turn to his benefit.

Bush Seeks Safe Bets

President Bush is bargaining, of course, that Americans will conclude that the kind of predictable, incremental change he offers is a safer bet in the new world that he has helped create in the last four years.

Mr. Bush would try to revive the economy by fighting for increased tax incentives for private investment, a cut in the capital gains tax and, perhaps, an across-the-board income tax cut. He pledges renewed war on government regulations.

And to stimulate the economy in the short run, he promises not a Democrat-style jobs bill, but rather more rapid expenditure of his already-enacted plan to spend billions on transportation construction.

Mr. Bush promises neither the all-out assault on the deficit that Mr. Perot advocates, nor the more laid-back deficit-cutting approach of Mr. Clinton, but rather a continuing chipping away at the spending imbalance.

And, as much as anything else, Mr. Bush bases his vision for domestic and foreign policy in the next four years on a spree of free-trade agreements in Europe, Asia and Latin America to match his North America Free Trade Agreement. "It is exports that have saved us in this global slowdown, global recession, and it is exports that are going to lead the way out of this with jobs for American manufacturers and American services," Mr. Bush said in the campaign's final days.



George Bush

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Mr. Bush's biggest problem in a second term undoubtedly would be a continuation of the biggest problem he faced in his first term: a hostile Congress controlled by Democrats. In fact, the problem might well be worse in a second term, because Mr. Bush would be a lame duck president seen as an even easier target for the opposition. "It's pretty clear that Congress has taken a special delight in antagonizing President Bush and that would be true even more in a second term," says former Rep. Bill Frenzel of the Brookings Institution.



Bill Clinton

Mr. Perot, if elected, would come in with the clearest commitment to reducing the budget deficit through higher taxes and spending cuts. But whether he could get Congress to go along with his politically painful plan is far less clear. And even if he somehow succeeded in getting lawmakers to enact his plan, the net result could well be a rapid contraction of the economy—which then would antagonize lawmakers eager to escape blame for that outcome.

The one thing an election of Mr. Perot would do is send the most unmistakable signal in the history of American politics that there must be an overhaul in the way government is run, not mere tinkering around the edges. But on the world stage, the combination of the uncertainty and Mr. Perot's rhetoric of economic nationalism would shake up friends and foes alike. All in all, ventures Mr. Leuchtenburg, "I think it would probably be close to chaotic."

AIDS activists, has been critical of Mr. Clinton; during the New York primary campaign, he got into a shouting match with an one member. ACT-UP has criticized the Arkansas governor for not overturning a state anti-sodomy law and for insufficient state spending to combat AIDS.

But any criticism of Mr. Clinton pales next to the antagonism in the gay community towards President Bush. "Gay Republicans have not been writing checks to Republicans," says Rich Tafel, president of the Log Cabin Federation, the largest gay GOP organization, which also has its own political action committee. He agrees that the GOP convention generated a "negative ripple effect."

Clinton Campaign Coffers Are Getting Strong Support From Gay Community

By JILL ABRAMSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The gay community has emerged as one of Bill Clinton's most important cash constituencies.

Gay activists say the Clinton-Gore ticket and the Democratic Party have received more than \$2 million from gay contributors. There's no way to document the contributions because federal election data doesn't include sexual preference.

Interviews with gay activists across the country disclose an unprecedented outpouring of financial support to Mr. Clinton. "There's never been anything like this," says David Mixner, a senior Clinton adviser and member of Access Now for Gay and Lesbian Equality, a Southern California group that includes big donors. The group, known as Angle, pumped about \$500,000 into Michael Dukakis's campaign in 1988, but will probably raise more than \$1 million for the Clinton-Gore ticket. Four years ago, according to Mr. Mixner and other gay organizers, George Bush received support, with votes and or money, from about 33% to 40% of the gay community.

Mr. Clinton has been the beneficiary of heightened political awareness and activism among gays, who have been politicized by the AIDS crisis and angered by anti-gay rhetoric of the religious right. In Jersey City, N.J., last night, the Democratic nominee called AIDS "one of the most fundamental questions facing our people in the health care area," and vowed a "war on AIDS." He pledged to put a single official in charge of that effort, to step up educational efforts about the disease, to speed up approval of AIDS drugs and to increase federal funding sharply for AIDS research, prevention and treatment.

Over the past decade, gays have formed their own federal and state-level political action committees, and they are leaning heavily Democratic this year.

The Human Rights Campaign Fund, the largest gay and lesbian political organization in the nation, has increased its membership from less than 20,000 a few years ago to more than 60,000 today. It expects to double its contributions to sympathetic candidates, to more than \$1 million this year from \$500,000 in 1990, according to spokesman Gregory King. The fund has sent 21 staffers into the field to organize get-out-the-vote drives for Mr. Clinton in such key states as California, Michigan and Illinois.

Just as last fall's Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill hearings on sexual harassment provoked an avalanche of political donations from angry women to women political candidates, the Republican convention sparked its own firestorm in the gay community. Anti-gay speeches by conservative commentator Patrick Buchanan and religious broadcaster Pat Robertson prompted gays around the nation to open their checkbooks.

"Support crystallized overnight with Pat Buchanan's speech," says Mr. Mixner. "It created a voting bloc and tripled the money."

Gay Giving

Major gay and lesbian political groups that raise money or contribute to candidates through political action committees:

■ The Human Rights Campaign Fund	National
■ The Log Cabin Federation	National
■ The Empire State Pride Agenda	New York
■ Impact	Illinois
■ Access Now for Gay and Lesbian Equality	California

"The Republican convention was a five-day reminder that you aren't welcome and you don't belong here," says Steve Smith, a Californian who was the Democratic National Committee's first openly gay committeeman from 1980 to 1988.

But financial support for Mr. Clinton was building in the gay community even before the convention in Houston. In February, Angle co-chaired a fund-raising dinner for Mr. Clinton at the Regent Beverly Wilshire Hotel in Los Angeles with a number of other prominent Californians, including lawyer Warren Christopher and several entertainment-industry executives. Among the dinner sponsors printed on the invitation were a number of gay couples.

"From the very beginning, financial support from the gay community has been instrumental," says Clinton campaign finance director Rahm Emanuel. Taking his lead from Mr. Clinton, Mr. Emanuel says the campaign made sure that gays were included as full participants in Mr. Clinton's fund-raising team. Besides Mr. Mixner, Randy Klose, the late former director of the Human Rights Campaign Fund, was a member of Mr. Clinton's national finance committee. "They have sat at the table as full participants," Mr. Emanuel says.

In May, Mr. Clinton appeared before the national media at a Hollywood nightclub for a fund-raising event organized by gay activists that raised more than \$100,000 for his campaign — the largest event ever held in the gay community for a presidential candidate.

Contributions to the Democratic Party have been enhanced by money donated or raised by entertainment industry executives who have been active in the movement to combat AIDS, such as Barry Diller and David Geffen.

"This election is like our national coming-out as a political force," says Mr. King of the Human Rights Campaign Fund. Tim McFeeley, the group's executive director, reports that this month members have been hosting house parties for the Clinton campaign around the country. Although he doesn't have precise numbers, he says the sums raised have been considerable.

ACT-UP, an organization of militant

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

Last Minute Look at Clinton's Taxes

By ALVIN RABUSHKA

Gov. Bill Clinton says the rich do not pay their "fair" share of taxes. But a close look at Mr. Clinton's economic program reveals a daunting picture of what a Clinton presidency could mean. His tax plan goes far beyond the 38% rate that is sometimes associated with it, and beyond the additional 10% millionaire surtax. In fact, when you take into account the real tax rate on the businesses that provide our livelihoods, the Clinton program turns out to advocate a top marginal rate of 60% or higher.

How do we come to such pre-1986 numbers? On the surface, Gov. Clinton's plan appears reasonable. To improve "fairness" he has proposed a tax increase on the rich. Mr. Clinton has not settled on a precise top marginal rate, but Treasury estimates based on Clinton revenue numbers put that rate at 38% for the top 2% of taxpayers. Still reasonable in the view of some. When you add in the millionaire surcharge, the rate rises to 41.8% (38% + (38% x 10%) = 41.8%).

But the rate is really even higher.

Suppose President Clinton is elected and enacts his new "fair" tax on the rich. Assume he raises the top marginal rate on the top 2% of earners to 38% from 31%, and on millionaires to 41.8%. Although none of Mr. Clinton's top advisers — not Robert Reich, not Ira Magaziner, and not Robert Shapiro — has mentioned this, this program takes a giant step backward from the simplification of our 1986 tax law. The program would give the U.S. an income tax system of five brackets: 15%, 28%, 31%, 38%, 41.8%.

But these, of course, are not the real rates. That's because taxpayers who receive business income don't merely pay taxes once. They pay taxes twice, once when the businesses they own or invest in pay a tax on profit (the corporate tax) and again on after-tax profits, which they report as dividends or as capital gains on IRS forms.

Let's take the new 38% bracket. Most of these people have businesses, or profit

from them. The tax on those profits bears the standard corporate charge of 34%. The remaining (post-tax) 66% of income finds its way into "rich" Americans' bank accounts. In the case of dividends they receive, they will pay 38% of that 66%. That amounts to an additional tax of 25% on the same stream of income. So the effective marginal rate for anyone who participates in the growth of the U.S. economy and does so successfully as a shareholder (has made it to the top bracket) is 59% (34% corporate tax + [38% individual rate times 66% after-tax income]). That is higher than current law, which by this arithmetic gives us a current top marginal rate of 54.5%. It contrasts more sharply with the 1986 Tax Act, which yielded a top marginal rate of 52.5%.

Now let's look at what Mr. Clinton has planned for millionaires. Through his investments, a millionaire can pay the standard corporate rate of 34%. But he pays a higher top marginal income-tax rate of 41.8% on his dividends. The combined double tax is 61.6%. This combined high rate on investment income will surely deter new investment of the kind that is the key plank of the Clinton program. And that doesn't even include state income tax rates as high as 11% (California).

Now let's look at capital gains. Mr. Clinton has not said much about changing that rate. But the effective tax rate on capital gains depends on inflation — and how long people hold onto assets. The important point is that the two new higher brackets on personal income have the effect of increasing the taxes on hardworking, successful people, even if Mr. Clinton doesn't touch the current "28% top rate."

We have to remember too that such high rates are how we got into our pre-1986 tax predicament in the first place. The inflationary years of 1965-80 pushed middle-class taxpayers into progressively higher brackets. Congress then enacted numerous tax loopholes to offset the problem. But the result was hardly "fair" in the Clinton sense: The rich and their tax planners rarely paid taxes at those high

statutory rates. Ironically, the 1986 act was passed because so many people deemed that pre-1986 system "unfair."

The chain is a dangerous one. High rates beget loopholes, which beget economic distortions, tax shelters, rising tax expenditures and the rebirth of a great evil, financial planning. When, in a moment of ironic inevitability, the number crunchers discover that the rich pay a lower share of total income tax than before the Clinton tax hike, the "fairness" advocates will clamor for still higher rates.

If the bond market's behavior in past weeks is any indication, the inflation resulting from Mr. Clinton's spending proposals would have the effect of unlegislated tax increases. In that scenario, U.S. taxpayers will meet an old friend: bracket creep. To help Mr. Clinton out, some enterprising congressman will figure out the ultimate way to truly soak the taxpayer: repeal indexing and encourage the Federal Reserve to inflate. Welcome to Carter Era II.

Mr. Rabushka, a fellow at the Hoover Institution, is co-author with Robert E. Hall of "The Flat Tax" (Hoover Press, 1985).

Recession Reinforcers

Environmental groups suffered a major setback in 1990, when California voters overwhelmingly defeated Big Green, a sweeping back-to-nature initiative that would have deepened that state's severe recession. Economically oblivious environmentalists have now moved their tent show to Ohio and Massachusetts. Voters there will consider two measures that could be straight out of Al Gore's book of environmental apocalypse.

The more controversial is Ohio's Issue 5, which would impose severe reporting and warning requirements on businesses that use any of 458 potentially hazardous chemicals. It's based on a 1986 California labeling law pushed by Hollywood celebrities. Ohio's Issue 5 would be more costly. Playing on the public's understandable fear of cancer, it defines a "significant risk" to cancer as one excess case per million people — a standard 10 times more stringent than California's law. Issue 5 would require cancer labels for thousands of products. Businesses would have to notify everyone living near a site with any of the chemicals present.

The Ohio initiative is almost anti-science in its ignorance of what science now knows about carcinogens. Tap water, bread, bacon, cola and mushrooms all contain low levels of

natural carcinogens. A new article in Science magazine concludes that "the enormous amount of money spent trying to prevent 'one-in-a-million' risks can be counterproductive and involve economic and health-related trade-offs." The scientists call for policy makers to put hypothetical risks into some sort of perspective.

Massachusetts has the other major environmental monkey wrench on the ballot. It would require packaging used inside the state to be reduced in size, be reusable or be made of recyclable materials. Some 50,000 consumer products ranging from Snickers bars to Cabbage Patch dolls would either have to come in special packages or not be sold at all in the state.

That would not only bollix up national brands but increase costs. The forced use of recyclables in Germany raised the prices of some products by 10%. Governor William Weld, who backs the initiative, normally supports free markets, but seems to flake out when an issue comes cloaked in environmental pieties.

Economically pressed Californians have apparently stopped believing environmentalism's current sermons of doom. The show of hands in Ohio and Massachusetts will determine whether the crusade has legs or is finally running out of steam.

President's Exit in a Scandal Fails To Shake Backers of 'Safe' Ito-Yokado

By YUMIKO ONO
And GUNTIN HARDY
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

TOKYO — The news normally would have slammed a company's stock: The company president resigns in shame after other executives are charged with paying extortion money to racketeers.

But when Ito-Yokado Co., Japan's biggest convenience-store chain and majority owner of Southland Corp. of the U.S., said Thursday that its president was quitting, the company's stock closed up on the day. The shares hit 3,680 yen (\$29.87), a gain of 40 yen.

Why? Of all major listings on the Tokyo Stock Exchange, this is one of the few that analysts of Japan's battered market are touting — albeit with reservations, and the mob notwithstanding.

"It's a squeaky-clean company," says Victoria Melendez, an analyst for Jardine Fleming Securities Ltd. in Tokyo. "Their balance sheets are easy to read, they're sitting on mountains of cash and they never spend beyond their means."

In fact, a recent survey of 700 Japanese companies by rating concern Morningstar Inc. placed Ito-Yokado's stock — which is traded as American depositary receipts in New York — near the top of the list for return on investment (an average 21.86% over 10 years) and for low risk of underper-

forming in a bear market. "It's a safe stock, very defensive," says Brian Tobin, of S.G. Warburg Securities (Japan) Inc. With Japan in recession, and consumers watching price, "Everyone's going to shop there."

To shop, and in some cases extort, Ito-Yokado's latest troubles apparently stem from alleged payoffs the company made to insure that the racketeers wouldn't disrupt the company's annual meetings; three executives were arrested. If the charges are true, this isn't the first time a Japanese company has succumbed to such pressure. The practice is illegal, but the Japanese mob has threatened to disrupt other annual meetings in the past.

Ito-Yokado hasn't expressly acknowledged it did anything. But President Masasatoshi Ito, the company's 68-year-old founder, resigned Thursday and apologized for the controversy. His successor, Toshitomi Suzuki, the company's vice president and Mr. Ito's right-hand man, wouldn't comment on the scandal. Mr. Suzuki, 59, did note that he would continue the company's policy of concentrating on profit rather than on boosting sales.

Indeed, it's this long-standing orientation toward profit — until recently a novelty in market-share-hungry Japan — that has made Ito-Yokado an industry leader. In Japan, the company operates nearly 4,840 7-Eleven stores and 142 general merchandise stores, which sell food, clothes and

daily goods. It also operates 57 7-Elevens in Hawaii and is best known outside Japan for its 62.3% stake in Dallas-based Southland, which then had about 7,000 7-Eleven stores in the U.S., in 1990.

The company has remained conservative throughout, moving cautiously while the competition raced to expand and garner more sales. Ito-Yokado has focused on jettisoning products, such as certain sporting goods and electronics, that don't sell well. Its point-of-sales system, which uses computers to determine what's selling and what isn't, "is the best in the industry,"

says Ms. Melendez. When customers walk into a Japanese 7-Eleven store, everything they purchase is noted for later marketing research. Cashiers record the sex, estimated age and time of arrival of the customers, so they can calculate how many box lunches and rice balls will be needed at any time of the day. Recently, the chain even attached a screen to the cash register, so the customers can see on display a list of the products they just purchased. The company has also cut by 50% the time it takes to ring up a customer's purchase.

The recession has helped Ito-Yokado: Some consumers are forswearing the food departments of expensive stores, with their fresh salmon eggs and fancy tempura, and instead grabbing a cheaper sushi box and iced tea at 7-Eleven. Still, profits are down throughout the industry, and Ito-Yokado is no exception. In the half year ended Aug. 31, its consolidated pretax profit dropped 12% to 97.28 billion yen, while consolidated revenue rose 11% to 1,523 trillion yen. Net income decreased 19% to 32.38 billion yen.

Expected Results

For the year ending Feb. 28, 1993, Ito-Yokado expects pretax profit to drop 3.7% to 196 billion yen, revenue to rise 3.7% to 3,03 trillion yen and net income to decline 8.4% to 67.4 billion yen.

A spokesman says Southland is chiefly to blame for the drop in corporate profit. Indeed, bolstering ailing Southland, and retiring more of its debt, will be the chief mission of Mr. Suzuki, Ito-Yokado's new president. Mike Allen, senior analyst at Barclays de Zoete Wedd Securities Ltd., says Southland had a loss of \$389 million in 1990 and \$54 million in 1991, and will post a loss of about \$47 million this year. Still, he says, Southland has been closing unprofitable stores and "next year they stand to make a profit for the first time in many years."

Mr. Suzuki said he was "furthering his confidence" in his outlook for Southland. "We're now in the process of getting rid of the poison" in the system, he says. "We'll finish doing that this year. Next year, we're aiming for a pretax profit."

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Bush Too Requires Leap of Faith In Voting Booth

President Bush's pollster, Fred Steeper, asked voters a few weeks ago to choose between the George Bush and Bill Clinton economic plans. The Bush plan lost by 10 points.

Some time later Mr. Steeper tried the same thing with one crucial difference. He left out the names of the candidates. The Bush ideas won going away on every issue except one (taxing the rich). "When you tell voters it's the Bush plan," says one White House aide, "the numbers fail."

Those voters know just how I feel. I also prefer most of the Bush platform to Gov. Clinton's. I only wish I believed Mr. Bush really preferred it, too. Pox-on-both-houses voters have always struck me as cop-outs; this year I've got the pox myself. (Ross Perot's flight on wings of ego is too flaky.) The hollowness at the core of the Bush presidency is what has made this election so vexing.

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

"Our people don't have agendas. They have mortgages," a senior Bush aide told the Washington Post on Jan. 19, 1989—thereby setting the tone for four years of mortgaging principle. Like Taft and Van Buren, two other successors to two-term presidents, Mr. Bush is a man of the establishment who misunderstood his coalition's populist roots. With a few notable exceptions (trade, judicial appointments, education), Mr. Bush has ceded the domestic political field to his opponents.

On the paramount issue of economic growth, the sin isn't the relatively mild recession. It's Mr. Bush's refusal to defend and fight for the policies that produced the seven-year Reagan boom and secured his own 1988 victory. Mr. Bush attacks the media, with some justification, for economic "gloom and doom," but his own silence created the vacuum his critics have filled. This timidity goes beyond what my editorial-page colleagues call weak "generalship"; it speaks to the heart of his public character.

Mr. Bush's miserable campaign is the apotheosis of his too personal presidency. He speaks in slogans — "Ozone Man," "nutty pollsters" — that are epithets, not arguments. He has had as many themes as speeches, perhaps because for him campaign themes are less ends to seek than means to keep power. This spring a prominent Republican called a senior White House official with alarm about the president's lack of purpose. "You don't understand," the official replied. "This is all about power." Such arrogance deserves some modesty-inducing time in exile.

Mr. Bush is a genuinely decent man, with real foreign accomplishments to his credit. It's also true that a second term might be better, and Mr. Bush has finally acquired an agenda he may even fight for. But how can we know?

He hasn't yet put Dick Darman out of our misery; a re-elected president, feeling vindicated, might even promote him. Mr. Bush also says he wants to make Washington a "bicker-free zone," which sounds like there would be more tax summits with Dan Rostenkowski. Has George Mitchell also promised not to bicker? Thomas Scully, a Darman protege and White House health-care aide, didn't inspire confidence when he said on National Public Radio earlier this year that campaign proposals are one thing but governing is another. Read his lips?

Mr. Clinton has run the better campaign, which is at least a sign of competence. He has echoed the Ronald Reagan of 1980 in stressing growth and opportunity, even if his proposed means are suspect.

But a president comes with a party, and Mr. Clinton would come with the congressional Democrats, unreformed and festooned with special interests. For every David Osborne who wants to reinvent government, Democrats have a (lawyer activist) Harold Ickes who wants to expand it. For every Sen. Sam Nunn who voted to confirm Clarence Thomas, there is a Ricki Seidman (Ted Kennedy staffer turned Clinton aide) who tormented him. A Clinton victory also cedes the judiciary, which he will use to buy peace with his party's left; the American proliferation of "rights" and litigiousness will continue.

If Mr. Bush does rally to win, a latent voter fear of Democratic control of all three federal branches will be a large reason. With the world moving toward less intrusive government, Americans may flinch before turning to a party it knows will deliver more. A defeat to someone as weak as George Bush may even be the shock therapy Democrats need to tame their worst excesses.

In the Nixon-to-China sense that only a Democrat can reform government, maybe a President Clinton could tame them. But doing so would require more than rebuking Sister Souljah; it would mean staring down the groups that destroyed Jimmy Carter.

This is where the doubts about Mr. Clinton's character apply. His soft personality, his desire to please and be liked, make it unlikely he'll resist the pent-up demands of his own coalition. Mr. Bush was reluctant to use Gennifer Flowers during this campaign; Mr. Clinton's party "allies" won't hesitate to use something similar if they aren't appeased.

Mr. Bush is right to say that a vote for Bill Clinton is a leap into the unknown, a triumph of hope over Carter experience. The agony for conservative non-partisans — and the reason we'll be holding our noses in the voting booth — is that so is a vote for George Bush.



George Bush

Washington Wire

A Special Weekly Report From
The Wall Street Journal's
Capital Bureau

STRETCH RUN: Bush and Clinton plot their last dashes.

Clinton says he will "play offense" and focus almost exclusively on the economy. He hits Georgia and Florida, then focuses on the battleground states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and Missouri. Clinton says he will also go to Texas, at the urging of Sen. Bentsen, to campaign in the heavily Hispanic Rio Grande Valley.

Bush, with a razor-thin margin for error, seeks to assemble an unlikely electoral majority. Though his Southern and Rocky Mountain base still isn't nailed down, he'll head for industrial states like Wisconsin, New Jersey, Connecticut, Michigan and Ohio. He may also target Georgia and Missouri, where Perot still crimps his prospects for victory.

While attacking Clinton, Bush will step up references to his second-term plans and reach once more for "the vision thing." Clinton will stress his "different kind of Democrat" theme.

TUESDAY'S WINNER will face a sluggish economy, despite the GDP jump.

Economists predict fourth-quarter growth will be worse than the 2.7% third-quarter figure and see only a modest pickup in the first half of 1993 — even if the Fed cuts interest rates again. The most optimistic see little chance that the jobless rate will fall below 7% before mid-1993. Caterpillar Inc. says the economy has "lost momentum."

National Association of Manufacturers board members oppose a short-term stimulus package by 4 to 1. But Kurt Karl of WEFA Group says that "if all the numbers are really weak, we'd expect even Bush to come up with some kind of stimulus." And Clinton aides say that, if elected, he'd begin work right away on a deficit-neutral plan to spur public and private investment. A sure bet: an investment-tax credit.

TIED HANDS? Bush and Clinton are both boxed in by campaign promises.

Clinton will be pressured to move on such expensive items as middle-class tax relief and health care. His pledge to negotiate side deals to the Mexican trade pact will slow down its implementation. He is committed to finishing the B-2 bombers and Seawolf submarines already under way, and going ahead with the V-22 tilt-rotor aircraft.

But Bush also now finds himself committed to the V-22, which he once tried to kill. And after granting big export subsidies to farmers, he would have to take many of them away if a global trade agreement is reached cutting back on such aid.

His politically inspired pledge to shake up personnel means he may have to dump Darman, whether he — and Darman patron Baker — wants to or not.

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HOLDING THEIR OWN? Republicans say they sense a chance to embarrass Gore in his home state of Tennessee; Bush campaigns there today, and Quayle on Monday. But Democrats whisper that they have a shot in Quayle's Indiana, where polls show only a narrow GOP edge.

REPUBLICANS HOLD a big cash edge for last-minute efforts. In its final, pre-election disclosure, the GOP reported an \$18 million cash hoard, while the Democrats had \$12 million; the Bush campaign had \$23.7 million cash on hand, while the Clinton campaign had \$14.5 million. But a top Clinton fund-raiser says Clinton will be able to keep pace with Bush media buys in the critical states.

BIG GIVER: Sam Bamieh, a California businessman and Iran-Contra figure with past Saudi connections, turns up on a Common Cause list of top GOP soft-money contributors. Bamieh, who claimed to have had knowledge of CIA dealings with the Saudi government on behalf of Nicaraguan rebels in the mid-80s, has given \$312,800 in the past two years.

PLACING BETS? The Securities Industry Association names as president Marc Lackritz, who was a Rhodes scholar with Clinton. And the American Bankers Association's new president is William Brandon of Arkansas, who also has Clinton ties.

WOMEN'S VOTES help fuel Democratic congressional campaigns.

In the newest Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll, women favor Democrats over Republican House candidates by a 14 percentage point margin, compared with a nine-point Democratic edge among men. Among the more than half of women who work outside the home, the edge is even greater—19 points.

Meanwhile, the "Anita Hill Class" of new women lawmakers takes shape. In the Senate, Maryland incumbent Mikulski and California's Feinstein are regarded as sure bets. California's Boxer and Illinois's Braun still cling to leads, while Murray in Washington and Yeakel in Pennsylvania are in tight races. Women candidates are given good chances of ousting veteran House incumbents Wilson of Texas and Crane of Illinois.

But some female House incumbents are in trouble, including Democrat Oakar in Ohio and Republican Snowe in Maine.

MINOR MEMOS: Bill Becker, the Arkansas AFL-CIO chief who last March called Clinton a "chameleon" who reneges on promises, now is quoted in the AFL-CIO newspaper as saying he "has the potential to be one of our greatest presidents." . . . Bush begins tomorrow's train trip in little Burlington, Wis.—the home of the famous Liar's Club. . . . Rep. Rostenkowski's opponent is formally listed on the ballot as Elias R. ("Non-Incumbent") Zenkich.

RICH JAROSLOWSKI

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Clinton Says He Opposes USAir Deal

*Candidate Would Kill
British Airways Pact*

By Martha M. Hamilton
Washington Post Staff Writer

Democratic presidential contender Bill Clinton has joined independent candidate Ross Perot in making a campaign issue out of the proposed alliance between USAir Group Inc. and British Airways PLC.

Clinton said on the "Larry King Live" show Wednesday night that if he were president he would refuse to sign off on the proposed \$750 million deal because, "we get no access to the British market if we do it."

Yesterday, however, Transportation Secretary Andrew H. Card said that he planned to decide on the alliance sometime between the election and Dec. 24, the date either of the two airlines could walk away from the deal.

The issue is expected to come up again today when the Arkansas gover-

opposed the deal, saying that it would put other U.S. carriers at a competitive disadvantage, since their access to Britain and beyond is more limited than British Airways'.

Perot first raised the issue during the last presidential debate, prompting an immediate response by Seth E. Schofield, chairman of Arlington-based USAir. Yesterday, Schofield fired off a similar letter to Clinton, taking issue with the Democrat's views.

"The USAir-British Airways alliance will preserve jobs in the U.S. airline industry while it increases domestic competition, keeps fares low and increases pressure for strong customer service," Schofield wrote.

One issue Clinton has raised is the inequality in competition between European aircraft manufacturing consortium Airbus Industrie, which receives government subsidies, and U.S. aircraft manufacturers. Schofield pointed out—as he had in his letter to Perot—that USAir and British Airways operate large numbers of U.S.-built Boeing Co. aircraft.

Clinton hasn't precluded allowing such a deal if an agreement is reached that would give U.S. carriers broader rights abroad, said a member of his campaign staff. The point of view that Clinton brings to the issue is one that is emerging in his discussions of many trade issues—that of reciprocity.

"For Clinton, free trade is only good in conjunction with policies that promote worker retraining and other economic aims," said Gary C. Hufbauer of the Institute for International Economics, a Washington-based research



BILL CLINTON

... wants access to British market

nor visits Pittsburgh, USAir's largest base of operations, for a midday rally.

The proposed deal between British Airways and the sixth-largest U.S. carrier would link USAir's schedule to the schedule of British Airways to help increase traffic on British Airways transatlantic flights. In return, British Airways would invest \$750 million in USAir, which has suffered hundreds of millions in losses. The deal requires approval by regulators on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as stockholders.

American Airlines Inc., United Airlines Inc. and Delta Air Lines Inc. have

group. "Free trade is all-important for [President] Bush and he lets other economic policies stand or fall on their merits."

U.S. and British negotiators ended another round of talks yesterday on proposed changes to the bilateral agreement governing aviation between the two countries, which might provide more U.S. airlines greater access to British markets. The talks are scheduled to resume in Washington Nov. 9. However, the Bush administration has said its decision on the USAir deal doesn't depend on the outcome of those talks.

One of the Clinton campaign's many policy study groups is an informal Transportation Task Force, headed by former Civil Aeronautics Board attorney William K. Ris Jr. Ris is a senior vice president of a lobbying firm that has been retained by American Airlines, but a Clinton campaign staff said Clinton is soliciting advice from a large number of sources and that Ris has had no direct contact with Clinton on the USAir-British Airways issue.

Staff writer Peter Behr contributed to this report.

Schaefer Expected to Back Bush

*Governor Accepts
Invitation to Rally*

By Richard Tapscott
Washington Post Staff Writer

ANNAPOLIS, Oct. 29—Maryland Gov. William Donald Schaefer, a Democrat, will travel to suburban St. Louis on Friday to appear at a rally with President Bush and is expected to give his endorsement to the Republican incumbent.

Schaefer, who was mayor of Baltimore for 15 years before being elected governor in 1986, has a long and warm acquaintanceship with the president and has frequently spoken of him in flattering terms.

Until now, Schaefer has declined to endorse either Bush, who is trailing in the state, according to a recent poll, or Democratic nominee Bill Clinton, saying in response to questions simply, "I'm a Democrat."

Schaefer spokeswoman Paige Boinest said this evening that Schaefer decided to make the appearance with Bush after receiving a call today from Robert Teeter, chairman of the Bush campaign.

"He hasn't said anything so far in the presidential election, and he felt it was time to go with his conscience," Boinest said.

She said the first contact between the president's reelection organization and Schaefer came today, and she was uncertain whether Schaefer would campaign elsewhere for the Republican president.

The St. Louis rally is scheduled for 12:40 p.m. at Maryville College in St. Louis County. Schaefer will

See SCHAEFER, D5, Col. 4

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Schaefer Expected to Back Bush

SCHAEFER, From D1

be introduced at the rally by Missouri Gov. John Ashcroft, a Republican. Schaefer's spokeswoman said the Maryland governor plans to address the rally.

She said Schaefer will likely endorse the president at that time.

"He obviously thinks an awful lot of the president, but he didn't get involved in it up till now," Boine said.

"He's taking a day off to go out and make this appearance. Obviously, he feels strongly about it," Boine said.

Schaefer has never been a Clinton fan, although the two were acquainted from meetings at the National Governors' Association. Shortly before Maryland's presidential primary in March, Schaefer endorsed former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas, who carried Maryland in the primary.

Bush apparently needs all the support he can get in Maryland, based on results of a poll conducted for WRC-TV (Channel 4).

The poll showed Clinton leading Bush by 16 percentage points, 46 to 30, and gave independent Ross Perot 16 percent in the state. Eight percent of those polled were undecided.

The poll, conducted by Potomac Survey Research, surveyed 600 likely Maryland voters from Saturday through Monday and had a 4.1 percent margin of error.

Jonathan Spalter, communications director for the Clinton-Gore campaign in Maryland, said he was not surprised by the expected endorsement by Schaefer.

"We're surprised it took him this long," Spalter said.

Given Schaefer's slumping approval ratings, according to recent Mason-Dixon Polls, Spalter said his endorsement of Bush might help Clinton in Maryland.

"We've been doing successfully

without the support of the governor and we'll continue to be successful without his support," Spalter said.

Clinton did not solicit Schaefer's support, Spalter said, "because we didn't need it."

Carol Arscott, spokeswoman for the Bush-Quayle committee in Maryland, said a Schaefer endorsement might help the president.

"The governor certainly has a core of loyal supporters, and I hope they'll take his advice," Arscott said. "In Maryland, no Republican can win statewide office without Democratic support."

State Senate President Thomas V. Mike Miller Jr. (D-Prince George's), a co-chairman of the Clinton-Gore campaign, called Schaefer's expected endorsement of Bush "unfortunate" and "misguided."

Miller noted that Clinton has the endorsement of virtually all leading Democrats in Maryland, many of whom gave it long before the primary.

Miller said he presumes that Schaefer's action is somehow connected to the governor's longstanding feud with Baltimore Mayor K. L. Schmoke.

It was announced this week that Schmoke had been invited to Little Rock to be with Clinton on Election Night.

Miller said he does not believe that Schaefer will affect the outcome of Tuesday's voting in Maryland, because Clinton holds a comfortable lead in the polls.

However, he said an endorsement might influence voters in other states where the race is close but where voters "might not be aware of the independent streak of our governor."

Miller said Schaefer's action could hurt the state's credibility.

"The governor has got to be told that he's being used as propaganda to undercut the very platform and program he espouses," Miller said.

30-SECOND POLITICS

Bush's ads are misleading and wrong.

CBS & CNN

The Democratic nominee launched two new ads yesterday. The second one uses increasingly tight shots of President Bush saying "you will be better off four years from now than you are today" followed by negative economic statistics. The tag line: "How're you doing?"

Candidate: Bill Clinton

Producer: Clinton-Gore Creative Team

Time: 30 seconds

Audio: CBS and CNN and newspapers across the country call George Bush's ads misleading and wrong. The fact is under Bill Clinton's leadership, Arkansas leads the nation in job growth, has the second lowest tax burden and the lowest government spending in the country. And he's balanced 12 straight budgets. They reduced infant mortality and now have the highest graduation rate in the region. And in the past year Arkansas' crime record went down. No wonder The Washington Post says George Bush is lying about Bill Clinton's record. And why the Oregonian

concluded: "Frankly, we no longer trust George Bush."

Analysis: This counterattack ad, aired 24 hours after a Bush spot assailed Clinton's record, uses positive statistics to try to neutralize Bush's dark portrait of Arkansas. The figures are accurate but use time periods most favorable to Clinton. While Arkansas was No. 1 in job growth in the past year, it lagged behind the national average during Clinton's tenure. While Arkansas' crime rate dropped in the first half of 1992, it increased faster than any other state during the past decade. And Clinton is required by law to balance his budget.

The ad uses newspaper and TV reports, such as a Judy Mann column in The Post, to buttress Clinton's claim that the Bush charges are misleading. One group that the Bush ad cites for support, the Corporation for Enterprise Development, cried foul yesterday, with its chairman calling Arkansas "a poor state" that "has made courageous and dramatic strides."

—Howard Kurtz

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

JUDY MANN

Standing by Their Man

If Gov. Bill Clinton wins this election, it's going to be because of the votes of women, who have been his strongest and most steadfast constituency throughout the campaign. In this election, it's the men who have had trouble making up their minds.

Whether it's the economy, education, health-care reform, reproductive choice—or just plain change—Clinton has pounded away at issues that have resonated to the daily concerns of women voters. Unlike 1988, this year's campaign has delineated sharp differences between the candidates on matters that affect women and their families, and women have done what the suffragists hoped they would: They are transforming their personal concerns into political action.

From mid-July on, most national polls have found that more women than men support Clinton, and they have viewed President Bush more harshly than men have. The latest Washington Post-ABC poll, concluded Monday, found that Clinton was supported by 50 percent of women and 39 percent of men. Thirty percent of women and 34 percent of men supported Bush, and 16 percent of women backed Perot compared with 22 percent of men.

"George Bush can no longer campaign as the kinder, gentler president," says Jane Danowitz, director of the bipartisan Women's Campaign Fund. "He has a record which has repeatedly been against women that hangs around his neck. He vetoed the Family and Medical Leave Act and he's consistently vetoed legislation favoring abortion rights, and he's appointed judges and justices to the courts of our country who've been consistently anti-choice. Clinton-Gore have been pro-jobs, pro-choice and pro-change and that's the message women are responding to. Finally, once and for all, we may be voting in unison and more as a bloc than we ever had before. I think that's to our credit."

Republican pollster Linda DiVall doesn't see it quite that way. While Clinton draws about half of the women's vote, there's the other half that votes for Bush or Perot. "My guess," she says, "is that under 5 percent will say they switched and voted for Clinton because of the abortion issue," although she says it was a crucial issue in motivating women to run.

But Harriett Woods, head of the National Women's Political Caucus, thinks another factor will work in Clinton's favor. "I think people have not

paid enough attention to the mobilizing of women at the state and local levels," she says. "There are record numbers of women seeking state legislative seats across the country and that automatically energizes a turnout." This should favor the Democrats because 10 times as many Democratic women are running for the U.S. Senate as are Republican women; twice as many Democratic women are running for the House as are Republican women, and about 40 percent more Democratic women are running for state legislatures than Republican women.

Woods contrasts the reception women candidates are getting this year to past years, when they usually started off 5 to 10 percentage points behind simply because they were women. "Maybe the greatest virtue of all the hype around 'the year of the political woman' is that it has reinforced women's confidence in women. It's made women feel, 'The voters want me.' In the past, there's been the discouragement factor. This year, for the first time, we've had the encouragement factor."

Democratic pollster Celinda Lake says women voters "have been very impressed that Clinton knew the price of bread, the price of gasoline, the price of jeans," when a woman asked him those questions during a televised forum. "They assume women candidates know these things. You're going to see women candidates get some last surges here and I think it's going to be very much related to people wanting to elect people who are in touch with their lives. It's such a stark contrast in their minds to Bush."

She says the Bush campaign understood the importance of character to women but failed to understand that "it's multifaceted."

"There's personal trust and public trust. Women, in particular, distinguish between the two. They are looking for a leader who will keep his promises to them. That is part of Clinton's strength. They sense a commitment that is very strong." By contrast, she says, Bush's "read my lips" promise not to raise taxes "is seared on the American conscious."

So, in the end, if Clinton wins it will be because more people voted for him than voted for Perot or Bush. But in this most volatile of election years, it was women voters who stayed with him and gave him security. And that is precisely what they are yearning for, for themselves and their families.

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

Winners of the Cold War

All right: It would be strange if George Bush were not taking credit for winning the Cold War—the "we" who won it floating somewhere between Americans as a whole and the Reagan-Bush team in particular. The political advantage available to be drawn from the other international big-ticket item of the last four years—his conduct of the gulf war—is being steadily squeezed by scrutiny of his Iraq policies before and after that conflict. To flesh out his claims of foreign-policy prowess, the president badly needs the Cold War. It did end, after all, on his White House watch.

But that leaves open the role of American policy and—to narrow it down—Reagan-Bush policy in bringing about this happy result. The issue will engage historians for the next century or two. But meanwhile not just Bush's election prospects but the reputation and self-esteem of a generation of participants in the political wars are on the line. This is what lends the debate its distinctive snap.

The basic Reagan case is strong. Ronald Reagan turned up the heat in military spending and high tech, on regional battlefields and on the ideological front. At the same time—this part of the Reagan

policy is often overlooked—he opened up a negotiating window and, in Mikhail Gorbachev, eventually found a Kremlin interlocutor who was ready to consider a respectable strategic withdrawal so as to turn to domestic repair.

Of course none of this would have transpired if there were not in the Soviet system, somewhere, a disposition to change. You can call it a strength of the Russian character in that certain people possessed a capacity to see the light. I refer particularly to Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn and the legion of lesser-known moral heroes. Or you can call it a genuine weakness of the Soviet system itself: its internal inconsistencies, its inability to coax performance and cooperation from people it abused and intimidated, produced terminal deadlock.

Some—like George Kennan, writing in the *New York Times* of Oct. 28—discount the role of American steadiness and pressure and give almost all the credit to an internal Soviet dynamic. Kennan speaks with the authority of one who conceived the 40-year Western policy of "containment." He meant that the West should hold the ring until internal pressures mellowed the Kremlin. Now he believes that the

"militarization" of American policy and especially our "unnecessarily belligerent and threatening tone"—words that apply not just to Reagan but especially to Reagan—did not so much hasten as delay this home-baked process of Soviet liberalization.

Well, yes, Americans conducted military adventures and hurled angry words. These surely had their political impact on the other side, as Soviet deeds and words had their impact on our side. In some aspects the Cold War did indeed consist of the mutual misunderstandings, provocations and political responses of the two superpowers.

But where did the trouble begin? With the Soviet Communist Party forcibly taking away the liberty of many people. What remains notable about the '80s is that once Gorbachev started dismantling communism—stopped governing the Soviet empire and people by force—the Cold War was instantly over. The American system, intact, reached out to the new Russia. The Soviet system dissolved. What could be clearer evidence of where the source of the Cold War lay?

Why did this not happen until the '80s? Why did it happen during the time of the most "militaristic"

of American presidents? I suspect that the Soviet Union was on the edge, and Reagan pushed it over. Up until that point the Soviet economy and society were sick but not sick enough, and threatened but not threatened enough by progress and pressure elsewhere, to bring systemic crisis to a climax. Just at that moment—the right moment—Reagan came along to apply maverick conservative notions of the vulnerability of communism to change that he had had in his head for years.

George Bush now piggybacks on Reagan's triumph. He is entitled to. But he shouldn't be misstating the Reagan case. He stints the contribution made by Russians to unlocking their own destiny and dismisses the contribution made by Democrats to sustaining containment. All postwar presidents were aboard containment in one or another fashion. Initiatives that Reagan harvested—in confronting Soviet missiles in Europe and Soviet invaders in Afghanistan—Carter planted. A little generosity and truth—to the successors of Soviet communism and to the domestic opposition—will take next Tuesday's presidential victor a long way.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

Va. Democrats Hope to End Tradition *Clinton-Gore Said to Offer Best Hope of Breaking GOP String*

By Donald P. Baker and Peter Baker
Washington Post Staff Writers

About this time every four years, Virginia's Democratic leaders, like Halloween goblins, have gone into hiding, peeking out just long enough to cast ballots on Election Day.

This year, however, the party's hierarchy, from Gov. L. Douglas Wilder on down, is campaigning openly and vigorously for the party's nominees for national office, believing that the two southerners offer the best chance in decades for the party to carry the state in a presidential race.

But moderates Bill Clinton and Al Gore still may not have enough appeal among the state's conservative old guard to break a string of six consecutive Republican sweeps in presidential voting.

"It's our best chance of winning" since 1964, when Texan Lyndon B. Johnson won in a landslide over conservative Barry Goldwater, said Paul Goldman, the Democratic state chairman.

He added that Virginians haven't voted against an incumbent Republican president since 1932.

With voter registration topping 3 million for the first time, and swelled by 400,000 new voters, the result in Virginia "could easily be decided by turnout," said Goldman.

Joe Elton, the GOP's executive director, agrees with the premise, but says heightened interest helps his party.

Elton said the Democrats will "have a good . . . operation" in majority-black precincts, but "when the turnout nears 80 percent, it's good news for us."

If Clinton carries Virginia, "it will be a short evening for George Bush," said Bob Holsworth, political science professor at Virginia Commonwealth University.

"Clinton will have to win 40

states to carry Virginia," concurs University of Virginia government professor Larry Sabato.

Polls indicate that Bush has been slowly increasing his lead over Clinton and independent Ross Perot in Virginia, while Clinton maintains comfortable margins in Maryland and the District of Columbia.

WRC-TV (Channel 4) reported Wednesday that Bush's support in Virginia, measured last Saturday, stood at 43 percent, compared to 39 percent for Clinton and 11 percent for Perot, with 7 percent undecided.

With the margin of error at 4.1 percent, the race is a tossup.

Another poll, released yesterday jointly by George Mason University and the University of Virginia, showed Bush with 47 percent, followed by Clinton with 36, Perot with 13 and 4 percent undecided.

Polling in Maryland from Saturday to Monday, WRC-TV found Clinton with 46 percent, Bush with 30 percent, Perot 16 percent, and 8 percent undecided.

A Channel 4 poll in the District, conducted Oct. 12 to 14, gave Clinton 71 percent, Bush 17 percent and Perot 8 percent.

While Wilder, Lt. Gov. Donald S. Beyer Jr. and Attorney General Mary Sue Terry are touting the Clinton-Gore ticket, Virginia Republicans hope to halt a drift from Bush in Northern Virginia by emphasizing that Clinton favors D.C. statehood, which, if adopted, could result in a commuter tax for suburbanites.

A handful of Northern Virginians, interviewed in a town house community in Merrifield, produced more Bush than Clinton supporters.

But most agreed that Clinton seemed to have more fans locally and the Bush supporters were mostly lukewarm, more opposed to Clinton than true Bush admirers.

"I just don't trust him," Cindy O'Connor, 43, a medical technician, said about Clinton. "We know what we've got with Bush. I don't think we'd be in for any big surprises."

O'Connor, a self-described Navy brat, is particularly upset about Clinton's draft record.

"My husband didn't like the war either," she said. "None of my family liked it. But when you live in this country, you have an obligation."

Margaret Elder, 68, who retired from a career in data processing, plans to vote for Clinton in part because of his energy, though she is not sure whether to trust him.

"At least he seems upbeat," she said.

"George Bush is too old. He's only one month younger than I am. You simply don't have the energy that you had 20 years ago. Things do start wearing out. I mean, my knees are shot. We had our time. It's time to turn it over to people who are younger," she said.

Ruth Thue, a 77-year-old retiree, is the type of voter all three candidates are competing for right now.

"I'm in a quandary," she said. "I just have to go in there and hope God tells me what to do. I make up my mind and then something happens to change it. I really don't approve of these politicians bringing up bad things about other people."

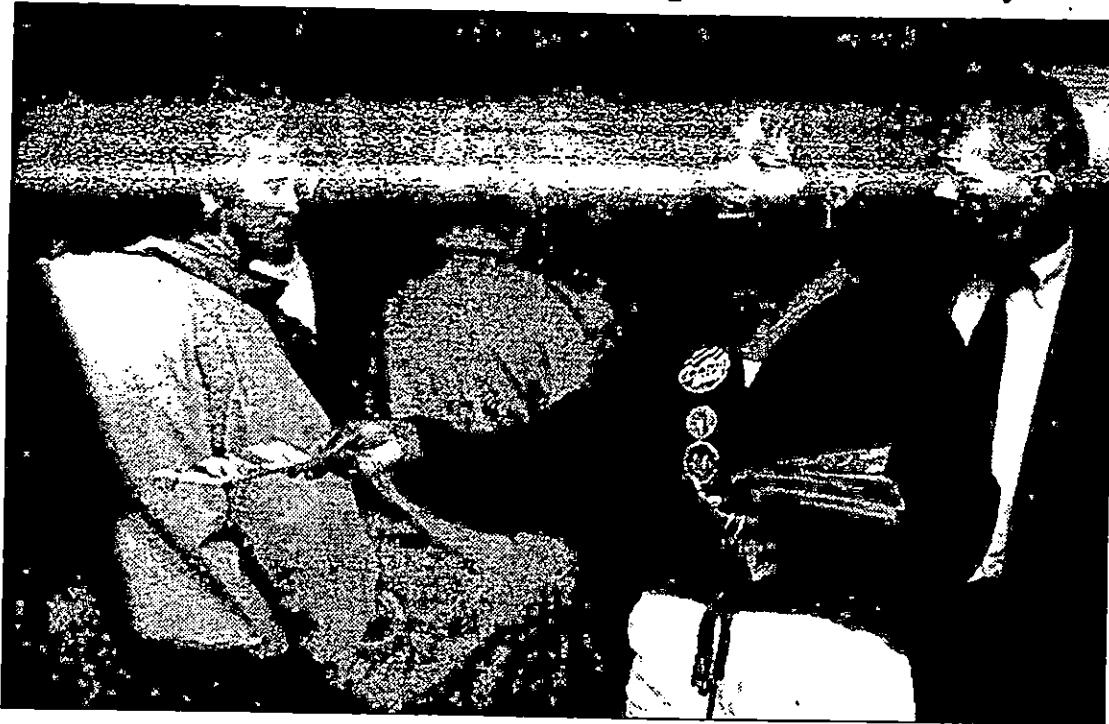
Kathy Cook, 39, who is pregnant with her third child, doesn't believe Clinton supports traditional family values. "I'm very leery of Clinton and leery of his wife, for sure. She stands for all the things that I don't. She doesn't support the family."

Marjorie MacArthur, 33, a product manager for Bell Atlantic, is leaning toward Clinton but went to a meeting of Perot volunteers Wednesday to get more information.

"I've seen some of his infomercials and I think he makes some good points," she said.

The Vote Starts Here

Kicking It Off With Handbills, Bumper Stickers & Leaflets



Sonadji Bey-Farris, 16, Clinton volunteer, works the entrance to the Metro stop.

By Laura Blumenfeld
Washington Post Staff Writer

Bottom line: It gets girls. Looped around your neck, swinging from a chain, the BUSH-QUAYLE volunteer badge reels them in.

"Girls come up to me and say, 'Where'd you get that?' and we start talking," says Paul Brady, 15, from Bishop O'Connell High School in Arlington. "It's a good pickup gimmick."

Who can resist the earnest gaze of a civic-minded guy?

"Girls figure I'm a prude or modest. They feel safer," says Pepin Tuma, 16, known at Langley High School in McLean as "Mr. Republican."

The perks of working on a political campaign. It's not why they're volunteering, but hey, enjoy the ride. Teenagers are coming out in droves this Election '92, more so than in recent memory, say volunteer coordinators for both the Bush and Clinton camps (Perot headquarters says it has no teenage volunteers). What's up?

Could be MTV's Rock the Vote campaign, Clinton's sax blast on Arsenio and his MTV gig. Or maybe it's just a reflection of a more politically plugged-in generation. It's cool, these days, to care about the environment, about poverty, race, abortion, to rap on issues.

"It's not as trendy as a beeper," says Matt Tobin, 17, plucking at his volunteer I.D. badge. "But I wear it to school."

After class, instead of track practice and debate team, teenagers are leafleting neighborhoods, running errands, staffing phones, stuffing envelopes, stapling pamphlets and sometimes their fingers.

"Youchi!" yells a guy wearing a gold camel earring. Stapled an index finger. He and a bunch of classmates from Bishop O'Connell High School are on a leaflet fold-two-three-staple assembly line at Bush-Quayle headquarters. Fliers blur in their hands. They're fast, way faster than the slugs at the adult table.

"Quayle was awesome," in the vice-presidential debate, says Julie Warner, 17.

"He was a scrapper!" says Mark Turner, 17.

"Young people should be involved," Warner says. "It's going to be our world soon."

"We're making history," says Turner, through a mouthful of pepperoni pizza. Free food, another volunteer perk. Other reasons to work on a campaign:

Impress your parents:

"He wasn't afraid or embarrassed or shy!" coos Ellen Cury, mother of Joshua, a zippy 13-year-old who hands out Clinton material. "I was real proud of him. He walked right up to people."

Impress yourself:

"They push me aside. I'm surprised I'm not afraid," says Ben Gladstone, 17, who distributes Clinton fliers in McLean. "My area is highly Republican."

Learn stuff:

"I have acquired a lot of knowledge of Xerox machines," says Clinton volunteer Ofer Zer, 15, from the District.

See weird stuff:

"This guy took the Bill Clinton-Al Gore literature and buried it in his garden," says Ginger Zan Over, 17, who delivered leaflets in McLean.

Mess up traffic:

"Be careful you don't cause accidents," warns a Bush instruction sheet on how to wave signs at intersections. "Attractive young people may get the attention of drivers, but can also be traffic hazards."

Become as sophisticated as television pundits:

"I think Clinton will win because I like Clinton," says Joshua Cury, 13.

And most important, you glimpse the knotty process of getting an official elected. It's Sonadji Bey-Farris's first day on the Clinton campaign. The 16-year-old from the District's Wilson High School is working the Metro Center stop.

Her smile greets waves of droop-shouldered, saggy-faced commuters. She vies for their attention with a flower-peddler, panhandler jingling his cup, street musician busking to a disco.

"Clinton's economic plan!" Bey-Farris says, handing out "Putting People First: A National Economic Strategy for America."

"No way, Jose," says a man, shielding himself with his briefcase.

"Thank god!" says a woman, who takes a couple of leaflets.

"Clinton's economic plan!" Bey-Farris says a couple of zillion more times.

She'll recite it in her sleep tonight. But for now she's happy, popping leaflets into hands, twirling left, spinning right, don't let that lady with the dog get by, doing her part.

She catches their eyes, the peppy girl on the sidewalk, and for a sec their wrinkled brows unfurrow.

Molly Ivins

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

Thoughts on the Final Days

AUSTIN—My poor daddy, who is seriously right-wing, is having an awful time trying to decide whom to vote for. "One's a nincompoop, one's a geek and the other one's a Democrat," he said mournfully.

You notice the economy improved by better than 2 percent in the quarter when Ross Perot started spending money. Do we think there's a connection?

Every time I see that Bush ad, which is about every three minutes, that does nothing but attack Clinton—the one where "average voters" keep saying, "I just don't trust him"—I think, "Boy, there's another constructive proposal for gettin' this country out of the ditch."

Bush did come up with a couple of good ideas the other day. They were in that speech that Jim Baker was supposed to make, but they changed their minds, and then changed them again, and then changed them again.

The Republicans bore down hard and decided what we need is a commission to figure out how to get from a military-based economy to a civilian-based economy. Not that there are not already hundreds of studies on this, but at least they've pinpointed the problem.

As always with Bush's ideas in this campaign, you're left sitting there trying to figure out what took him so long.

Texas is sure a jump ball at this point. Now, no one knows where it's going to land. Perot had the mo, but now he appears to be somewhat demented. The R's and the D's are all sittin' around bitin' their nails.

It was real nice of the Republicans to mess with Clinton's momma. Boy, is he getting mileage out of that, or what? He gets indignant about it several times a day now.

But when he first heard about it, his reaction was, "They must have thought Brezhnev was calling my mom to get a tip on a horse in the fifth." His momma is a big horse player.

The Republican strategy is clear at last—they're waiting to ambush Clinton in the fifth debate.

The sight of Sen. Al Gore being positively frisky is enough to make me think this one is in the bag for the Democrats. It's kind of like watching Kaw-liga the cigar-store Indian come to life and get giddy.

I'm worried about Bush. Have you noticed that

he's started garbling words all the time? I don't mean his usual Bush-speak non-sentences, but two or three times in a non-sentence, he'll start to say a word, get it wrong and have to go back and start it again. That's what stress and exhaustion do to a person. Campaigning as hard as these guys are doing is grueling. It is not good for a 68-year-old man. If the R's have polls showing this thing is a no-hoper, if I were Bush's doc, I'd pull him out.

As a civil libertarian, which to my mind is the same as saying "as an American," I am horrified by the FBI's cooperation in a sting operation aimed at Jim Oberwetter, chairman of the Bush-Quayle campaign in Texas. It is unconscionable for a law enforcement agency to go around trying to entrap citizens into committing crimes. In the sticky legal history of sting operations, which are sometimes necessary in drug enforcement cases and a few others, the requirements are clear—there must be some probable cause to believe a crime is being or will be committed. In this case, the FBI's information came from the convicted wiretapper and known fantasist Scott Barnes, no one's idea of a reliable source (except Ross Perot's). I hope Oberwetter raises hell about it.

An interesting article in the current issue of the *Virginia Quarterly Review* explores the growth of conspiracy theories since the assassination of John Kennedy and finds two significant reasons why our political soil is so fertile for nut cases. One is our unique situation as a self-created land, as a concoction of myth as much as history. The author, Sanford Pinsker, believes Americans have always been prone toward a Manichaean view of the world, in which good and evil have grappled for the American soul.

He also notes that our growing distrust of government feeds the notion that this vast, nameless juggernaut of forces is controlled from the very top. He notes: "For the hide-bound conspiracy theorist, the very absence of proof is proof, yet another instance (should more be needed) of the insidious workings of one's enemy." The vision of Ross Perot, bright-eyed as a squirrel, barking, "Well, isn't that interesting? Don't you think it's interesting?" comes to mind.

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JFK: The Files Are Opened

A LOT OF PEOPLE have doubts about the accuracy and comprehensiveness of the official version of the John F. Kennedy assassination. That some of these are fanciful or politically inspired or bizarre does not warrant dismissing them all or simply sneering "conspiracy theory" at any mention of the the great inconsistencies and oddities that mark the story. Spurred by the persistence of legitimate doubts, Congress acted this fall to open the assassination files to the public. On Monday, President Bush signed that legislation, and the countdown to full revelation began.

All government offices must immediately begin reviewing, identifying and preparing relevant documents. Within 60 days, the National Archives must establish the President John F. Kennedy Assassination Records Collection, which will receive those documents, prepare guides and indexes and develop plans for public access. Within 90 days, the president is required to appoint a five-member independent review board whose nominations will be sent, under deadline, to the Senate for confirmation. No one who is an employee of the federal government or who has been involved in any of the many assassination investigations may be appointed to the board, which has the authority to order the release of any document.

There are a few exceptions. The release of documents may be postponed by the review board for certain enumerated reasons such as the need to protect the identity of agents still at risk. The president has the same authority with respect to executive branch papers only. In a message released on Tuesday, President Bush interprets this provision far more broadly than the text of the law justifies, a position that will undoubtedly be contested and, if invoked, appealed. Access to photos and X-rays taken during the autopsy would continue to be controlled by the Kennedy family. But a troubling larger exemption for "all records and other material that have been donated to the National Archives pursuant to a deed of gift regulating access to the material" was fortunately removed before the bill was passed.

These files were created in a different era, one that did not emphasize the public's right to see a wide range of government papers and one in which a shocked nation offered little objection to decisions made in the name of protecting the privacy of the murdered president's family and close associates. By now all the information about the assassination belongs to history. The release of these documents should help to answer the many questions that persist. It is good public policy.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

Health Insurance Blues

ERRORS OF judgment by its management certainly contributed to the financial decline of the Blue Cross-Blue Shield of the National Capital Area. But its basic troubles are deeper and more ominous. Health insurance in this country is sliding rapidly toward a crisis. The impact is most immediately visible in the Blues, for they have become the insurers of last resort in this country.

The Blue Cross-Blue Shield that serves this area still insures small groups and individuals regardless of their medical histories. Premiums run high and are going higher. There are people who pay a third of their incomes for health insurance. But Blue Cross will insure them when other companies will not at any price.

The Blues invented health insurance as a benefit open to everyone in the community. Originally, everyone paid the same premium. But as costs of care rose, many buyers of insurance began looking for cheaper alternatives. Insurance companies responded by offering lower rates for groups that were younger than average, or in safer industries or otherwise represented lower risks. As time passed, the Blues were increasingly left with the high-risk end of the insurance pool.

Some of them desperately tried to generate income

by setting up for-profit subsidiaries. Those included the unfortunate spinoffs in which the local Blue Cross has lost \$77 million since the mid-1980s. Because some of them were overseas, the forthcoming congressional hearings will no doubt show that management spent a lot of money on travel to exotic places—among other questionable diversions. That will become, deservedly, a major embarrassment to the people who were running the organization. But it's not the basic reason for the decline, which will now result in folding the National Capital Area Blues into their less adventurous but more tightly run Virginia affiliate. No one ought to be left under the impression that this takeover is more than a temporary remedy.

Under the present system, insurers will continue to compete by seeking lower and lower risks. That will make it steadily harder for most people to find adequate health insurance unless they have the good luck to work for large and rich employers. The number of uninsured people in this country is now rising by about 100,000 a month. Health care costs, meanwhile, are rising a little over 10 percent a year. The plight of this city's largest insurer is only part of the mounting evidence that the need for health care reform has become urgent. It needs to be the first priority of the president who takes office next January.

Again, the District and Kids

WE HOPE U.S. District Judge Thomas Hogan stands firm on his threat to hold the District administration in contempt for its continued failure to meet deadlines for court-ordered reforms of the city's troubled child welfare system. Judge Hogan's firm warning was prompted by another quarterly report from the court-appointed monitor documenting the Department of Human Services' continued failure to comply with all requirements of the plan that the department had agreed to in negotiations. It is the same old story: Some progress here and there, signs of hard work by the dedicated down in the trenches, but mostly slippage or outright noncompliance with the deadlines that count. "Simply ignoring deadlines is not satisfactory to the court," said Judge Hogan. But the report suggests that more than deadlines have been ignored.

Examples:

- With so many case plans either out of date or inadequate, a case review of every child and family with problems in the welfare system was to have begun in the fall of 1991 and to have been completed within six months at most. A year later, the review still wasn't fully underway.
- No progress had been made in getting 377 children out of unlicensed or overcrowded foster homes or reducing the number of children placed in homes more than 100 miles away from the city.
- Despite a court order requiring an investigation of child neglect complaints within 30 days, DHS compiled a backlog of 263 cases representing 630 children. These children are at the greatest risk.

There were more deficiencies. "Shocking" was the word Judge Hogan used to describe DHS's delay in getting \$36 million in badly needed and available federal entitlement funds for the program. "Insufficient management attention at the highest levels of DHS" was the reason, said the court monitor. This, we note, is the DHS level that had itself elevated to an assistant city administrator slot and expanded to include four new cabinet positions.

If it seems as though this newspaper has been at it for years with the city's Department of Human Services and its various bureaucratic forerunners, we have. Faced with circumstances similar to the delay and inaction we see today, we said in a Nov. 11, 1974, editorial about the city's newly trumpeted 513-page Comprehensive Child Care Plan:

"By the very nature of some of the services the District must provide, delay and incompetence and inaction can be dangerous to the children at best and, at worst, fatal. A small child, who is being abused or criminally neglected or otherwise maltreated, cannot wait two or three more years for a revamped child care system to meet his needs. It would be nice if the Department for once demonstrated and sustained an appropriate degree of energy and dispatch in trying to see its own new program through."

DHS didn't, and the city failed to meet its obligations to those children. Two decades later, at the end of the Barry administration, a federal judge described that system as "a travesty." Is life any better for today's vulnerable children?

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

On Election-Eve 'Pollercoaster,' Voter Is the Switch

By Richard Morin
Washington Post Staff Writer

It has been a tough year for America's pollwatchers, and it may get worse before it gets better.

On Wednesday, major news organizations released public opinion polls that alternately suggested that Bill Clinton continued to enjoy a 10-point lead . . . or desperately clung to a rapidly dissipating 2-point advantage.

President Bush surging? Clinton coasting? It looked yesterday that the voters were going for another ride on what some wags already have dubbed the "pollercoaster."

Yet was the race really as confused—and the polls as contradictory—as yesterday's news reports, talk shows and cafeteria chatter seemed to indicate? Most experts suggest probably not.

In fact, only one poll showed Clinton held just a 2-point advantage, done by Gallup for CNN and USA Today. At the same time, no fewer than four indicated the lead Wednesday was between 7 and 11 percentage points—essentially where it has been for the better part of a week.

A Washington Post survey released Thursday showed Clinton's lead at 10 points. A Los Angeles Times poll pub-

lished Wednesday also had a 10-point Clinton advantage. The Wall Street Journal and NBC put Clinton's lead at 11 on Wednesday and reported a 5-point margin yesterday, based on the previous night's interviewing. ABC reported Clinton ahead by 7 points in its two-day tracking poll released Wednesday (and 9 points based on its most recent results, reported yesterday). Even the two presidential campaign polling operations agreed that the lead was hovering around 7 points.

It was not the first time this year—nor, pollsters fear, will it be the last—that the results of the major media polls differed considerably from other presidential preference surveys released at about the same time.

A Wall Street Journal-NBC Poll reported a 19 percentage point Clinton advantage last week when other surveys were showing a margin of about half that size. Six weeks ago, a Post-ABC News survey reported that Clinton led Bush by 21 points at a time when other polls were showing the Democrat with a 10- to 15-point lead. The New York Times and CBS News reported a 2 point Clinton margin following Bush's acceptance speech in Houston last August, though most other polls suggested a much larger Clinton edge.

Still, the impact of the latest Gallup poll

was different. It suggested Bush had essentially caught Clinton with six days remaining in the race. Even President Bush, who last week urged voters to ignore the work of those "nutty" pollsters, cited the Gallup Poll as evidence that Clinton was collapsing. Whether the Gallup number was right or wrong is not what concerns some experts. They suggest that the media might have been more cautious in reporting the 2-point margin, given the other results suggesting a wider lead.

"What it tells you is that the extreme finding, the outlier, is the one that is attracting the lion's share of the media attention," said Thomas E. Mann, director of governmental studies at the Brookings Institution, who said he doubts that the race is as close as the Gallup poll suggested. More significant, he said, is "the rough similarity in the other findings. But . . . the relish for a close fight was too good a story to avoid."

Even senior officials of the Gallup Organization, which yesterday put Clinton's lead in the daily tracking poll at 3 points, cautioned against relying on theirs or any single poll to characterize this race.

"They should not place too much emphasis on any single day's results," said

Larry Hugick, managing editor of the Gallup Poll. "They should look over the course of several days of results. They take our poll using tracking methodology and look at other polls, and realize that the truth probably lies somewhere in between all of these polls."

While their numbers often have varied, professional pollsters agree on one thing: This is an extremely difficult year to do presidential preference polling. And getting it right this year will be much harder than in the relatively quiescent campaigns of 1984 and 1988.

The biggest problem, the polling experts say, is deciding who really will vote. Many people lie to pollsters about whether they will vote. That forces pollsters to attempt to separate likely voters from those who say they will vote but really will not. "And we all know that the determination of who is a likely voter is arbitrary and may be particularly prone to error this year," Mann said.

One particularly worrisome group are younger voters. Most typically do not vote. But that may change. They have been targeted by MTV and its "Rock the Vote" campaign. Polls suggest that these younger voters seem particularly attracted to Clinton

or Perot, which means that likely voter screening questions that tend to exclude them risk under-reporting Clinton and Perot's share of the vote. (Or, conversely, if young voters are included in the polls but ultimately do not vote, then Bush's percentage is understated.)

Hugick said he sees a potential problem in Gallup's likely voter screening technique: with newly registered voters who are 22 years old or older.

A potentially large baby boomer vote may also pose a problem for pollsters. In the past, boomers have a notoriously poor voting record. But with the Democrat's double-boomer ticket of Clinton and Albert Gore Jr., members of the baby boomer generation may vote in historically high numbers—and confound the preelection polls that used likely voter screens based on old assumptions about who votes.

Then, too, there is the election itself, featuring a three-way race and a candidate—Ross Perot—who alternately enchants and repels many voters, who appear to be bouncing between Perot, Bush and Clinton in the polls with dismaying frequency.

As a consequence, some pollsters say, election results may be much different than the findings of election-eve weekend polls.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

'God Does Not Endorse Candidates'

Clerics Condemn Anti-Clinton Epistle

By Gustav Niebuhr
Washington Post Staff Writer

As the election campaign draws to a close, here's one more weighty issue voters may wish to ponder: By casting a ballot for Bill Clinton and Albert Gore Jr., would they in fact be risking God's wrath?

This question—a burning one, in that it could involve the fate of one's soul—has been roiling some members of the religious community, ever since a group of conservative Christian activists put out a pamphlet this month warning that "to vote for Bill Clinton is to sin against God." The pamphlet—140,000 copies of which have been distributed by the antiabortion group Operation Rescue—says that voters supporting Clinton, who favors abortion rights and gay rights, would help promote "rebellion against the 10 Commandments and other laws of the Bible."

Yesterday, a diverse group of 42 religious leaders—Protestants, Jews and Catholics—signed a statement heatedly taking issue with that claim, calling it a piece of "spiritual arrogance and political extremism that has no place in our public discourse." The group also denounced other anti-Clinton mailings aimed at religious groups that it said either distorted the facts or offered politicized "biblical positions" on various issues.

"There is a terribly troubling tendency toward theocracy in all this," said James Dunn, a signer of the statement and the director of the Baptist Joint Committee for Public Affairs, a religious liberty watchdog agency. "It smells a lot like the Massachusetts Bay Colony," where Puritan rulers maintained a heady mix of religion and politics.

Kabbi David Saperstein, who joined Dunn at a news conference at First Baptist Church, agreed. "Good, moral people can

differ" in politics, said Saperstein, director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism. "From the Jewish standpoint, God is not a Republican or a Democrat. God does not endorse candidates."

As to the Democratic candidates' religious character, the Rev. Jack Turner, retired pastor of Mt. Vernon Baptist Church in Arlington, where Gore and his family worship, offered a positive report. In a letter co-signed by Clinton's former pastor, the Rev. Brian Harbour of Richardson, Tex., he stated that Clinton and Gore "are men whose heads and hearts have been baptized by divine grace and mercy. . . . We believe their walk with God to be genuine and sincere."

After the news conference, First Baptist's senior pastor, the Rev. Everett Goodwin, sought to frame the debate in theological terms. It is permissible, he said, to say a stand on a particular issue is morally wrong, but one cannot identify a political candidate with sin itself. "You're making a person the sin, rather than an issue," he said. "What you've done is to incarnate evil," a role that in Christianity belongs ultimately to Satan alone.

Despite the criticism, the authors of the Operation Rescue pamphlet remained unmoved. "We're only quoting the Bible," said the Rev. Lou Sheldon, chairman of the Traditional Values Coalition. "It's a grave mistake for Christians to vote for Clinton and Gore."

And the Rev. Keith Tucci, director of Operation Rescue, said that to back a candidate with Clinton's views would be to abet sin—in itself a sinful act. "If you're driving the get-away car, you're guilty for what the hold-up man does," he said. "It's not up for debate."

And what if a person does vote for Clinton, comes later to believe it was sinful and wishes to be restored to grace? "They ask Jesus to forgive them," Tucci said.

Upbeat President, Charged by Polls, Steps Up Rhetoric

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

WARREN, Mich., Oct. 29—Pumped up by the polls and the moment, President Bush raced across Michigan today in rhetorical overdrive, attacking the "way-out, far-out" Democratic ticket on everything from northern spotted owls to his opponent's draft record.

Bush, during his 12th campaign trip to this vital state, was introduced at three stops in Detroit suburbs by Michigan Gov. John M. Engler, who called the contest here "dead-even," the Democratic campaign "dead in the water" and the Bush campaign "hot."

And hot Bush was.

At a midday GOP rally at Macomb Community College, the president unleashed a rhetorical fusillade on Bill Clinton and running mate Sen. Albert Gore Jr., attacking their fitness for office, their character and charging, "My dog Millie knows more about foreign policy than these two bozos."

In particular, Bush targeted Gore, whom he now calls "Ozone Man," or just plain "Ozone." "You know why I call him Ozone Man?" the president said. "This guy is so far out in the environmental extreme, we'll be up to our neck in owls and outta work for every American. He is way out, far out, man."

While many of his aides were still waking up, Bush started his morning with an hour of television inter-

See BUSH, A16, Col. 1

■ Maryland's governor is expected to endorse Bush today. Page D1

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

Clinton Campaign Seeks Permission for Loan

The Clinton campaign, planning to spend its \$55 million in federal money down "close to zero" by Election Day, has asked permission to borrow \$1 million to pay bills right after Tuesday's voting.

Bush-Quayle campaign officials immediately attacked the Democrats' request to the Federal Election Commission, saying it was an improper attempt to change campaign rules just before the election to free up money for last-minute political expenses, such as television commercials.

Bush campaign manager Frederic V. Malek said at a news conference that the "panicked request for relief from profligate spending" should be rejected. "They're

broke. They're embarrassed," Malek said. "This is the first real test Bill Clinton has had in managing federal funds and he's failed it."

Christine Varney, general counsel to the Clinton-Gore campaign, who filed the request, said in an interview that her committee is "targeted to hit close to zero on Nov. 3." But she said the loan request was "not about politics, and buying more television ads, but cash flow."

She said the committee anticipated about \$1.2 million in reimbursements from the Secret Service, which has been late paying the campaign for travel on the candidates' planes.

—Charles R. Babcock

An Upbeat President Steps Up the Rhetoric

BUSH, From A1

ews, chortling about how Clinton had been "measuring the Oval Office for drapes" but that now the place had tightened.

Bush, who dismissed pollsters as "putty" just last week when they showed him at least 10 or 12 points behind the Democrat, liked them more today when polls showed a far narrower lead for Clinton.

In a morning speech to the Chamber of Commerce, a more subdued Bush portrayed Clinton as a typical Democrat who would raise taxes, increase spending, and return the nation to the high-inflation, high-unemployment era of Jimmy Carter.

But even there, Bush slipped into his now-familiar garbled syntax in which he forgets his audience may be hearing a particular line for the first time and fails to tell it the beginning of a story. Or the end. Or the context.

Noting he had criticized the news media for being unfair, he told those in the crowd they should not take their anger out on journalists. "Save your wrath for those faithless Republicans and faithless Democrats who wrote me off about two months ago, because we're going to show that rathole we are going to win this election."

At a later rally, Bush straightened out the rathole reference, citing President Harry S. Truman's complaint that the pundits who predicted he would lose in 1948 "don't know how to pound sand in a rathole."

Those writing him off, Bush said, are like those 1948 pundits. Bush and his aides, who practiced for months in dismissing what the president calls "gloom-and-doom" polls, had the tricky task here today of arguing the

president was finally on the move, without mentioning the forbidden "Big Mo."

In 1980, Bush won his first presidential caucus in Iowa and tried running as the candidate with "Big Mo," big momentum. He was soundly defeated because, many suggested, he based his candidacy on momentum not issues. "We don't do Big Mo," said campaign political director Mary Matalin. "we do C.O., cautious optimism." Their optimism is based on public and private polls that show a single digit race—they say a six point difference—and an electoral breakdown that while not good, at least makes a win remotely possible if the closing trend continues.

The whole Bush campaign, including the warm up speakers, were charged up today. At the Warren event, Democratic state Sen. Gilbert J. Dinello churned the crowd into a frenzy by calling Clinton a draft-dodger, a liar and a man who "wails, whines and wimps out."

Actor Bruce Willis shouted into the microphone that Clinton was not qualified to be president. "I'm pissed off," Willis shouted, to hear the Democrat say he is qualified. At a later rally, this one at the Gerald Ford Library in Grand Rapids, Willis introduced the former president with the same complaints in language rare for a political rally.

Bush, too, hit on what he said were Clinton's lack of qualifications for the Oval Office because of "waffling" on issues. "You can't be president if you try to be all things to all people," Bush said, complaining Clinton had "if, ands and buts" to explain his positions on every issue. "You cannot have a lot of buts in the Oval Office," Bush screamed, his voice growing hoarse.

Bush aides maintain that the

tightening of the polls reflects an electorate uneasy about Clinton's character, and they are doing all they can to keep the dialogue these few remaining days on character, rather than on the economy.

Bush occasionally got tongue tied today as he went after his opponent. He called New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, Mary Cuomo. He tried to hit Clinton on the draft and it came out like this: "You can't say I got an induction and then I didn't. You can't say you wrote the man that once. You can't say that you're going to have one position and then another position you got to stand up for. Take a position. Lead. That's what being president is about. You cannot lead by misleading."

"... And here is my appeal. Barbara and I both have tried to uphold the public trust. And character. Bill Clinton—Bruce Willis mentioned this, Bruce Willis said that, I mean, Clinton said that it is not the character of the president but the character of the presidency. Wrong. They're locked in. They are interlocked."

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

Democrat Scorns Foe's 'Politics of Denial, Division'

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

JERSEY CITY, Oct. 29—Fighting to hold together the coalition that has put him within striking distance of the White House, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton swept across the nation's industrial heartland today appealing to voters to reject "the politics of denial and division and blame which the Bush administration has visited on this country for too long."

In a low-key address at the University of Toledo and a lectern-pounding, almost angry speech to a huge get-out-the-vote rally later in Detroit, Clinton wrapped himself in the mystique of President John F. Kennedy and his brother Robert F. Kennedy.

On the surface Clinton was serene and confident, but as the days before Tuesday's voting dwindle there is renewed tension within his campaign and a gnawing worry about the impact of President Bush's continuing assault on his character and trustworthiness.

"The man has no core convictions," Clinton said of Bush before a morning jog in Toledo. "This is a guy here who would literally say or do anything to get elected. And anytime you're an incumbent president and you don't have any standards, you have a chance to win. I have always thought I was the under-dog."

As Clinton pressed his case today, top aides in Little Rock tried to fight off impressions that the race had tightened significantly. But



BY FRANK JOHNSON—THE WASHINGTON POST

In Michigan, Bush said, "Millie knows more about foreign policy" than Clinton.

they spent the day nervously scrambling to purchase additional television time for a new round of ads and redrawing Clinton's weekend schedule to protect several key battleground states that he must carry to win the election.

The new ads include a tough re-

sponse to a Bush ad attacking Clinton's record in Arkansas and a fresh assault on Bush's record on the economy.

Democratic and Republican strategists agreed that Texas and Florida, two states where Clinton campaigned this week, are now moving toward the president, while Georgia

See CLINTON, A16, Col. 4

■ Experts say presidential race isn't as confused as poll results. Page A16

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1992

Democrat Fights to Bind Coalition

CLINTON, From A1

and North Carolina, states long on Clinton's target list, remain extremely competitive. At the same time, they said Bush's daylong visit to Ohio on Wednesday had substantially strengthened his position there and agreed that New Jersey, where Clinton held a double-digit lead before the debates, now is within a few points.

But the strategists were in sharp disagreement over the state of the race in such other key states as Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa and Tennessee, with Republicans saying the president put those states into the toss-up category and claiming the momentum heading into the weekend.

Clinton's pollster Stan Greenberg disputed suggestions that Clinton's lead is slipping away. "I think [the race] was closing in the first part of the week," Greenberg said. "The polling from Tuesday and Wednesday has been very steady. . . . On this day, both nationally and in battleground states, we show a very steady race."

For Clinton, the next four days will be a frenzy of travel as he hopscotches back and forth through key industrial battlegrounds and several southern states still in play. The Arkansas governor hopes to boost Democratic turnout in the nation's big cities and hold on to the suburban voters who abandoned his party in the 1980s but who are disillusioned with Bush and have been attracted by Clinton's promise of fundamental economic change.

That coalition is his key to victory, and today in Detroit he invoked the memory of Robert Kennedy in an appeal to his supporters to stay with him through the final brutal hours of the campaign.

"Twenty-five years ago, Senator Robert Kennedy said something we ought to all think about between now and Election Day," Clinton said. "In a very difficult, divided time, he was perhaps the last Amer-

ican politician until this election to try to ask people to join together across racial lines, to seize common opportunities and to tear down common problems."

He went on to quote Kennedy as saying that "if we fail to dare, if we do not try, the next generation will harvest the fruit of our indifference" and inherit "a world we did not want, did not choose, but a world we could have made better."

The audience rocked Cobo Hall with wild cheers as Clinton repeatedly echoed John Kennedy's 1960 campaign call that "we can do better," and by the end of his speech his final words were drowned out by the roar of the crowd.

From Detroit, Clinton flew here late this afternoon to fulfill a promise he made to a group of New York AIDS activists in April, promising in a speech to boost government funding for AIDS research and treatment and accusing the Bush administration of indifference to the disease.

Clinton promised a sweeping program of AIDS education, guaranteed access to "affordable, quality care" for those infected with the AIDS virus, increased availability of experimental treatments for the disease and to fight discrimination against AIDS patients.

"The truth is [AIDS] is everybody's problem, not only because it is spreading throughout society, but because the sheer cost and burden of dealing with the AIDS crisis may absolutely consume all the gains we hope to make in straightening out the other problems in our health care system," he said. "It costs everyone in ways that are financial and human and moral. We can't afford the cost in dollars and death."

But at this stage of the campaign, policy speeches count for far less than Clinton's last-minute drive to energize his supporters and win over the remaining undecided, especially young people, whom he has courted in visits to dozens of college campuses, and newly registered

voters, who he said have not decided to vote "because they're satisfied with the way things are."

At the University of Toledo, speaking in a measured tone, he returned to his core campaign message on the economy and the need for change. The choice to be made on Tuesday, he said, "is as old as America—a choice between more of the same and fundamental change, a choice between those who believe we can do better and those who think things are all right the way they are, between those who have a limited view of our country and those who understand that America must be a nation of boundless hopes and dreams."

"When Mr. Bush looks at an anxious and frightened America and tells us this is as good as it gets, that says something worse about his presidency than anything I could ever say," Clinton added.

Clinton has struggled throughout the fall to keep attention focused on the economy, but in the campaign's final days the president's mounting assault on him has provoked a series of harsh counterattacks and led him to spend more time condemning Bush's campaign tactics than his economic performance.

He has described as "baldface lies" some of the radio commercials being run by his opponent and today he complained that "there is no standard of truth in the Bush campaign" and that the president "wasn't telling the truth" in the campaign.

"There is one guiding principle: Stay in power at all cost," Clinton said. "Tell them whatever you think will scare them about their opponents. The American people are going to have to think a long time before they want four more years of this. It will be a miserable experience for them."

Staff writers David Maraniss with Clinton and Dan Balz in Washington contributed to this report.

Perot Predicts a 'Landslide Victory' Tuesday

Independent Candidate Says He 'Absolutely' Regrets Raising Allegation of Dirty Tricks

By Michael Isikoff
Washington Post Staff Writer

DALLAS, Oct. 29—As new polls showed his support eroding, Ross Perot sought to rally his troops tonight, touting a new blitz of network "infomercials" he will run the last two nights before the election and predicting a "landslide victory" on Tuesday.

Appearing on "Larry King Live," Perot said tonight he "absolutely" regrets raising his unsubstantiated allegations of Republican "dirty tricks" on national television last weekend. Those charges precipitated a wave of news media questions and attacks by political opponents that Perot aides today acknowledged had stopped his campaign's momentum and caused his support to drop back below 20 percent in tracking polls released over the past two days.

But Perot tonight dismissed the polls as irrelevant, saying he will be propelled to victory by a massive outpouring of newly registered voters. "We're going to win all 50 states," Perot said. "We're going to win a landslide victory. We're in a two-minute drill."

He also urged supporters to watch a new "infomercial" to be televised Sunday night that he said he will hammer home with new vigor his economic message to voters.

"We're going to have a program that may get turned into a television series," Perot said of the Sunday night broadcast, one of a series he has paid to run the last two nights before the election. "It's deep voodoo, chicken feathers and the American dream."

Warmed by the friendly atmosphere of the King show, and clearly encouraged by some of the callers, including actress-singer Cher, who endorsed him, Perot appeared far more relaxed and confident than he did three days ago during a stormy news conference in Dallas. That event, in which Perot lashed out at reporters for what he called their "twisted" stories, revolved in part around Perot's inability to provide proof of charges he made Sunday on CBS's "60 Minutes" that Republican "dirty tricks operatives" had plotted to smear his daughter with a doctored photograph, disrupt his wedding and wiretap his business office.

Perot repeated tonight that he accepts the denials of White House and Republican campaign officials of any involvement in such dirty

tricks. But he insisted it was entirely reasonable for him to have believed such stories, especially when senior White House aides failed to deny them over the summer after he raised them privately.

tricks. But he insisted it was entirely reasonable for him to have believed such stories, especially when senior White House aides failed to deny them over the summer after he raised them privately.

"Is it thinkable that these wonderful people in the Republican Party might do that?" Perot asked. "This is the same party that gave us Watergate. This is the same party that gave us Iran-contra. This is the same party that's up to its ears in Iraqgate now. . . . So there's a pattern here."

"Now, I hope they didn't do it. And I take their word they didn't do it. But I will wonder 50 years from now, if I'm still around, why they just didn't come back to me and say, 'Ross, we don't know what you're talking about.'"

Earlier, attempting to refute charges that Ross Perot is trying to buy the presidency, campaign aides to the Texas billionaire released figures they said show Perot has been greatly outspent by his two major rivals, and the aides called for an overhaul of the nation's campaign-finance system.

According to aides, Perot has bought 3½ hours of prime time programming for Sunday and Monday, including one-hour blocks on NBC each night.

Campaign spending reports filed with the Federal Election Commission show that since reentering the race Oct. 1, Perot has spent more than \$37 million, almost all of it his own money and exceeding the expenditures of President Bush and Bill Clinton.

But Perot adviser and son-in-law Clay Mulford said that when "soft-money" contributions to the two political parties are counted along with federal government matching funds received by the Bush and Clinton campaigns, the Republican and Democratic presidential campaigns outspent Perot by close to 3 to 1 for the entire year.

Mulford called the current campaign finance system "alarming" and said it was rigged in favor of the two major parties. As a result, he said, Perot favors a thorough overhaul, including the elimination of soft-money contributions to the two major parties, the abolition of political action committees and strict limitations of \$1,000 each on all individual contributions to candidates.

The proposal to eliminate soft money is roughly similar to proposals

put forward in Congress, including a bill that Bush vetoed this year.

Wealthy individuals can evade the \$1,000 contribution limit to presidential candidates by giving unlimited amounts to the Republican and Democratic parties. Corporate donations, which are banned to individual candidates, also make up part of the soft money. The two parties can invest these contributions on generic, party-oriented advertising that, while not specifically mentioning the presidential nominees, indirectly benefits them by encouraging voters to cast Republican or Democratic ballots.

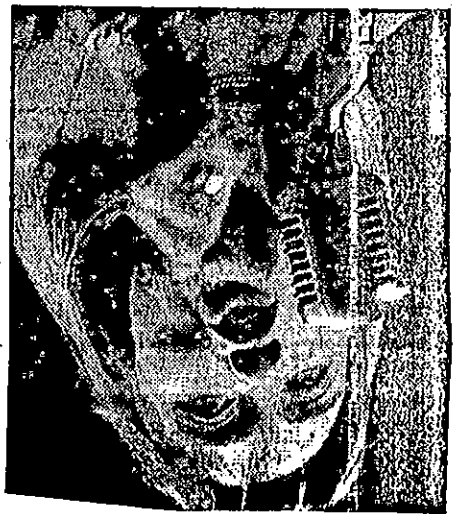
By Mulford's calculations, based on FEC reports, Bush had benefited from \$38.6 million in Republican

soft money during the general election campaign, and Clinton had benefited from \$26.1 million in Democratic soft money. Mulford released a chart showing that, when the soft money and publicly financed figures are added, the Bush and Clinton campaigns each benefited from roughly \$167 million in expenditures apiece compared to \$59.9 million spent by Perot this year as of this week.

Although such disclosures have been routine for major party presidential candidates in recent years, Perot concluded that releasing his tax and medical records at this late date would only "deflect" attention from the major issues, campaign spokeswoman Sharon Holman said.

Hillary Clinton and the Laus of the Campaign

No Longer a Liability, She's Making a Quieter Case



By Donnie Radcliffe
Washington Post Staff Writer

WILSON, N.C.

The do-liky did it. "The highlight of my birthday," said Hillary Clinton of the life-size papier-mache animal that had her trying to stifle a laugh. "Did it have a name? Could she touch it? Where'd they find it?" "I want to know if I'm receiving stolen goods," she said, arching an eyebrow—you know, the way any skeptical lawyer might lay it on the line to prospective clients of somewhat dubious repute. "We can't say," yelled back one of the photo-dogs from a Clinton-Gore campaign bus in the 16-vehicle caravan that was cruising across the state.

She's almost laughing, but not quite. She's playing her part: the tough lawyer. And enjoying it. "We liberated him," shouted another. "One report, unconfirmed, was that the ragged photogs had 'liberated' this symbol of the Democratic Party from deep in the heart of Jesse Helms country—the front steps of the Raleigh City Hall—and given it to Clinton in celebration of her 45th birthday. They'd surprised her with it while she was working the rope line, shaking hands and hugging babies. "They just crack me up," she said of these chroniclers of her every move. And it seemed that this woman who was once viewed as unapproachable cracked them up as well. It hasn't been easy being *the* Woman in this Year of

the Woman, everybody's favorite target for all that's dangerous about being independent, smart, impatient, articulate, outspoken, ambitious—and while she's at it, a three-fer: wife, mother and successful corporate lawyer. By any standard, Hillary Clinton has been a handful for America to deal with. Yet Clinton has made it through to the end. Past all last spring's scrutiny as the would-be co-president, the feisty political helpmate, the wronged wife, the disavowing cookie baker. Past the summer of GOP discontent when a political convention focused an amazing amount of energy on the opponent's wife as "that dowdy feminazi" with views so "radical" they threatened to untie the very apron strings of American momism. Past, too, the discarded preppy headbands and mannish suits on the way to the crucial final perception: See HILLARY, B4, Col. 1

Hillary Clinton

HILLARY, From B1

a softer, gentler, warmer Hillary who waves a lot these days but no longer makes them, and with whom not just feminists but many voters can feel more comfortable—whether they intend to pull the lever for her husband or not.

If the political process has brought her to this, then so be it. At this point in the campaign, the polls indicate she is no longer a liability to Bill Clinton; in a variety of surveys, her "negatives" are down from their startlingly high levels of the spring. She's no Barbara Bush, but she doesn't appear to be a drag on the ticket either. It is a gratifying shift accomplished by a determined woman who's been through what others might regard as a devastating experience but which she calls "remarkably positive."

"You go back and look at the kinds of things that happened this year," she said the other day, "and so much of it was not about me or my husband, so far as I know and care about our life together. It was politically motivated, off base. You have to learn how to take political attacks seriously but not personally so that you don't let them interfere with who you are."

What she did take seriously was how those attacks appeared from the outside, and thus it was *her* outside that she changed. "I knew that what was being said wasn't true. I took it seriously because obviously if people thought that, or if the political system was being manipulated by people who wanted people to think that, one had to take that seriously."

She thought all the Hillary bashing was "sad, at first," but the intensity left her surprised, then hurt. Once she analyzed why GOP strategists went after her, she came to the conclusion they were scared. "You don't spend two or three days at a national political convention beating up on someone unless you're scared. It was a deliberate strategy. In kind of a backhanded way I was complimented. I figured, 'Wow! Listen to that!'"

And she broke into laughter, just remembering how it struck her.

Ultimately she found comfort in a strange quarter: Richard Nixon. She recalled that the first person to attack her Out of the Blue before even the New Hampshire primary heated up was Nixon.

Certainly, it could have been because "he never forgets anything" and she had once been a staff attorney on the Senate staff that studied his impeachment in 1974. But she preferred to believe the other Nixon, the grand old political analyst who saw ahead of others that "there was a lot going on under the surface of this country and people were anxious for change."

"He was launching a preemptive attack," she says, "to try and in some way denigrate my husband because he's afraid of smart and intelligent women and really believes that women ought to have opportunities to serve."

True or not, one gathers something where one can.

The outcome of this kind of Hillary bashing has been one of the great sub-themes of the campaign, turning the race on one level into an ongoing national seminar on the role of women. Looking at the newer, quieter Hillary, some might even conclude that the outcome of this debate has been that



Hillary Clinton and daughter Chelsea smiling for a campaign photograph.

the political process has succeeded in reining in women a few steps.

But Hillary Clinton sees the conflict as inevitable and also momentary—"some last step" of symbolic importance that hasn't happened before "because we haven't had people contending for the presidency who were born after World War II, who were really part of this change."

For all the criticism, she says, she's been gratified by the people who've reached out to identify with her with signs like, "Stay at Home Moms for Hillary."

"I think they hope that with Bill and Al and Tipper and me there will be people who understand what's going on in the country right now at the very basic level, and have a grasp about the challenges that families are facing and that women in particular are confronting."

Buscapades

If she's playing a role, she seems to be playing it with ease. That's easiest to see in the looseness on the campaign bus. Comic relief is the escape valve in this grueling cocoon of campaign madness. "You sort of got to develop a sense of humor," said Bill Clinton the other day when the countdown to Election Day '92 had dropped below the 200-hour mark. "Sometimes you laugh just to keep from crying." Tipper Gore did more than laugh. She had a whale of a good time aiming her camera and, at the Greensboro, N.C., airport one night, aiming her squirt gun at Al Gore's aides spilling off his plane onto the tarmac. She scored bull's-eyes right and left, including one on a hapless reporter watching from the sidelines. The next day, during a hoke-up photo op aboard their customized bus, Tipper and Hillary climbed onto the laps of their spouses for the benefit of still photographers. (Video photo-dogs boycotted the session because their reporters were barred.)

"This is home away from home," said Hillary.

"If we win this thing," added her husband, "we're going to park this bus out behind the White House."

Winning "this thing" is still anybody's guess.

Hillary tries not to think about it very much, or about how in less than a week now her life may never again be the same. "Partly because I'm reluctant to speculate like that. It's like a no-hit game. It's going well. We feel we're getting the campaign message across and I just don't even want to imagine" anything beyond the moment.

In Helmsland (renamed "Hillaryland" on oversized birthday buttons passed out by family pal Brook Shearer), the Clinton-Gore "Road to

Change" buses cutting a 200-mile swath between Winston-Salem and Kinston was a hard-driving effort to erase the tire tracks of the Bush machine that had rolled through a few days earlier.

"We may be the only state in the union that goes for Bush," fretted Sam Ervin's cousin, Burgess McSwain, who drove miles to wait, like others among the already converted, at one of the "unprompted" stops in towns where statues of Confederate soldiers tower above courthouse squares; where words carved in granite remind that "on fame's eternal camping ground their silent tents are spread . . ." and where cafeterias like Ruth's never did have a "g" on the "Home Cookin'" sign painted above the front door.

Talkin' Southern wasn't all that hard. Illinois-born, Wellesley- and Yale-educated Hillary Clinton learned long ago to drop her g's with the best of 'em. In remarks that turned out to be her longest of the day, she apologized for being late and recalled the time they vowed not to stop ever again because they were running three hours behind.

"All of a sudden we heard there were about 250 to 300 people up in a rest stop hopin' the buses would stop. Bill said, 'What are we going to do?' and everybody said, 'Well, we're just going to have to go right by them.' Bill didn't like that but finally agreed and the buses were goin' by kind of slow and he was wavin' out the window and all of a sudden he saw a sign that a man was holdin' that said 'Give us eight minutes and we'll give you eight years' and Bill said, 'Stop the bus!'"

You could call it a kind of stand-by-your-man story.

Early Hillary

"I mean," said Hillary Clinton, "if all I thought was going to happen was moving into the White House and going to Camp David for weekends, having a ceremonial role, I think that neither Bill nor I nor the Gores would be there. I mean, that is just *not* what's at stake in this election."

There she's said it. In an interview, some of the early-1992 version of Hillary comes out. She may not be making headlines anymore, but she has not retreated into a shell. Recent impressions aside, her words make clear that anyone who thinks she would be a passive First Lady isn't paying close enough attention.

Unlike traditional political wives of the past, she has no misgivings about talking issues. She has never stopped being one of her husband's key advisers and when she wants to, she speaks with authority. She also intends to have her own issues, though she claims she hasn't determined the spe-

cifics of her own priorities other than that they will relate to maternal and child health care.

"Among Bill's priorities is dealing with the health care system, and I am particularly adamant that whatever we do . . . if we had a decent prenatal care system and early childhood health care system we would be saving money in a relatively short period of time," she said.

But she also shows a keen awareness of just what sort of world of limits her husband may be buying into. "Nobody really knows what the financial situation is," she said. "There's a great concern that Bill will be elected president and begin to see a great unraveling, which is always a danger when you assume an office but seems particularly acute now because of the disarray in this government. The extraordinary spectacle of agencies investigating one another and pointing fingers at one another suggest that there's just a lot that is not right and we probably don't even know about it."

Cat's Out of the Bag

Chelsea Clinton, 12, had no trouble at all putting away a gigantic slice of her mother's chocolate birthday cake, even with the reporters coming out of the walls at Robinson's Restaurant in Greensboro. Between bites, Hillary kept a motherly eye trained, finally dispatching an aide to run interference.

"We have Chelsea out because we figured the last bus trip would be a special occasion," Hillary told owner Roosevelt Robinson.

Sarah Gore, 13, was out, too, and self-consciously standing together at times, or sitting on a lawn in front of the candidates, they giggled and whispered and had what Hillary later described as a "a different take on it, the kinds of things they see. At one point Tipper and I were up there laughing just watching Chelsea and Sarah in the crowd."

According to her mother, Chelsea is well aware of what's happening and what would happen if Bill Clinton wins. "But my concern is just giving her the chance to have her own life, to be able to grow up as normally as possible if she's living in the White House. And that's what I'm going to be focused on if the day after the election we wake up and that's what we have to start planning," said Hillary.

What she hasn't focused on is Socks, Chelsea's 2½-year-old cat who is not at all "standoffish or aloof but warm and loving and noble" and made them all feel better when they got him—even if Hillary and Bill are allergic to him.

The interview took an unexpected turn when she asked if what a Secret Service agent told them—that there are mice and rats in the White House—could possibly be true.

And if Barbara Bush really did find a rat doing the backstroke in the swimming pool?

Maybe it was visions of Socks to the rescue but suddenly Hillary cheered "Yeah, Socks! Socks might be the happiest human—or animal—being moving to Washington. I wonder if we could show him pictures of rats?"

Buoyed by the news that there hasn't been a First Cat since Amy Carter died at 1600, and that cat lovers of the country would probably feel enfranchised again, she regained her composure as campaign strategist.

"Exit Poll," she said, playing the poll-taker. "Did you vote for the Clintons because they have a cat?"

The potential was mind-boggling.

"I love it!" she cried, convulsed by laughter. "Oh, god, I love it!"

GOP campaign has abused 'character' issue

OUR VIEW Using innuendo and personal attacks to describe a candidate's character has no place in this campaign.

President Bush is right.

Character plays a big role in any election. Trust is a useful measure of any candidate, particularly those seeking the highest office of the land.

ELECTION '92

An occasional series

But when "character" and "trust" — words that should apply to a person's ability and judgment to lead — become simply slogans to cover smear tactics that have little to do with the country's future, it is the accuser whose character should be called into question.

This year, the Bush/Quayle re-election efforts, sanctioned and unsanctioned, win the smear title hands down.

A smattering of examples:

► House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich linking Woody Allen and Mia Farrow's breakup to Clinton's views on family values.

► California congressman Robert Dornan — and later Bush himself — us-

ing Joe McCarthy tactics to suggest traitorous motives in Clinton's 1969 trip to Moscow, utterly without support.

► GOP chairman Rich Bond and other Republicans falsely tying Hillary Clinton's scholarly essays on children's rights with the usurpation of parental rights.

By the time these sorry episodes tailed off this month, the State Department was digging through its files for dirt on Clinton's mother. Unbelievable.

All of this might be good entertainment if no one took it seriously. But some do, distracting attention from the more crucial issues in this election.

Who will select the next Supreme Court justice? Whose economic programs will get the country moving again? Which candidate is best suited to spearhead our growth at home and security around the world?

The candidates have given voters enough evidence to answer those and other questions that will decide the fate of the nation. They differ widely.

Character, too, is an issue in this election. But what voters should keep in mind on Election Day is that trivia and innuendo are little help in defining it.

Character is *the* issue

OPPOSING VIEW Character is critical. In the Oval Office, character alone shapes the tough decisions.

All U.S. presidents have found the Oval Office a lonely place. President Harry Truman said that's where the buck stops.

Yet there's another lonely office: the voting booth. There the buck stops with the American people. In lonely isolation, we each make our choice affecting the nation's destiny for the next four years.

In representative government, we hand the scepter of power to the candidate we trust will do right by us and by the nation. That trust rests upon our judgment of the character of the president we choose because, in the loneliness of the Oval Office, it is character and character alone that shapes the tough decisions, that enables a president



By William Hamilton, a syndicated columnist and former Republican campaign consultant.

to choose the principled right over the unprincipled wrong.

Character is the central element governing our personal conduct. The threads of all our characters weave the fabric of our national character.

Character answers the nation's call to arms or, alternatively, claims conscientious-objector status, takes up the medic's medical bag and shares the danger of the battlefield. Character presses on in the face of enemy fire.

Character admits mistakes without dissembling or shifting blame to others. Character tells the whole truth up front. Character provides the grit to take firm stands and not promise everything to everybody.

Character keeps the wedding vows when temptation flowers. Character keeps the White House from becoming the Penthouse. If character doesn't matter, why did we go through the agony of Watergate? Or, as Rush Limbaugh put it, "If character doesn't matter, why isn't Ted Kennedy president?"

On Tuesday we decide if character counts. We'll learn something about the American character as well.

Hell in a handbasket not in election cards

Never mind the caustic closing campaign rhetoric. The USA will not go to hell in a handbasket no matter who wins the presidential election.

Many of you fear wrack or ruin if your candidate loses. Not likely. Here's why:

- ▶ The other contenders aren't as bad as you may think.
- ▶ Yours probably isn't quite as good as you believe.

I'm inviolably independent politically, as all journalists should be. I don't tell anyone how I vote. And don't suggest to anyone how they should.

More and more journalists and newspapers see it that way. This year, about one-third of the USA's dailies will not endorse, including some biggies like USA TODAY. Inform and debate, but don't dictate.

From that objective perspective, there's more comfort than concern about Tuesday's election cards.

I've watched presidents closely since 1948. As a journalist, I've visited in the White House with every president since Eisenhower. Kennedy. Johnson. Nixon. Ford. Carter. Reagan. Bush.

I've respected some more than others. Liked some more. But considered each worthy of the Oval office.

Our political system has produced at least two qualified candidates every four years. Sometimes more.

This year, qualities of the top three vary widely. Each has his own very distinct and different philosophy, policy and style. That gives you a clear-cut choice.

Depending on who wins, here's how our course is likely to curve:

- ▶ Bush: A bit more to the right.
- ▶ Clinton: A little to the left.
- ▶ Perot: Occasionally weaving from side to side.

But no president has run us off the road in over 200 years. Our checks and balances control that. So the USA can't lose Tuesday.

If your choice wins, celebrate and enjoy. If not, relax and keep up your cause. Either way, if you vote you win.

FEEDBACK

Other views on the election

"I disagree. Clinton and Gore represent a new generation of leadership for America. Four more years of George Bush would be a disaster for America."

— Ron Brown, Democratic National Committee

"There is a stark contrast between Bush's vision and his opponent's. People need to understand those differences and when they do, they'll support President Bush."

— Tony Mitchell, Republican National Committee

"A president is never the savior we hope he'll be, but he doesn't have the power to screw things up the way we fear."

— Norm Ornstein, American Enterprise Institute



AL NEUHARTH
USA TODAY FOUNDER

Clinton can put the nation back on the right track

I met a guy on the subway this week who said he had not voted in 25 years. I felt like throwing him off the train.

For many of us, there is another kind of train coming this Tuesday. All we need to board is a ticket — a vote.

That ticket may be our last chance to veer from a mean-spirited downhill course, a dead-end street, for our children, our families.

For 12 years, I have watched other people be miserable in the midst of plenty. I watched the flame of hope flicker from the eyes of jobless men, who had lost their ability to support their families.

I have seen children be-



BARBARA REYNOLDS
COLUMNIST

come disposable, abused, tossed onto human junk piles, or shot down in the streets, as those in power went on with

business as usual.

I have watched the rich gaining tax breaks, stealing from the S&Ls, while you and I, the taxpayers, paid for their joy rides.

And I knew we could do better than that.

I have swallowed hard as I watched new groups of people be labeled as underclass and hopeless, when their real problem was that they were poor or sick and needed jobs.

As an avid traveler, I have walked through the streets of small towns and big cities and watched on the verge of heartbreak as more families slept in cars, under bridges and in railway stations with cold cement for pillows. In

New York City, I saw a young woman with one leg, sick, sleeping on the sidewalk with no place to go. I knew the nation could do better than that.

I am tired of the racial hostility when the polls show whites, browns and blacks want hope not hate. They are ready to unite around an economic plan that will lift all boats, the leaky ones as well as the yachts.

This nation cries out for change. George Bush is not the answer.

Four years ago, I actually believed that Bush would usher in a kinder, gentler nation. How wrong I was.

Bill Clinton deserves a chance. His message: The

free rides are over. If you want a chance, his programs will help you, but you have to pay back. That message is a winner. If it includes everyone, the corporations, students, politicians, as well as the welfare moms.

Not all problems can be fixed by politics, but government can unclog the tracks where, as a nation, we have been stuck too long — immobile, uncaring, unproductive. I want to have more dreams than fears, to feel good about tomorrow, not ashamed.

On Tuesday, we have a chance to get moving again, this time going in the right direction.

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